Raising the Wealthy: Philanthropy, Children and Wealth Transfer

By

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A thesis submitted to the University of Kent for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Social Policy

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January 2023

Word Count: 94,796

Thesis Abstract

This research on raising wealthy children to be philanthropic is prompted by two separate but related factors. The first is the £5.5 trillion wealth transfer predicted to take place between 2017 and 2047, the scale of which creates an unprecedented income opportunity for a charity sector faced with declining statutory and individual income and increasing societal needs. If less than a third of this cascade of wealth were donated, that would double the total annual charitable income in each of those 30 years. At the same time, research finds that engaging in philanthropic activities such as helping and volunteering in childhood can lead to higher participation levels in adulthood.

This thesis examines the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by children likely to be amongst the future recipients of some of this extraordinary wealth transfer. The research explores how children aged 9 to 11 who belong to wealthy households in London engage with and participate in philanthropy at home and at school. The study examines whether they have the knowledge and desire to give and participate in philanthropy as well as the skills and opportunities to critically engage with charities, causes and philanthropy. This thesis, drawing on the concepts associated with philanthropic citizenship, seeks to find out what kind of philanthropic citizen financially secure children are learning to become.

A mixed-methods approach involving research with children was taken to explore this question, involving two surveys, four interviews and five focus groups to generate data from 220 children, 113 parents and four teachers. I find that the financially secure children that participated in this study are learning to become 'Personally Responsible' philanthropic citizens. This is an outcome that is arguably desirable in so far as encouraging charitable giving from a group that is likely, by virtue of inheritance, to have the means and resources to give generously in adulthood but falls short if we hope to raise philanthropists with the necessary knowledge, skills and desire to make informed giving decisions, to improve upon philanthropy *and* the ability to critically engage with the broader issues that sit behind charities, causes and the need for philanthropy in the first place. My research calls for a more considered approach to engaging children in philanthropy, involving opportunities to give and participate as well as structured learning opportunities to acquire the knowledge and skills to critically engage with charities, causes and societal needs. This research supports calls in the literature for a more participatory and a more social justice-oriented approach to philanthropy education and participation in schools.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my fantastic supervisors, Dr Ali Body and Dr Beth Breeze, not only for sharing their knowledge and expertise during the course of this PhD but also for their extraordinary empathy and encouragement that kept me on this journey. Their support, advice and guidance have been invaluable, and I am immensely grateful to them for agreeing to supervise me and for giving me the confidence that has enabled me to complete this thesis. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the University of Kent and the support I received via the Vice Chancellors Scholarship as well as from colleagues and fellow PhD students at the Centre for Philanthropy.

I would also like to thank all the children, teachers and parents that participated in this research for so generously giving me their time, and for sharing their thoughts and views. I am also extremely grateful to the four schools that allowed me access, despite the uncertainties and restrictions surrounding the pandemic.

I am fortunate to have an amazing group of friends that have supported me in different ways throughout this process. I am grateful to those that helped by participating in the research and recruiting participants as well as friends, family and all the brilliant children that piloted my tools and gave me such helpful and insightful feedback. I would particularly like to thank Jemima for her expert advice, help and encouragement throughout my studies and Sarah and Lisette for always asking and moral support.

Finally, I would like to thank my wonderful family. My parents, Nisar and Helen Pandit for *always* believing in me; I feel incredibly fortunate to have you, and I am eternally grateful for everything that you have done and continue to do for me. My sister Laura for all her words of encouragement and endless help with everything. Most importantly, my amazing daughter Amelia for her patience, understanding and thoughtfulness throughout my studies and help with this research – you are my absolute inspiration!

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Chapter 1 Introduction to Thesis

It is easier to build strong children than to repair broken men

Attributed to Frederick Douglass

In the UK, between 2017 and 2047, £5.5 trillion is predicted to pass between generations through gifts and inheritance as a consequence of the extraordinary increases in household wealth. Given the unequal nature of society, wealth will continue to be concentrated amongst the top 10%, and following established inheritance patterns, most of that money will likely stay within families. However, the scale creates an unprecedented income opportunity for charities; if less than a third of this cascade of wealth were donated, that would double the total annual charitable income in each of those 30 years. My research was initially motivated by a desire to discover whether the philanthropic impulse is being passed from one generation to the next, alongside wealth and whether children that currently belong to wealthy households, potential recipients of the forthcoming wealth transfer, express the desire to give and participate in philanthropy. However, as my research progressed, the importance of engaging children in the broader concepts of citizenship and philanthropic citizenship, rather than just giving time, talent, and treasure became apparent. My research purpose therefore evolved, and I was further motivated to examine whether these children are acquiring and developing the philanthropic knowledge and skills upon which informed giving and participation decisions can be made. Referring to the quote at the beginning of this chapter, I believe therein lies an *opportunity* to shape the philanthropy of the future via the philanthropy that children are learning today.

This thesis examines the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held and how they are acquired by children likely to be among the recipients of the extraordinary wealth expected to transfer across generations over the coming years. To explore this topic, the thesis draws upon the theories, concepts and ideas associated with (1) children's participation, (2) the socialisation of pro-social behaviours, (3) citizenship and philanthropic citizenship, as well as those that, (4) explain why people give. The purpose of this short introductory chapter is to provide an overview of the context from which this study emerges, to establish why a study of this nature is important, to articulate the aim, scope and significance of the study, as well as the intended contribution to knowledge that this thesis seeks to make. The chapter concludes with an overview of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Locating the Research

Wealth transfer on a scale never seen before is an important issue that has significant consequences for society, including wealth inequality (the ONS (2022b), reports the wealthiest 10% of households as holding 43% of the wealth in Great Britain), social mobility and the uneven advantages that wealth brings. Whilst increases in household wealth create an income opportunity for the charity sector, philanthropy levels in the UK have remained mostly unchanged in recent years (NCVO 2022). Government funding over the last decade continues on a downward trajectory (NCVO 2022), and as a consequence of this declining income, charities are increasingly reliant on individual giving, which represents the largest source of income (NCVO 2022) for the sector. However, even though richer households donate much larger amounts than lower-income households (Bekkers and Wiepking 2007), as a percentage of income, the amount has decreased (Phillips & Rathgeb Smith 2016). The wealthiest households essentially have more to give yet, giving levels for this group continue to decline (The Law Family Commission on Civil Society 2021).

Generation Alpha, the only generation to have been born entirely in this century, are those that were born since the Apple I-pad and Instagram were launched in 2010 (McCrindle and Fell 2021), a generation predicted to be the wealthiest, most educated and most technologically literate in history (Fourtané 2018). Unlike existing wealth holders, whose wealth is primarily tied up in property, Generation Alpha will be financially rich and will have more liquid wealth to give. As such, members of Generation Alpha, particularly those that become wealthy by virtue of inheritance, will have the means and resources to give and to give generously. At the same time, Twenge (2013) finds a generational increase in the incidence of narcissism in young people, a generation socialised with a new and different set of values and behaviours. In addition, a societal shift away from intrinsic towards more extrinsic values such as money, image and fame, and pose not just a threat to future giving and engagement with philanthropy but also the negative consequences to society more broadly in terms of ''lower empathy, less concern for others and less civic engagement (e.g., interest in social issues, government and politics)'', (Twenge 2013, p.1). There is also growing concern within and among academia and policy circles that children are not being taught the necessary 'citizenship' skills and capabilities to fully participate in democratic society (Westheimer and Kahne 2004; Jerome and Kisby 2019). A Select Committee, appointed by the House of Lords to consider "citizenship and civic engagement", raised concerns that character education was being prioritised in schools at the expense of a rigorous citizenship education (House of Lords 2018). Similarly, critics such as Jerome and Kisby (2019) argue that character education dominates and describes the type of character education found in schools in England is moralistic, individualistic and not fit for purpose. The merits associated with citizenship education, the deficiencies associated with character education, as well as the value in teaching both is first discussed in Section 2.5.2 and explored further in Section 3.3 of this thesis. Furthermore, despite a policy agenda that promotes volunteering in schools (DfE 2019), studies find that the philanthropic engagement among young children in schools appears to be mostly framed around fundraising activities (Body *et al.* 2021).

1.2 Why it is important to study children and philanthropy

Whilst there is an extensive body of literature examining *why* people give (as set out, for example, in Bekkers and Wiepking, 2011), these studies are mostly concerned with the giving behaviours of adult donors and not children. To that end, there is a dearth of studies that examine the way children in the UK engage with and participate in philanthropy, and those that do exist do not focus on wealth as a key variable. Children of existing wealth holders are likely to be among the future recipients of the predicted wealth transfer, so it is important to understand *how* these children are learning to give as they are likely to have more resources to give. Furthermore, since studies conclude that early childhood experiences of activities such as those associated with philanthropy lead to higher levels of participation in adulthood, it is important to understand how young, pre-adolescent children are engaging with and participating in philanthropy.

1.3 Research Aim and Scope

The context and need outlined above frame this thesis which seeks to build on existing research and contribute new knowledge concerning children and philanthropy, the aim of which is to find out what kind of philanthropic citizen 9 – 11-year-old children of wealth holders are learning to become. To achieve this aim, the study explores and evaluates the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by this group of children and how they are learning about and engaging with philanthropy.

1.3.1 Why study 9 to 11-year-old children?

Middle childhood (ages 6 – 12) is an important development stage, a period during which children are found to have the capacity to be active citizens, to be politically engaged and to have the ability to act-pro-socially (van Deth 2011) (Dias and Menezes 2014). The upper years of middle childhood represent a time when children develop feelings of empathy and self-awareness (Markus and Nurius 1984), and it is also an age group that is under-represented in studies of a philanthropic nature. This study, therefore, focuses on children at the upper end of middle childhood, in particular, 9 – 11-year-old children that are in their final two years of primary or junior school (Years 5 and 6) before moving up into senior school for Year 8 the year that they turn 12.

1.3.2 Accessing children of wealth-holders

To access future recipients of the predicted wealth transfer, I used a reasonable proxy, assuming that children attending independent (private) schools in London would likely be the children of wealth holders and therefore fit the purposive sample I wished to reach. Throughout the thesis, this group are defined as children belonging to 'financially secure' households, representing a so far unstudied group of children (in terms of studies of a philanthropic nature) from a specific socio-economic background. In this thesis, this group are referred to throughout as: 'children from financially secure households' or 'financially secure children'.

1.4 Significance and Contribution to Knowledge

It is an expectation that, in exploring the giving preferences and behaviours of children from financially secure households, the findings will: provide insights as to the future giving behaviours of a group that is likely to have the means and resources to give substantially in adulthood; give an indication as to current societal understanding of philanthropy and; from a policy perspective, by exploring the routes through which children acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours, conclusions can be drawn as to what this means for teaching philanthropy to children going forward. From a practice perspective, it is also hoped that this thesis provides adults, educators and charities with insights into engaging children in philanthropy. Since this thesis draws on literature from multi-disciplinary sources, it is hoped that the new data presented contributes to and expands upon existing knowledge in the following five areas:

1.4.1 Contributing to a gap in the literature concerning children and philanthropy

There is surprisingly little research, particularly in the UK, that places children of any age at the core of philanthropy studies. The literature that does exist can be divided into studies of an experimental nature using dictator games to measure the propensity to give such as those by Ben-Ner et al (2017) and List & Samak (2013), as well as surveys that attempt to measure what children think about charity (e.g., CAF, 2013). The studies that look more specifically at the ways in which children acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours are mostly US centric, such as those by Bentley & Nissan (1996), Bjorhovde (2002) and by the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy (2014). The few studies that do look specifically at children in the UK are focused on very young children, such as those by Body et al (2017; 2020) involving 4 to 8-year-olds or, adolescents such as Power and Taylor's 2018 study and none were found that focus on children that belong to financially secure households. As such, there is an acute lack of academic studies that explore and develop knowledge about the ways in which pre-adolescent children at the upper end of middle childhood, aged 9 – 11 from wealthier socio-economic backgrounds are acquiring philanthropic knowledge and behaviours and it is hoped that this thesis will contribute towards addressing this knowledge gap.

1.4.2 Advancing theoretical understanding as to why people give

Understanding *why* people give is a fundamental goal of the emerging discipline of philanthropic studies and is of theoretical interest across multiple and diverse disciplines including but not limited to economics, anthropology, biology and social psychology. Much of the existing literature is framed around the altruism debate, that is, the extent to which a philanthropic act is altruistic in motivation or driven by self-interest. However, others, such as Adloff (2016) and Barman (1996), consider how norms, networks and societal arrangements influence the scale and scope of philanthropy. Despite this multi-disciplinary interest in *why* people give, literature and studies are mostly concerned with adult donors rather than children.

1.4.3 Contributing to the emerging concept of philanthropic citizenship

Philanthropic citizenship is a new and emerging concept conceived by Body *et al.* (2020, 2021) and Body (2022) as a result of recent studies and developed, articulated and published between 2019 and 2022. The intention is that since this study draws on the concept of philanthropic citizenship, the research will contribute new and useful knowledge about children from financially secure backgrounds and about philanthropy education in the independent schools they attend.

1.4.4 Contributing to the literature that examines the ways in which children are socialised to behave pro-socially (in the context of behaviours associated with philanthropy

There is an extensive body of literature, much of which is located within the field of social psychology, that examines the relationship between a range of childhood experiences and pro-social behaviours. The main findings associated with these studies is that early childhood experiences influence pro-social behaviour in adulthood. The intention is that my research, in examining the philanthropic behaviours of children, will contribute to this area of enquiry.

1.4.5 Researching with Children

Finally, from a practical perspective, there is a growing body of literature that looks at the topic of children and research, mostly driven by the amendments made to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (Lundy, McEvoy and Byrne 2011), specifically Article 12 which called for greater importance to be given to children, which also applies to their inclusion in the research process. This acknowledgement of children as being worthy of 'recognition, respect and voice' is of theoretical and philosophical interest across a range of fields and disciplines (Graham and Fitzgerald 2010). The literature highlights the trend towards participatory approaches to child research (ibid.), where children take on the role of co-researchers rather than merely objects of research. However, whilst a number of research frameworks have been developed with the child in mind such as the Mosaic Approach (Clark 2011), examples of children as active participants in the research process are still rare (Lundy et al. 2011). It is therefore hoped that the research approach taken, and the research methods implemented in this study will contribute to this area.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

Using the guidance and terminology articulated by Evans et al. (2014, p.11), this thesis begins with the *Introduction* (this chapter) and is then structured into three distinct sections: Part I - the *Background* (Chapters 2 – 4); Part II - the *Research* (Chapters 5 – 7) and finally; Part III the S*ynthesis* (Chapters 8 – 10).

Part I – the **Background** begins with an initial context-setting chapter (Chapter 2), the intention of which is to further explore the set of circumstances from which the research need arises and includes a brief examination of the key and current debates about philanthropy. In Chapter 3, consideration is given to the relevant literature, beginning with a review of the studies that examine how children engage with and participate in philanthropy followed by the literature that examines how philanthropy is presented to children. The second part of Chapter 3 considers the literature on donor behaviour, literature that examines why people give, what they give and how they give. The final part of Chapter 3 concerns the literature on citizenship and character education since this represents a route through which children might acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours at school.

Drawing on theories and concepts found in the literature, the conceptual framework that guides and underpins this research is presented in Chapter 4. The chapter is organised according to three key areas: (1) Children's participation models – which inform the direction of travel this thesis takes so as to ensure that the research is carried out *with* and not *on* children; (2) Socialisation of pro-social behaviours – (philanthropic) behaviours that are *caught* through observing role models such as parents and teachers; *taught* by learning cognitively through thinking and discussing and *sought* by *experiencing* through participating in philanthropic activities such as volunteering; (3) Body's (n.d, 2020) idea of philanthropic citizenship and Westheimer and Kahne's (Westheimer and Kahne 2004; Westheimer 2015) citizen typology which provides a framework against which to examine the level and type of engagement that children have with philanthropy and the programs of learning they experience. Chapter 4 concludes with the overarching research aim that frames this thesis as well as the four individual research questions that will enable this central research objective to be addressed.

Part II – the **Research**, describes and presents the research approach taken and the research results. Chapter 5 begins with the philosophical assumptions, methodological approach and methodological considerations that inform the research approach taken. In the second part of this chapter, a detailed description of the research design, the steps taken, and the methods used to collect and analyse the data collected from children, parents and adults are presented. The chapter includes an overview of the data collected and details of the sample. In the chapters that follow, Chapters 6 and 7, the results of the analysis of the data collected are presented and described.

Part III – the **Synthesis**, is the final part of this thesis with Chapters 8 and 9 containing the discussion which is organised according to the four individual research questions identified at the end of Part I. Chapter 10 is the conclusion, and drawing on the findings and discussions, revisits the aim of this thesis, answers the research questions and considers the implication of these findings.

1.6 Summary of Chapter

In this introductory chapter, I have highlighted why an examination of the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by children from financially secure backgrounds is important, drawing attention to the predicted wealth transfer, declining charitable income and the general lack of studies concerning children and philanthropy. I have also highlighted the intended contribution to knowledge that this thesis hopes to make. In the next chapter, I explore further the context from which this research need arises.

Part I: Background

Chapter 2 The Context

The three chapters that form Part I of this thesis provide the background to the research, each chapter has a specific purpose. Building on the introduction, in this first chapter, the context from which this study emerges is explored further and in so doing, outlines the set of circumstances that demonstrate why it is important to explore the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children. The chapter begins by acknowledging the contested nature of philanthropy, before examining the current state of the charity sector in the UK. Also considered in this scene-setting chapter is the economic, social and policy context against which this study is situated as well as some historical context, that find children have participated in philanthropy at least as far back as the 18th Century (Lloyd 2002). The second background chapter examines the literature that sets out what is already known about the ways in which children engage with and learn about philanthropy as well as the wider literature relevant to the topic. The final background chapter sets out the theories, concepts, models and ideas that provide a framework upon which the research aim can be explored.

2.1 Philanthropy – a contested definition, a contested concept

As Moody and Breeze (2016) assert, there exists no single definition of philanthropy, instead, its meaning is much debated within and outside of academia – even its very existence and impact is contested and; for some, philanthropy contributes to social inequality and for others, it is part of the solution (Breeze 2008).

2.1.1 Contested definitions

The origin and literal translation of philanthropy is "love of mankind'', from *philein* - (to love) and *anthropos* (human being) (*Oxford Dictionary of English* 2010). However, definitions vary across time and place (Moody and Breeze 2016) and are shaped by social, political and intellectual contexts (Jung, Philips and Harrow 2016). Schervish defines philanthropy as a moral obligation to meet the expressed needs of others, where philanthropy is framed as needs driven rather than donor driven (Schervish and Bremmer 1995). Phillips and Jung (2016) define philanthropy as "the use of private resources – treasure, time and talent for public purposes'' (p.7) and challenge Payton and Moody's definition - ''voluntary action for the public good'' (Payton and Moody 2008 p.30) - for being limited and framed in terms of morality and moral action. Breeze (2021), however considers Payton and Moody's (2008) definition as useful in its simplicity and all-encompassing meaning. Definitions are further blurred and ambiguous, as the term is used interchangeably with words such as 'charity', 'benevolence', 'giving' and 'donating' (Daly 2012). Outside of academia, the 'philanthropist' is often associated with rich white men that either inherited wealth or earnt it through finance or technology (Breeze 2021a), yet philanthropy involves giving right across the giving scale (Bernholz 2021), from coins in a collection box to multi-million pound donations supporting a wide range of causes, such as those concerned with poverty and inequality as well as those concerned with health, the arts, the environment and animal welfare (Charity Commission for England and Wales 2022). For the purposes of this thesis, I refer to Payton and Moody's (2008) definition ''voluntary action for the public good'' for its broad meaning in the sense that it includes action such as the giving of 'time, talent and treasure' which Philips and Jung (2016) include in their definition and for its popularity in the wider academic literature, for example the definition underpins and informs, Moody and Breeze's (2016) philanthropy reader. Drawing on the concept of philanthropic citizenship as articulated by Body et al. (2021) and given that children view charity in many different ways (Body et al. 2019), I have used research tools, questions and prompts to encourage children to think beyond the traditional activities associated with charity of giving time, talent and treasure to include activities that may be considered more social-justice in nature such as advocacy, activism and campaigning. Mindful of Daly's (2012) point above and the associations highlighted above by Breeze (2021), I have taken the decision in this thesis, in places, to use 'charity' interchangeably with 'philanthropy', the reason being that I feel 'charity' is a term that is more accessible to, and resonates more, with children. As such, I have used 'charity' rather than philanthropy throughout my communications with children.

2.1.2 Contested Concept

Whilst definitions are contested (Daly, 2012) so too is the very idea of philanthropy, debated within and beyond academic circles, to the extent that it is sometimes portrayed as ''illegitimate, ineffective and unlikable'' (Breeze, 2021 p. 140.) The anti-philanthropy narrative found in the proliferation of books, journal articles and the media is mostly framed around giving by the wealthy. Writers within academia such as Reich (2019), Bernholz (2021), McGoey (2016), McGoey and Thiel (2018), and Ostrower (1995) argue that the very wealthy use philanthropy to legitimise their wealth, to promote their own agendas, for the signalling properties that giving affords them and for the power accrued through making large donations. Where philanthropy is accused of exacerbating social issues (Odendahl 1990) and being anti-democratic, and philanthropists blamed for contributing to, and creating the inequality problems that give rise to the need for philanthropy in the first place (Giridharadas 2020). The anti-philanthropy sentiment that runs across the literature is a narrative that risks ''undermining the legitimacy of all kinds of philanthropy'' (Breeze 2021a, p.3) and poses a threat to long-term giving from future generations. Breeze (2021) acknowledges and addresses the criticisms and concerns raised against philanthropy, highlighting along with LaMarche (2020 in Breeze, 2021) that much of this narrative fails to offer up any kind of solution to the problem with philanthropy, where the arguments tend towards the binary, a preference for 'less or no philanthropy'. Breeze (2011) asserts that there is much to celebrate about philanthropy, but that it is improvable and what is needed are in fact more philanthropists, a better more ethical and effective philanthropy as well as better philanthropy education where donors have the necessary knowledge upon which to make informed giving decisions.

2.1.3 An emerging discipline - teaching philanthropy

As a subject in and of itself, philanthropic studies is relatively new in the UK and worldwide, it is not considered an academic discipline in its own right (Keidan, Jung et al. 2014), rather it sits within disciplines such as social policy, public administration and social work (Mirabella & Wish 2001 in Fitton 2021, p.4) and has received little pedagogical attention (Fitton 2021). Compared to the USA, the academic study of philanthropy in Europe is emerging and microscopic (Carrington 2009, p.15). In the USA, philanthropy education has a longer history (Agard 2002) and the knowledge acquired about philanthropy or through participation in either service learning or experience learning is well embedded in learning at school. Whereas in the UK, whilst embryonic in the Higher Education setting, philanthropy education is absent as a formal or stand-alone subject in school curriculum at any age.

2.2 Increasing needs, shrinking income – the charity sector

Prior to the formation of the Welfare State in the UK, in the early 1900's, the provision of many social services were provided by and paid for, by philanthropists such as the provision of housing for the poor, healthcare or educational institutions (Breeze 2006). Philanthropic money and endeavours also helped establish public services such as the ambulance and the probation services (ibid.) The charity sector continues to play an important role in terms of providing social services either in the absence of or, in response to, declining state provision or in terms of delivering such services on behalf of the government. The charity sector is also important for its broader impact on social cohesion, individual well-being and civic engagement (Charity Commission and Frontier Economics 2019). In terms of economic output, the charity sector provides approximately 950,000 jobs and contributes about £20bn (0.9% of GDP) to the UK economy and the value placed on volunteering is estimated by the ONS to be around £23bn (NCVO 2021). There are 168,992 charities registered with the Charity Commission for England and Wales as of November 2022, each fulfilling a charitable purpose or multiple purposes in the areas such as education, relieving poverty, health, the arts, animal welfare, protection of the environment and human rights (Gov.uk n.d.).

Whilst total charitable income has risen from £47.1bn in 2008/9 to £58.7bn in 2019/2020, income from government, the second largest source, has been steadily declining, from £17.3bn to £15.4bn during the same period (NCVO 2022). As a proportion of total income, government funding accounted for 37% of charitable income in 2008/9 and fell to 26% in 2019/20 (NCVO 2022). As such, the sector has and continues to be increasingly reliant upon income from the public, which in contrast to government funding, has risen from £19bn in 2008/9 to £30bn in 2019/2022 (NCVO 2022), this figure includes voluntary income (gifts, donations, sponsorship or grants) and earned income (from fees and services or charity shops). However, in terms of voluntary income, fewer people are giving overall, the proportion of households donating to charity fell from 32% in 2000 to 26% in 2018 and recent figures suggest that this downward trend is becoming entrenched (CAF 2020). Furthermore, voluntary giving in 2021 was £10.7 billion, substantially less than the figure recorded for 2020 - £11.3 billion (CAF 2022). Aside from declining government funding, rising inflation and energy costs will likely mean fewer financial resources available to charities going forward (CAF 2022). In addition, charities will be under pressure to meet not only the existing needs of beneficiaries, but certainly those charities operating in the UK, the inevitable increase in demand for the services and support they provide as more and more people are affected by the cost-of-living crises. The data also suggests that fewer young people overall are engaging in charitable or civic activities (CAF 2022).

In terms of causes and charities that attract voluntary income, despite some minor variations over the years, the top five cause areas favoured by donors in the UK are (1) Animal Welfare (2) Children or Young People (3) Medical Research (4) Homeless People, Housing and Refuge Shelters (5) Overseas Aid and Disaster Relief (CAF 2022). If charities are measured in terms of fundraising income, rather than impact or outcomes, pre-pandemic the largest included Cancer Research UK (£463m), British Heart Foundation (£278m), Oxfam (£211m), RNLI (£182m) and RSPCA (£121.4m) (Radojev 2018). More recent data on individual charitable income differs as charitable organisations addressing the impact of Covid-19 generated unusually high-income levels, such as those developing vaccines or NHS charities.

2.3 Getting richer but giving less – economic factors

In the UK, household wealth more than tripled between 1995 and 2015, from £2.8tn to £10.2tn (Cebr 2017). In the period 2018-20, the wealthiest 10% of households held 43% of all the wealth and the wealth of the richest 1% of households was more than £3.6 million (compared with £15,400 of the least wealthy 10%) (ONS 2022b), which is twice the figure recorded for 1996 (Crawford, Innes and O'Dea 2016). National income in the UK has not risen at the same rate as household wealth, which is explained by the increases in wealth transfers via gifts and inheritances (Alvaredo et al. 2018 and Acciari and Morelli, 2020 in Nolan *et al.* 2020, p.1). Due to the return on (inherited) capital being greater than economic growth and since the tax system in the UK has largely stayed the same despite these continued increases in wealth, wealth continues to be skewed towards the top (Piketty 2014). Inheritance is a key component in wealth accumulation amongst the wealthy (Sklair and Glucksberg 2021) and inequality is considered to be less about high and low wages and more a consequence of wealth accumulation via inheritance (Piketty, 2014). Approximately a third of households in the UK are recipients of wealth transfers (Nolan et al 2020 p.8). Those households in the top quartile in the UK receive 46% of total wealth transfers and those in the top 1% of the income distribution receive 9% of total wealth transfers, the same as those in the bottom quartile (Nolan *et al.* 2020, p.11). Furthermore, the likelihood of having received or receiving an inheritance 'increases rather consistently' as one moves up the wealth distribution with those in the top 10% receiving particularly large amounts (Nolan *et al.* 2020, p.28). Whilst wealth transfers through gifts and inheritance are the main drivers of wealth accumulation by the wealthiest, other explanations for the intergenerational persistence of wealth or, wealthy parents having wealthy children include the persistence of earnings and the greater the education opportunities (Davenport, Level and Sturrock 2021).

As a consequence of this wealth accumulation and increases in household wealth, looking forward, £5.5 trillion is expected to transfer between 2017 and 2047, as assets such as properties and pensions are realised with wealth transfers predicted to rise from £69bn in 2017 to £115bn in 2027 alone (Cebr 2017 p.3). These wealth transfers can also take place during the lifetime of a generation. For example, in vivo transfers of gifts such as money, shares and property have risen from 20-30 per cent of total inheritances to 80% at the beginning of the 21st century (Grøtting 2019). At the very top end, wealth transfers are extraordinary. According to one report, over the next 10 years; 36,000 High Net Worth Individuals are expected to transfer on average £500k to 283,000 inheritors totalling £127bn and 770 Ultra High Net Worth Individuals are expected to transfer on average £34m per inheritor totalling £200bn (Brooks Macdonald n.d.)

However, despite these increases in household wealth, giving levels by individuals to charity have not increased at the same rate. Where household wealth has tripled over a twenty-year period, going from £4.8tn in 2000 to £14.6tn in 2018/20 (ONS 2022b) which is seven times the size of the UK economy, individual giving from the public did not even double over a similar period, going from £15bn in 2000 to £27bn in 2018/19 (NCVO 2022). In terms of giving by the wealthiest 10%, Davison (2012) found that despite holding nearly half the wealth they accounted for only 20% of all individual giving in the UK (in the USA, the wealthiest 10% account for 50% of giving). For the top 1% of earners, those earning more than £175,000 per annum, typical income grew by 10% between 2011 and 2019, yet the typical donation made to charity by this group fell by more than 20% (The Law Family Commission on Civil Society 2021). More recently, at the upper end of giving, donations by the top 200 philanthropists in the UK decreased by 16% between 2019 and 2020 (CAF 2020), wealthy people are giving less despite becoming richer. Whilst the historical data shows that charitable giving has not risen at the rate of household wealth, this may not necessarily be a pattern that continues amongst future generations. Historically, a significant proportion of the wealth recorded in the 'Wealth and Assets Survey' produced by the Office of National Statistics from which the data on household wealth is drawn, is tied-up in property and pension assets; since charitable giving is considered a 'discretionary' spend allocated from 'spare money' (Berman *et al.* 2020), the lack of liquid wealth may provide one explanation for the comparatively slow rate of increase in charitable giving compared to the increase in household wealth. The scale of the wealth transfer coupled with the potential availability of more liquid wealth presents an unprecedented opportunity for charities going forward.

2.4 More selfish, less empathy - social factors

A scan of the social context suggests that the philanthropic impulse in younger generations is less pronounced than that associated with older generations and is potentially under threat. In the UK, current Conservative education policy is criticised for producing less outward-focused citizens with less concern for others (Jerome and Kisby 2019). Studies also identify a number of social factors that pose a threat to sustaining the philanthropic impulse across generations and the extent to which future generations participate in civil society. Twenge (2013) for example, drawing on several studies across generations, finds increasing incidence of narcissistic personality disorder amongst young people and a generational shift ''towards more extrinsic values (money, image and fame) away from intrinsic values (community feeling, affiliation and self-acceptance'' (Twenge 2013, p.11) which, it is argued has a detrimental effect on society – less civic engagement and interest in social issues, government and politics (p.1). Grubbs *et al* (2019) similarly, finds a societal perception that younger generations are the most narcissistic and entitled age groups, displaying more traits of individualism than previous generations (Hamamura 2012 in Grubbs et al. 2019). A narrative prevails that finds a generation of consumers enabled by materialistic parents (Pugh 2009, p.11), parents that are responsible for creating an inflated sense of self-esteem amongst children and for teaching them that 'self-belief' is important to success; parents that are culpable of creating an inflated sense of the self among children which is essentially without basis and this, it is argued can, in turn, lead to narcissism (Pugh, 2009 p.14). Similarly, this narrative is reflected in commentary from the UK's Independent Schools Inspectorate that Westheimer (2015) includes in his criticism of education systems both in the US and the UK, systems that focus upon individual success and therefore economic gain are, at the cost of developing 'active and engaged public citizens' (Westheimer 2015, p.17). Twenge concludes, ''at the moment, the evidence clearly supports the view that today's young generation (born after 1980) is – at least compared to previous generations – more Generation Me than Generation We'' (Twenge 2013, p.15).

Elsewhere in the literature, Bandy and Ottoni-Wilhelm (2007) attribute the breakdown in the family unit and the increased incidence of marital distress (divorce) as impacting on children's pro-social development, where pro-social behaviours such as giving, helping and volunteering acquired during childhood lead to increased pro-sociality in adulthood. Similarly, Bjorhovde (2002) suggests the philanthropic tradition, which historically had been passed down through generations by parents, is perhaps not being passed down to the extent that it had been due to the breakdown in the family unit and the increase in divorce. In the literature that explains adult giving, Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) find a link between religious participation and levels of giving and volunteering, as such the declining levels of religious participation may also negatively impact on philanthropic engagement amongst younger generations.

2.5 Children's Rights, Citizenship and Character – the policy context

In this section, consideration is first given to the key (international) legislation relevant and applicable to research involving children. Consideration is then given to the areas of current education policy within which philanthropy education may be located for children aged 9 to 11.

2.5.1 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child – the international policy context

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) is an essential piece of legislation against which to frame and position research involving children and research about children's lives. Implemented more than thirty years ago, in 1989, and subsequently ratified by all member states except for the United States of America, the UNCRC is considered to be the most widely and rapidly adopted human rights treaty (UN, 2014) and the ''most progressive moment in the history of children's rights'' (Johnson et al. 2017, p.337). The Convention is said to have ''redefined the status of children and young people by acknowledging their civil and political rights'' (Woodhead 2010), through the provision of 54 Articles designed to protect the rights of *all* children, regardless of age.

The UNCRC was ratified and came into force in the UK in 1991, and as international law, all public bodies, policy and decision-makers are required to take into consideration the UNCRC in regard to matters that affect children. However, the UNCRC is not part of domestic law, meaning that not all protections listed in the Treaty are enshrined in British law, for example in a court, children cannot claim rights by relying only on the UNCRC (CRAE n.d.). Whilst some of the associated articles, may be more relevant than others, no single article is considered more important than another, although four of which are considered to play a fundamental role in terms of achieving, for all children, the rights associated with the Convention (UNICEF 2019) – Article 2, the right not to be discriminated against; Article 3, the best interest of the child; Article 6, the right to life survival and development and Article 12, the right to be heard. Whilst, the right to be heard is particularly pertinent to research involving children regarding their own lived experiences, two further articles are of relevance to this study: Article 3 – the right to high standards of research about their lives where data collected from children should be accurately collected and interpreted (Kellet 2009, p.52) and; Article 5 which recognises the role and duties of the family to provide guidance so that children are fully socialised and are able to fully participate in society. Concerning the process of researching children, the theoretical models to emerge in response to this treaty are examined in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.

2.5.2 Citizenship and Character Education – the national policy context

Titmuss (1970), in his important study into blood donation advocates for social policies that recognise humans have a 'biological need' to help and behave altruistically, policies that enable innate altruistic tendencies to flourish. I, therefore, examined the areas of education policy where opportunities to engage with philanthropy may be located. However, since my study involves independent schools, it is worth first clarifying the distinctions in terms of statutory requirements between state funded and privately funded schools in England. State funded schools are required to follow the national curriculum and are regulated by the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (OFSTED). Independent schools are not required to follow the national curriculum, however, inspections carried out by either Ofsted (in half of all independent schools), or the Ofsted monitored Independent Schools Inspectorate (ISI) assess and determine the extent to which these independent schools fulfil the obligations and requirements contained in the Independent School Standards (DfE 2019b). The provision of 'spiritual, moral, social and cultural' (SMSC) education represented a route through which philanthropic knowledge and behaviours may be acquired by children in the school setting. All schools, regardless of whether they are state or privately funded, are required to demonstrate pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) development' (DfE 2019a) (DfE 2019b). SMSC is a statutory requirement within the state setting, and the Independent Schools Standards (DfE 2019b) stipulates a requirement to "actively" promote SMSC rather than just "promote," as was the case prior to 2014 (DfE 2019b). SMSC education involves non-academic skills and behaviours relevant within and beyond the school setting in order that pupils can play ''a confident, informed role in society, have a fully developed value system, and be able to interact with other people in a positive way'' (DfE 2014b, p.18). SMSC provision can be developed through the curriculum (although some subjects and activities will be more relevant than others) and beyond the curriculum, via the behaviours, ethos and culture of the school (DfE 2019b, p.18). Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education (PSHE) is one such subject lesson through which the SMSC requirement may be delivered, and all schools are required to make provision for some form of PSHE (DfE 2014b; DfE 2019b). Whilst the 'relationship' education element of PSHE is now statutory in state funded primary schools (DfE 2021), schools are free to adapt the content according to the needs of its pupils.

Wider political landscape

The features, characteristics and essence of SMSC requirement in schools, as well as the wider curriculum, is underpinned by an education policy that emerges from a political landscape built on neo-liberalism principles. Sklar (in Davies and Bansel 2007) locates the origins of neoliberalism as a form of governmentality to the 1970's, emerging in response to the perceived radical and progressive views and positions found within education and the media at the time. Accordingly, neoliberal governance represented a way through which seemingly ,"ungovernable" citizens could be governed (Sklar in Davies and Bansel 2007), with schools and public services prioritised for this new form of governmentality (Davies and Bansel 2007). It is an ideology or philosophy ''built on a single, fundamental principle: the superiority of individualised, market-based competition over other modes of organisation'' (Mudge 2008 p.706) where the ''market becomes the principle upon which the whole rest of society is remodelled'' (Bryne 2017 in Allsop et al 2018). Neo-liberalism is associated with market reform processes such as privatisation, outsourcing and competitive tendering in public services as well as labour market and financial deregulation. Neo-liberalism has influenced policymakers over the last few decades in Western Europe (Allsop et al 2018), is prevalent in the structure of most Western societies (Mudge 2008) and gained traction in the UK in the early 1980's (Allsop et al.2018) and informed one of the most important pieces of education legislation reform in England and Wales since the 1940's.

The 1988 Education Reform Act, influenced by neo-liberal principles, introduced by the Conservative Government, replaced the non-interventionist education approach associated with the 1944 Education Act. It was designed to raise the standard of education and involved a shifting of control, including what was taught, away from local education authorities to central government, the introduction of the National Curriculum, statutory testing and assessment (Fisher 2008). As a consequence, themes and principles associated with neo-liberalism are enacted through education policy in England which sees schools and educational institutions that are market driven and market led where education is commoditised, and students are framed as consumers or customers of education, acquiring knowledge, skills and/or qualifications for the purpose of enhancing future economic prosperity (Jones-Devitt and Samiei 2011) and human capital. Education policy is thus driven by themes of individualism, designed to "produce the highly individualized, responsiblized subjects who have become *entrepreneurial actors across all dimensions of their lives*" (Brown in Davies and Bansel 2007). Where schools and education may previously have been considered essential to collective wellbeing, in a neoliberal setting it is considered part of the market, the provision of education seen as no different to any other service or product (Davies and Bansel 2007). As such, the educational experience of students is one characterised by league tables, standardised testing, testing what is easy to measure, targets and learning to pass tests.

Sims (2017) argues that education has been so over marketized to the extent that, the ultimate consumer of education is in fact not the student themselves but the employer, where the purpose of educational institutions is to produce job-ready compliant candidates rather than critically engaged and civically minded citizens. Within this, market-oriented society, lies the process of 'responsibilisation', which advocates the need for citizens to take ''increasing personal responsibility for their own individual educational, health and welfare needs'' (Lister, 2011 in Allsop et al. 2018). The 'responsibilisation' agenda promotes individualism over collectivisation, where individuals are responsible for their position in society or indeed their failures, regardless of structural inequalities that may inhibit success and attainment (Allsop et al. 2018). The responsibilisation agenda associated with neo-liberalism ideology, embedded in education policy, finds schools focused on preparing young people for individual economic gain, prioritising testing and achievement, rather than preparing ''active and engaged public citizens'' (Westheimer 2015, p.17). Citizenship curriculum in England has seemingly been reduced, and character education has become increasingly important which seeks to develop in young people, the characteristics associated with individual success such as 'grit' and 'resilience' (Allsop et al. 2018), reflecting or perhaps explaining the aforementioned observation made by Twenge (2013), that society is becoming – more Generation Me than Generation We'' (Twenge 2013, p.15). Giroux (in Stevenson 2010) argues that an education agenda built on neo-liberal ideology results in a ''vicious form of competitive individualism, indifference to the virtues and responsibilities of citizenship'' (p.348). As such, a political ideology framed on the principles of neo-liberalism sees education provision centred around individual achievement for the purposes of economic gain rather than collective action for the benefit of society more broadly.

Character and Citizenship Education in the Curriculum

Citizenship education supports the requirement for SMSC and may be incorporated into PSHE (House of Lords 2018) which is currently only a statutory subject in the secondary (senior) state school setting which children attend in the academic year they turn 12. Similarly, character education may be incorporated into PSHE and also contributes to the duty to promote SMSC. Whilst non-statutory, consideration as to the provision of character education in (state) schools is given by the schools regulating body, Ofsted (DfE 2014b). The DfE provides guidelines, frameworks and programmes of study for primary schools regarding the provision of both Citizenship Education (DfE 2015b) and Character Education (DfE 2019a) for children between the ages of 5 – 11 years.

Character education has a long history (Jerome and Kisby 2019) and has long featured in schools (Hayes 2019), the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, one of the key providers of character curricula in England, finds that aside form a few decades at the end of the 20th Century, the cultivation of character firmly established within the history of schooling and dates this as far back as ancient times (The Jubilee Centre 2022). In terms of contemporary character education, under the Labour Government between 1997 – 2010, the development of character amongst young people was important, however, its purpose was less about individual attainment or advancement that is associated with the current Conservative Government, and more concerned with the ''development of responsible active citizenship'' (Jerome and Kisby 2019 p.33). Citizenship education was introduced as a compulsory subject for secondary schools in 2002 and was concerned with ''young people acquiring the 'knowledge, skills and values' they needed to engage in civic and political activity'' (DfE/QCA 1998 p.1-13 in Jerome and Kisby 2019 p.113). Where the promotion of citizenship education was central to government policy under Labour, character education became an increasingly prominent fixture and arguably a more important aspect of education policy following the formation of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government in 2010. Character education, or rather, the development of 'desirable' character traits was advocated by the Coalition Government as a solution to a range of social problems defined as a type of 'moral malaise' amongst young people (Jerome and Kisby 2019) typified by the youth riots of August 2011 as well as more positively as a means to social mobility. Aside from dropping off the current political agenda, under Justine Greening's tenure (2016 - 2018), previous and subsequent Minsters of State Nicky Morgan (2014-2016) and Damian

Hinds (2018 - 2019) have strongly advocated for and implemented a number of initiatives in support of character education in schools as a means to social mobility (Jerome and Kisby 2020) (Hayes 2019) and out of a desire to cement the UK's position as 'a global leader in teaching character and resilience' (DfE 2014a). Such ambitions attracted significant government funding, in 2015 the Department for Education invested £3.5 million in grants (DfE 2015a) and this was followed in 2016, with the launch of a £6 million fund and schools delivering excellent character education were able to apply for awards of up to £20,000 (DfE 2016). Whilst at the time of writing the non-statutory guidance to schools on character education has not been updated since Hinds' tenure ended in 2019, Jerome and Kisby (2019) suggest that it will continue to feature on the political agenda given the significant amounts of government investment into character education to date. More recent ministers, of which there have been six since 2019, the most recent was appointed in October 2022, have not set out their position on the subject and certainly the impact of Covid-19 on education will have been the focus of ministerial action in recent years.

Whilst character education is non-statutory, the Ofsted Inspection Framework, when assessing the personal development of learners, takes into consideration the extent to which the school develops learners' characters including their ''resilience, confidence and independence'' (Ofsted 2022) and schools are expected to provide activities and opportunities to students to develop their character. The DfE's 'Character Education Framework' (DfE 2019a) is intended for all schools, including privately funded independent schools (ibid. p.3), details the most important aspects or provisions of character education, setting out six-character benchmarks against which a school should measure its efforts. The benchmark most closely aligned with philanthropic-type activities concerns volunteering and service, with no mention of activities such as giving or donating, and is worth quoting at length:

- *How well do we promote the value of volunteering and service to others?*
- *Are age-appropriate expectations of volunteering and service to others clearly established?*
- *Are opportunities varied, meaningful, high quality and sustained over time?*
- *Do volunteering and service opportunities contribute to breaking down social barriers? Are they effective in making pupils civic minded ready to contribute to society?*

To that end, schools are asked to consider how well they promote the value of volunteering and service, guidelines that appear to be underpinned by the findings set out in The Habit of Service, a report published by the Jubilee Centre in 2017 in which Arthur et al (2017) conclude early childhood experiences of engaging in pro-social activities lead to positive pro-social behaviour in adulthood, in particular, children that volunteer before the age of 10 are twice as likely to volunteer in adulthood. This report is explored further in Chapter 3, with attention given as to the concerns that citizenship education in schools has moved from a ''collective political conception of citizenship'' towards a more' 'individualised notion that focuses on character and promoting volunteering'' (House of Lords 2018, p.29).

2.6 Historical background

It is not the purpose of this thesis to provide a comprehensive historical account as to how children have engaged with and learnt about philanthropy over time, but instead the purpose of this section is to locate the topic within its historical context. Evidence suggests that children's involvement and participation in philanthropy as donors and fundraisers extends at least as far back as the 18th Century when donors would attend 'fundraising sermons and watch charity-school children arrayed in the gallery of a parish church' (Lloyd 2002 p.23). Children 'neatly dressed in their different coloured uniforms' (ibid. p.35) would also perform at celebratory dinners for generous benefactors as an expression of gratitude for the benevolence afforded to them and to encourage future benevolence. Grenby's (2008) examination of Late 18th Century children's literature and Prochaska's (1980) examination of the missionary movement shows how charity was presented to Victorian children and the active role that children played as donors and fundraisers.

Grenby's (2008) examination of Victorian children's books, revealed a thematic preoccupation with charity, narratives concerned with either the recipients of charity, and the message being ''the possibility of social enhancement through good behaviour'' (p.185) or narratives that essentially set out to teach children from wealthy households how to give. The children's books, Grenby (2008) posits, provides valuable documentation of face-to-face and ad-hoc donations made by individuals which otherwise would not have been captured in other more formal historical records and shows how charity was presented and contextualised to Victorian children. The books show that participation in charity, is encouraged for the signalling properties associated with such action, in that engaging in charity is presented as a mechanism through which children can signal or demonstrate their virtues to adults, parents, teachers and the like. The books also show how children from wealthy households engage with charity, giving by these children is shown to take place directly to beneficiaries within the context of the household setting – to servants, tenants and those in the local community or; to those that have fallen upon hard times; giving is presented to Victorian children as needs-based involving the donation of money, goods and clothes to the 'needy' and; framed as a requirement to fulfil a Christian duty (ibid. p.189).

Prochaska (1980) found the Victorian period and the missionary movement, a particularly active time for children and charity, a period during which children's participation in fundraising flourished. Mothers were the chief educators *within* the family alongside ministers and Sunday School teachers where charitable activity was inextricably linked to religious training. Children would accompany their mothers on their charitable endeavours, attending meetings or making house to house visits to the poor (ibid. p.75). Sunday Schools provided a route through which charities could ''find their way into the children's hearts and pockets'' (ibid. p.75). Engaging children in fundraising activities might have been driven on the one hand to fulfil the need for children to be taught and educated to be good Christians, but also resulted in valuable fundraising resources. Children were integral to the fundraising efforts of the missionary movement, the premise being that it would be difficult to say 'no' to a child. Children participated as both fundraisers *and* donors, the amounts raised during this time by these associations ran into millions of pounds, the funds raised by children at the Methodist Missionary Society for example, were reported as being £16,481 equating to approximately £2 million pounds in today's money (ibid. p.81). Several missionary associations such as the Baptist Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society encouraged children's participation in charitable activities, recruiting, organising and sending children ''to every corner of the country as collectors and tract distributors'' (p.76). Victorian children appear to have played a participatory role in these fundraising efforts, designing, creating and implementing fundraising strategies such as devising promotional materials or using pets to enhance the ask, making clothes to send abroad or decorating collection boxes.

More recently, children have similarly played an active role in fundraising initiatives, including those that do not necessarily involve monetary donations. For example, the longest running children's television programme, Blue Peter has run an annual charitable appeal since 1962, the first of which asked viewers to collect and donate postage stamps. Blue Peter appeals have also involved collecting and donating old clothes, phones and coins as well as the famous 'bring and buy' sale which involved children bringing their own items to sell, and these appeals have raised well over £100 million over the years (Sightsavers 2018). In terms of monetary donations, the large-scale annual fundraising campaigns in the UK, such as Comic Relief and Sports Relief specifically target schools, engaging and involving children in fundraising endeavours as donors and/or fundraisers.

2.7 Summary of Chapter

In this background-setting chapter, I have explored the context from which this study emerges. I have examined the state of the charity sector, the economic context and social factors that demonstrate why it is important to explore how children are engaging with philanthropy. I have also set out the policy context relevant to the study and I have located the topic within its historical context. In the next chapter, the second of three background chapters, I explore the literature relevant to a study about children and philanthropy.

Chapter 3 The Literature Review

This chapter and the next build on the preceding context-setting chapter by examining, firstly, the literature relevant to a study concerning children and philanthropy and then setting out the conceptual framework (Chapter 4) that informs this research. The aim of these two chapters is to first evaluate, analyse and synthesise what is already known about the topic (Hart 2007) and then to identify the theories, concepts, models and ideas that will guide and underpin the research. The examination of the existing literature and the conceptual framework will frame the research questions that will be explored, as well as identifying the contribution of new knowledge that the research will make (Bryman 2016). Since there is an acute lack of studies that specifically examine how children in the UK engage with and participate in philanthropy, this review of the pertinent literature, includes studies that examine adult donor behaviour. The review also draws upon perspectives from neighbouring disciplines including child development, social psychology and education in order to understand how children learn to give and participate in philanthropy. As such, the multi-disciplinary nature of the material is broad and wide-ranging, which is both useful and challenging, particularly in terms of doing it justice in the discussion that follows in this chapter and the next.

This chapter begins with a review of the albeit limited literature and research that exists on the topic of children and philanthropy (Section 3.1). Firstly, I examine the studies that capture the knowledge and attitudes towards philanthropy held by children, I then explore the literature that critiques the ways in which children engage with and participate in philanthropy and finally, the literature that considers how philanthropy is presented to children within the school setting. Since understanding *why* people give is fundamental to studies of a philanthropic nature (Breeze and Lloyd 2013), in Section 3.2 I examine the literature and concepts that explain (adult) donor behaviour more broadly, as well as the literature that explains why *wealthy* people give in particular. Since a likely route through which children may acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours is at school, the chapter continues with Section 3.3 in which the literature introduced earlier in this thesis (Chapter 2 – Context) concerning character and citizenship education, is explored, attention is given to the current debate that pitches one approach against the other. The chapter concludes with a summary and identifies the knowledge gaps in the literature before moving on to the final background chapter which sets out the conceptual framework that underpins this research. The final chapter (Chapter 4) in Part I of this thesis, concludes with the central research question that this thesis seeks to address as well as the individual research questions that enable this research aim to be explored.

3.1 Children and Philanthropy

There is a dearth of studies concerning children and philanthropy, particularly those that capture the attitudes and perspectives of children. I examined the literature and studies that do exist to establish what is already known about the ways in which children in the UK engage with and participate in philanthropy and what they know about philanthropy. The analysis of this literature is organised and presented in three parts. Firstly, in Section 3.1.1, I review the research that captures data directly from children such as the studies carried out by Ho (2010) and CAF (2013), which are useful not only in terms of what they tell us about children's attitudes and behaviours towards charity and charitable giving, but also in terms of the methodological approaches taken to capture data from children. In Section 3.1.2, I consider the literature that explores and critiques the ways in which children and young people participate in philanthropy which mostly involves donating, fundraising and volunteering rather than activities that may be considered more social justice in nature such as advocacy and activism. I examine the arguments put forward by academics such as Dean (2016) and Body et al. (2019, 2020, 2022) that find opportunities for children to participate in philanthropic activities can favour the advantaged and participation can be passive, transactional and inherently problematic. In Section 3.1.3, I consider the literature that explores and critiques the ways in which philanthropy is presented to children through the education programmes and learning opportunities they experience at school and at home. In particular, I draw on studies involving children carried out by Power and Taylor (2018), Body et al (2019, 2020) and research carried out by Jeffress (2008) and Simpson (2017). Since the review of the literature and research suggests that children's engagement with philanthropy is mostly centred around donating and fundraising, in the final section of this first part (Section 3.1.4), I explore some of the literature that seeks to understand the relationship children have with, and their attitudes towards, money. In particular, I examine research carried out by Power and Smith (2016) that asks children what they might do with a £1M windfall.

3.1.1 Children's attitudes and behaviours towards charity and charitable giving

A report published by CAF, 'Mind the Gap: The growing generational divide in charitable giving' (CAF 2012) concluded younger generations in the UK were not as generous as older generations in terms of charitable giving. The findings prompted a cross-party Parliamentary Inquiry involving an investigation into children's attitudes and behaviour towards charity and charitable giving. As part of a wider campaign to close the generation gap in charitable giving and to encourage charities to engage with all age groups, the investigation involved 500 9 – 11-year-olds and 500 16 – 18-year-olds drawn from a mix of socio-economic backgrounds, the findings of which were published in a further report by CAF in 2013. The study sought policy levers to encourage young people to grow up with the desire to give more time and money to charity. Whilst the youngest of those that participated in this study will now be young adults, this research is useful in that the conclusions drawn and the recommendations made, and in particular those that were implemented as a result of the findings, are potentially applicable and relevant to children today. In addition, the findings are useful in the absence of any more recent UK data that captures children's understanding of, as well as attitudes and behaviours towards, charity and charitable giving, providing insight as to what they think and know about charity, what causes they give to and what resources they give.

The findings of the CAF study led to a series of recommendations which concluded the Parliamentary Inquiry and were published in 2014. These recommendations contribute towards and inform policy decisions concerning children and philanthropy. Included in the recommendations was the need to provide opportunities for children to engage with charity so that they "grow up giving" important, the report argues, because getting children involved at an early age "creates a habit that remains for life'' (CAF, 2014 p.14). Whilst the recommendations include the need to provide children, starting at primary school with opportunities for social action, which is ambiguously referred to as ''practical action in the service of others'' (ibid.p.16), the recommendations are mostly concerned with encouraging children to give more, reflecting the original motivations of the Inquiry (the need for more people to give more to charity). Whilst the importance of engaging children in 'social action' is mentioned throughout the recommendations, its meaning is not fully explored and is only defined in a footnote despite being mentioned as an activity twenty-nine times in the report. Overall, the recommendations end up being skewed more towards encouraging children to give more by creating ''exciting giving opportunities'' (ibid. p.14) or by creating opportunities for work experience in charities or engaging children to give through social media channels. In addition, the report recommends that children be incentivised, rewarded and recognised for participating in social action (ibid. p.16) and that they are informed of the benefits associated with participating, in terms of future employment and education opportunities. Framing the benefits of participation in terms of future prospects reflects neo-liberal ideology that informs social policy, as discussed in Section 2.5.2 The recommendations highlight the important role that charities can play in educating children about causes and suggest that charities work in conjunction with teachers to develop lesson plans with the purpose of enhancing the knowledge held by children about charities and the work that they do. However, there is limited advice as to how this might be implemented and does not appear on the list of recommendations actioned following the publication of the report, those actioned recommendations appear on the CAF website (CAF n.d.).

The CAF research and associated recommendations suggest philanthropic engagement by children is framed around the acts of giving and volunteering rather than the pursuit of social justice. Furthermore, attention is focused on the benefits that accrue to the (individual) child and the potential income streams and resources for charities, rather than societal benefits of increased participation in philanthropy, thus reflecting a neo-liberal ideology of individualism and reduced public spending, where charity income is less reliant on government funding and the shortfall made up by increases in charitable donations from individuals. Whilst the research and recommendations are motivated by the need to increase charitable giving and volunteering, the data is useful in terms of capturing attitudes towards charity held by children. Since my study is concerned with Generation Alpha, those born since 2010, I will now consider some of the key findings in the CAF research associated with 9 – 11-year-olds.

The results of the CAF study (2013) show that children regularly participate in charitable activities and demonstrate an understanding of the important role that charities play in society, with schools acting as a key conduit in facilitating engagement with charities. The majority of children across both age groups think charities are important and they rank their understanding of what charities do as ‘high’. More than half of the participants think that the more money people have the more they should give to charity and that parents should talk to their children about charities. That being said, only 37% of children aged 9 – 11 report finding out about charities through conversations with their families and instead report learning from the television (76%) and from school (53%), suggesting that children might want more learning opportunities at home than they are perhaps being given. The charitable activities that the 9 – 11-year-old children in the study report doing most frequently involve the donation of items and money to charity and they are less likely to have raised money for charity (14%) or volunteered (5%) in the previous month. The findings are also useful in that they tell us something about the causes children think are important. The children in the study were asked, which cause area they would allocate £10 to, and the results of this question showed that the children prioritised charities helping children, followed by medical and then animal charities. This data can be compared with the cause preferences of the younger children that participated in a study by Body et al (2019) which prioritised, in this order, human suffering, children and young people, and animal charities. The findings in the CAF (2013) report are useful in that they tell us something about the attitudes of young children towards charity and suggests that at policy level, children’s engagement with charity is framed and understood in terms of giving and donating. Whilst the CAF report is more than ten years old in the absence of any more recent similar data, the results provide a useful benchmark against which to compare data collected from children from a specific socio-economic background.

The next key text that explores children’s engagement with charity is a study carried out by Ho (2010). Whilst embedded in the discipline of marketing, a primary motivation of Ho’s study (2010) was the lack of UK based studies examining the ways in which children engage with charities. This gap in the literature still prevails, particularly with regard to studies involving pre-teens, as acknowledged in a report by Body et al almost a decade after (2019, p.5). As such, Ho’s thesis represents one of the few in-depth studies that addresses this perceived gap in the literature. Taking an interpretive approach ‘guided by the principles of participatory, child-centred research’ (Ho 2010, p.6) and using a mixed methods approach to produce a thick description, the study looks at children ‘being and becoming donors’. Using drawing activities, interviews, focus groups and surveys to gather data from approximately 700 children and young people (aged 4 to 24 years), the study captures what these children know about, and how they participate in, charity. The author frames these findings against a range of theories concerning the development and socialisation of children. Overall, given the absence of research that examines children and charity, the findings relating to 8 – 11-year-olds in particular, are useful in terms of understanding how children engage with and participate in philanthropy. In addition, the methodology is informative in that the approach and tools implemented provide insight into what can be used effectively with this age group (drawing activities and interviews) including what does and does not work. For example, care needs to be taken when framing a question about the donation of money conversely, involving children in selecting their own pseudonyms seems an effective method of involving the children in the research process. Whilst my own proposed target group is much narrower than the range used in this study, the theories and findings associated with the children in the boundary year groups will also help inform my research.

Ho's (2010) study also opens up the opportunity to examine in more detail the role of 'socialisation agents' particularly teachers and family members, *how* are children learning rather than *what* they do or know. The study situates children as consumers of charity and draws upon theories associated with the cognitive development stages associated with children (Piaget, 1969); identity development (Erikson, 1968) and the development of pro-social behaviours in children (Eisenberg and Fabes, 1998) to demonstrate that the relationship between children and charity becomes increasingly complex as children get older and are socialised to behave as donors. Through a process of 'donor socialisation' (Ho, 2010), as children become older, their perception and understanding of charity becomes more sophisticated as a result of (1) cognitive development, (2) the influence and role of socialising agents at different stages of development as well as (3) exposure to life experiences. As such, the findings result in a set of characteristics associated with children from different age groups and the relationship and understanding they have with charity. The 7–11-year-olds in this study demonstrate an understanding of the *idea* of charity, as well an understanding of different causes and charities and the ways in which they can be supported. However, the findings reveal that this age group are not always accurate in their views of charity and possess an uncritical, one-dimensional thinking about charity (Ho 2010, p.215).

Ho's (2010) findings also show that children between the ages of 7 and 11 years, have the capacity and are able are able to articulate their motivations for giving which appear to be in-line with moral development, subjective reasoning as well as a developmental stage during which feelings of empathy and sympathy emerge. Referring to Erikson's work (1968), Ho finds that, whilst the key socialising agents at this age have transitioned from parents and family members towards teachers and peers, the mass media exposes children at this age to charity appeals and societal issues (ibid. p.344). In conclusion, Ho's study (2010) is particularly useful in terms of both the methodological approach taken and the methods used as well as providing insights as to how young children engage with, and understand, charity and in so doing reflects the developmental stage they have reached. Furthermore, the data collected from children in the UK in the studies by Ho (2010) and CAF (2013), provides useful information against which to benchmark my own findings.

3.1.2 Participating in Philanthropy

As discussed above, the CAF (2014) report articulates the benefits accrued to children as a result of participating in philanthropy, for example, evidence of volunteering on a CV enhances employability. Musick and Wilson (2008) posit volunteers will always derive an element of utility from the act of volunteering, be it psychic, material, public or private gain. However, for some, engaging in philanthropic action for instrumental reasons is problematic. Dean (2016) for example, criticises student volunteering for being increasingly instrumentally driven, where students engage in volunteering for the purposes of enhancing their own human capital. Handy et al (2009) find students volunteering for the signalling effect that it has and for the purposes of CV building, the implication being that the job or university applicant that has volunteered is a better candidate than one that has not volunteered. Dean (2016) argues that it matters that volunteering is becoming increasingly commoditised by the schools, universities, the State and the market all with a vested interest in selling volunteering to students and this, he argues contributes to the ever-increasing social divide which finds only a certain demographic volunteer - children from middle-class backgrounds. Sennett (in Dean, 2016) argues that this commoditisation and consumption of volunteering can contribute to a society in which people have no deep and genuine reason to care about others. Whilst Brewis et al (2010) found 51% of the graduates that participated in their survey confirmed that volunteering had helped them gain employment, they also question why it matters if individuals engage in volunteering for instrumental reasons as it is action that meets a need. However, framing participation in philanthropy in this way is problematic as Dean (2015) asserts, opportunities to participate in philanthropic activities at school appear to be more available to young people from advantaged backgrounds. The assertion is reflected in the findings of an in-depth study carried out by Body et al. (2023) involving participants from both private and state schools. The study found that the private schools that participated in the study reported more opportunities for participative forms of civic engagement. For example, 70% of private schools engage children in organising school fundraising and campaigning, compared to the 50% found in state-funded schools. Private schools are also found to be less dependent on external resources used to engage children in civic learning and provide more external opportunities such as fundraising for local charities or participating in community projects compared to state-funded schools which are more likely to fundraise or campaign for school funds or issues (Body *et al.* 2023).

Similarly, research carried out by Tejani and Breeze (2021) which examined the opportunities in schools for children to engage in activities beyond fundraising such as social action were found to be more available to children in more affluent schools. Tejani and Breeze's (2021) research, commissioned by the Royal Society for Arts argues for the importance of engaging primary-age children in social action activities, providing them with age-appropriate opportunities as well as the necessary skills to be able to make positive social changes now, rather than in the future. Social action in Tejani and Breeze's study (2021) is defined as ''young people taking practical action in the service of others in order to create positive social change that is of benefit to the wider community as well as to the young person themselves'' (Ockenden et al 2013 in Tejani and Breeze, 2021, p.8). Exploring this issue, the study finds that the more affluent the school, the greater the opportunity for engagement in social action. Whether or not this prevalence of more opportunities for social action in affluent schools in Tejani and Breeze's (2021) study is motivated by reasons of enhancing the human capital of children (rather than societal benefits) is not recorded. However, the finding supports Dean's (2016) claim that charities when recruiting volunteers, target schools with a more affluent demographic due to higher rates of participation amongst the pupils. Body and Hogg (2022) also find socio-demographic factors influence the type and scale of voluntary action in primary schools, the more affluent the school, the more money raised through fundraising initiatives. As Body and Hogg (2017) assert in an earlier study, state funded schools increasingly rely on school fundraising initiatives to meet their own funding needs, as such, the more affluent the parent population, the more funds raised, the greater the divide between schools with a less affluent student population.

Elsewhere in the literature, a study examining activities and methodologies used in philanthropy education, in the US by Weber and Thayer (2017) specifically examined activity in private schools because, ″students [in private schools] are 50% more likely to engage in school-based service than students attending public schools'' (Spring, Dietz & Grimm, 2006 in Weber & Thayer, 2017 p.167); ''students who are more successful academically and those with parents coming from a higher-socio-economic status are more likely to be exposed to classroom based civic learning opportunities″ (Kahne & Middagh, 2008 in Weber & Thayer, 2017 p.167) and; the authors expect that ''students attending private schools are more exposed to service-learning experiences in general and philanthropy education in particular'' (Weber & Thayer, 2017 p.167). Where 'service learning', forms part of the curriculum and involves students participating in organised charitable activities that meet and address community needs (Bringle and Hatcher, 1996 in McDougle *et al.* 2017), a form of community service more established in the US school system than in the UK.

The next key text is a recent study by Body et al (2019; 2020) that examines how very young children participate in philanthropy through the fundraising activities they participate in. Recognising that still so few studies exist and so little is known about how children engage with philanthropy, despite the link between pro-social behaviour in adults and childhood experiences (Eisenberg and Mussen 1989; Arthur et al. 2017; CAF n.d.; DfE 2019a), the study by Body et al;(2019, 2020) examines how 4 – 8-year-old children participate in charity at school. Body et al (ibid.) find charitable participation amongst children in the study mostly involved fundraising in support of organisations such as Comic Relief or Children in Need, organisations associated with large-scale media campaigns. Whilst the children in the study were found to positively engage with charity, fewer than 20% of them demonstrated an awareness of the cause areas associated with these large-scale fundraising campaigns. Aside from not knowing what they were fundraising for or having no input into fundraising decisions such as what to fundraise for and how, the study found, fundraising was largely framed around raising as much money as possible in exchange for rewards such as the opportunity to dress up for the day or to buy a cupcake. Presenting charity in this way, and according to the parameters set by adults, is, for Body et al. (2019, 2020) problematic, as children appear to experience charity in a passive, transactional and tokenistic manner and reward-based transactional giving risks over-riding the philanthropic impulse and high levels of altruism evident in children. In addition, Body et al (2021) argue in a subsequent article, that failing to involve children in the fundraising process is potentially unethical in terms of fundraising ethics, and in terms of the UNCRC Treaty, which advocates the importance of engaging children in matters that affect them. In support of the view that even very young children have the capability and capacity to play an active and participatory role in philanthropic activities, is that, by virtue of the research process in the study by Body et al (2019, 2020), which involved researching *with* rather than *on* children, when given the space, children demonstrated the capacity to engage with and play an active role in the decision-making process and to initiate and deliver fundraising projects themselves. Drawing further on this study, the next section considers the literature that examines how philanthropy is presented to children, as means to self-betterment or as a means to benefit society.

3.1.3 Presenting philanthropy to children

In line with an earlier study by Power and Taylor (2018) involving senior-school-aged children in Wales, Body et al (2019, 2020) raise concerns as to the way that charity is presented to children in schools. Body et al and Power and Taylor, similarly, find that the school fundraising activities that children are involved in are mainly in support of large charitable organisations such as Children in Need, Sport Relief or Comic Relief, organisations that through large-scale marketing campaigns specifically target and seek to fundraise from schools, often in partnership with for-profit businesses that seek to enhance their reputations or sell goods at the same time (Power and Taylor 2018). Power and Taylor (2018) describe this practice as the ‘’mainstreaming of charity in schools’’, which aside from engaging children only superficially in the fundraising process, presents charity as the solution to social ills, and misses or avoids the opportunity for deeper critical engagement with the issues and causes that sit behind charitable need. Where the CAF reports (2013, 2014), advocate for more opportunities to engage children in charitable giving and Ho’s (2010) study demonstrates that young children have the capacity to critically engage with philanthropy, Power and Taylor (2018) and Body et al (2019, 2020, 2021) move the discussion forward, by challenging the way children engage with and participate in fundraising and charity, and how it is presented to children at school. Body et al (2019,2020, 2021) and Power and Taylor (2018) advocate for a children's rights approach to fundraising which involves children as active participants in the decision-making process, involved in selecting causes and choosing fundraising methods. Arguing that such a more democratic approach enables a deeper understanding of the causes and issues that sit behind them, which ultimately cultivates a longer-term commitment to philanthropy (Body et al, 2021).

Body and Lacny (2022) examine the way in which philanthropy is presented to very young children through an analysis of over 100 children's picture books. The study finds that children are socialised through the stories being told and the imagery presented, to understand philanthropy as ''individual acts of kindness and generosity'' (Body and Lacny 2022, p.8). Problematic, Body and Lacny (2022) argue, for failing to engage children with wider societal issues and for rewarding these acts of kindness thereby promoting giving as a transactional act in return for reward. The study also found that many of the children's picture books reviewed reinforce gender stereotyping, where female characters are depicted as caring and nurturing, and male characters are more likely to be portrayed as powerful or change makers. Furthermore, the picture books examined in the study find characters lacking in ethnic and cultural diversity and some are particularly problematic in terms of the intersection between philanthropy, race and privilege. For example, non-white characters are eight times more likely to be portrayed as living in deprived situations and beneficiaries are perceived as being unable to help themselves, suggesting ideas of paternalism. As such, the research highlights how philanthropy is presented to very young children and so begins, even in the very early years, the process of donor socialisation as articulated above by Ho (2010).

In his text, Jefferess (2008) raises concerns as to the way some education programmes in (senior) schools present notions of philanthropy to young people. Citing programmes associated with the UNESCO disseminated concept of Global Citizenship, where solving global issues such as poverty, clean water and hunger are seen as a global responsibility and the responsibility of the global citizen. Jefferess argues that the way education programmes such as these are framed and presented, perpetuates a 'politics of benevolence' where giving or helping from a position of privilege is unquestioned. This construct, Jefferess argues, creates an 'us' and 'them' dynamic, the idea that others need helping and the global citizen can help those in need, where the global citizen has the ability (and resources) to act and ''make a better world'' *for* rather than with *others.* This, Jefferess argues, is problematic as, such narratives "normalises the conditions of privilege that allow some to be in the position to help or make a difference" (Jefferess 2008, p.28), which characterises the global citizen as 'benevolent' and needy *others* as an object of benevolence. Jefferess (2008) argues that the notion of citizenship in this instance is a social construct void of the characteristics associated with actual citizenship such as participation, inclusion, rights and responsibilities. Drawing on Appiah (2006), Jefferess (ibid) argues that ethical action does not begin with helping but understanding why help is needed in the first place (Jefferess 2008, p.35) where helping masks the power imbalance rather than addressing the root cause of the need for help in the first place.

Counter to the argument presented by Jefferess (2008) that many education programmes found in schools perpetuate a politics of benevolence where, giving from a position of privilege is unquestioned is a study by Mackenzie et al (2016). Whilst Jefferess (2008) specifically examined an education programme within the Higher Education setting at the University of Canada to establish whether a politics of benevolence underpins and defines the programme, in their study, Mackenzie et al (2016) set out to consider whether Jefferess' politics of benevolence underpins a global citizenship education programme involving a partnership between Scottish schools and schools in Malawi. Based on the reflections of children in primary and secondary schools, to understand their perceptions and what they are understanding at school as a consequence of these partnerships, Mackenzie et al (2016) conclude that whilst some 'othering' does occur in the partnership for some children, the inequalities they observe are solved with charitable action, and is, on balance, is less about a politics of benevolence as, overall there is some willingness and desire to take some responsibility for the problems they see and such action is motivated instead, by the principles of fairness and responsibility. The partnerships, according to Mackenzie et al. (2016), formed with the schools in Malawi were more about a 'learning' partnership rather than viewing the children in Malawi as needy others. However, the study itself may be described as a process of othering, in that Mackenzie et al (ibid.) only sought input from the children in Scotland and not the children in Malawi.

A recurring theme in the literature is the notion of 'noblesse oblige', the obligation to give back that comes with privilege. Kenway and Fahey (2015) find elite public schools are, and have been, complicit throughout history, in perpetuating a politics of benevolence where acts of charity are directed towards the 'needy poor' and originate from a position of privilege, often framed around the bursary programmes found in the schools. This line of arguments reflects Jeffress's politics of benevolence. What is particularly problematic, Kenway and Fahey (2015) argue is that charity is framed in these schools as a route through which to *offset* privilege (p.98), that privilege is not acknowledged in the gift relationship and the benefits accrued by the donor from giving are not acknowledged, whereby the philanthropy is presented as one-directional.

The themes outlined above are also found in Simpson's (2017) paper which argues that the conception of charity in schools as problematic. Articulated as a 'charity mindset', Simpson (2017), criticises schools for perpetuating a negative stereotype of the global north saving the global south. Similarities can be drawn with what van Hulzen's (2021) finds problematic with the gift relationship between donor/beneficiary relationship in his examination of gratitude. Described as the 'dark side of gratitude' (2021, p.115) van Hulzen, considers charitable action as always motivated by reasons of self-interest; action that prioritises the needs of the donor over the beneficiary, and the expectation of 'gratitude' is an ''expression of obedience'' (ibid. p.116). Gratitude, a positive concept applicable in a different setting, van Hulzen argues, is corrupted as a consequence of the power dynamics that place the needy or desperate beneficiary, subservient to the donor, who determines how and where donations are allocated, which he argues is driven by self-interest.

Simpson (2017) argues in favour of a 'social justice mentality' instead of a 'charity mindset' which is more concerned with ''a commitment to equality, a developed critical or independent thinking that results in ethical action'' (p.91). Like Body et al, Power & Taylor and Westheimer (2015), Simpson advocates for a more social justice approach in schools, where children should be given the skills to understand and challenge the reasons that create the circumstances that give rise to the charitable need in the first place. Such an approach in schools, Simpson (2017) argues, begins with teachers unlearning the practices and understanding associated with a charity mindset. Instead, Simpson (ibid.) advocates learning a social justice approach and set about achieving this with the schoolteachers that participated in her study. On balance, and by her own admission, the approach to 'unlearning' was unsuccessful, perhaps because the teaching approach reflected the overall spirit of the research that implies *all* charitable activities in school are bad for distorting ''people's perceptions of other countries or peoples, particularly those in the global South'' (ibid. p.88). Whilst Simpson's argument against a charity mindset and in favour of a social justice approach is compelling and persuasive, what her research does reveal is that it can be so persuasive that it can threaten philanthropy to the extent that all philanthropy is considered problematic. This line of argument relates to Breeze's 'defence' of philanthropy, which argues that what is needed is a better understanding of philanthropy, improved giving decisions and essentially more philanthropy not less (Breeze 2021a). As such, promoting a social justice approach to charitable activity at school should not be at the expense of not helping or addressing needs through charitable giving.

In conclusion, the literature that examines how philanthropy is presented to children argues that philanthropy should be framed as involving more than just the giving of time, talent and treasure and should also include a broader range of social action including those that are social justice in nature such as campaigning and advocacy. Furthermore, the literature highlights the importance of providing children and young people with opportunities to critically engage with the issues and causes that sit behind the charitable need, as well as the skills to question the injustice often inherent in philanthropy in order that it can be improved upon overall. Taking the findings of Simpson's exercise in training teachers to unlearn a charity mindset and the findings in the study by MacKenzie et al (2016), philanthropic education and participation is an approach that involves both a charity mindset *and* a social justice mindset rather than one or the other. However, since the aforementioned studies suggest that children's understanding and exposure to philanthropy is narrow and transactional, often involving the donation of money and items or fundraising and given this study is contextualised against the forthcoming wealth transfer, it was deemed useful to examine some of the literature concerning children's attitudes towards money.

3.1.4 Children's attitude towards money

Whilst the Department of Education promotes the value of volunteering programmes in primary schools in order that a habit of volunteering develops in adulthood (DfE 2019a), there is little evidence across the, albeit limited research concerning children and philanthropy in the UK, of young children engaging in and participating in such programmes of volunteering. Instead, schools' engagement with charity is largely positioned around fundraising (Body et al 2019, 2020, 2021) (Power and Taylor 2018) yet, there is no reference or indication of the financial element of the philanthropy equation in the DfE guidelines, despite the objective of a Parliamentary Inquiry (CAF 2014) (discussed above) to encourage children to give more. At the same time, the charity sector is becoming increasingly reliant on individual funding to fill the gaps left by declining statutory funding and the recent and predicted increases in household wealth represent a funding opportunity for charities. However, it is perhaps not surprising, as financial literacy education has largely been under-represented in schools despite primary school age children are 'already forming habits related to money' (APPG 2017). An All-Party Parliamentary Group on Financial Education for Young People Report (APPG 2017) called for better financial education for primary school children including improved teaching across mathematics, citizenship and PSHE to help children contextualise money and finances with a recommendation for statutory financial education to be introduced at primary level (ibid. p.7). This ambition is supported by evidence drawn from a report carried out by the Money Advice Service, which found that money habits are formed by the age of seven (Whitebread, Bingham, 2013) – and that adults have an important role to play in terms of instilling efficient financial habits and practices (ibid. p.24). However, a lack of statutory requirement for financial education provision at primary school does not mean it is absent from the curriculum – in a survey into effective financial education initiatives, Ofsted found in its 2011 survey that 16 /23 schools rated good or outstanding in terms of educational initiatives around money. In addition, in the absence of a specific financial literacy curriculum aimed at children of primary school age, a curriculum for Year 6 children was developed, published and distributed to all primary schools in the UK by the charity, City Pay it Forward (www.citypayitforward.com). The aforementioned arguments in support of better financial education for primary school children can similarly be applied to the argument that advocates for better philanthropic education in schools.

The Social Meaning of Money

Zelizer's (2021) important text on the social meaning of money, argues that money represents more than an objective means of calculation, more than a fungible mechanism of exchange where a dollar is dollar. Instead, Zelizer argues that money and money transactions are bound up in meaning, where attitudes towards and the meanings people attach to receiving, spending and saving money are subjective. For example, she argues people attach different and symbolic meaning to, for example money that is earned or received via charity compared to money received through gambling. As such, Zelizer (2021) views the meanings people attach to different types of money provides insights in terms of attitudes towards money and the social contexts in which they take place. Recognising a lack of research examining children's relationship with money, the WISERD centre at Cardiff University (Power and Smith 2016) surveyed children between the ages of 10 and 15 (Year 6 to Year 10) to find out what they would do if they were given £1 Million. The study not only sought to fill a gap in the literature which finds a lack of research examining children's understanding and relationship with money, but also to challenge the existing narrative that when it comes to matters of financial concerns, children are corrupted by the effects of neo-liberalism and are ''consumed by commercialism'' (Power, Smith, 2015) p192. The study finds that amongst the children that participated in the study, ''giving and sharing'' are the dominant themes that run through many of the responses (p.201). The study shows that, when confronted with the question as to what they would do with a £1M windfall, most children elect to give some, save some and spend some, rather than spend everything which is counter to the current and popular discourse/narrative, that children are being 'born to buy' (Schor, 2004 in Power & Smith, 2015 p.192) and are corrupted by consumer culture. Finally, the study calls for further research into the ''social contexts and processes which encourage children to be *givers, savers or spenders*'' (ibid. p.192) – a need for more studies that examine what leads to some children to be givers and other spenders or savers.

The findings and conclusions drawn in a similar study by Kian et al (2016) in the US, are also useful in terms of providing additional explanations as to why some children choose to give an imaginary windfall (in this example, $100) to charity and some choose to save for the future whilst others choose to buy things for themselves or for others. Although the participants were 'primed' to answer according to the aforementioned four options presented to them, the study found the most common spending preference amongst the 247, 7- to 14-year-olds, was to *save* followed by *giving* to charity. However, Kian et al (2016) find in their study, that saving preferences are significantly related to materialism attitudes and the expressed preference for charitable giving, related to gratitude. In this study, gratitude is understood as the extent to which an individual is grateful towards those that have helped them. This finding speaks to the concept of serial reciprocity as articulated by Wuthnow (1995) and Moody (2008), that argue people reciprocate for what they have received from, for example a friend, parent or even an unknown stranger by giving something in return, but to a third party. Where beneficiaries receive help from one direction, and in exchange, give help but in a different direction towards another beneficiary (Wuthnow, 1995). Furthermore, serial reciprocity, it is argued is not time bound, for example it might involve an obligation to help one's children in response to the help that one's own parents had given, paying back an indebtedness to one's parents (Moody, 2008 p.140).

Power & Smith's (2015) study is useful not only in terms of the findings that it produces but also in terms of providing academic evidence to support the view that children are not outside of understanding the concept of money even if they do rely on adults for such resources. Children, they argue, from a very young age are exposed to the social value of money and resources, and from an early age are involved in the gift economy - ''whether gifts are birthday presents, pencils or items of food exchanged in school'' (ibid. p.193). The social properties of money and not just its exchange function are illustrated by the study. Given that as a proportion of income, those at the lower end of the income scale give more, it is not necessarily a valid argument that the giving of money should be ignored in the character education guidelines (DfE 2019a) which instead only promotes volunteering. However, there are of course sensitivities, which, as revealed in the research carried out by Body et al. (2023), are less of an issue in the private school setting, in that some children may indeed be beneficiaries of charity. Although, it may be argued that this is not necessarily problematic if philanthropy is presented to children in the context that everyone at some point are beneficiaries of charity, be it through the development of vaccines, medical research endeavours or by visiting an arts institution. In this next section, I consider the wider literature that examines what is known about donor behaviour, drawing on some of the studies that explain why people give as well as what and how they give.

3.2 Donor Behaviour - why people give, what they give and how they give

Understanding *why* people give is complex and is the most commonly addressed question explored by those studying philanthropy today (Breeze 2017) (Breeze and Lloyd 2013, p.75). However, some such as Srnka et al (Bekkers and Wiepking 2007, p.4) are more concerned with *who* gives citing socio-demographic characteristics such as religion, age, gender and education as more useful measures for profiling donors and targeting fundraising, understanding *why* people give is important. Understanding *why* people give be it time, money or goods is of multi-disciplinary interest within and beyond academia. Donor behaviour sits outside traditional economic and marketing theories whereby goods and services are sold for profit and give value directly to the customer, the resources are instead transferred to the not-for-profit organisation in exchange for little or no commensurate reward (Bendapudi et al 1996). Understanding *why* people give is not limited to studies of a philanthropic nature and is of theoretical interest across multiple and diverse disciplines including but not limited to sociology, biology, political science, economics, social psychology and anthropology (Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a) (Adloff 2016) (Sergeant and Woodliffe 2007). Grounded in the disciplines within which the studies are located, theorists offer different and sometimes competing perspectives on donor behaviour. For example, from an economics perspective, Andreoni (1990) acknowledges that individuals may, on the one hand, be externally motivated to make charitable donations for the associated prestige or to avoid the scorn of others or social pressure, but the individual may instead or also be internally motivated to give for nothing more than the utility derived from the ‘warm-glow’ feeling a donor receives from giving (Andreoni 1990). Conversely, Adloff (2016) from a sociological perspective, challenges the ‘warm glow’ concept for stretching the definition of ‘utility’ so far that the concept is rendered redundant arguing instead that charitable giving is socially embedded, and a social theory lens is a more appropriate method of understanding *why* people give. Since philanthropy is not considered an academic discipline in its own right (Keidan, Jung and Pharoah 2014) and the literature examining donor behaviour is evidently far-reaching and extensive, straddling multiple disciplines, whilst useful in that it allows for a ‘rounded view’ (Halfpenny 1999) of the research area of donor behaviour yet, challenging in terms of deciding what to review in the context of this thesis. Since much of the literature on donor behaviour frames the motivation to give somewhere along the continuum, which finds altruism at one end and self-interest at the other (Halfpenny 1999) (Adloff 2016), the literature concerning altruism represents a useful starting place and is discussed in Section 3.2.1. This discussion continues in Section 3.2.2, with consideration given to the literature that explains why adults give, setting out some of the key theoretical explanations with reference to specialists in the field of philanthropy such as Pharoah (2016), Sargeant and Jay (2014), Breeze and Lloyd (2013) and Bekkers and Wiepking (2011), included are studies that examine donor behaviour and motivation amongst wealthy and financially secure donors.

3.2.1 Altruism

Titmuss’ (1970) important study into blood donation, considered highly influential in terms of research into charitable giving (Adloff 2016) is essentially about the ‘role of altruism in modern society’ (Titmuss 1970 p. 2). The study finds the practice of giving blood in the UK as purely voluntary and whilst such action can never be characterised, according to Titmuss, by ‘’complete, disinterested, spontaneous altruism’’ (Titmuss 1970 p.13), social gifts such as blood donation that carry ‘’no explicit or implicit individual right to return a gift or action are forms of ‘creative’ altruism’’ (ibid. p.179). Where altruism is considered ‘creative’ in the sense that giving to anonymous others enables a sense of the self and that such actions enable the biological need to help to express itself (ibid. p.179). Titmuss advocates for social policies that recognise the human capacity to behave altruistically and provide opportunities for people and by extension, one might assume, children, to act in this way, where such acts are framed as being altruistically *motivated* rather than acts of pure altruism.

Altruism, a term attributed to August Comte (1798 - 1857), originating from the Latin ‘alter’ meaning ‘other’, where altruistic acts are motivated by the goal of increasing another’s welfare (Batson 2002) (Batson et al. 2010 in Feigin et al, 2014 p.2) (Bar-Tal, 1985 in Piliavin and Charng 1990 p.30) ‘when doing so may risk or entail some sacrifice to the welfare of the actor’ (Monroe 1994 p.862 in Adloff, p.58) and acts as counter point to egoism (Batson 2002). The idea that human action could indeed be altruistic, gained currency in the later part of the 20th century and it is much contested as to whether or not pure altruism can exist and whether or not philanthropic acts can ever be purely altruistically motivated.

Essentially, the argument amongst commentators is split between ‘’those who believe human nature contains altruistic capacities alongside egoistic ones or those who believe genuinely altruistic capacities do not exist’’ (Post *et al.* 2002, p.4) and divides natural scientists, social scientists, economists and philosophers alike.

In the most part, commentators from across the spectrum, consider altruism as unattainable, for example in the context of reproduction success, social biologists consider it to be, impossible (Harman 2016; Okasha 2013) and such action instead is, ‘self-interest in disguise’ and can never be ‘pure goodness’ (Harman, 2016). Conversely, economists List and Samak (2013), conclude in their study of young children, that *pure* altruism does exist and is evident in children as young as 3 years and that the ‘warm glow’ benefit as a motivating factor, is a learnt behaviour developed through observation and the signalling effects that it affords the individual. However, List and Samak’s (2013) experimental study is narrow in that it does not consider or rule out other reasons for giving. Similarly, following an extensive review of the altruism theory and research, primarily from a social psychology perspective, Piliavin and Charng (Piliavin and Charng 1990) noted a paradigm shift in the literature towards the view that true altruism, ‘acting with the goal of benefiting another’ can and does exist. Drawing on the social psychology literature concerning children and pro-social behaviours which include philanthropic actions such as giving and volunteering, leading protagonists in the field, Eisenberg and Mussen (1989) similarly recognise that an altruistic act is ‘difficult (if not impossible) to assess’ (ibid.p.4) and consider altruism a subject of, but distinct form other pro-social behaviour. Along with commentators such as Bentley and Nissen (1996), Bandura (in Eisenberg and Mussen 1989, p.3), Eisenberg and Mussen assert altruistic actions, such as donating and volunteering as behaviours that are *internally* motivated by ‘concern and sympathy for others or by values and internal rewards rather than personal gain’ (Eisenberg and Mussen 1989, p.3), where internal rewards are defined as, for example ‘’feelings of self-esteem, pride or satisfaction’’*,* driven by altruistic motives rather than egoistic motives (ibid). Bentley and Nissan (1996) consider altruism, a subset of pro-social behaviour that is morally motivated by feelings of sympathy and empathy towards others. That is, altruism is distinguished from and different to the broader pro-social behaviours which may indeed have positive consequences for others but are motivated by selfish reasons (or private benefit) such as to receive a reward or avoid punishment. Acts that are altruistically *motivated* rather than the impossibility of an altruistic act.

3.2.2 Why people (adults) give

In the philanthropy literature, Burlingame (in Moody and Breeze 2016) moves beyond pure altruism as an explanation for donor behaviour, instead placing all philanthropic acts somewhere along the continuum that finds altruism at one end and egoism or self-interest at the other, that is, philanthropic acts are motivated by both altruistic and egoistic factors with some being more towards the altruism end of the scale and others more egoistic in nature. As discussed above, a range of competing and complex theories explain why people give, each routed within the disciplinary context within which they emerge, the philanthropy literature draws upon these multi-disciplinary explanations and find donors are ''driven by a complex mix of motives and influences'' (Breeze and Lloyd 2013) and give for many reasons and ''different motivations may be present in any single act of giving'' (Pharoah 2016, p.77). That is, donors can be motivated to give by factors that sit more towards the altruism and/or the self-interest end of the philanthropy spectrum or somewhere in between, as well as by both at the same time.

Specialists such as Sargeant and Woodliffe (2007), Pharoah (2016) Sargeant and Jay (2014, pp.70–73) and Bekkers and Wiepking (2011a) have carried out multi-disciplinary reviews on donor behaviour through a philanthropy lens. The latter identifies eight key mechanisms that dictate donor behaviour which are, as follows: (1) Awareness of need (2) Solicitation – being asked (3) Costs and Benefits (4) Altruism (5) Reputation (6) Psychological Benefits (7) Values (8) Efficacy. Whilst distinct, these eight drivers of donor behaviour are in line with the motivations and explanations identified by others, such as Sargeant and Jay (2014, pp.70–73) and Breeze and Lloyd (2013). Economists use the private consumption model to explain philanthropic action, where donors are motivated to give by how it makes them feel, such as the 'warm glow' they get from giving and the public goods model to explain giving that finds donors motivated to give for what the donation can achieve. Duncan, also from an economics perspective, adds a third, the impact model, where donors are motivated to give by a desire to make a difference (Duncan 2004, p.2160). Similarly, impact philanthropy defines a new generation of donors (Moody and Goldseker 2017), underpins the 'effective altruism movement' which advocates for economically efficient giving that achieves the most good per dollar spent (MacAskill 2016; Singer 2015). Impact philanthropy finds donors in pursuit of 'making a difference, preferring to give directly to beneficiaries such as rough sleepers instead of to a charity for the homeless or sponsor a child instead of a charity concerned with children's issues (Duncan 2004). Whilst impact philanthropy might be a dominant interest at the start of the 21st century (Kassatly n.d.), enabled by technology and the availability of data (Berman 2007) philanthropists throughout the centuries have expressed a desire for their donations to be used effectively (Breeze 2016, p.458). However, whilst the argument for impact giving is compelling, framing giving in this way can overlook the underlying issues that give rise to the need for philanthropy in the first place, evident, to some extent, in the way that charity is presented in schools, as discussed above – that is charity is presented according to what can be achieved with the money raised.

The literature finds that people across the giving scale give for many reasons. Whilst accessing the wealthy and elites for research purposes is notoriously difficult (Mickecz, 2012, Pate et al, 2013 in Sherman, 2016 p. 4) (Breeze and Lloyd 2013) (Breeze 2021b), the studies concerning the giving habits of wealthy individuals find some distinguishing motivations. For example, some elite donors use philanthropy for the prestige derived from being associated with certain organisations and the networks in which they are embedded (Ostrower 1995) (Odendahl 1990) and others use it as a parenting tool (Breeze and Lloyd 2013), as a mechanism to facilitate a desire to limit the amount of inheritance to heirs. A study in the US by Sherman (2017) examined parenting amongst elites, which for the purposes of the study, were defined as parents in the top 10% wealth bracket. The study, involving interviews with affluent parents in New York, found a desire among the parents for their children, ''to make themselves worthy'' (ibid. p.29) of their privilege through working hard, giving back, and being nice where giving back and philanthropy is used as a parenting tool to offset wealth and privilege.

In the context of wealth management, transfer and inheritance, Sklair and Glucksberg (2021) find the elite donors in their study, similarly use philanthropy as a parenting tool - a mechanism to bring families together, to collaborate in a positive manner, and as a tool to teach children the value of money, who otherwise are presumed to have no understanding of the concept. A key theme in the literature concerning the giving motivations of the wealthy is the sense of obligation or sense of duty to give back in recognition of one's own privilege or good fortune, acknowledged in studies concerning the wealthy such as those by Ostrower (1995), McGoey (2016), Breeze and Lloyd (2013) (Schmitz et al 2021). Where generosity is perceived as ''an appropriate way of managing excess wealth'' - a type of benevolent gratitude (Schmitz et al 2021 p.2). In the grey literature, a paper written by philanthropy advisors Davis and Sole (2011) via interviews with affluent individuals similarly find philanthropy used as a tool to offset the perceived negative traits associated with wealth and privileged.

3.2.3 How donors make giving decisions

Whilst there is extensive literature theorising *why* donors across the giving scale give and regular surveys such as the annual CAF UK Giving Report that examines what is given, how much is given and by how many, there is less literature concerned with *how* donors choose charities, how they decide on which charities and causes they prioritise for support. Breeze's study (2010; 2013) looks at what happens in practice, examining the decision-making strategies used by committed adult donors when choosing which charities to give to. Whilst the donors in the study understand charity in terms of helping needy people, described as 'the underprivileged' or 'disadvantaged' (Breeze 2010, p.18), giving decisions do not reflect this understanding and perceived need, instead, giving decisions appear to be framed more according to the causes with which the donor feels a connection. For the committed donors in Breeze's (ibid.) study, various decision-making strategies are used to navigate requests for support from charities, decisions that are described as less precise and deliberate and instead found to be more shaped by individual preferences and emotions (ibid.). Breeze finds that these committed donors select causes and charities using a variety of heuristics choosing to give to charities that are connected to people they admire or to charities that they 'know' in the community. Giving preferences can also be taste based, where giving decisions are framed according to the donors' personal interests and past experiences which are in themselves a product of their own socialisation through upbringing, education or work. Breeze (ibid.) also finds that these donors make decisions based on autobiographical reasons, where giving decisions are shaped by life events such as an illness or a death or the stage they are at in their own lives, for example prioritising children's charities when becoming a parent. The study is useful in that it shows committed donors adopt a range of strategies in order to make 'good' but not the 'best' decisions when choosing which charities to support. Rational decisions that feed into their understanding of charity as something that helps those in need are not possible, it is argued, given the overwhelming amount of information available, cognitive limitations and the availability of time (Breeze, ibid.).

Giving from a position of financial security

What people give matters, particularly given the decline in statutory funding and the increasing dependence of the charity sector on individual giving. However, as discussed in Section 2.3, despite increases in household wealth, donations to charity have not risen at the same rate, giving by the wealthiest relative to increases in wealth are declining (The Law Family Commission on Civil Society 2021), and as a proportion of income the wealthiest 1% typically give less than the general population (Booth 2021). Attitudes towards money may, in part, explain why those that appear objectively rich, give less as a proportion of income compared to those that have less (Wiepking and Breeze 2011). The findings of Wiepking and Breeze's 2011 study, found that those that perceive themselves to be financially secure give more. Schervish (2007) in the US, similarly, found that those that understand themselves to be financially secure contribute more. That is, the size and frequency of giving was found in these studies to relate less to actual financial resources and more to perceptions about wealth rather than quantities of actual wealth held. As such, the research finds that feeling rich, regardless of quantities of money held, explains why some donors might make more generous giving decisions than others.

3.3 Character and/or Citizenship Education

In an overview of the key scholarly research that focuses on pro-social development in children (which will be explored in the next chapter), Eisenberg and Mussen (1989) find that ''prosocial behaviour is acquired and can be learned and therefore be modified'' (p.67). That is, in the context of teaching philanthropy, children can be taught to be kind, to help and to give; ''theoretically, at least, it is possible to find ways that parents, educators and the media can enhance children's pro-social behaviour, thus contributing to the improvement of the human condition, society and general welfare'' (Eisenberg and Mussen 1989, p.7). Aside from parents and the family, the key socialising agents for pre-adolescent children include teachers and the wider school environment (Eisenberg and Mussen 1989). In recognition of an individuals' capacity to behave altruistically and the biological need to help others, Titmuss advocates for social policies that encourage and enable individual expressions of altruism (Titmuss 1970). Since philanthropy as a taught subject in schools does not exist, the provision of character education and citizenship education are identified as possible routes through which philanthropic behaviours and knowledge could be acquired by children in the school environment. As discussed in Section 2.5.2, all schools (state and privately funded) are required to demonstrate provision of SMSC, and character and citizenship education are considered two such subjects that support schools in meeting this requirement. Whilst the Department for Education (DfE) guidance on character education does not specifically refer to philanthropy, it does ask schools to consider how well they promote the value of volunteering and service. I therefore examined the literature on character education and by extension, citizenship education in order to understand what each involves, to establish the difference between the two, and to that end, consider the route through which philanthropy knowledge and behaviours may be acquired within the education system. However, during the course of examining the literature on character and citizenship education, it became apparent that the positioning of each is contested both at policy and academic level, and in this section, attention is given to this important debate and the implications for philanthropic learning and understanding. Drawing on the literature, it is first useful in Section 3.3.1 to define terms and then in Section 3.3.2, to set out what makes character education and citizenship education distinct from one another and why combining the two can, for some, be problematic. In Section 3.3.3, I consider the role of the literature produced by academics based at The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues at the University of Birmingham (Jubilee Centre) which informs the character education found in primary schools in England under current Conservative Government. In the final part, Section 3.3.4 I examine the literature that questions character education found in schools as well as the more recent literature produced in response to these critiques, in defence of a character approach.

3.3.1 Character Education and Citizenship Education – Defining terms

Character education is essentially concerned with teaching children morals and virtues, and citizenship education is concerned with educating children to become informed citizens and ''developing the skills of participation and responsible action'' (Davies et al p.342). It is helpful to first set out and quote at length the definitions offered. The Department for Education frames character education as ''all explicit educational activities that help young people develop positive and personal strengths called virtues'' (DfE 2019a, p.2), and considered an umbrella term for any activity that is designed to develop desirable character traits in students. Such traits include those of ''tolerance, motivation, community spirit, honesty and conscientiousness'', instilling such traits it is argued, enable children and young people to make a positive contribution to British Society (White et al. 2017, p.10). The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, the leading voice on policy and practice in this area in the UK, defines character education as "all explicit and implicit educational activities that help young people to develop positive personal strengths called virtues" (The Jubilee Centre 2022, p.7).

In terms of citizenship education, the Association for Teaching Citizenship describe the subject as developing the ''knowledge, skills and understanding that pupils need to play a full part in society as active and responsible citizens'' where pupils learn about ''democracy, politics, parliament and voting'' as well as ''human rights, justice, the law, media literacy, climate change and sustainability, personal finance and the economy'' (ACT 2022). For those that prioritise citizenship education over character education it is ''a subject that is, or ought to be concerned to provide students with knowledge and understanding of political ideas and concepts, and political processes and institutions; to develop student's skills so as to enable them to engage in decision-making critical thinking, debate and (in ways of their own choosing) to participate effectively in in political and democratic activities inside and outside of school; and to instil in students particular values and attitudes which make it likely they will want to engage in such activities throughout their lives'' (Jerome and Kisby 2019). In the next section, I consider some of the literature that examines character education and citizenship education in general, before examining the role of the Jubilee Centre, as well as the arguments against and in defence of, the character education found in schools specifically.

3.3.2 Citizenship and Character Education – distinctions

Whilst there are commonalities between character and citizenship education, the differences and similarities must be acknowledged and understood so that the application and implementation of each are not distorted (Davies et al 2005). As Davies et al (2005) argue, understanding the distinctions are necessary and important in order to determine what is taught (content), how it is taught and by whom. Davies et al (2005) define *character education* as being concerned with 'morals' and focuses on ''virtue as a trait or state of character of a person which is relatively entrenched'' (McLaughlin and Halstead, 1999 p.134 in Davies et al, 2005 p.342), and consider citizenship education as concerned with teaching children about ''becoming informed citizens; developing the skills of enquiry and communication; developing skills of participation and responsible action'' (Davies et al, 2005 p.342). Davies et al's article, written when citizenship education was considered the worst taught subject in England - "New Ofsted evidence shows citizenship is worst taught subject at secondary level" (Ofsted press release, 2005 in Commons 2007), and warns against citizenship education being absorbed into character education and since the former is currently subsumed into the later at primary level (House of Lords 2018), the article is useful in terms of understanding why this might be problematic. Drawing upon both US and UK literature, Davies et al claim that whilst character and citizenship education might be similar, each requires specific and different educational initiatives and approaches, each with different outcomes. Furthermore, they claim there seems to be little justification for citizenship education to be considered differently for younger students'', the implication being that citizenship education is just as important and necessary for younger children as it is for older students, yet the subject currently is a statutory requirement only in senior schools and not at primary level in England.

Complementary to Davies et al's paper, is an article published in the Journal of Moral Education by Althof and Berkowitz (2006) which provides further and perhaps a more in depth and nuanced analysis of the differences between character and citizenship education, albeit in a North American setting. The article is useful in that it also acknowledges the overlap between character and citizenship education but makes some clear distinctions that can be applied in terms of understanding how the teaching of philanthropic knowledge and behaviours may be positioned within this education framework. Althof and Berkowitz (2006), consider character education as different to citizenship education in that it is theoretically driven from the field of psychology and a relatively new area that emerged in the 1960's. Whereas citizenship, the authors posit, is considered as being a-theoretical with a much longer history (certainly in its US setting), extending for over 100 years although, conversely, as discussed in Section 2.5.2, the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, finds the cultivation of character firmly established within the history of schooling as far back as ancient times (The Jubilee Centre 2022).

Character education, which incorporates moral education, Althof and Berkowitz assert, provides the education tools that enable pro-social development in individuals, necessary in order that a society can thrive and endure. Unlike moral education per se, which takes a moral dilemma, pedagogical approach and character education, Althof and Berkowitz argue, is broader and more ambiguous in terms of outcomes and pedagogical strategies (ibid. p.498) where the teaching of character is deeply entwined in the culture and values of the school. In comparison, the authors consider citizenship education to be more concerned with content or knowledge, that is how democratic societies work and the duties of a responsible citizen, a ''combination of knowledge about society, skills for participation in society, and opportunities to engage constructively in public efforts to promote good'' (Althof and Berkowitz 2006). Althof and Berkowitz (ibid.) make a clear and useful distinction between character education and citizenship education, but at the same time emphasise the importance and need for both as well as the need for *different* pedagogical approaches. Taking Althof and Berkowitz's paradigm and applying it to philanthropy education, one might therefore infer that the acquisition of philanthropic knowledge, including the skills to critically engage with the issues that give rise to the need for philanthropy in the first place, is located within a citizenship education framework, and philanthropic behaviours associated with pro-sociality such as the desire to help and give are acquired via character education provision through the curriculum as well as the culture and values of the school itself. Before examining the current debate at policy and academic level regarding the type of citizenship and character education in primary schools in England, it is first helpful to examine the role of the Jubilee Centre since it is the key provider of character education curriculum.

3.3.3 Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues

The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues at the University of Birmingham, under the directorship of Professor James Arthur, is key in terms of the current academic research on the subject of character education as well as in terms of providing the tools and materials to teach character education in schools in England. In 2015, the Jubilee Centre was awarded £201,895 by the DfE to develop a set of teaching materials and methods designed to embed 'character education' in core subjects (DfE 2015). The Jubilee Centre alone has produced an extensive portfolio of resources, and by its own admission, is highly influential within education policy in the UK as articulated in Iyer et al (2020), producing an extensive portfolio of studies, policy recommendations and teaching materials. The Jubilee Centre's influence on character education in schools in England was showcased in a report the Centre commissioned Nat Cen Social Research to produce, written by Iyer et al (2020). The report, which promotes the work of the Jubilee Centre, is useful, but for some, is concerning. The findings set out in the report demonstrate the influence the Centre has across and within the education system yet does not go as far as to measure or identify how 'impactful' this influence is and how successful the teaching methods and content it produces are in terms of achieving its objective to develop character in children. As such, the purpose of the report appears to be more about demonstrating the influence and importance of the Jubilee Centre. Looking beyond the Jubilee Centre's own publications, towards education policy more broadly, reveals examples of the ways in which, and the role the Centre plays in terms of education policy. For example, the DfE guidance on character education (DfE 2019a) asks schools to consider how well they promote the value of volunteering and service, guidelines that appear to be underpinned by evidence drawn from only one study by Arthur et al (2015) and published by the Jubilee Centre which concludes, those who first get involved in service under the age of 10 were more than twice as likely to have formed a habit of service than if they started aged 16 – 18 years (ibid. p.5). Whilst the pro-sociality literature discussed in the next chapter, makes the case for early childhood experiences shaping and informing pro-social behaviour in adulthood, what is perhaps problematic is that Education Policy (the DfE Guidance on Character Education, 2019) is underpinned by evidence drawn from only one study, an extensive, albeit not very robust piece of research which finds only correlation and not causation between participating in service (or volunteering) and forming a habit of service in later life. In addition, the DfE adopts terminology used in the Jubilee Centre's report that is not readily and commonly used and understood in the UK in relation to volunteering, to that end no clear definition is provided as to what 'service' includes.

Given its influence in terms of the provision of character education in schools, the second (2017) and third (2022) iterations of the Jubilee Centre's 'Framework for Character Education in Schools' were examined and are useful in that it provides an overview as to why character education is important, what it is and what it is founded upon (a neo-Aristotelian model of development) and how it is positioned formally within the curriculum and informally through school life. A neo-Aristotelian model sees virtues as being ''constitutive of good character'', virtues that are essential to ''individual excellence'' and societal advancement (Iyer, Albakri and Smith 2020, p.8) where character is fundamental and the ''basis for human and societal flourishing'' (The Jubilee Centre 2022, p.7) . The Framework for Character Education in Schools

(Jubilee Centre for Character & Virtues 2017; The Jubilee Centre 2022) sets out the routes through which such 'virtues' are acquired, or 'character' developed in children, helpful in terms of establishing or understanding how philanthropic knowledge and behaviours *may* be acquired by children in the school setting through character education provision. As such, the Framework identifies three routes within the school environment through which character virtues may be acquired. Where character virtues can be:

- **Caught** – through the culture, ethos and environment of the school, through role modelling and observation of others and through the formation of positive relationships within the school community
- **Taught** – explicitly inside and outside of the formal curriculum (in lessons and assemblies) – teaching and learning strategies, activities and resources designed to provide the language, tools and the rationale to enable the development of character
- **Sought** – experiences provided by the school within and outside of the curriculum that enable the development and application of character and might include social action or volunteering opportunities.

These routes, through which children acquire, in this case character virtues are similar to mechanisms identified in the literature, and discussed in the next chapter, that explain how children learn to behave pro-socially. The literature on pro-sociality finds children acquire pro-social behaviours through the behaviours that they observe, through learning and discussing as well as via opportunities to engage with and participate in pro-social activity. These models can be applied and adapted in order to examine the ways in which children might acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours specifically. As such, aside from the detail about character education, it is the *process* of learning or acquiring character set out in the document that is of particular value to my study.

3.3.4 Critiques of a character approach to education (and defence)

Reflecting the points raised by Davies et al's (2005) and discussed in Section 3.3.2 above, is the current discourse on the relationship and positioning of character and citizenship education in schools at both policy level and within academic circles. At policy level, a parliamentary select committee on citizenship and civic engagement, concerned with the dominance of character education in schools, at the expense of a rigorous citizenship education, recommended citizenship education as statutory at primary level and to be considered separate rather than absorbed into to character education (House of Lords 2018). Whether or not citizenship education should be subsumed into character education is overshadowed in the literature by a narrative that labels character education as moralistic, individualistic and not fit-for-purpose (Jerome and Kisby 2019) and failing to equip children with the skills and knowledge required to fully participate in democratic society (Westheimer and Kahne 2004). Key protagonists critiquing character education in its entirety include Allen and Bull (2018), Suissa (2015), Westheimer and Kahne (2004), Westheimer (2015) and Jerome and Kisby (2019, 2020). Jerome and Kisby (ibid.) in their critique of character education specifically targets the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues. However, drawing on papers by Peterson's (2020) and Kristjánsson (2021), in the postscript to the third iteration of Framework for Character Education in Schools (The Jubilee Centre 2022), The Jubilee Centre specifically addresses the claims made by Jerome and Kisby (ibid.) that the character education the Centre delivers to schools is 'individualistic' and 'anti-social'. The rebuttals set out in these papers defend the type of character education promoted by the Centre, arguing that it is one based on an Aristotelian understanding, the very essence of which promotes the importance of a mutually supportive relationship between individual and social community. Evidently there exists a heated, but perhaps necessary, debate within academic circles as to the appropriateness of character education in schools.

Concerning the Jubilee Centre, Jerome & Kisby (2019, p.3) find it problematic that the Centre receives significant funding from the John Templeton Foundation (JTF), an organisation that apparently funds nearly all of the work underpinning the development of character education in Britain (ibid.). Problematic, because the JTF is backed by one individual with, according to Jerome and Kisby (2019), questionable morals and beliefs which are grounded in neo-conservatism and a Judeo-Christian standpoint. For example, John Templeton renounced his US citizenship, became a tax exile in the Bahamas and therefore avoided paying tax, and such actions appear morally questionable and counter to the purpose of the Jubilee Centre concerned with developing moral character and individual responsibility. Furthermore, as Jerome and Kisby (2019) suggest the JTF has the ability and the route through which to significantly influence 'government policy, educational practice and academic networks' within the field of character education (ibid.). As discussed in Section 2.1 is not uncommon for concerns and accusations to be made such as these, in terms of the potential power imbalance and disproportionate influence of donors, as a consequence of philanthropy. Whilst Kristjánsson's (2021), (Professor of Character Education and Virtue Ethics and Deputy Director of the Jubilee Centre), rebuttal is initially less persuasive in that he argues that the JTF funds a large proportion of *all* character research conducted in the world, it is reasonable to accept his argument that the Jubilee Centre, with its credible and respected academics within their respective fields are not involved in a ''grand but hidden project to promote a dogmatic Judeo-Christian viewpoint'' (Kristjánsson 2021, p.369). Furthermore, Kristjánsson (ibid.) Arguing that such assumptions made by Jerome and Kisby are not grounded in evidence, much is the case with similar unduly accusations levelled at philanthropists in general.

The arguments set out by Jerome and Kisby (2020; 2019), based on an extensive and in depth analysis of the approach and teaching materials used in schools, claim that the character education currently taught in schools, is ''redundant, old fashioned, religious, paternalistic and anti-democratic, anti-intellectual, conservative and individualistic'' (Jerome and Kisby 2020, p.1) and that the main problem is that it focusses upon the individual as being a master of their own destiny and the narrative that character education is a solution for social mobility. That is, children are taught to build their own resilience rather than being given the skills, knowledge and capabilities to question the status quo and the system – skills, they argue, that are more associated with citizenship education. Whilst character education itself is criticised by Jerome and Kisby (2020; 2019) and others concerning character education more broadly, much of it is aimed directly at the Jubilee Centre. In response, Kristjánsson (2021), further addresses each of the criticisms laid out by Jerome and Kisby in their article (2020) and book (2021). Firstly, Kristjánsson (2021) considers Jerome and Kisby's critique a more measured analysis than that of Allen and Bull (2018) which, in comparison he finds 'harsh and personal' (Kristjánsson 2021, p.364). Kristjánsson (ibid.) sets out a defence routed in the argument that the type of character education that the Jubilee Centre is concerned with is one that is neo-Aristotelian in origins. Arguing that, unlike the character education associated with UK policymakers, which members of the Jubilee Centre have similarly criticised for being 'instrumentalist, behaviourist, individualist and self-centred' (p.367), a neo-Aristotelian approach is concerned with 'human flourishing' and therefore promotes the very opposite virtues and traits. Essentially, it would appear that the type of character education that Kristjánsson and the wider Jubilee Centre promote is at odds with the type of character education favoured by UK policy makers, which is less about collective action and evidently more about individual success and achievement and routed in neo-liberal ideology.

Peterson, Professor of Character and Citizenship Education at the Jubilee Centre, (2020), similarly defends character education more broadly, embedding his argument in the foundations of a neo-Aristotelian approach to character education and in so doing, demonstrates how deeply character education and citizenship education is actually entwined with one another. Counter to Davis' (2005) earlier assertions, Peterson persuasively argues that each should not be treated separately and instead, in order to develop engaged and active citizens through a programme of citizenship education, a 'moral basis' (Peterson, 2020 p.152) or a moral foundation is required to enable this outcome. That is, it is first necessary to embed and instil the virtues and traits associated with character education in order that children have the desire, motivation and ability to meaningfully engage with citizenship education. This is in-line with the findings of studies carried out with children by Body et al., in that philanthropic understanding and engagement amongst the children that participated in their studies reflects a set of philanthropic 'behaviours, actions and values' which are rooted in virtues or traits such as ''kindness, fairness and empathy'' (Body 2022). Critics of character education such as Jerome and Kisby (2019; 2020), mostly disagree with it in its entirety, for example consider it redundant and take the position that there is no place for character education in schools in its current form and what is needed *instead* is a focus on the provision of citizenship education, a position also taken by Westheimer (2014). However, more persuasive is perhaps, the point put forward by Peterson (2020) and Kristjánsson (2021) is that character education is not defended as the *only* approach or an *alternative* to a citizenship, rather, they assert, both are necessary. That is, as Peterson (2020) argues, for the importance of one with the other, that is, in order to genuinely engage with associations and civil society ''such engagements require virtues such as honesty, compassion and open-mindedness'' (Peterson, 2020 p.153). What is evident however, from the literature, is that the type of character education that the Jubilee centre promotes, one routed in neo-Aristotelian values, one that does not prioritise the individual over the community and instead finds true character education as built on the 'mutuality between the character of citizens and the character of the community'' (Peterson 2020, p.148) is distinct to that which is promoted via current education policy in England. As such, Peterson (2020) and Kristjánsson (2021) distance the Jubilee Centre and the character education they and colleagues articulate from the character education that is actually delivered in schools which appears to prioritise the individual over collective action. The criticisms levelled at a character approach to education, specifically that which is associated with the Conservative Government's policy agenda, founded on a neo-liberal ideology that promotes individual action, grit and resilience as a route to success (regardless of the structural barriers that inhibit social mobility), echoes Twenge's (2013) article discussed in Section 2.4. Twenge (ibid.) finds that increasing levels of narcissism in America can be explained by a preoccupation with increasing self-esteem without basis amongst young people by over-praising, over-rewarding, grade inflation as well as promoting individual rather than collective action. In terms of philanthropy education, such an approach in schools, might find an understanding of philanthropy which sits more at the self-interest rather than the altruistic end of the philanthropy spectrum, reflecting the criticisms levelled at volunteering and social action in schools as discussed above in Section 3.1. As such, the character / citizenship education debate is useful in terms of a framework against which to examine how philanthropy is articulated in schools and how it might be understood by children.

In the final background chapter that follows, in terms of the concepts, models and ideas that guide this research, consideration is given to the work of Westheimer (2015) who offers an approach as to how we should be thinking about citizenship education, providing a lens and typology through which to examine the level of engagement children have with philanthropy as well as the programs of learning they experience. Also, in the next chapter, the emerging concept of philanthropic citizenship, developed by Body et al (n.d.; 2020; 2022), is also considered in response to the teaching of philanthropy in schools.

3.4 Summary of Chapter

In this chapter I have considered the literature relevant to the study of children and philanthropy. I began by exploring the literature that considers how children in the UK engage with and participate in philanthropy and in so doing, highlighted an acute lack of studies on this topic. Furthermore, there appears to be no studies that distinguish between socio-economic backgrounds and account for wealth among children. The literature review revealed that the way philanthropy is presented to children can be problematic and this, in part, reflects the criticisms levelled at a character approach to education rather than a citizenship approach. Since citizenship education and character education represents a route through which philanthropic knowledge and behaviours may be taught to children, I explored and discussed the literature on this topic. In the next chapter, drawing further on the literature, I set out the theories, concepts, models and ideas that inform and underpin this thesis and the research approach taken.

Chapter 4 Conceptual Framework

The literature discussed in the previous chapter considered and evaluated what is already known about the way children engage with and participate in philanthropy, and how philanthropy is presented to children. Given the apparent lack of literature and studies that examine the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by children, the review involved an examination of the wider literature, relevant to a study of this nature. As such, the review included literature that seeks to explain why people give, which is mostly concerned with giving by adults rather than children. Also included in the previous chapter was a review of the literature on character education and citizenship education, with attention given to the arguments for and against each. Where the previous chapter discussed and summarised what is already known about the topic under investigation, this chapter sets out the conceptual framework that guides and underpins the research. The conceptual framework is understood and defined as the system of theories, concepts, models, ideas and empirical findings embedded in the literature that are used to understand the topic and the people being studied (Maxwell 2013). The conceptual framework, or 'idea context' informs and shapes the research questions, research design, research methods and research analysis (ibid.). In this chapter I set out the key elements of the conceptual framework that guides this research constructed from the models and ideas associated with (1) the development of pro-social behaviours in children; (2) children's participation and (3) citizenship. Consideration is given as to the literature and studies from which these theories, concepts, models and ideas emerge as well as the application of each to the different elements of this research study. Drawing on the findings of the literature review and the conceptual framework presented and discussed here, the chapter concludes with the four research questions that this thesis seeks to explore in order to address the overarching aim of this study.

4.1 The Development of Pro-Social Behaviours and Middle-Childhood

Situated within the field of social psychology are the theories and concepts that explain how children develop pro-social behaviours such as giving and helping, behaviours associated with philanthropy and how children learn to behave pro-socially. These theoretical explanations are useful for what they tell us about the ways in which children 'learn' or rather the route through which they are socialised to behave pro-socially, as well as in terms of evidence that supports claims made by Arthur et al (2017) that children that engage in volunteering and service before the age of 10 are more likely to form a 'habit of service' in adulthood. That is, the empirical findings, discussed below and associated with these studies that examine pro-sociality in children, find early childhood experiences shape and inform pro-social behaviour in adulthood and demonstrate pro-social behaviour and feelings of empathy emerge in early life (Eisenberg and Mussen 1989, p.654). In conjunction, middle childhood, between the ages of 6 and 12, is considered an important time in terms of the development of pro-social behaviours (Body et al 2021; Arthur, 2017; van Deth et al. 2011). In this section, I first set out the features and characteristics associated with middle-childhood, particularly those associated with upper-middle childhood and in so doing, justify why an examination of the philanthropic behaviours held by children in this age group is important. Consideration is then given to the meaning of pro-social behaviour and the socialising agents relevant to this age group, followed by, an examination of the routes through which such pro-social behaviours are acquired. The section concludes with a discussion as to how these theoretical explanations inform and shape the research questions that this thesis seeks to address.

4.1.1 Middle Childhood

In Chapter 3, the review of the research concerning children and philanthropy, revealed a lack of philanthropy studies concerning children in general and in particular those at the upper end of middle childhood or pre-adolescence. Yet, as noted above, middle childhood (6 – 12) is an important developmental period in terms of the socialisation of pro-social behaviours. The upper years in particular, is a period during which children start engaging with wider society and develop an awareness of the needs of others, a stage during which children become less egocentric and start developing feelings of empathy (Markus and Nurius 1984). According to Erikson (1959) middle childhood is characterised by the belief ''I am what I learn'' (in Markus and Nurius, 1984). Furthermore, middle childhood is considered a period during which children more fully understand the social world and concepts such as those of fairness, and equality (Markus and Nurius, 1984). Piaget defines middle childhood as the concrete operational stage of development, a stage in cognitive development where children develop logical thought and problem-solving abilities and can therefore understand the consequences of action they take (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969). Middle childhood is also considered a time when children develop self-awareness, including an awareness of their own relative socio-economic standing within society and compared to others (Markus and Nurius 1984). Middle childhood is therefore considered an important development stage for children in terms of forming pro-social behaviours as well as their position within and in relation to society, the implication being and justifying the importance of, studying the philanthropic behaviours held and acquired by children in this age group.

4.1.2 Pro-Social Behaviour

Pro-social, a term coined by social scientists as an antonym for 'anti-social' (Batson 2011), refers to a range of positive behaviours such as compassion and helping and includes those associated with philanthropic acts such as volunteering and donating (Hastings, Utendale and Sullivan 2007). Despite a greater preoccupation with examining the problematic (anti-social), rather than positive (pro-social) behaviours, and given the study of pro-social behaviour is an intrinsically difficult area to study (Eisenberg and Mussen 1989) there exists a body of literature that looks specifically at the socialisation of pro-social behaviour (Hastings, Utendale and Sullivan 2007). Centrally positioned within this area of study, particularly with regard to the development of prosocial behaviour in children, is the psychologist Nancy Eisenberg who defines pro-social behaviour as “Voluntary actions that are intended to benefit another individual or group of individuals…defined in terms of their intended consequences for others, they are performed voluntarily rather than under duress’’ (Eisenberg and Mussen 1989 p.3). Brownell et al (2013) similarly define pro-social behaviour as ‘’Voluntarily acting on behalf of others to enhance their welfare, often out of caring and concern for others’’ (Brownell *et al.* 2013, p.91). These definitions are seemingly aligned with Payton and Moody’s (2008) definition of philanthropy ‘’voluntary action for the public good’’ as discussed in Section 2.1.1.

Research shows that pro-social behaviours such as sharing and helping, develop in the very early years of life, even in children as young as 12 months (Paulus and Moore 2012). In terms of the development of political orientations, conventional wisdom assumes adolescence, the developmental stage during which young people develop these competencies and thereby socialised as democratic citizens (van Deth 2011, p.166). However, studies involving pre-adolescent and even very young children show that this is not necessarily the case. Dias and Menezes (2014) find that children as young as 5 years exhibit a developmental process of political thought alongside an understanding of social organisation and the concepts of citizenship and participation. Similarly, a study by Van Deth et al. (2011) finds young children, able to express political opinions and attitudes, have the capability and capacity to be politically engaged and act pro-socially, *before* entering secondary school. The studies conclude children have the right to be included in the democratic process (van Deth 2011) and should be included, because they are capable, in decision making activities (Dias and Menezes 2014). The implication being, educational programmes and spaces that create opportunities for children to express, discuss and debate ideas are a more effective method of learning than just having adults telling them *about* democracy, politics and citizenship (Dias and Menezes 2014b, p.264) an argument also articulated by others such as Westheimer (2015) and Body et al (2019, 2020). These studies are useful in that they provide insight in terms of young people’s pro-social capabilities, which, they argue have been overlooked in studies concerning children and political engagement due to the assumed lack of competencies to deal with such abstract matters as politics. In line with Arthur et al. (2017), van Deth concludes: ‘’what is learned in early childhood is applied in adult life, and how one behaves in later life depends on earlier experiences’’ (ibid. p.149).

Despite relatively little research that looks at how socialisation practices develop pro-sociality in young children (Brownell *et al.* 2013), ergo even less that look specifically at the way children are socialised to donate and volunteer, the pro-sociality literature does provide some insight as to how children are socialised to behave pro-socially – that is how pro-social behaviours are acquired via socialising agents which differs from the *performance* of prosocial acts (Eisenberg and Mussen 1989). There is also evidence within the wider literature as to how philanthropic intent and impulse is acquired via socialising agents, studies that involve adult donors reflecting back on childhood experiences to explain their philanthropic journey which will also be discussed next.

Socialising Agents

Middle childhood is a period during which children become increasingly independent and the social environment becomes an important factor in the development of pro-social behaviour (Paulus and Moore 2012). Whilst peer group influence is increasingly important as children get older, during middle childhood the key socialising agents are teachers, parents and adult family members, and pro-social behaviours are therefore primarily developed at school and at home. Whilst the media does play a part in the socialising process, parents of children at this age, to some extent still control what their children consume. As such, and of particular interest to this study, is research that looks specifically at the role socialising agents such as family members and teachers have in transferring pro-social behaviours to children, particularly those studies concerned with giving and volunteering.

Building on a study of civil rights activists carried out by Rosenhan in 1970, an early study by Clary and Miller (1986) aimed to find out to what extent childhood experiences and practices could be predictors of sustained altruism. The study was framed around a set of questions that asked (adult) participants about what they *observed* their parents doing in terms of donating and volunteering; what they *discussed* with their parents and what pro-social activities their parents encouraged them to *do*. Whilst the study relied on its adult participants to reflect back on childhood experiences and memories, it concluded that ''those with a background of parents modelling altruism and good relations, will exhibit a greater degree of sustained altruism'' (Clary & Miller, 1986). That is, opportunities during childhood to observe (adult role models), discuss and participate in philanthropic activities, enabled by parents, led to greater pro-sociality in adulthood. However, whilst studies of this nature are useful in that they provide evidence of a link between early childhood experiences and pro-social behaviour in adulthood and the importance that parents play in this process, asking adults to reflect back on experiences and memories can of course be unreliable.

A study by Brownell et al (2013) that reflects the findings in Dias and Menezes (2014) research, concludes children, even at the very early years of life can be socialised to behave pro-socially even before they become aware of moral norms and practices and those that are specifically given the opportunity by adults (parents and caregivers) to participate in dialogue, exhibited more enhanced levels of pro-sociality. The study, which involved adults using picture books to teach children about emotions, finds adult socialisation can have a positive impact on the degree of pro-sociality exhibited. The effect of socialisation was measured in terms of the level of 'sharing' in children aged 18-24 months and 'empathy-based helping' in those aged 18-30 months. The study measures the amount and type of dialogue that occurs between adult and child whilst carrying out the joint activity of reading a picture book together and the level of ''parental talk about emotions'' against the level and type of prosocial behaviour exhibited. Whilst the study finds that the effect of socialisation is stronger on sharing than it is for helping (which might be explained by the fact that the sharing instinct does not kick in until middle childhood (Markus and Nurius 1984), what was most evident is that the study finds that it is the quality of what parents say rather than the *quantity* of what they say (Brownell, 2013 p.91) that contributes to pro-social behaviour in children. Furthermore, the study finds that ''parents who more often encouraged their children to attend to and reflect on others' emotions'' had children who were more pro-social (Brownell et al. 2013, p.98). As such, what is important is the quality of discussions about philanthropy with children and not just the frequency of such discussions, that is important. However, these findings are counter to the more widely accepted view that infants and toddlers are too young to be 'socialised' and any pro-social behaviour that is exhibited, is innate rather than a 'learned' behaviour, resulting from a 'natural inclination' to behave pro-socially and socialisation is only possible around school age (Brownell *et al.* 2013). Brownell et al (2013) suggest that the findings of their study are different, because previous studies examine the effect of pro-sociality after 'instruction' or 'material incentives' arguing that the socialisation of pro-social behaviour in young children ''occur most effectively in the context of joint activity, with sensitive scaffolding of emerging competence, rather than from direct instruction'' (p.94).

A further study examining the impact on children of parents modelling pro-social behaviour is a study by Ben-Ner et al (2017) using dictator games to find out whether children become more generous after observing their parents being generous and whether parents are more generous if they think children are observing them. This experimental study found parents changed their behaviour when they knew that their child would see their choice, particularly amongst those parents that were relatively generous in their initial unobserved choice and children (in this case 3 – 5-year-olds) adjusted their behaviour in response to an observed parental choice. As such, the authors conclude, generosity is an inherited trait. These findings demonstrate and support the view that parental influence leads children to behave more pro-socially, the implication being, that children's participation in philanthropy is influenced by parental role models. In addition, generosity is found to increase for children aged 9 and above, if they are being watched by their peers (House et al. 2012 in Ben-Ner, 2017 p. 30). As such, the role of peers may also influence philanthropic behaviour of children during middle childhood.

Whilst there is strong evidence amongst the studies of an experimental nature of 'causal effects of role modelling and verbal socialisation on children's giving' (Ottoni-Wilhelm et al. 2017, p.190), Ottoni-Wilhelm et al (2017) set out to establish whether this observation holds true outside of the laboratory setting and to test the theory within the home environment, specifically with regard to charitable giving. Such tests are important, the authors warrant – if what is being observed in the laboratory is not actually taking place in homes, and if discussions about charitable giving or role modelling by parents is not occurring, then there is a need for ‘’alternative techniques to achieve that goal’’ (Ottoni—Wilhelm, p.190*)* such as appropriate policy and educational interventions. That is, the authors state (from an economics perspective), if the charity sector is to rely on charitable donations and volunteering then ‘warm glow’ must be socialised, starting in childhood. Identifying the socialisation agents (parents) and socialising methods (discussing and observing), the study finds a causal effect of parents talking about giving and children’s giving but ‘’no evidence that parental role-modelling effects the children’s giving’’ (Ottoni-Wilhelm 2017 p.190) which is contrary to the experimental study by Ben-Ner et al (2017). However, that is not to say that parents’ role modelling does not inform *future* giving behaviours. Ottoni-Wilhelm’s (2017) findings support the evidence found elsewhere in the literature, that talking to and providing opportunities to learn about charitable giving through discussions has a positive effect on giving. Accordingly, parents should continuously talk to their children about charitable giving in order to socialize the warm glow (Ottoni-Wilhelm, 2017 p.222). Since opportunities for young children to discuss and ask questions about philanthropy are important, and drawing on the child development literature, which finds the socialising agent role shifts to peers during adolescence, the timing of these discussions is important. To that end, Bandy et al (2007) find that opportunities for discussions with parents diminishes as children get older: ‘’parents take less action, not more during adolescence: 72% of parents of 10–12-year-olds talk to children about giving money to charity, but this drops to 60 percent amongst parents of 13–18-year-olds’’ (Bandy and Ottoni Wilhelm 2007, p.11). However, the conclusions drawn in this study are based on data collected from parents and does not necessarily reflect the frequency with which children would rate these conversations. Another study by Adriani and Sondereregger (2009) shows how parents choose to instil pro-social values *deliberately and purposefully* in children, designed not to contribute to the material advancement of their children, rather, the purpose of which is to furnish them with a value framework against which they can predict and compare the values of others.

4.1.3 Socialisation of philanthropic behaviours

Where there exists an extensive body of literature, theory and experimental studies, much of which is situated within the social psychology arena, regarding the transfer of pro-social behaviours from parents to children, which I have only touched upon in the discussion above, such findings are articulated elsewhere in philanthropy studies. Schervish, for example, finds that philanthropic behaviour in adulthood is informed by role models and experiences in childhood (Schervish 1995). Referring to Bourdieu’s theory of habitus, Haywood et al (2021) in a study of 42 High Net Worth Individuals (HNWI), examine how habitus shapes philanthropic engagement and behaviour, the premise of which is that philanthropic habitus is shaped by an individual’s social history, the influence of role models and early childhood experience. The study finds that the impulse to give or the 'disposition to behave philanthropically’ (ibid p.28) is developed during upbringing through the role modelling exhibited by philanthropic family members, through religious participation and awareness of their relative 'luck' be it being born into wealth or acquiring wealth through business. Schmid's (2020) study that focused on Israeli adult donors, finds the family a greater influence than the school, which is important but not as important he argues, in terms of the formation of philanthropic behaviours. Schmid (2020) also finds that direct discussion about philanthropy is a limited factor, rather *indirect* opportunities such as observing behaviour or hearing conversations between parents is a greater influence on giving behaviours. Davis (2011) found the adult philanthropists interviewed in his study, were given, during childhood, opportunities by parents to participate in philanthropy through volunteering or participating in giving decisions. Participants in the study, by Davis, (2011), also talked about observing parents and grandparents during childhood, engaged in philanthropic activities. However, studies such as these by Schmid et al. (2020); Breeze and Lloyd (2013); Haywood/Haydon, Jung and Russell (2021) and Davis, (2011) that find childhood experiences influence adult engagement with philanthropy rely on adults reflecting back on past experiences and asking adults to reflect back on experiences and memories, can be unreliable. Furthermore, it is unclear from these studies whether participants were primed to consider the role of the family and parents rather than experiences at school when reflecting back on their philanthropic journey.

In terms of volunteering, the premise of the study by Arthur et al (2017), which underpins the DfE's character education guidelines, is that individuals who volunteer before the age of 10 are more than twice as likely to have formed a habit in adulthood than if they had started aged 16-18 years. Musick and Wilson (2008) draw on the evidence found in studies by Hall et al, (2001p.39); Hofer (1999, p119) and Nolin et al, (1997 p.12) to support the positive relationship between youth volunteering and volunteering in adulthood and report, parental influence as the main motivator behind volunteering. In a small-scale qualitative study involving ten former youth participants, Body and Hogg (2019) similarly find youth participation and volunteering leads to greater participation in civil society as adults, not just through volunteering but as beneficiaries of youth service programmes, finding evidence that beneficiaries become more active citizens in adulthood. A study by Dawson et al (2019) looks specifically at how early experiences of volunteering affect current and future participation levels. Using longitudinal data, they analyse ''the prevalence of persistent individual volunteering behaviour over the life-course, and most importantly, the extent to which past volunteering has a causal influence on future participation'' (p.1006). The purpose of the study was to find evidence to support the theory that those that volunteer when young will continue to do so in adulthood, in order to inform policy decisions designed to encourage greater levels of participation. The study concludes that a policy intervention that encourages young people to volunteer will be more beneficial in terms of ensuring greater levels of volunteering adults.

Elsewhere, a literature review carried out by Bentley and Nissan in 1996, examined how philanthropic values and behaviours are 'transmitted' (p.1) to children, by understanding how these philanthropic traditions are transmitted, the authors argue, is a pre-requisite in terms of addressing the issue of teaching it. The study, motivated by a perceived decline in American civic engagement which, the authors attribute to some perhaps questionable or rather 'dated' (given the study was carried out in 1996), reasoning including the increase in women in the workplace, increase in two parents working, an increase in single parents as well as a decline in church attendance and an increase in material acquisition. However, the authors do not provide much or any detail in terms of evidence to support these claims. Although, a study by Muddiman et al (2019), for example, attributes the level of participation in civil society to the family, particularly the role-modelling effect of the mother. In their evaluation of the literature, Bentley and Nissen (1996) find several explanations, that influence the development of prosocial behaviour including biological (such as personality traits), religious and cultural influences as well as six key socialising agents – family, peers, school, religion, youth service organisations and the media. The role and level of the influence these socialising agents have on children, the authors posit, will depend on the age of the children, for example in the very early years (pre-school) it is the family and then school and then peers which is in line with the child development theory and the pro-sociality studies discussed earlier. Bentley and Nissen (ibid.), promote the value of an 'early start' in educating young people about meaningful philanthropy in order to ensure that they will give when they have their own resources to give. The authors also argue that such education may be formal or informal, and that the learning must involve content about obligations to others as well as real, but supervised experience in some giving or serving capacity. As such, the pro-sociality literature and studies support the assumption made by Arthur et al (2017), that in turn informs DfE guidelines that encourage programmes of volunteering at primary level, that early childhood experiences of pro-social action have a positive impact and influence on adult pro-social behaviour.

4.1.4 Application of pro-sociality theories and ideas to the research

The studies discussed above demonstrate what children are capable of in terms of pro-social behaviour in general and philanthropic behaviours specifically as well as showing how pro-social behaviours are acquired and the role of socialising agents. Pro-social behaviours are acquired through observing role models such as family members and teachers; through opportunities to learn about and discuss pro-social action as well as opportunities to participate in pro-social activity. Like the routes through which character virtues might be acquired at school (see Section 3.3), philanthropy knowledge and behaviours can be acquired through three main mechanisms, those of observing, experiencing and learning. For example, Bjorhovde's study (2002), whilst dated, examines how children in American schools acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours. Linking to the theory associated with child development, pro-sociality studies as well as the literature associated with character education that identify pro-social behaviour as 'caught, sought and taught', Bjordhovde, drawing on Bentley & Nissan's (1996) literature review, similarly sets out the three ways through which children acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours, which are:

(1) Behaviour is modelled by a parent and the child sees and hears this behaviour **(observe)**

(2) Opportunities for children to discuss and learn about philanthropy **(learn)**

(3) Opportunities to engage with and participate in philanthropic activities **(experience)**

In addition, Bjorhovde, identifies a number of key components in a good philanthropy curriculum, including factual concepts – such as the history and role of philanthropy in society; motives – why people give and are philanthropic; procedural – how the process of philanthropy is carried out; personal – the development of values and skills. Similarly, Weber & Thayer (2007), consider philanthropy education to involve, formal, structured learning *about* philanthropy as well as *'learning by doing'* such as volunteering, youth grant-making and fundraising. More structured opportunities to formally learn about philanthropy include philanthropy courses for children to acquire knowledge about the scope, practice and value of the non-profit sector, the history and traditions of philanthropy. This distinction between learning about, and doing, is similar to the distinctions made by Althof and Berkowitz (2006) between character and citizenship education (see Section 3.3). These different types of philanthropy learning are useful in that a distinction is made between the acquisition of knowledge about philanthropy and the application of behaviours and the importance of opportunities for both, in terms of effective philanthropic education.

As such, the studies, theories and explanations explored in this section, tells us that middle-childhood is an important developmental stage during which children are socialised to behave pro-socially and that the pro-social behaviours they form during this period lead to pro-social behaviour in adulthood. Since pro-social behaviours include those associated with philanthropy, what philanthropy they experience, learn about and observe during this developmental stage is important. As such, the evidence found and conclusions drawn in the pro-sociality studies, justifies why it is important and necessary to explore the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by children during middle-childhood. In addition, these studies support the assumptions made in the character education literature, that such behaviours are acquired through observing, experiencing and learning (or caught, sought and taught) and that the school and home, teachers and parents play a pivotal role in the socialisation process. These explanations and ideas as to how pro-social behaviours are acquired by children, further inform this research, by underpinning and shaping the research questions to be explored. That is, in order to adequately explore this topic, the research questions are designed to find out what philanthropy children observe, experience and learn about at home and at school. Furthermore, the pro-sociality literature suggests that it would be of value to capture data not only from children, but also from the key socialising agents during this period, the parents and teachers.

4.2 Models of Participation - researching *with* and not *on* children

Section 2.5 discussed the National Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in the context of researching children and their lives with particular attention to given Article 12 which gives all children the right to have a voice, to express an opinion and the right to participate in all matters that concern them, where their views are taken seriously and given weight according to the age and maturity of the child (UNICEF 2019). Children have mostly been excluded from UK centric philanthropy studies specifically, and children's voices have largely been omitted from the research process more broadly. Instead, ''the perspectives of children and young people were often filtered through the interpretations of adults, both parents and carers, as 'proxies' for children and young people, and by adult researchers'' (Brady, Graham 2019 p.2). Meaningful and effective research with, and on, children involves children as active participants in the research process which is not only desirable and necessary from a human rights perspective (Johnson, Hart et al. 2017) but also recognises that children are citizens with rights and agency and are, essentially ''experts in their own their own lives'' (Brady, Graham 2019 p.9). An approach to research which ''engages children and young people as active, informed and informing agents in the research process'' (Groundwater-Smith et al, 2015 in Brady & Graham p.28) is necessary. Research endeavours involving children necessitate engaging with the key theoretical models that emerged as a result of, and were influenced by the UNCRC, specifically Article 12 which promotes an approach that advocates for researching *with* and not *on* children.

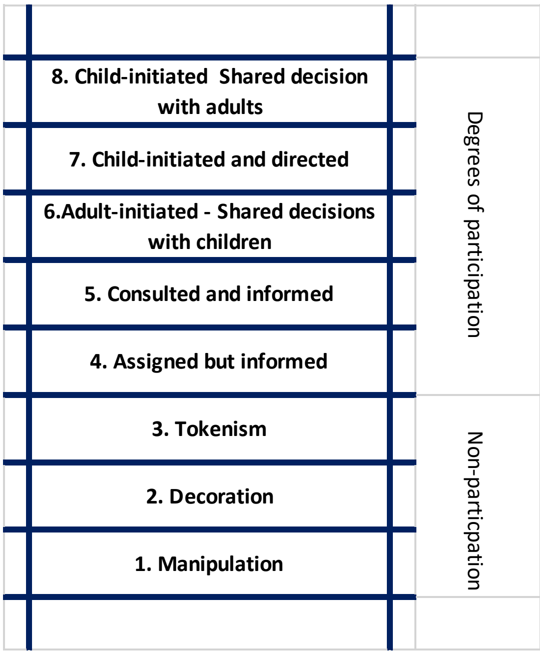
The UNCRC, specifically Article 12 and the subsequent theoretical models to emerge, marked a transition from a tradition of research '*on'* children to research '*with'* children. Children were no longer viewed as ''an object of concern, rather, active in the process of shaping their lives, learning and the future'' (Woodhead 2010). Until this point, there existed an absence of such theories on so called children's participation (Hart 1992a) where *participation* is defined as ''a process with which children and youth engage with other people around issues that concern their individual and collective life conditions'' (Chaawla 2001 p. 9 Malone and Hartung 2010, p.27). It is evident that the two most used, referenced and indeed critiqued models concerning children's participation that have stood the test time (Malone and Hartung 2010) are Roger Hart's 'Ladder of Participation' (1992) and Harry Shier's 'Pathways to Participation' (2001).

Reflecting in 2019, Shier maintains that his own model and Hart's Ladder of Participation, in terms of practical application, continue to be the most popular typologies, a statement which, for the most part, Kellet (2009) and others agree. Aside from Lundy's Model of Space, Voice, Audience and Influence (2007) and Lansdown's Three Modes of Participation (2011), Shier argues that the other more recent models to emerge are not fit for purpose, and to some extent, are 'lost' in academia (Shier 2019). Despite this, Hart, writing in 2008, on the other hand, believes that his model has now served its purpose and new models are now required (Hart 2008). As such, the following first sets out a brief summary of each of Hart and Shier's typologies as well as the key criticisms levelled at each of the models. I will then refer to the ways in which these models influence and inform this study from both practical application in terms of the research process as well as the analysis phase, in terms of interpreting and measuring the level of engagement children in my study might have with philanthropy.

4.2.1 Hart's Ladder of Participation

Hart developed his Ladder of Participation in 1992 to address practical requirements associated with Article 12 of UNCRC (Kellet 2009), motivated by a desire to support children to become active and responsible citizens. Hart promotes the view that if children are to become active, responsible and engaged adult citizens, they need to fully understand the principles and responsibilities of democracy, arguing that the only way to properly understand this is through authentic participation in real projects, believing that 'democracy' if it is formally taught in the classroom is no more than an abstract concept (Hart, 1992). Much of Hart's practical work was concerned with sustainability and environmental issues and he developed the model to illustrate different degrees of participation. Referring to the model as a "beginning typology for thinking about child participation" (Hart, 1992 Chapter 15) rather than a definitive guide to children's participation. Hart used a ladder as a visual metaphor for describing the ways in which adults play a role in supporting the involvement of children with the top rung representing the 'maximum of the desire and capacity' (ibid.). Hart's typology, as seen in Figure 4.1, begins with the first three rungs of the ladder which Kellet (2009) and Shier (Shier in Malone and Hartung 2010) identify as being particularly useful in that they essentially identify what is not genuine or authentic participation and described by Hart (1992) as unacceptable and defined as 'non-participation'. Where non-participation at the lowest rung of the ladder is described as *manipulation* which might involve a child carrying a placard on a march, the implication being that the child has inspired the act and the reality that the child has not been involved in the decision-making process and the third rung described as 'tokenism'. This tokenistic level of participation has been used elsewhere in the literature to define the way children participate in school fundraising campaigns such as those associated with major charities such as Children in Need or Comic Relief (Body, et al. 2020b; Body et al. 2021).

Figure 4.1 Hart's Ladder of Participation (Hart, 1992)



Moving up the ladder, genuine participation is considered to occur at the fourth rung where participation is voluntary, involvement is meaningful, and children know the purpose of the activity and why they are involved. For example, where a child might be a member of the school council or environmental committee. The top two rungs, reflect activities that are initiated and implemented by children, the seventh rung would find children, for example initiating a campaign in school to reduce the use of plastic, adults play a supportive role in such initiatives. The higher up the ladder the greater autonomy children have, and the less input adults have, for example at the final rung, children might share decision making with adults, but the role they play is to listen and to observe.

Whilst the metaphor of a ladder implies that the top rung is the ultimate goal, Hart is explicit in his original conceptualisation which appeared in a book published by UNICEF (1992) and in subsequent reflections that children may operate at any one of the upper rungs of the ladder. As such, the level of participation will vary according to ability and interest and that participation described as level four on the ladder is not necessarily inferior to a project operating at level eight, and that children should not feel that they have to always be the leader or instigator (Hart 1992b; Hart 2008). To that end, Lundy (2018) argues that ‘tokenism’ in terms of child participation, is not necessarily indicative of non-participation where children’s voices and opinions may be sought and where such views are not taken seriously or considered meaningful. Rather, she argues, tokenism is all too frequently used as a reason by policy makers, researchers and the like to exclude children completely so as to avoid endeavours that are considered non-compliant with the

UNCRC. Whilst Lundy (ibid.) agrees that is wrong to include children if their views are not given due weight and if it has a detrimental effect on the child. However, she argues that involving children in a tokenistic manner in, for example, collective participation activities, can be a useful starting place on the proviso that adequate feedback to children is incorporated into the process. Furthermore, Kirby & Gibbs (in Kellet, 2009) criticise Hart's model for not considering that participation levels and types can vary at any time within a project or task. Where the model is further criticised for the over-involvement of adults, Hart (2008) argues that the intention is not about liberating children from adults rather, the degree to which adults play a role in supporting and helping with decision making. In defending his model, Hart (2008) recognises that it is not a perfect solution and its purpose instead to encourage dialogue and discussion, rather than a deeply devised theoretical approach that would go on to become a central model with which to examine children's participation. Instead, he suggests that scaffolding may be a more suitable metaphor. Despite writing in 2008 that the ladder had perhaps served its purpose and what is needed are more tools and models, the Hart's Ladder of Participation continues to be a widely used and referenced tool.

4.2.2 Shier's Pathway to Participation

Driven initially by Article 31 (Right to Play) and building on Hart's Ladder of Participation, Shier's 'Pathways to Participation' emerges from a desire to authentically engage children in the planning process involved with adventure playgrounds. Primarily, the model was initially designed to inform adults as to the ways in which circumstances of participation can be created and sets out three stages of (adult) commitment to children's participation. *First* there must be an *opening* defined as an interest by the adults to operate at this level as well as an *opportunity,* a space or a thing that requires children's participation and finally there must be *obligations* where the practice becomes embedded. The model evolved to take into consideration the responsibilities that come with rights, identifying eight concepts that illustrate the different ways in which the relationship between children's rights and responsibilities are conceptualised. For example, the concept of *citizenship,* the idea that being a citizen involves not only rights, but responsibilities associated with being a good citizen, where ''children need to be motivated by a sense of responsibility and they need to be willing to exercise that responsibility'' (Howe and Covell, 2010 in Shier 2018, p.775).

Aside from complying with the UNCRC, Hart posits and Shier agrees, authentic children's participation leads to socially responsible and psychologically healthy people with increased self-esteem; personal and effective efficacy; greater sensitivity to the perspectives of others, are qualities that form the basis of good citizens (Hart 1992, p.33). As such, active and engaged participation in real projects and initiatives are required in order that children are able to fully understand the meaning of democracy and what it means to be a good citizen. This links to Westheimer's argument, discussed below, that good citizenship is more than just telling children what it is to be a good citizen, they must have opportunities and the space to engage with real issues and projects.

4.2.3 Application of children's participation models – informing the research process and the data analysis

Whilst Shier and Hart's models are criticised for the over-involvement of adults, they are useful and relevant to research with young children since, they are essentially more reliant on the 'cooperation of adults' (Lundy in Lundy, McEvoy and Byrne 2011, p.716). These models and tools are helpful in terms of designing a research process involving children that ensures participation is authentic and meaningful, UNCRC compliant, and achieves the goal of carrying out research *with* and not *on* children. These models and the associated typology, therefore, provide and to use Hart's analogy, a scaffold upon which to design research involving children, a reference point against which to inform the decisions taken when designing appropriate research methods and tools. However, during the course of examining children's participation models and in conjunction with Westheimer's citizenship typology discussed below, that considers the education programmes children experience shape the kind of citizen they are learning to become, it became evident that children's participation models could be used to measure the level of participation that children have in the philanthropy they engage with and not just in terms of the research approach taken. Children's participation models can not only be used to guide the research process with the objective of conducting research *with* rather than *on* children but are therefore also relevant and applicable to the analysis of the findings, that is, in terms of understanding the level and type of participation the children being studied have with philanthropy and decision-making processes. As such the children's participation models discussed above can be used to both inform and guide the research approach as well as a framework against which to analyse the data. The application of these models is discussed further in Part 1 of Chapter 5.

4.3 Models of Citizenship

In conjunction with children's participation models, are the models and concepts associated with citizenship education. In this section, I first present the characteristics and typology associated with Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Westheimer's (2015) conceptions of the 'good' citizen and the emerging concept of 'philanthropic citizenship' as articulated by Body et al. (n.d.; 2022; 2020; 2021)

4.3.1 The 'good' citizen

Much of the debate within policy and across the literature pitches character and citizenship education against one another. Westheimer (2015) argues that whilst both have been taught in schools in some form or another, because these subjects are taught does not mean that either are being taught well or correctly. Whilst writing in relation to education programmes in North America, the narrative put forward by

Westheimer (2015), is relevant to a UK setting as the educational context, he asserts is similar. Like Jerome and Kisby (2020), Westheimer finds citizenship education in schools has become less important and this is problematic in terms of failing to provide children with adequate space and opportunity for education programmes designed to equip them with the knowledge, understanding and analysis skills required to fully participate in a democratic society. Instead, and as he asserts applicable to schools in the UK, Westheimer (2015), finds an education system both in the UK and the US, preoccupied with attainment and the standardisation of teaching. Referring specifically to the education system in the UK, Westheimer finds that education goals have ''shifted away from preparing active and engaged public citizens and toward more narrow goals of career preparation and individual economic gain'' (Westheimer, 2015 p.17), reflecting a neo-liberal ideology of individualism. Schools in North America and elsewhere in Western Europe, Westheimer argues, are preoccupied with attainment and focus on exams and measurement, ''since we can't measure what we care about, we start to care about what we can measure**''** (Westheimer 2015, p.27). As the Jubilee Centre asserts, "exams have become so pervasive in schools that they have crowded out other education goals such as character education'' (Arthur, 2015 p.5). Westheimer criticises the education system for teaching only what is needed to pass tests and ''not about the social, economic and political relevance of knowledge'' (p.17).

Furthermore, whilst Westheimer (2015) advocates for citizenship as an essential element of education, he argues that it also matters *how* it is taught. Similarly, Hart (1992) advocates for active participation, opportunities to experience and engage in real projects is important for children to understand and develop the necessary skills to engage in a democratic society, learning by doing, rather than learning about democracy in the classroom. Westheimer attests that citizenship can be taught through formal citizenship education programmes through the curriculum, but that citizenship behaviours and knowledge can be acquired through 'implicit' lessons that form part of school life, via the ethos of the school. However, building on earlier work with Kahne (Westheimer and Kahne 2004), Westheimer (2015) argues that different citizenship education programmes result in different types of citizens and in so doing, sets out a citizen typology framed around three types of ''good'' citizen, each with a role to play in supporting an effective democratic society (Westheimer, 2015 p. 38). The conceptualisation of the 'good' citizen articulated by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Westheimer (2015) founded on democratic theory, identifies three types or visions of citizens, each a product of the different approaches to the teaching of citizenship, each with specific suite of characteristics. Westheimer models his citizenship typology by using the example of a food bank, and the three citizens 'types' are, as follows:

(1) Personally Responsible Citizens are shaped by 'character' education programmes, designed to build the character traits and personal responsibilities within the individual that lead to responsible behaviour within the community. A personally responsible citizen is committed to 'individual service but not to democracy'' (p.46) and is characterised as being someone that would donate to the food bank.

(2) Participatory Citizens are shaped by 'service learning' education programmes – where young people are supported in playing an active role in the community. A participatory citizen is responsive, reactive and participates in community activities and is characterised as being someone that might organise a collection for the food bank.

(3) Social Justice Oriented Citizens are shaped by 'citizenship' education, whereby young people are given the knowledge and capabilities to address the root causes of problems. A social justice-oriented citizen will critically assess the problem and look for structural change, seeking to find solutions to societal problems and is characterised as being someone that would question why a foodbank is needed in the first place.

Westheimer (2015) finds that the majority of citizenship school education programmes take a character approach to citizenship, with the purpose of fostering honest, responsible and hardworking citizens. Such programmes promote a sense of individual personal responsibility rather than collective action, involving individual acts of kindness and help towards those in need such as giving and volunteering. Whilst there is a need for education programmes that focus on developing good character and 'personally responsible citizens', Westheimer argues that such programmes are ''inadequate if we don't also look at the structural causes that are creating the need'' (Westheimer, p. 44). Westheimer argues that education programmes that result in individual or even collective responses may be necessary in terms of addressing and responding to immediate societal needs and issues, but inadequate for failing to provide children with the spaces and skills to examine the structural causes of social problems. Westheimer advocates for education programmes that are more social justice in nature, that seek to furnish children with the space and the skills to examine social, political and economic structures, as well as to explore and consider alternative solutions and ways to improve society (Westheimer, 2015). Where Simpson (2017) similarly advocates for a social justice approach rather than one that promotes a charity mindset, and Jerome and Kisby (2020) advocates for a citizenship approach rather than a character approach, these arguments are binary favouring one approach over the other. Westheimer (2015) instead advocates for a personally responsible approach *as well* as the social-justice approach, and it is the combination of participative action and social justice orientation, that leads to a 'good citizen'. Similarly, Peterson (2020) argues that both character and citizenship education programmes are required to produce the desired outcomes.

4.3.2 Philanthropic Citizenship

Drawing on Westheimer's (2015) model of citizenship and applying it to a philanthropy context is the model of philanthropic citizenship as articulated by Body et al (n.d.; 2022; 2020; 2021). Whilst embryonic, the model emerges from school-based studies carried out by Body et al. (2020; 2021), which find young children engaged in a range of fundraising activities and raising significant amounts for charity. However, the authors find the children have a relationship with philanthropy that is transactional in nature and misses the opportunity to develop skills of critical enquiry and decision-making associated with democratic learning (Body et al. 2020, p.1). Philanthropic citizenship, is informed by the UNCRC and a children's rights approach, is understood as a dimension of citizenship behaviour including, but encompassing more than just charitable giving and volunteering to involve actions that may be considered more social justice in nature such as advocacy, activism, and campaigning (Body *et al.* 2021, p.2), with view to connecting such philanthropic acts with the wider social and political context and making a ''better world 'with' rather than 'for' others'' (Body and Lacny 2022, p.4). Body and Lacny (2022) set out several key components of the philanthropic citizenship model: (1) Giving - which includes the donation of resources free from economic compensation through such acts as volunteering, charitable giving and activism (2) Active Participation – in line with children's rights where children are actively involved in the decision-making process (3) Empowering children (4) Intention to produce social and/or environmental benefit. The conceptualisation of these components sits within a justice framework, based on the premise that education should be a space and place in which democratic reasoning and moral questioning takes place. Body et al (2022; 2021)promote a participatory approach to philanthropy which involves children critically exploring and engaging with the wider issues that sit behind charities and causes, considering a range of appropriate philanthropic responses including for example government action, as well as considering the root causes of issues and engaging recipients as partners (Body and Lacny 2022) (Body n.d.). Body et al (2021) argue that by providing children with the space and the skills to engage in critical debate and discussion promotes the idea of collective action and social justice, an approach likely to result in the likelihood of long-term giving. This approach is in line with the social-justice mentality that Simpson (2017) promotes.

Elsewhere in the US, McDougle et al (2017) similarly promote a citizenship approach to philanthropic education in, albeit the different setting of Higher Education. Mcdougle et al (ibid.) advocate for an approach that moves philanthropic participation beyond the individual benefits accrued to the donor towards ''educating the students for the lives of responsible citizenship and not merely for career success'' (Bryer, 2014 in McDougle, p.15). As such, the study promotes a pedagogical approach to philanthropy education that is more aligned with citizenship education rather than character education – where experiential learning as opposed to service-learning involves the integration of academic learning with hands on philanthropy experience designed to encourage life-long philanthropy (ibid. p.4). .

4.3.3 Application of Citizenship Models to the Research

Westheimer's (2105) model of citizenship and the model of philanthropic citizenship but forward by Body et al. (n.d.; 2022; 2020; 2021) promotes the idea that a citizenship approach to philanthropic engagement at school moves beyond the traditional notions of (transactional) giving of money and goods, to include a more participatory, social-justice type of engagement where charity is not presented as *the* solution to social ills. Together, the models discussed above, provide a lens through which to examine the philanthropy that children engage with at school, either formally through the curriculum or informally through the ethos, customs and practices of the school in order to assess participation in terms of meaningful engagement. For example, is participation and engagement superficial, transactional and reward based or, are there opportunities for meaningful engagement where children are given the critical thinking skills and the opportunity to apply these skills in order to explore and research charitable causes? Westheimer's (2015) citizenship typology provides for a useful analytical tool in terms of understanding empirical data collected in this study, in order that conclusions can be drawn as to what kind of citizen children are learning to become through education programmes they are exposed to and the philanthropy they observe and experience. In addition, combining Westheimer's (ibid.) typology with the concept of philanthropic citizenship, as articulated by Body et al. (n.d.; 2022; 2020; 2021), provides a philanthropy-specific framework against which to analyse the data and in so doing, gauge the type of *philanthropic* citizen children are learning to become through the philanthropy they experience, learn about and observe. As such, the characteristics and features associated with these citizenship models can be used as a lens through which to examine and interpret the empirical data. In addition, Westheimer's (2015) citizenship model informs and underpin the data collection tools and the questions participants are asked in order that the findings can be analysed according to and in relation to the model. The concept of philanthropic citizenship developed by Body et al (2019, 2020, 2021), was embryonic when this study started, so, unlike Westheimer's (2015) typology does not directly shape the data collection tools used in this study.

4.4 Researcher Experience

Whilst the conceptual framework illustrated above is driven by existing models and theories, my own experiential knowledge also contributes to the construction of this framework. Maxwell (2013), drawing on Peshkin (1992) and Wright Mills (1959) argues in support of the value and importance of subjectivity in the research process, where the researchers personal experience, background and knowledge plays an important and valuable role in the research process, providing that it is used mindfully and not deployed in an uncritical manner (Maxwell, 2013). For example, in terms of the research process, I was able to draw upon my own experiences as a parent to a ten-year old child attending one of the schools that participated in this study, enabling access to, as well knowledge about the sample group.

Aside from informing the research process, being a parent to a ten-year old daughter influenced what I chose to research. My own experience and knowledge as to how my daughter was engaging with and participating in philanthropy at school suggested an area worthy of investigation. Discussions with parents of similarly aged children attending both private and state schools revealed various examples of the ways in which children were participating in philanthropy. These anecdotal stories were both celebratory and concerning and along with my personal observation of the type of philanthropic activities my daughter appeared to participate in at school influenced my choice of topic. Whilst being a parent might have influenced the area I chose to research; it contributed to the research process in so far that, and in line with Maxwell's (2013) argument, the influence of my background and identity was in the most part, treated as a valuable component. That is, my experience as a parent and specifically to a child attending one of the schools that participated in the research, provided valuable knowledge, insights, tools and language relevant to the research participants and the contexts to which they belong..

Whilst my own knowledge and experiences are considered an important component to my research, it was also important and necessary to consider how my own positionality and prior assumptions might unduly influence the research process. For example, questioning how being a parent might impact on participants engagement and participation - would the power dynamics between me as a researcher and a (fee paying) parent and the school staff be problematic? Could my research be too subjective? I concluded that on balance that my position as a parent would have a positive impact on the research as long as I was mindful of the distinction between parent and researcher. In particular, and from a practical perspective, being a parent enabled access to the field. For example, I was able to leverage my position as a parent at the school that I first approached in order to gain access to this hard-to-reach group namely children from wealthy households. As such, by approaching the school that my daughter attended, in my capacity as parent first and a researcher second I was able to access the key decision maker directly (the headmaster) and, with approval from the parent company, consent was swiftly given to carry out research in the school as I was ''known to the school''. The relationship formed with this first school helped me gain access to the other schools in the Group, using my position as a parent first and a researcher second. In terms of access to the field, being a parent *and* a parent of a child attending one of the schools in the group was integral to being able to carry out research with the children in these schools, rather than just being a 'parent'. That is, the need to be both a parent *and* a member of the school community was essential in terms of access, and I know this because, in the early stages of the research, I approached an additional school that ultimately declined to participate. I was introduced by a parent to a school that has a reputation for its commitment to philanthropic education and whilst the teacher responsible for this activity at the school and the deputy headmaster were extremely keen to participate in the research, the request was ultimately rejected by the headmaster who would not consent to the schools' involvement.

Aside from access, the knowledge and experiences associated with being a parent and specifically a parent of a child attending one of the schools that participated in the research, was helpful to the research process in other ways. For example, my position in this regard meant that I was familiar with the language, terminology and hierarchy found in these schools. I was able to navigate the systems, structures and culture of the schools. My position as a parent also meant that I could relate to both the parents and the children that participated in the research and I suggest that, had I not been part of this community it would have been harder to form a connection with the research subjects. I therefore considered how to incorporate my own context into the research tools to convey this message.

At the same time, it was important to be mindful of the distinction between my position as a parent and my role as a researcher during the research process. Where I might have capitalised on personal relationships and my position as a parent to recruit adult participants, I consciously avoided over-familiarity with the children in the focus groups drawn from the school that my daughter attended. For example, I knew all of their names, I maintained the role of the 'researcher' and ensured that the same process as implemented in other schools was followed. In line with this, when interpreting and analysing the data, it was important to examine the drawings and transcripts with an open mind and make efforts to check whether conclusions drawn were unduly influenced by knowledge I held beyond the data collected. However, knowing for example, that several children in the focus group held positions of responsibility at the school (Head Girl and Deputy Head Girls), I was able to make the assumption that these factors had played a role as to why they had been selected by the school to participate. It was also important to be mindful of my pre-conceived assumptions as to how children were experiencing and participating in philanthropy at school and not to assume that all the children in my study were experiencing and participating in philanthropy in the same way as my daughter.

4.5 Research Questions

This study seeks to build on previous research concerning children and philanthropy, and given the predicted wealth transfer that is expected to take place over the coming years, aims to contribute new knowledge about a so far unstudied group of children. As articulated in these background chapters, it is important to know more about the philanthropic knowledge and behaviour held by financially secure children, the potential inheritors of future wealth transfers. The literature reviewed in the previous chapter highlighted what is known on the topic of children and philanthropy and in so doing, identified the knowledge gaps. Furthermore, the review of the literature considered the research that explains why people give, studies that focus on the donor motivations of adults but not children, identifying both a knowledge gap as well as providing theoretical explanations against which to examine donor motivation amongst children. In examining the literature on character and citizenship education, the tension between the two was considered and what this tells us about the learning that takes place in schools. The literature review, together with the conceptual framework discussed in this chapter, informs the direction of travel that this research takes, shaping the central research question that this study seeks to address and underpinning the individual research questions that enable this question to be answered. As such, drawing on the concepts of citizenship and philanthropic citizenship, the central research question or aim of this study is to find out:

What kind of philanthropic citizen are financially secure children learning to become?

Westheimer's (2015) citizen typology provides a framework against which to categorise the type of philanthropic citizen that characterises the financially secure children in this study, be it the 'Personally Responsible Citizen', the 'Participatory Citizen' and/or the 'Social Justice Oriented Citizen'. To address this overarching research question and so that conclusions can be drawn, drawing on the findings of the literature review and the models and ideas set out in the conceptual framework, the following individual research questions have been identified and will be explored through the research conducted:

RQ 1 What is distinct about the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children?

RQ 2 How do financially secure children describe and understand philanthropy?

RQ 3 Do financially secure children express the desire to give – what do they give to, what do they give and why?

RQ 4 How do financially secure children learn to give and participate in philanthropy – what philanthropy do they experience, observe and learn?

4.6 Summary of Chapter

In this chapter, consideration has been given to the theories, concepts, models and ideas that inform the conceptual framework that guides and underpins the research. The chapter considered how children are socialised to behave pro-socially, through the role models they observe, the spaces they have to learn about and discuss and the opportunities to experience, in this case, philanthropy. Consideration was given as to the importance of involving children in the research process and how this is conceptualised through children's participation models. Finally, building on the debate in the literature regarding citizenship and character education, Westheimer's concept of citizenship and Body et al.'s concept of philanthropic citizenship was discussed in the context of a lens through which children's engagement with philanthropy can be examined. The context, literature and theoretical concepts discussed in these background chapters informed and shaped the research questions presented above, in the next methodology chapter the conceptual framework discussed in this chapter, shapes the research approach taken.

Part II: The Research

Chapter 5 Methodology

As discussed in the previous background chapters, there exists a small but growing body of literature that examines how children in the UK engage with philanthropy and there are no studies that I am aware of that look specifically at children from financially secure backgrounds. We know from the literature that early childhood experiences shape pro-social behaviours in adulthood such as giving, helping and volunteering, so it is important to find out how children, specifically those that are financially secure, given the wealth transfer context, are engaging with and learning about philanthropy. Important, because it tells us something about future giving from this group, something about societal understanding of philanthropy and in terms of educating children going forward. Since, £5.5Tn is predicted to pass through generations over the coming years (Cebr, 2017), it is important to understand how potential recipients of this wealth understand, experience and learn about philanthropy as they are likely to have more surplus wealth to give in adulthood. Children from financially secure households are likely to be among these inheritors, since the wealthiest households receive the majority of the wealth transfers (Nolan *et al.* 2020, p.11). However, since this study considers philanthropic action to include more than just the donation of time, talent and treasure and draws upon the broader concepts of citizenship and philanthropic citizenship as articulated by Westheimer (2015), Westheimer & Kahne (2004) and Body (2022), the study seeks to find out not only whether this new generation of inheritors demonstrate a desire to give but are also acquiring the knowledge and behaviours that enable responsible citizens to flourish. As such, the aim of this thesis is to find out:

What kind of philanthropic citizen are financially secure children learning to become?

The first part of this methodology chapter concerns the overarching research approach taken, beginning with a recap of the research aims, objectives and research questions and a summary of the research approach taken in this study to find out what kind of philanthropic citizen financially secure children are learning to become. This is followed by an explanation and justification as to the research approach taken with consideration given to the underlying research philosophy, the methodological approach and the conceptual framework that underpins and drives this research. The second part of this chapter is concerned with the research design, justification as to the decisions taken as well as consideration to the alternative methodologies, along with a detailed description of how the research was conducted so that the study, can be replicated by another researcher. Since data was collected from children, parents and teachers using both quantitative and qualitative research methods, each strand (quantitative and qualitative) are dealt with separately as are the research methods used within each strand. The chapter concludes with a short discussion on the limitations associated with the research approach taken.

Part 1: Research Approach

5.1 Research Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

As articulated, the purpose of this thesis is to find out how children from financially secure households engage with and participate in philanthropy to find out what kind of philanthropic citizen they are learning to become. To answer this central research question, this thesis explores the ways in which children from financially secure households engage with, participate in and understand philanthropy to identify the knowledge and behaviours held, how they are acquired and whether they differ from those held by others. To address these objectives and the overarching aim, this thesis explores the following research questions:

RQ 1 What is distinct about the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children?

RQ 2 How do financially secure children describe and understand philanthropy?

RQ 3 Do financially secure children express the desire to give – what do they give to, what do they give and why?

RQ 4 How do financially secure children learn to give and participate in philanthropy – what philanthropy do they experience, observe and learn?

5.2 Summary of Research Design

This study uses a mixed-methods research approach, a procedure that involves collecting, integrating and analysing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018; Bryman 2016; Creswell 2015). Whilst children and their lived experiences are the focus of this study, in order to generate a rounded picture, adults were included in this research. Online surveys, interviews and focus groups were used to capture data and the following sections explain the rationale that led to these decisions and the research design used.

5.3 Philosophical Assumptions

Research paradigms are philosophical positions that reflect ideas and assumptions about reality (ontology) and how knowledge is gained from it (epistemology), the paradigm or 'world view' informs and drives the direction the research takes (Maxwell 2013; Hart 2007) (Hart 2007). The research paradigm is the philosophical foundation upon which the researcher gains knowledge and informs how the research is conducted (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018). The overarching paradigm that drives this study is pragmatism, a world view in favour of 'what works' in practice where both subjective and objective knowledge is valued and one in which the research question itself is of primary importance (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018, p.39). Pragmatism rejects a single world view that advocates for either value free objective research where knowledge is gained through the acquisition of facts at one extreme or at the other extreme, research that strives for subjective knowledge, gained through an understanding of how and why things happen (Bryman 2016). A pragmatism world view focuses ''on the consequences of research, on the primary importance of the research questions asked rather than on the method'' (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018, p.37) and views ''reality as both singular (e.g., there may be a theory that operates to explain the phenomenon of study) and multiple (e.g., it is important to assess varied individual input into the nature of the phenomenon as well)'' (Creswell 2015, p.5) As such, a pragmatist approach prioritises the research question over the tools used and the data collection tools selected are chosen according to usefulness and relevance.

5.4 Methodological Approach

The methodological approach links the research methods to the research paradigm or philosophical assumptions (Hart 2007, p.313). The opposing paradigms of positivism and interpretivism reflect acutely distinct world views and therefore reasoning processes that place them each at different ends of the research continuum. At one end, a qualitative, inductive, non-linear approach is linked to a subjective worldview involving multiple realities, and at the other end a quantitative, deductive approach is linked to an objective worldview and a single reality where the purpose of theory is to generate a hypothesis that can be tested (Bryman 2016, p.149). There are benefits associated with each and one approach is not inherently better than the other, for example, a quantitative approach might be easier to replicate and the data easier to efficiently analyse, whereas a qualitative approach allows for ambiguities in the data and involves the views of the participants as opposed to the researcher (Creswell 2015, p.5). However, there are also weaknesses, for example, a quantitative approach associated with a natural sciences model is deemed inappropriate for the social world as studies of people and institutions should not be treated in the same manner as the natural world; measurement tools such as surveys (a popular quantitative research tool) are accused of being flawed, in that survey questions are open to interpretation, such interpretations will vary from one responder to another and respondents might provide answers which are different to what they actually do in practice and; the data collection instruments suggest a disconnect between the research process and real life (Bryman 2016, p.166). Conversely, a qualitative research approach is criticised for being too subjective, too difficult to replicate and the findings too difficult to generalise from (Bryman 2016, p.399) and highly subjective (Creswell 2015, p.5)

Whilst contentious, due to the underlying and seemingly opposing philosophies of interpretivism and positivism and the associated research approaches outlined above, a *mixed methods* approach was chosen for this study, reflecting a pragmatist philosophical assumption and is an approach that integrates and blends elements of both quantitative and qualitative into one project (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018, p.2). Mixed methods is considered the third research paradigm, an alternative to either a quantitative or a qualitative research approach (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004 in Creswell and Plano Clark 2018, p.2)

(Johnson et al. 2007 in Anguera *et al.* 2018, p.2758), an approach driven by the pragmatist belief that focuses on the research problem and its consequences, in favour of what works in practice (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018) and places the research question at the heart of the study. The key benefits of a mixed-methods approach are twofold. Firstly, the weaknesses associated with a quantitative or qualitative approach alone can be offset by the strengths associated with using either single methodology and secondly; such an approach can enable the research question to be answered more fully in order to gain a better understanding of the topic that might be achieved through a single methods approach (Creswell 2015). For example, a mixed methods approach enables ''a more comprehensive view and more data about the problem than either the quantitative or the qualitative perspective'' (Creswell 2015, p.15). In the context of this study, the benefits of a mixed methods approach include (1) the findings from the quantitative phase can be explored further, and in more detail, to ensure what is understood is what is meant (2) the qualitative phase provides time and space for children to express their own views in their own words. Additionally, given the unique context of the global Covid-19 pandemic that began in 2020, six months after this research began, a mixed-methods approach was beneficial because the quantitative phase mitigates the risk of the restrictions associated with the pandemic preventing the collection of qualitative, in-person data. As such, the intent in using a mixed methods approach is to provide a fuller and more detailed picture of how children understand charity and philanthropy and how philanthropic knowledge and behaviours are acquired at home and at school and to provide opportunities for children to play a more participatory role in the research process as well as for practical reasons. Whilst the overarching paradigm that guides this research is pragmatism, the research is underpinned by the conceptual framework discussed in the previous chapter which informs the research process as well as the analysis of the data. Since mixed methods research is sometimes interchanged with multi-methods, it is necessary to first clarify the differences.

5.4.1 Mixed Methods versus Multi-Methods

This study follows a mixed method and not a multi-methods research approach. However, the difference between the two approaches is not clear cut and is the subject of enquiry, debate and contention (Anguera *et al.* 2018) (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2010). Boundaries between the two are blurred, not helped by researchers using the terms interchangeably, and the absence of a clear set of definitions has led to boundaries being unclear (Anguera *et al.* 2018, p.2758). Creswell (2015), Anguera et al (2018) and Teddlie and Tashakkori (2010) concur that the characteristics associated with mixed methods research studies are distinct from those concerned with or involving multiple – methods. Anguera et al (2018) following a review of the literature on the topic, finds general agreement that multi-methods research involves multiple types of quantitative research ***or*** multiple types of qualitative research. In contrast, and included in several publications such as the Sage Handbook of Mixed Methods (Abbas Tashakkori and Teddlie 2010) is Johnson et al.'s (2007) definition of mixed methods research, based on a comparative analysis of definitions provided by respected researchers and is therefore worth quoting in full:

> ''the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative approaches (e.g. the use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration''
>
> (Johnson et al 2007 p.123 in Creswell and Plano Clark 2018, p.3) (Johnson et al. 2007 p.123 in Tashakkori and Teddlie 2010, p.19)

The Journal of Mixed Methods Research defines it as:

> ''research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or program of inquiry.
>
> (Journal of Mixed Methods Research n.d.)

As articulated by Creswell and Plano Clark (2018), the defining characteristics of a mixed methods research process are that the researcher collects and analyses both qualitative and quantitative data, integrates the data and results collected, organises the data collection into a specific research design and embeds the research in theoretical and philosophical assumptions. The overarching common belief is that 'integration' is the key and essential component of a mixed methods study (Anguera *et al.* 2018), where the quantitative data and qualitative data are collected in either parallel or sequence and then combined with the purpose of gaining insights into the same research goal, where integration is specific to a mixed methods study as opposed to using different methods to explore different goals (Anguera *et al.* 2018). Integration sees data merged, explained, built upon and/or embedded (Creswell 2015).

5.5 Methodological Considerations

The conceptual framework guides and underpins the research, constructed from theories, beliefs and prior research findings embedded in the literature and earlier studies, and is used to understand the topic and people being studied (Maxwell 2013). As discussed in the previous chapter, this study is guided and underpinned by a framework drawn from the concepts associated with (1) children's participation models which advocate for research *with* and not *on* children; (2) the pro-sociality literature which finds pro-social behaviours are taught, sought and caught, and; (3) Westheimer's (2015) social justice model of citizenship and citizenship typology, and in conjunction, Body's emerging model of philanthropic citizenship. In addition, I draw on the donor motivation literature that explains why people give. These concepts drive the direction of travel that this thesis follows and enable a participatory approach to research with children; help *explain* how children might acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviour; guide the nature of questions asked and *inform* the research approach and the interpretation of the data collected.

5.5.1 Researching *with* and not *on* children

In developing the research design, particular care and consideration has been given in terms of engaging children in the research process, in line with the UNCRC framework and children's participation theories and models. Counter to the common assumption that children are incapable, inexperienced and morally incompetent when it comes to decision-making, is the view that even very young children are found to have the ability to make rational decisions and adults are just as capable as children of making wrong decisions (Kellet, 2009). Furthermore, Shier (2019) notes that there is no requirement in the treaty, for an expressed view or opinion to be correct. Children's participation models such as Hart's Ladder of Participation (1992) or Shier's (2001) Pathways to Participation, inform the research process with the objective of conducting research *with* rather than *on* children, where children are *active* participants in the research process aiming at Level 4 or above in Hart's Ladder (see Figure 4.1), rather than for tokenistic purposes - Level 3 or below. The children's participation models are also relevant and applicable in the analysis of the findings in terms of understanding the level and type of participation the children being studied have with philanthropy.

That being said, when designing a research process involving children, the researcher needs to be mindful of the reasons why children are sometimes excluded from the research process such as the view that children need to be protected by adults from making mistakes or the fear of creating a power imbalance (Kellet, 2009), involving children does not necessarily mean their voices get heard (Johnson, Hart and Colwell 2017); fear of not complying with the UNCRC ((Lundy 2018)and; the onerous and sometimes lengthy process involved in order for the researcher to gain ethical approval. Also of consideration is the polarised argument as to whether research with children is the same or different to research with adults. Punch (2002) asserts that it can be the same, different or somewhere in the middle depending on the set of circumstances. Given the sensitivities of involving children in the research process, and ensuring that the research is carried out with and not on children, I have also used a six-step framework developed by Johnson et al. (2017) in consultation with researchers across disciplines and geographies engaged in participatory research with children. Although designed with younger children in mind (5–8-year-olds), the purpose of the framework is to provide guidance to researchers wishing to conduct research *with* rather than *on* children. As such, in terms of the design of this study, I have taken into consideration each of the six steps that make up the guidance. The first step is about being realistic in terms of my own capabilities as a researcher in terms of working with or researching with children. In the absence of prior experience of researching with children, I was instead able to draw on earlier experiences of teaching English to children aged 3 years and upwards as well as being a parent to a ten-year-old child. An awareness of my own limitations therefore informed the research methods selected. Step 2 is, as with any study involving people, a concern for ethical protocols and processes, with particular consideration as to the issues of power, authority, accountability and responsibility which may be more marked where young children are involved (Morrow and Richards, 1996 in Johnson, Hart and Colwell 2017, p.340). For example, whilst the DBS check (Disclosure and Barring Service) that I had undertaken enabled access into schools, such access would always be accompanied and under the supervision of an adult member of the school as I am not eligible for an Enhanced DBS check which allows unsupervised access. As such, any research method needs to consider the power dynamics of having two adults in the room. Ethical considerations are discussed in Section 5.8. Step 3 refers to the importance of developing trust and respect with the children participating in the research process, the significance of this step is less acute in a study of this nature as it does not involve overly sensitive or distressing material, but nevertheless important, particularly in a face-to-face setting. Step 4 and Step 5 are concerned with selecting the most appropriate data collection methods and forms of communication, each need to be developmentally appropriate so as to ensure data is of high quality and meets the requirements of the research. Finally, Step 6 requires a consideration of the context in which the research is taking place, how children will participate will depend, in part on interactions and relationships with others involved in the process and what they feel is expected of them (ibid. p.343). These guiding principles inform and underpin the research approach that was taken and will be evident in the next section which is concerned with the research design and the steps taken.

5.5.2 Impact of Covid-19

Six months into my research on 23 March 2020 the government announced a nationwide lockdown in an attempt to reduce the spread of Covid-19 and similar restrictions took place at the end of 2020 and the beginning of 2021. Schools in England were closed between March and June 2020 and then again between January and March 2021 and when they were opened, restrictions were in place. When evaluating and selecting the research methods to be used to collect data from children, I had to be mindful of the uncertainties and restrictions associated with the pandemic and schools going forward in terms of access. It was difficult to plan for in-person data collection, as such, the online tools (surveys) were adapted in order to protect against the risk that focus groups would not be possible and the data collection stage was left fluid. Despite these challenges, I was able to collect data from children both remotely and in person. I was fortunate in that the schools involved in the research process were willing and accommodating and indicated that on-site visits were likely to be possible at the end of the summer term (June 2021), ultimately three out of the four schools allowed me to hold in person focus groups with the children. Furthermore, I needed to be mindful of the impact of Covid-19 on the lives and experiences of the children that participated in the study and in terms of responses and data collected. For example, I needed to consider whether certain questions might produce a different response had Covid-19 not occurred, such as the frequency with which children report engaging with philanthropy.

Part 2: Research Design

5.6 Overview of the Research Design - An integrated approach

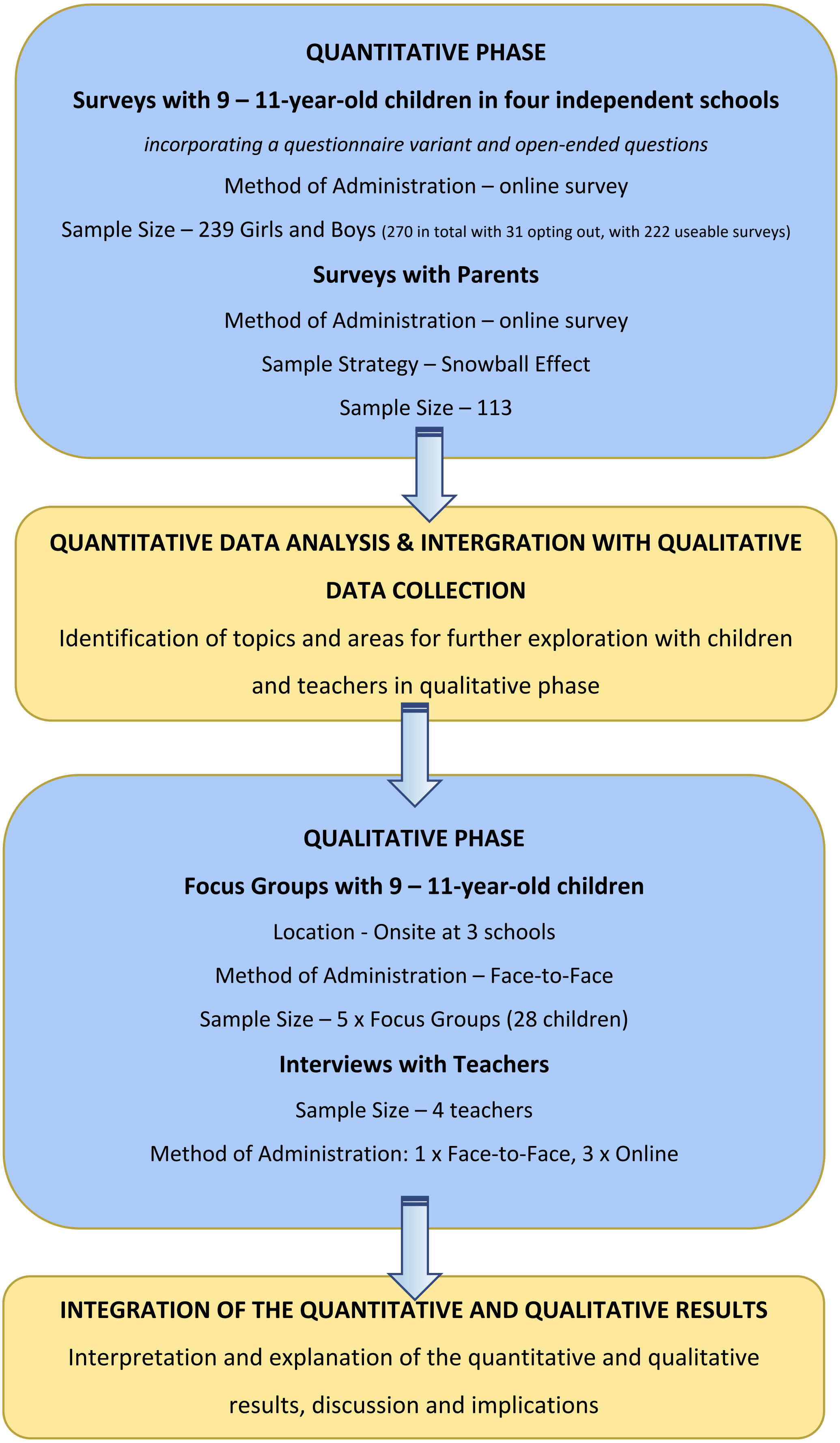
The rationale behind taking a mixed method approach is that a single research strategy, quantitative nor qualitative data alone is sufficient to examine how children acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours, and by combining both, a more 'complete' answer to the research problem can be achieved (Bryman 2016). The approach is driven by a pragmatist view that places the research question at the centre and a 'what works in practice' mindset (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018). A mixed-methods approach was selected not only so that a more rounded understanding could be generated than would result had just one method been used (Bryman, 2016), but also to ensure that children had the space and opportunity to explain and convey attitudes towards charity in their *own* words. Whilst a mixed methods approach in general sees the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data in order to increase the validity of the findings and enable a more complete description (Hart 2007), integration is what specifically distinguishes a mixed methods from a multi-methods approach and requires the two approaches are merged at a suitable point in the research process. Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) identify three core designs which differ according to the point at which data is integrated and recommend selecting a framework that best suits the research problem. Initially, a convergent design was considered, whereby the findings of the quantitative and qualitative data are collected simultaneously and merged so that comparisons can be made. However, for both theoretical reasons (children's participation theories) and for practical reasons (the risks and limitations associated with the pandemic), an explanatory sequential design was identified and then selected as being an approach most suitable in the context, in terms of answering the research questions. An explanatory sequential design involves two distinct stages, whereby the qualitative data builds on the quantitative data collected in the first phase (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018) (Bryman 2016). The benefit of using an explanatory sequential design is that the quantitative stage provides a general understanding of how children are acquiring philanthropic knowledge and behaviours and the qualitative stage allows for a greater and deeper understanding (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018). This process allows for a more complete picture, particularly if the second phase is not possible or, only possible in a limited way (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018).

The intent of the explanatory sequential design is to ''study a problem by beginning with a quantitative strand (a strand refers to either the quantitative or qualitative component of the study) to both collect and analyse the data, and then to conduct qualitative research to explain the quantitative results'' (Creswell 2015). Essentially, the quantitative results provide the more general outcomes of the study (Creswell, 2015) and the qualitative results help explain these findings, that is, themes as well as outlier results can be identified in the quantitative data and then explored further in the qualitative phase. However, as my research design developed, it became increasingly necessary to safeguard against the risk of not being able to carry out the qualitative strand involving in-person focus groups with the children, due to the uncertainty surrounding the Covid-19 pandemic. As such a 'questionnaire variant' (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018) was used whereby some open-ended questions were incorporated, alongside the closed-ended questions in the survey, the intention of which in part to provide participants (both parents and children, but particularly children with children's participation models in mind) the opportunity to use their own words and; so that the quantitative findings can be validated or enhanced by the quotes and further explanations given to the closed-ended questions.

5.6.1 Research Design and Methods

As explained above, an explanatory sequential mixed methods approach was deemed the most appropriate design and the research process and associated methods are shown in the flow chart below (Figure 5.1). The research methods and relevant samples will be discussed in detail in subsequent sections but included here for the purposes of providing an overview of the research approach. Of significance is that the integration in this design takes place at two points in the process. Firstly, between the analysis of the quantitative data and in connection with the qualitative data collection, that is, if any of the results of the quantitative strand require further explanation, follow up questions can be incorporated into the qualitative research tools. Secondly, integration also occurs once the qualitative phase is completed and the data from both strands is integrated and analysed, how one set of data explains the other (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018). (Arguably, integration also takes place within the quantitative strand where a questionnaire variant is used to capture qualitative data to further explain a quantitative response). Since there are two distinct parts to the research process and as recommended by Creswell and Plano Clark (ibid.) in the mixed methods literature, each will be discussed separately, in Section 5.9 the quantitative strand is described and in Section 5.10 the qualitative strand described.

Figure 5.1 Flowchart of the Research Process - An Explanatory Sequential Design



5.7 Sampling Strategy

Non-probability convenience sampling techniques were selected for this study in order to recruit financially secure children, their parents and teachers. Whilst non-probability sampling means the findings are not generalisable and the strategy criticised for being too subjective, a randomized sample was not deemed possible given that the study is concerned with a specific group of children from a specific socio-economic background, a group that is particularly hard to identify and to reach.

In order to reach financially secure children, children attending independent (private) prep schools (equivalent to primary schools) in Central London were considered a viable proxy for financially secure households. This assumption was in part based on my knowledge and experience of the independent school community as well as other factors. Geographically, this is where the wealth in the UK is most concentrated (ONS 2022b) and independent schools are more concentrated in London and the Southeast. In total, there are approximately 2,500 independent schools educating approximately 7% of children in the UK (ISC, n.d) and since annual school fees can run in excess of £20,000, I considered it reasonable to assume that children attending such schools will come from financially secure households, those households that are able to afford the schools fees. That is not to say that *all* children attending independent schools are from financially secure households or that children attending other schools are not, rather, this approach represents, what I considered to be a reliable route to studying children from financially secure households, children of wealth holders and therefore potential wealth inheritors. To that end, whilst less common in prep schools, there may well be some children in the sample, in receipt of a bursary place. As such, the data collection tools were designed with this in mind and in particular, the teacher that piloted the survey was asked to consider this factor when piloting the survey.

However, it is important to note that engaging independent prep schools in this research was purely a route through which to generate a relevant sample. It is not the intention of this study to engage in the debate surrounding the existence of such schools which frames much of the political dialogue regarding education in the UK, the crux of which is that these schools are a ‘’significant channel through which inequality is reproduced in the UK’’ (Wilde et al. 2016 p.306). Whilst entering into the debate is beyond the scope of this study, it is acknowledged that the very existence of independent schools, the divide that they create (a third of university entrants are from fee-paying schools, yet only 7% of children attend such schools) and the charitable status that nearly 75% of independent schools have, is much debated (Wilde et al. 2016). Schools that have charitable status (although the total number is declining) are required to demonstrate their public benefit and may do this through such activities as fundraising and volunteering (Wilde et al. 2016), whether or not the schools do this for the instrumental reason of maintaining charitable status, these activities do represent a route through which children might learn about and engage in philanthropy. At the same time, it is acknowledged that there are significant advantages and opportunities available in the private school setting that will have a bearing on the results of the research which are taken into consideration in the discussion chapters.

5.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are more pronounced when children are involved (Brady and Graham 2019, p.59). Research involving people requires ethical approval, since the study involves children, a full application was required and submitted to the Research Ethics Advisory Group at the University of Kent. Included in the application was a full schedule of questions applicable to each of the sample groups (children, teachers and parents) and each stage of the research process. In addition, participant information sheets, consent forms and sample text to be used in the recruitment of participants were included, in order that a full picture could be presented to the ethics committee. Ethical approval with no amendments required was received from the ethics committee in November 2021. In addition to standard ethical principles regarding researching people and in line with Step 2 of the framework discussed above, careful consideration has been given to this aspect of the research process, which includes and as highlighted by Brady and Graham (2019), the process of obtaining informed consent/assent and considering the role of gatekeepers; protecting confidentiality and anonymity; minimising harm and providing benefit. Taking a Children's Rights approach means providing children with the opportunity to have their views heard and this needs to be balanced in order to avoid harm (ibid.). As detailed in the ethics application form (see Appendix 1) the topic is not considered overly sensitive. However, participating in the study represents time lost or impact on opportunities to do other things and this consideration informed the design and development of the research tools and careful consideration was given as to such time factors.

5.8.1 Consent

The Data Protection Act of 2018 considers that only children over the age of 13 are deemed competent enough to give consent and instead, assent must be sought. The children in my study (aged 9 – 11) are therefore legally considered too young to provide consent, which was necessarily sought from gatekeepers instead, in this case the schools and *assent* sought from the children. Each school provided collective consent for the children to participate in the study and copies of all consent form templates can be seen in Appendix 2. In addition, children were given the opportunity throughout the research process and in each strand to decide for themselves, whether or not they would like to participate in the study. Detailed information upon which to make this decision was provided in an accessible and child-friendly manner and this will be discussed in Section 5.9 and Section 5.10. Adults were also provided with relevant and appropriate information upon which to decide whether or not they would like to participate in the online survey (parents) or interview (teachers), and copies of this information can also be found in Appendix 2.

5.8.2 Risks and burdens to research participants

All participants in the surveys, focus groups and interviews were advised that they were free to change their minds at any stage in the process about participating in the study and were not required to give a reason, should they change their minds part-way through a survey, interview or focus group. All of the data collection tools were piloted to identify any potential risks or insensitive questions or issues. The piloting steps taken with each are discussed in Sections 5.9.5, 5.10.3, 5.12.6. All focus groups held with children were under 'supervised access' which meant that a member of the teaching staff was present throughout the data collection so as to not only meet the safeguarding requirements of the school, but to also keep a watchful eye over participants so as to ensure that they continue to be willing to participate.

5.8.3 Anonymity of Participants

All participants, including the school and its members, were guaranteed complete confidentiality and anonymity as well as the opportunity to withdraw at any time. Pseudonyms are used where necessary, and in the case of the survey, children were asked to provide only their first name and were told that they could choose a 'fake' name, as such the survey data is not attributable to any individual child, codes are used as a substitution for the school names throughout the thesis. Children participating in the focus groups are referred to in this report only by their gender (if specified) and the school and year group (if specified). Parents participating in the web-based survey were given the option to complete it anonymously or include a name and email address should they wish to receive further information or a report of the findings. These details were kept in a password-protected folder and no parent names are included in the thesis.

5.8.4 Confidentiality

All data of a personal nature, including contact details, notes, transcripts of the interviews and survey responses are stored on my private computer system which is password protected in a folder that is also password protected. Qualtrics was used for the web-based surveys, a well-known, reliable and Data Protection compliant tool. All material containing personal data will be destroyed after this thesis has been assessed.

5.9 Quantitative Phase – Self-Administered Online Surveys for Children

As shown in the flow chart (see Figure 5.1) the quantitative phase of the research involves collecting data from children and from parents, each involving an online survey. In this section, consideration is first given to the data collection process and tools involving the children and then the tools and process to collect data from adults.

5.9.1 Research Objectives of the Quantitative Phase

The aim of the first strand of the research was to explore the behaviours and attitudes towards philanthropy held by financially secure children. The purpose of which was to capture data upon which to explore each of the four research questions identified at the end of Chapter 4. Parents were included in this first strand in order to gain an additional perspective, particularly in terms of capturing data on the philanthropy that the children might observe their parents doing and in terms of finding out whether parents are discussing charities, causes and philanthropic needs with their children. Whilst this first phase was primarily the quantitative phase, in order to mitigate the risk of the second qualitative phase not being possible due to the pandemic, some questionnaire variants and qualitative questions were included in order to provide children with the opportunity to expand on their answers, using their own words.

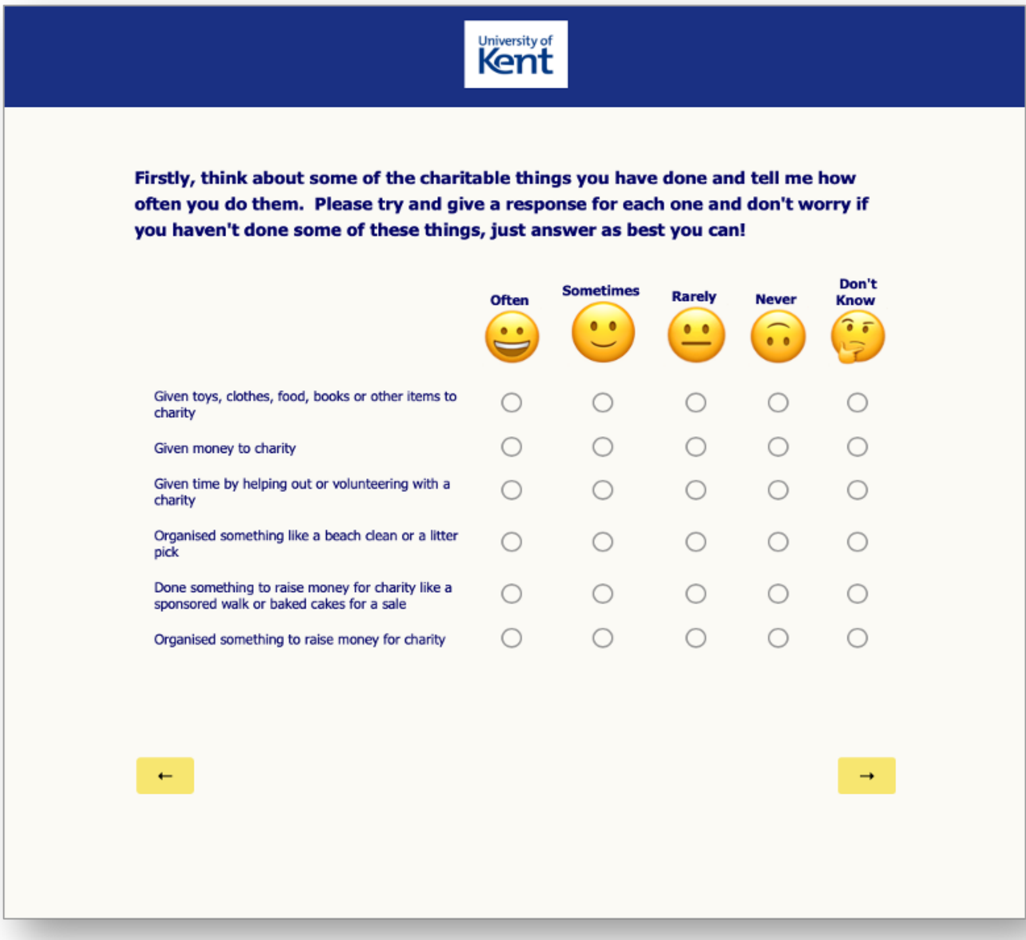
5.9.2 Collecting Quantitative Data from Children

Researching with children, does not require a completely different set of methods to that used with adults, rather the same methods can be used such as interviews, surveys and focus groups, there is nothing ‘’particular or indeed peculiar’’ to children that priorities any one method over another (Christensen and James 2008). At the same time, methods need to be relevant to children, their interests and their routines (Christensen and James 2008, p.8) and need to be specifically designed with the participant in mind rather than just child-friendly (Fraser, 2004 in Christensen and James, 2008 p.9). With this in mind, as well as the uncertainties and restrictions associated with the pandemic, various data collection methods were evaluated. A children’s rights approach and the six-step framework discussed in Section 5.5 influenced the decision-making process in terms of the approach taken. Different research methods were evaluated, and as advised by Tisdall et al. 2009 (in Johnson et al. 2017, p.339), consideration given to not just the competencies of the child but also my own capabilities and competencies. For example, since ‘’play and games provide a developmentally appropriate way to carry out research with young children because it is what they do most of the time’’ (Green, 2007 in Johnson, Hart and Colwell 2017) and since Piaget asserts children need to play things through in the same way adults might think something through (Piaget and Inhelder, 1962 p.57) games were considered. For example, the game might have involved children being presented with a societal issue and a list of possible ways to address the need or could involve some kind of word association. However, the pandemic would have necessitated using an online platform to administer the game, as all children were learning remotely from home during the proposed data collection period, the development of an online game was beyond my own technological capabilities. Structured interviews represented the only other method of collecting quantitative data and this was rejected for obvious practical reasons, but also in terms of access, safeguarding issues, power imbalance, lack of anonymity therefore risking social desirability bias and the need for a teacher to be present. Therefore, a self-completion questionnaire was selected.

The National Children's Bureau advise against using self-completion surveys for children under 12 unless they have support (Shaw et al. 2011 in Brady and Graham 2019, p.114), the implication being that they are not capable of completing a survey independently. However, I made the decision that on balance, and in light of the uncertainties surrounding the pandemic, the benefits outweighed the risks. Surveys create the opportunity to capture attitudes quickly and cheaply, provide greater anonymity and privacy and can be administered electronically or on paper (Brady and Graham 2019). Whilst paper-based surveys were initially considered, the decision was quickly taken to administer the survey online, the main reason being the restrictions associated with the pandemic, in particular school closures and remote learning. Furthermore, web-based or online surveys offer a number of practical benefits compared with the paper-based alternative, including flexibility in terms of variance, the opportunity to create an engaging, interactive and child-appealing interface, greater functionality such as the opportunity to incorporate filter questions and automatic collation of responses in a database ready for analysis (Bryman, 2016). In addition, an online survey allows for quick and immediate edits and amendments to be made during the piloting stage so that changes can be implemented and tested quickly; quick, easy and cost-effective distribution via a survey link and opportunity for ongoing monitoring of responses. However, there are additional considerations that need to be considered when using an online survey such as access to devices, ethical challenges in terms of informed consent or assent and issues around participants being helped by others to complete the survey (Brady and Graham 2019, p.114). Many of these concerns became less relevant as a consequence of the pandemic, because the transition to the home-learning environment meant that all children in the sample were adept in an online setting, they were experienced at using digital tools and had access to either a computer or tablet and the internet. Whilst the risk of participants being helped by others to complete the survey was of course possible, the risk was considered low, and children were asked at the start of the survey to complete it without the help of a 'grown up'. Consent issues were discussed in the section above concerning ethics, however, children were provided with detailed information about the research upon which to make the decision as to whether or not they would like to participate in the study. Indeed, after listening to the information, 31 of the 270 children (11%) chose not to participate and opted out. The information about the research and what it would mean if they were to participate, was provided in a child-friendly manner, via a bespoke animated recording, designed to engage the children, and at the same time, provide them with important information upon which to decide whether or not to participate.

Surveys allow for the Likert Scale to be used, one of the most common techniques for investigating attitudes related to a particular topic or area (Bryman 2016). The Likert Scale measures the intensity of feeling and comprises a series of statements against which the participant is asked to indicate their level of agreement. When used with children and in order to provide them with an effective method to communicate judgement of their 'past experience against the question statement' a pictorial Likert Scale is often used, where images, particularly smiley faces are used as anchor points (Hall et al. 2016, p.1). Whilst Hall et al (2016) note, studies have found children have greater engagement with questionnaires that include 'SFL' (Smiley Face Likert), they also advise caution when incorporating in survey tools, particularly in regard to avoiding social desirability bias which children are particularly prone towards. Hall et al (2016), recommend avoiding a smiley face that runs from very happy to unhappy as this approach is considered less effective in terms of communicating judgements. That is, Hall et al's (2016) research find that children are generally reluctant to select negative or unhappy faces and will tend to focus their responses on what they think adults expect, i.e., smiley happy faces. As such, in order to generate a broader range of responses and to go some way to avoiding social desirability bias, the survey avoids the use of negative or 'unhappy' faces. Figure 5.2, is a screenshot of one of the questions in the online survey that shows the SMF scale used in the survey.

Figure 5.2 Example of the smiley face Likert scale used in the survey for children.



Whilst the purpose of the online survey was primarily to collect quantitative data, in order to mitigate the strong risk of the qualitative strand involving face-to-face focus groups not being possible due to the ongoing and unpredictable restrictions associated with the pandemic, the survey was adapted to incorporate opportunities for children to not only clarify their answers in 'their own words' but also included some 'open-ended' questions that I had intended on asking in the focus groups. As such, some open-ended questions were embedded in the survey in order to understand and explain the quantitative results captured within the same tool. In addition, independent, open-ended questions provided further opportunity for the children to express themselves in their own words. Open-ended questions "puts the responsibility for, and ownership of, the data much more firmly in the respondents' hands'' and goes some way to catching the "authenticity, richness, depth of response, honesty and candour which....are the hallmarks of qualitative data'' (Cohen et al. 2018, p.475).

5.9.3 Quantitative Data Collection from Children – Online Survey

The interface and usability of the online survey were designed with children in mind. For example, instead of asking children to read detailed information about the research to help them decide whether or not to participate, this information was provided via a short, animated recording and using my own voice at the start of the survey. I also included my dog in the animation to help make the recording more appealing and engaging for the children and a screen shot of this can be seen in Figure 5.3. I felt it particularly important that the survey was visually engaging, easy to follow and appealing to children. As such, careful consideration was given throughout the process from design through to implementation to the imagery, font, colours and language used and I drew extensively on the views and feedback from children both informally and formally throughout the piloting stage.

Figure 5.3 Screenshot of the animated recording

The questions included in the survey were designed with the research questions in mind and rooted in established studies in order to build on and extend knowledge. I reproduced in the children's survey, questions that were asked to children in earlier studies so that the responses could be compared, contributing to RQ1, which asks: *What is distinct about the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children?* For example, building upon and taking inspiration from Power and Smith's (2016) study, which examined how children would spend a £1m windfall (as discussed in Section 3.1), the following questions were incorporated into the survey, allowing for 'free text' responses:

- You have £10,000 to give to charity – what would you do with it?
- If you need help with your decision, who would you ask to help you decide?
- If you didn't have to give all the £10,000 to charity – what would you do with it?

Further examples of the questions that were included in the survey and how they relate to extant literature are shown in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 Examples of questions asked and how they relate to extant literature

Survey Question	Extant Literature
How often have you donated toys, books, or other items to charity?	Westheimer (2015) – Citizenship Typology
*Have you ever written a letter or an email to a newspaper, government official or an important person about an issue or problem? **	Westheimer (2015) – Citizenship Typology Body et al (2022; 2019; 2020) Children's Participation
*You have £10,000 to give to charity. What would you do with it? If you need help with your decision, who would you ask for help?***	Power & Smith, 2015 Giving, Saving, Spending: What would Children do with £1 Million If children won lotteries, Kiang et al. 2016
Do you think charity is important?	CAF, 2013 Power & Taylor, 2018
A donation will be made to a charitable cause of your choice, please choose one or more from the list.	CAF, 2013 CAF, 2022 Body et al., 2020

* If answered 'yes', children were asked to provide further information in their own words

** Question designed to collect qualitative data had focus groups not been possible

The full question schedule can be found in Appendix 3 and a preview version of the survey can be accessed via this link: https://kentsspssr.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_5z31hZSoG8IEWO2

5.9.4 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations relating to this research are discussed above in Section 5.8. In regards to the survey, in particular, children were fully informed as to what is involved in participating in the survey via an animated recording at the start of the survey and then given the option to opt-out or provide their assent. To ensure anonymity, children were not asked to provide any personal details and instead could make up a ‘fake name’, which had the added benefit of making the activity ‘fun’ for the children. The survey was hosted on the Qualtrics platform, software that is compliant with General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

5.9.5 Piloting

Involving children in the research process can take place at any or all stages, from identifying research topics to disseminating the findings (Brady and Graham 2019, p.33). Franks (2011 p.15 in Brady and Graham, 209 p.33) talks about ‘’pockets of participation’’ meaning that children do not have to be fully involved in all stages of the research process, rather the extent to which they are involved will depend on factors such as the child’s availability, interest and the broader circumstances. For the most part, the children in this study were research participants, however, at certain points in the process, the views of children were sought, and one such ‘pocket’ of participation was the piloting stage. Different children, in different tranches, over a period of six weeks, were consulted on their opinions regarding both the functionality and content of the online survey, reflecting the participatory research approach that the study endeavoured to take. Extensive piloting with children was undertaken to ensure the survey was relevant and accessible, and the language used was understandable to their peers (Brady and Graham 2019). The results of the pilot surveys were also checked so as to ensure variation in response – that is, if everyone answers the same, the results are unlikely to be of interest (Bryman 2016). In addition, one teacher piloted the survey, to ensure the questions made sense and to obtain any input or feedback they might have, particularly since teachers were the gatekeepers from which consent would be sought. A total of 16 different children piloted the survey, and these were some of the comments:

> ‘’I enjoyed it, I thought the questions were good. I liked the emojis and making up a name. I like the £2 going to an animal charity’’ Girl
>
> ‘’We love the animation’’ Girl

The feedback from the children overall was positive and the language appropriate. Some minor changes were made to the wording of two of the questions to make them more accessible, for example one question initially came across as double negative which was confusing.

5.9.6 Recruitment of Participants

At the very start of this study, I approached one independent girls' prep school in London with which I had a personal connection. The initial meeting was with the headmaster and then, following an introduction from the headmaster, over a period of 12 months, I cultivated a relationship with the Head of Pastoral. These discussions were helpful in terms of formulating my thinking, and in terms of building a relationship with the school, with a view to it participating in the study. This exercise proved fruitful in that I had a sounding board upon which to pilot the survey but also in terms of recruiting other schools to participate in the study as, the school is part of a wider group of privately owned schools, mostly located in London. My personal connection with the school and the subsequent relationship built with the Head of Pastoral meant that approval was given by the Group Company for PhD research to be carried out in its schools, had this not been the case permission would not have been granted. Having secured access to this first field site, I was well positioned to appeal to other schools within the group to participate in the research project - information about the research project including what participation would involve was sent to five of the schools, three of which replied immediately and agreed to participate. In total, I was able to recruit four London prep schools, three of which were single-sex and one mixed. Each school operates separately but is linked by the parent organisation, a Private Limited Company that owns a network of private education providers, mostly based in London. All of the schools in the Group are run as for-profit businesses, and unlike many independent schools, they are not registered as charities, the implication being that any philanthropic activity such as fundraising or the provision of bursary places that occurs within these schools, is not motivated by a desire or need to maintain its charitable status through the provision of 'community work' required by schools to demonstrate charitable contribution.

The four schools that agreed to participate in this study are mostly populated by children drawn from the immediate and surrounding postcodes in London which are associated with both affluence and high house prices (Pickford 2019). The latter is a useful metric in this context given the link between increased household wealth and rising property prices. Postcodes have been used in previous studies to filter and identify wealthy participants as they are a useful indicator of wealth given that they refer to ''small geographical areas containing property of identifiable value'' (Breeze 2013, p.4). At the time of conducting this study, annual school fees for the schools that participated were circa £20,000 and the ability to afford such fees is why private school attendance is selected as a proxy variable for wealthy households.

5.9.7 Survey Distribution

The survey was built and hosted on Qualtrics survey software which enabled easy distribution via a link directly to the website. The distribution of the survey in three of the four schools coincided with a period of national lockdown when schools in England closed between 1st January 2021 and 8th March 2021 and the education programme was delivered live via an online learning platform that children were able to access remotely. In the three schools that distributed the survey during the national lockdown, children were asked during 'form time' by their class teacher to complete the survey. 'Online form time' is a point during the school day when children gather informally (i.e., not during a lesson) and virtually with their teacher and classmates, attendance was not compulsory, and children had the option to attend some or all of the session. During 'form time' children were provided with background information and a link to the online survey by the teacher, as with attending form time, survey participation was optional. In the absence of a record of attendance and given that form time was not compulsory, it is difficult to accurately measure how many children were provided with the survey information and link. One school chose to implement the survey once children had returned to the (physical) classroom. There are no apparent significant advantages, disadvantages or risks associated with children completing the survey at home or at school. There is of course a small risk that children completing the survey at home may have had help from an adult, however, all children were instructed specifically by the teacher to complete it without help, and an emphasis is placed at the start of the survey that there are no right or wrong answers. Furthermore, by the time this second lockdown took place, children were adept and familiar with working online and independently as such this risk of adult help is considered minimal.

However, there was one noticeable difference in response rates between the children that were learning remotely and those that were in (physical) school when the information and link were provided. All of the children that were in (physical) school 'opted in' and of the children learning remotely between 9% and 24% depending on the school (see below) opted out by selecting the 'I do not wish to participate' option after watching to the information recording*.* On one hand one might infer that, had all children received the instructions, information and the link accessing the survey during the (physical) school day under the supervision of a teacher, more responses may have been generated. However, given that a number of children, albeit those that were learning remotely at the time, exercised their right to opt out, one might infer that the conditions associated with informed consent were in place and working properly.

5.9.8 Benefits of Participating

The survey was designed to ensure that it would be enjoyable and fun for the children to complete. The look and feel of the online questionnaire was designed to appeal to children through the language and images used, and for this reason, included an animation. Golde in Skeggs (1994 in Ho 2010) believe that all fieldwork should involve something in return for the time taken to participate and Brady (2019) advises that children should be recognised and rewarded for their involvement and contribution. As such, as a gesture of appreciation, I agreed to make a small monetary donation (£2) to a cause of their choosing, children were also able to specify a charity. (Anecdotally, I stood in the queue for the post office and overhead a child telling their mother that ''the lady would donate some money to charity for each survey'' which was followed by a discussion on what the child chose – the child was quite animated and excited about this aspect and since the survey was completed by a number of children that day, attending schools local to the post office, I can only assume that it was mine!)

5.9.9 Sample and Response Rate

In total, 270 children participated in this first phase of the study – the participation figure is calculated according to the number of children that viewed the introductory recording at the start of the survey which was designed to provide relevant and detailed child-friendly information about the research in order that informed assent could be given. Some of these children (31) having viewed the recording and listened to the information, chose not to continue with the survey by selecting the "I do not want to participate" option, and a further 17 children did not get beyond the first question before closing the survey. The majority (75%) of children that decided not to participate in the study were boys. Of those agreeing to participate in the study and where gender is recorded (198 responses), 44% were girls and 56% boys. Overall, the survey produced 222 usable responses (children agreeing to participate in the study and continuing beyond the first question and including those where gender is not recorded). There was an even spread of Year 5 (9 – 10 years) and Year 6 (10-11 years) children. The information is shown in Table 5.2 below:

Table 5.2 Children's Survey: Breakdown of sample and response rate

Name of School	**AH School**	**BG School**	**DE School**	**CF School**	**Unknown**	***Totals***
Location	West London (W2)	Central London (W1)	NW London (NW3)	West London (W11)		
Size of School	411	325	310	435		
Gender	Girls	Boys	Boys	Mixed		
Total Number of Yr. 5 & 6 Children Registered at School	110	160	80	75		***425***
Location where survey completed	Home	Home	Home	School		
Number of Survey Responses	70	55	41	57	47	***270***
Children selecting *'I do not want to participate'*	6	8	10	0	7	***31***
% Children choosing not to participate	9%	15%	24%	0%	15%	***12%***
Surveys that were less than 50% complete	0	0	0	0	17	
Useable Responses**	64	47	31	57	23	***222***

* Some of the participants chose not to record the name of their school

** Total number of survey responses less number of participants opting not to participate or where the survey was less than 50% completed

As noted above in Section 5.9.7 it is difficult to accurately measure the overall response rate from the sample (all of the children in Years 5 and 6 in the four schools) as there is no record as to how many children were present at the time the instructions and survey link were distributed (requesting such information from the schools felt like an unnecessary additional burden). One school experienced a technical problem when sharing the survey link and not all form teachers distributed the survey.

If one assumed that all children that *were* present either in school or remotely and had followed the teacher's instructions, accessed the link, watched the introductory recording and then chose to *opt in* (and answered more than one question) or *opt out*, the response rate would be **82%** which is considered 'very good' (Mangione, 1995 p.60-1 in Bryman, p.22 – although that is in relation to postal self-administered tests) and calculated as follows:

<u>Number of Usable Questions (where at least 50% of the questions were answered) **222**</u>

Total Sample - number of children selecting 'I do' or 'I do not want to participate '**270**

A less reliable and less accurate calculation (for the reasons given above) involves the inclusion of the entire student population across the Year 5 and Year 6 in each of the schools in the total sample, and on this basis, the response rate would be 52% and considered by some as 'barely acceptable' (Mangione, 1995 p.60-1 in Bryman, p.222) – although that is in relation to postal self-administered tests and calculated as follows:

<u>Number of Usable Questions (where at least 50% of the questions were answered) **222**</u>

Total Sample - number of children in Years 5 and 6 across four schools - **425**

If we assume 24% of the student population were absent or not given the instruction by the teacher, then then the response rate would be 68%. In this example, the 24% figure is based on the proportion of children that did not complete the survey in CF School, where the survey was distributed during (physical) school rather than remotely and 57 out of a possible 75 children completed the survey at school and an assumption is made that the rest were either absent and/or in a class that did not participate. Despite the problems with calculating an accurate response rate, the number of usable survey responses from participants (222 in total) exceeded the original number expected (100) and deemed more than sufficient to make the study viable.

5.9.10 Data Analysis

The survey was hosted on Qualtrics which has extensive functionality, and the data could be easily manipulated, compared and examined for the themes. For example, data could be easily compared across schools and according to gender.

5.10 Quantitative Phase – Self-Administered Online Surveys for Parents

5.10.1 Collecting Quantitative Data from Parents

The purpose of collecting data from parents (with children attending independent schools) was to generate an additional perspective and in particular capture data on the philanthropy taking place at home and within the family.

5.10.2 Data Collection Method

A self-administered online survey was selected as the most appropriate and most practical tool for collecting data from parents, particularly given the restrictions associated with the pandemic. Quantitative surveys with parents allow for a broader and more objective and a more complete set of data (Bryman, 2016), than had I chosen to interview parents instead. Online surveys are also quick, low cost and easy to implement and they allow for the Likert Scale to be used, one of the most common methods for investigating attitude (Bryman, 2016). Some of the survey questions were rooted in established studies and some questions were linked to the children's survey. For example, in the children's survey I asked them to rate the frequency with which discussions about charities and causes take place at home and I asked a similar question to parents, so that comparisons could be drawn between the data. The full schedule of questions asked can be found in Appendix 3. The survey was designed and built on the Qualtrics platform enabling easy distribution and functionality with which to compare the data. The survey can be accessed via the following link: https://kentsspssr.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_aXmw6gzJNaGBNlz

5.10.3 Ethical Considerations and Piloting

Ethical considerations are covered in Section 5.8. With regard to the parent survey specifically, the survey was hosted on the GDPR compliant platform – Qualtrics, participants were given details of the research at the start of the survey, upon which to decide whether to opt in or opt out. Participants were given the option to complete the survey anonymously and were able to skip any questions they did not want to answer, and able to exit at any time. The survey was sent to three parents to pilot who were asked to provide feedback on the functionality of the survey as well as the clarity and appropriateness of the questions. As a result of the piloting exercise, some minor changes were made to both the wording and the functionality.

5.10.4 Recruitment of Participants

In order to recruit parents of children attending independent schools, non-probability convenience sampling techniques were used to recruit participants for this study, using a combination of purposive sampling and snowball techniques. In the first instance, I used the purposive sampling or 'judgement sampling' to identify individuals within my own network that I knew had children that attended the independent schools that were participating in this study that may be willing to participate in the research. I also appealed to individuals in my network who had children attending other independent schools. I then used the snowball technique to expand the sample beyond my own immediate network to generate more responses and as a method of avoiding researcher bias. I therefore asked the first recipients to share the request for participants with individuals within their *own* network and via the networks they belonged to via the schools that their children attend. Whilst non-probability sampling might be criticised for being less robust, a randomized sample is not possible due to the nature of the subjects required to participate. That is, it is not possible to access a database of parents of children attending independent schools. However, in an effort to generate more responses and to reach a wider sample group and to mitigate the risk of researcher bias, I advertised for participants on a 'virtual noticeboard' that is distributed weekly to subscribing parents of children attending a number of independent schools in London and the Southeast. This route had limited value, generating some but not many responses (between 1 and 5).

Whilst many of the parents that participated in this study will have had children in Years 5 or 6 attending schools involved in this study, it was not possible to ring fence the sample so that it included only parents of children that had completed the survey distributed in the four schools. I did consider how this might be possible, however the schools indicated that it may not be appropriate to contact the parent body directly to ask them to participate, and on balance, such an approach may have created issues with anonymity. However, since purposive or judgement sampling was used, along with the various mechanisms incorporated into the survey, I felt that I was able to access the purposive sample I wished to reach.

5.10.5 Survey Distribution and Benefits of Participating

The survey was distributed via a link to the online survey. The link was distributed via email as well as posted on a virtual noticeboard (discussed above). As with the children's survey, as a gesture of appreciation for the time taken to complete the survey, I agreed to make a small donation (£2) to charity.

5.10.6 Sample and Response Rate

113 parents participated in the research, by completing the online survey most of which were between the ages of 40 and 55 living in London and the Home counties. The majority of respondents were female (87%) and report having between one and four children attending an independent school, with 80% having at least two children in private education. As discussed above, I used a purposive convenience sampling strategy to recruit children, teachers and parents.

In support of the assumption that private school attendance is a reasonable proxy variable for financial security, efforts were made to collect data from the parents related to household wealth. Since snowball techniques were used to recruit participants from and via my own network, asking parents how much they donated to charity annually was deemed a less intrusive indicator of household wealth than asking them about household income. However, there are questions about the validity of self-reported data due to social desirability bias (Bekkers and Wiepking 2011b), and over-reporting, particularly amongst high-income donors (Lee A. 2011). Nevertheless, collecting data regarding annual charitable giving was felt to provide a reasonable insight into household wealth. The relatively high giving levels amongst this group, as shown in Table 5.3, suggest relatively high levels of household wealth or income amongst participants in my study.

Table 5.3 How much on average parents in this study report donating to charitable causes per year

Amount	Count	% Participants	% Responses
Up to £500	22	20%	23%
More than £500 but less than £1,000	17	15%	18%
More than £1,000 but less than £2,000	12	11%	12%
More than £2,000 but less than £5,000	20	18%	21%
More than £5,000 but less than £10,000	6	5%	6%
More than £10,000 but less than £50,000	15	14%	15%
More than £50,000	5	5%	5%
Selected 'prefer not to say' or Skipped Question	14	13%	0%

Whilst 14 (out of 111) parents chose not to provide specific details in their survey response regarding the annual amount given to charity, the answers to an earlier question in the survey revealed that *all* participants report donating money to charity at least a few times a year. Although the amounts donated varied, with nearly a fifth (19%) giving more than £10,000 and a fifth (20%) giving less than £500. It may also be concluded that the omission of a response to this question is not necessarily indicative of giving at the lower end of the scale, for example one such participant that declined to reveal the amount given annually wrote: ''We plan to create a yearly Scholarship for a bright talented student that cannot afford to study at X College Cambridge'' Anonymous Parent.

In support of the assumption that participants belong to high income households, the giving levels amongst these parents can be compared with the 'high income' donors in the UK Money for Good Survey (Bagwell *et al.* 2013) which found an average annual donation of £1,282 for donors with a household income over £150K and £3,322K for those with an annual income over £1m. The giving levels can also be compared with the 'high-income' donors in a more recent study by (Kenley, O'Halloran and Wilding 2021) which found that those that earn between £175K and £459K or higher, donate, on average between £390 - £1,360 to charity per year. Furthermore, the school fees alone for two children (the average number of children per family reported by the parents that participated in this study), attending fee-paying schools exceed the average (total) annual household income in the UK of £31,400 (ONS 2022a).

5.10.7 Data Analysis Process

The quantitative data was examined, explored and included a descriptive analysis to determine and identify the general trends in the data.

5.11 Interim Phase – Analysis of Quantitative Data

Whilst provisions were made in the quantitative strand of the research to mitigate the risk of onsite visits to schools not being possible due to the restrictions associated with Covid-19, ultimately, the second phase of the original explanatory sequential design was possible, albeit a more pared down version in that focus groups were able to take place in three of the four schools that participated in the quantitative strand. The findings from the online surveys carried out with children and parents were analysed and informed the second, qualitative phase. Using the functionality of the Qualtrics platform, the data was manipulated and compared. As discussed, to protect against the risk of the second qualitative phase of the research not taking place, questions had been incorporated into the survey to provide opportunities for children to use their own words. Some quantitative questions included additional space for children to further clarify their answer. The survey data was analysed and opportunities identified that could be usefully followed up and clarified in the qualitative phase and the focus group questions were developed accordingly. Data collected from parents and from children was also compared to identify areas for follow-up with the children. Whilst the purpose of the teacher interviews was to find out about the opportunities in school to learn about philanthropy, questions were included in light of the survey findings, for example: *I see from the survey results (X) children's charity is a charity that children at the school like to give to, can you tell me about this?*

5.12 Qualitative Phase – Focus Groups with Children and Interviews with Teachers

5.12.1 Research Objectives

The aim of the qualitative strand of the research was to explore further the findings associated with the online surveys that were completed by children in the first phase of the study. Since all children are ''experts in their own lives'' (Brady and Graham 2019, p.105) the purpose of this second stage was to explore further what the children think and know about charity and how they acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours. To gain a further perspective and an understanding of the philanthropy children are exposed to at school, the views of teachers were also sought.

5.12.2 Collecting Qualitative Data from Children

Qualitative studies usually involve face-to-face situations and take place in a physical location. Whilst it is not unreasonable to collect such data through online methods (Schensul 2011) the school setting was preferable in order to collect data from children in their natural setting. Given that the survey findings showed that the way children engage with philanthropy at school is frequently centred around fundraising activities, observing children in this setting may also have generated qualitative data, recording what is seen and heard as children engage with activities such as bake sales or fetes (Schensul 2011). The benefits of observation include the opportunity to directly observe behaviour rather than inferred, which is associated with other methods (Bryman 2016). However, observation was not deemed an appropriate method for this study as, observing and recording behaviour is open to interpretation by the researcher and is indicative of research carried out *on* and not with children. Furthermore, from a practical perspective, the pandemic meant that the usual school fundraising activities such as bake sales, fetes or book sales were not taking place in schools, during the research period due to social distancing requirements.

In-depth interviews with children would have provided an opportunity for children to express their own views and opinions, however, this was rejected on ethical and practical grounds. Safeguarding issues meant that carrying out face-to-face data collection for children would be under supervised access, as such the presence of two adults in an interview setting would have implications in terms of power dynamics. Furthermore, on a practical level, carrying out individual interviews with children, accompanied by a teacher would have been time-consuming, particularly for the supervising teacher who would have needed to take time out of the working day. Alternative methods might have involved asking children to write something; however, this method had already been incorporated in the survey (they were asked what they would do if they had £10,000 to give to charity and what they would do if they didn't have to give it all to charity).

Ultimately, focus groups were selected as a mechanism to explore further children's attitudes towards philanthropy, using semi-structured questions, so that children had more opportunity to express themselves than they would in a structured interview involving close-ended questions. There are, of course, disadvantages associated with focus groups – they ignore the 'social context', and the way participants might influence one another, and the social nature of the method can mean individual views and opinions are more difficult to assess than in an interview setting (Cyr 2015). However, the many benefits associated with focus groups were felt to outweigh the negatives. For example, from a practical perspective, focus groups provide an efficient way of capturing and recording the views of several individuals at the same time (Carey and Smith 1994 in Cyr 2015). Furthermore, a group discussion can be easier for children as they may find it more natural to be amongst peers and the group dynamic helps ideas circulate, as children bounce ideas off one another (Brady, 2019 p.118). The qualitative data that results from the discussions that take place during focus groups, creates the opportunity to find out what people really think about a topic and why. (Laws, 2013 in Bell and Waters 2014, p.182) as well as the space for the researcher to probe and explore different viewpoints (Brady & Graham, 2019). The focus group setting also allows an element of flexibility, so that questions can be adapted as the session progresses as well as opportunities to include different activities to appeal to different interests and abilities (Brady and Graham, 2019). To that end, a 'creative' element was incorporated at the beginning of the focus group activity and children were asked to draw a picture of what charity means to them. Focus groups were therefore selected due to the many benefits outlined above.

5.12.3 Focus Group Duration and Location

The focus groups in two of the schools took place in classrooms and in the third school, the activity took place in a breakout room, with children sitting on sofas and armchairs. Each focus group lasted between 30 and 45 minutes.

5.12.4 Focus Group Format

Each focus group followed the same format, the children were first thanked for agreeing to participate and then given background information on the research and why they had been invited to join the focus group, they were given opportunities to ask questions. The children were then advised that the session would be recorded on my phone and that only their voices and not their faces or names would be recorded. They were also told that anything they said would be treated confidentially and that any quotes that I used in my report would be anonymised. They were asked either during the session or in advance by the teacher, to sign a form assenting to participating. The children were also told that they were free to leave at any point if they did not want to continue to participate and before the recording started, they were asked to write their names down on a piece of card and prop it up on the table. Each focus group began with a warm-up activity designed as both an icebreaker and also a method to get children thinking about the topic. They were first shown three charity-related items and asked if they could identify them, these were a Comic Relief 'red nose', a charity collection box and the logo for the World Wildlife Fund (WWF). This was followed by a short word-association game and then the children were asked to draw a picture of what charity means to them, followed by an explanation of why they had drawn what they had drawn. Children often find it easier to discuss issues whilst absorbed in a drawing activity (Brady, 2019 p. 126). Once this part of the focus group had been completed, I then worked through a list of pre-prepared questions that were developed in advance of the focus group. However, it was not the intention to ask all of the prepared questions, instead they were prioritised in order of importance the purpose of which to have enough questions should the discussions be short. At the same time, it was more important to let the children lead and the discussions flow than to work through the list of questions. Appendix 3 contains the structure of the focus groups, timings and the schedule of questions prepared in advance to be asked during the session.

5.12.5 Ethical Considerations

Standard ethical procedures were followed, and the supervising teacher was asked to watch for any children who might want to discontinue and leave the group.

5.12.6 Piloting

I piloted the structure and format of the focus group with a group of three children and asked them for feedback as to the process, questions asked and the format. This also presented an opportunity to rehearse timings and obtain an indication of the type of data that might result. There were no changes made to the structure or format of the focus group as a result of the piloting.

5.12.7 Recruitment of Participants

The children that participated in the focus groups were not selected at random, rather the teacher had identified and invited children to participate. Teachers had selected children that they believed would feel comfortable in that setting and confident enough to contribute to the discussion.

5.12.8 Benefits of Participating in the Research

As a gesture of appreciation for the time spent participating in the focus group activities, children were given an RSPCA badge at the end of the focus group, they could choose from a selection of different animals. Whilst it was not made explicit that the gift signifies a donation made to the RSPCA, it was implied, and from my own perspective, it felt more appropriate to link the reward to a charitable cause rather than a gift such as a piece of stationary as used in, for example, Ho's (2010) study.

5.12.9 Sample and Response Rate

Three of the four schools (AH, BG and CF) agreed to participate in the focus group activities. The fourth school, understandably, was not comfortable inviting external people into the school, given the ongoing risks associated with Covid-19. A total of 28 children participated in the focus groups with more girls (61% *n*17) than boys (39% *n11)* and this information is recorded in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Focus Group Participants

	AH School	BG School	CF School
Gender	Girls	Boys	Mixed
Number of Focus Groups	2	1	2
Date of Focus Group	21st June 2021	28th June 2021	24th June 2021
Focus Group 1: Year 5 Children	6	6	5
Focus Group 2: Year 6 Children	6	n/a	5

5.12.10 Data Analysis Process

The focus group discussions were audio-recorded and transcribed by a third party verbatim. I took a generic approach to analysing the qualitative data, using a thematic analysis of the transcripts involving coding by hand, drawing on the framework and the steps suggested by Bryman (2016 p.587), based upon insights from Braun and Clarke, 2006; Clarke and Braun, 2013 and others. The transcripts were first read with an open mind, without taking notes or annotating the text. First impressions were then recorded freehand via a summary of the interesting and key points to emerge. The transcripts were then re-read with notes recorded in the margin about significant remarks or observations. Using a combination of deductive and inductive codes, the transcripts were then coded by hand using a highlighter to identify themes and organise the data. Coding involves applying the same code to an item in the transcript that ''says the same thing or is about the same thing'' (Gibbs, 2007 Cohen et al. 2018), and an item, may have one or several codes attached to it. An iterative process took place which involved moving back and forth between the data and the literature and theoretical concepts (Hart, 2007 p.427). At the same time, inductive coding was used to identify themes that were then fitted against the deductive codes. Notes were recorded in a notebook about things that came to mind when reading the transcripts and descriptive summaries of the codes and themes were recorded in a codebook which helps organise the data (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018). Themes and key words were compared for overlap and then categorised. The transcripts were then run through computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, in this case NViVo, which was used to organise and manage the data, meaning quotes could easily be retrieved and to cross check the frequency of key words and themes to emerge from the coding by hand. The drawing activity was initially included as a method of generating a discussion (Brady and Graham 2019), however the activity produced an unexpectedly rich set of data. As such, the drawings were examined and coded by hand using a combination of deductive and inductive codes.

5.12.11 Qualitative Phase – Interviews with Teachers

Since the main socialising agents for children aged 9 to 11 are the school and the family, and children acquire pro-social behaviours from observing, experiencing and learning, often caught through the ethos of the school rather than formally through the curriculum, teachers were included in the research process so that a more rounded picture is generated. The focus of the research process was to carry out research *with* and not *on* children and the data collected from the adults that participated in this study was complimentary to the research involving children.

5.12.12 Data Collection Method

In order to explore the philanthropic activity taking place at school formally through the curriculum and informally via the customs and practices of the school, face to face interviews were carried out with the teacher responsible for charity matters in each of the four participating schools. Three of these interviews took place online and one was face to face. Each participant was given the option of an in-person or an online interview. The structure of these interviews and the schedule of questions asked to teachers can be found in Appendix 3, all interviews followed the same line of questioning. The questions were open-ended in order to encourage a broad discussion, the advantages of which include the opportunity for participants to use their own words, allow unusual or unexpected answers to emerge and are useful in terms of exploring new areas (Bryman 2016). Interviewees were given the opportunity to provide detailed and lengthy answers if they so wished.

5.12.13 Ethical Considerations, Piloting and Recruitment of Participants

Ethical considerations are covered in Section 5.8. In the interviews, teachers participated under informed consent by signing a statement and were advised that they could stop the interview at any time and advised that any quotes used in the thesis would be anonymised. In the first instance, I wrote to the Head teacher in each of these schools inviting them to participate in the study. In each school that agreed to participate, I was introduced to the person responsible for charity matters and this person not only facilitated the children's participation but also agreed to be interviewed.

5.12.14 Benefits of Participating

I have agreed to produce a short, tailored report for each of the schools that participated, including a summary of the key findings of this thesis. I have also agreed to provide a short child friendly report that can be distributed to children in the schools.

5.12.15 Sample and Response Rate

Table 5.5 details the job function of the teacher that participated, the date of the interview and the location, all of the teachers were female.

Table 5.5 Teacher Interviews

Teacher Interview	AH School (Girls School)	BG School (Boys)	DE School (Boys)	CF School (Mixed)
Job Title / Function	Assistant Head, Pastoral	Subject + Form Teacher Works with the PTA organising school charity events	Deputy Head, Pastoral	Year 5 Teacher / Key Stage 2 Curriculum Co-Ordinator / Head of Charities and Events
Date of Interview	21st June 2021	7th June 2021	7th June 2021	24th June 2021
Location of Interview	Teacher's private office	Virtual - Zoom Interview	Virtual - Zoom Interview	Classroom (after focus groups)

As can be seen in the table, the job function/role of the individuals that participated in the research on behalf of the schools varied. For two of the schools, it was the Head of Pastoral that I spoke with and included in their remit was the provision of the Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) curriculum and they were able to provide insight into how philanthropic education is or might be incorporated into formal learning opportunities in the classroom. In BG School, the teacher had recently taken on the 'charity' responsibility which was mostly concerned with the school fundraising activities both with and separate to the parents' association. For CF School, the additional role of 'Head of Charities and Events' was broader than just fundraising and included efforts to embed philanthropic education in the ethos of the school as well as efforts to embed it across the curriculum.

5.12.16 Data Analysis Process

The data collected from the teacher interviews was handled in the same manner as the focus group data see Section 5.12.10.

5.13 Integration of Quantitative and Qualitative Data

In an explanatory sequential research design, data is merged at two points. Firstly, quantitative data is used to identify areas to be explored further in the qualitative phase and then data from both strands is integrated and analysed. The chapters that follow present the integrated and analysed findings.

5.14 Methodological Limitations and Reflections

Given the size of the sample, the findings are not representative or generalisable to all children that belong to financially secure households or all children attending independent schools. Sampling methods were not random or representative because convenience sampling relied on my own network. Furthermore, the data is self-reported and therefore subject to social desirability bias when adults and children provide the answers they believe are expected.

I felt that the children's online survey was particularly successful in terms of response rates and quality of data, particularly the qualitative ("write-in'') data that was captured. In terms of the parent surveys, I would have liked to have generated a larger response and to have included further questions. For example, I would have liked to have incorporated more questions that would enable further direct comparisons to be made between what parent's report doing and what the children report seeing and observing. Overall, I felt that the focus group format was successful in that the children in each of the groups were engaged, enthusiastic and all of them were willing to talk about their own experiences, and at the same time, listen to those of others in the group. Ideally, the children would have been chosen at random, however, my impression was that teachers had selected those children that would be more comfortable in the setting and confident in terms of speaking to a stranger which, for the purposes of this exercise was beneficial in that lively discussions ensued resulting in rich data.

5.15 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has set out the methodological approach that frames this study, the data collection methods and tools implemented, the path taken to analyse the data collected, and some reflections on the process and the limitations. The following four chapters concern the results of the research, the first two present and describe the findings, followed by two further chapters that discuss the key themes that emerge from the findings, what they mean and why they are important.

Chapter 6 Findings and Analysis: *What they know, what they do and why they give*

The previous chapter set out the research methodology and the methods used to collect and analyse the data from children, parents and teachers. This chapter represents the first of two findings chapters in which new empirical data is presented and described. The key themes to emerge from the findings presented here are then discussed in detail across the two discussion chapters that follow (Chapters 8 & 9). In this chapter and the next (Chapters 6 and 7), the findings are presented and analysed, the purpose of which is to explore and examine the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by the financially secure children that participated in my study. The quantitative and qualitative data collected is integrated, presented and described in this chapter and the next, drawing on the results of the surveys, interviews and focus group discussions involving children, parents and teachers. Where qualitative findings explain or expand upon the quantitative, the quantitative results are presented first. Where comments recorded on the children's surveys are used, I have used direct quotes and have therefore not modified or adapted the spelling or the grammar. Across each of these two findings and analysis chapters, where relevant, I compare my results with those associated with earlier and similar studies involving children, upon which some of the questions were modelled, and in so doing, address the first research question:

RQ 1: What is distinct about the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children?

In this first results chapter, the quantitative and qualitative findings are presented concerning the second and third research questions identified at the end of Chapter 4:

RQ 2: How do financially secure children describe and understand philanthropy?

RQ 3: Do financially secure children express the desire to give – what do they give to, what do they give and why?

The data is explored further in the next chapter (Chapter 7), where the findings are presented that examine the routes through which financially secure children acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours at home and at school, and in so doing, addresses the final research question:

RQ 4: How do financially secure children learn to give and participate in philanthropy – what philanthropy do they experience, observe and learn?

Several themes emerge from the findings presented, which are explored and discussed in Chapters 8 and 9, and in so doing, considers the meaning and significance of these results to the central research question that this thesis seeks to address:

What kind of philanthropic citizen are financially secure children learning to become?

This chapter begins with the findings that tell us something about how the financially secure children in my study describe and understand philanthropy and in so doing addresses RQ2 and includes the pictures that children drew in the focus groups in response to the question *what does charity mean to you?* The chapter continues with an exploration of the data concerning the children's giving behaviours, preferences and motivations, addressing RQ3. By way of a re-cap, the findings presented and explored are drawn from:

- 222 online surveys that were completed by children attending four independent schools in London (110 boys, 88 girls, 24 genders not specified)
- Five focus group discussions involving 28 children from three of the participating schools (17 Girls and 11 Boys)
- 113 online surveys completed by parents with children attending independent schools (87% female)
- Interviews with one teacher responsible for charity matters in each of the four schools (4 female teachers)

6.1 How do financially secure children describe and understand philanthropy?

The way the children in my study describe charity through the words they use and the drawings they produce tells us something about their understanding of charity. This section first presents the words and descriptions that the children in my study used in the focus groups when describing charity, which is mostly understood as an act or behaviour. The drawings that children produced during the focus groups are then presented and described.

6.1.1 Charity is described as an act or behaviour

To capture how these children understand charity and without providing them with a specific definition, focus group participants were initially asked to write down the first three words that came to mind when they heard the word ‘charity’. Alternatively, they could write a sentence instead, which two children chose to do:

> ‘’Help those in need’’ Boy (year group not specified)
>
> ‘’Helping someone or something in need’’ Girl, Year 6

The remaining 26 children wrote down three words which are recorded in the first column of Table 6.1 below and in the second column, the number of children that included the word on their list.

Table 6.1 Focus Group Activity - The words children associate with the word 'charity'

Word	Mentions
Help (or Helping)	21
Kind	11
Donate (or Donating)	7
Money	6
Give (or Giving)	5
Less Fortunate	4
Named Charity - Salvation Army & Stand by Me (2) & GOSH	4
Volunteer (or Volunteering)	4
Generous	3
People	2
Associate / Corrupt / Care / Reacting / Toys & Clothes / Support / Funding / Aid / Lunch / Sharing / 'Making others smile' *	1

*** These words were each mentioned only once (11 unique words)**

As can be seen in Table 6.1 the range of words that children associate with charity is fairly narrow with several words common within and across the focus groups and this is despite all children writing down their three words *privately* before sharing with the group. For the children that participated in the focus groups, my data suggests that charity is mostly understood in terms of an act or behaviour such as *helping, donating, giving or being kind.* These behaviours are consistent with those 'voluntary' actions designed to benefit 'others' that illustrate and define pro-social behaviour (Daniel Batson 2012)(Nancy Eisenberg and Mussen 1989) (Brownell *et al.* 2013) with *help* or *helping* being the word most frequently associated with charity. As can be seen in the quotes below, when the children were asked what three words they had written down, some felt the need to explain and contextualise the words they had chosen:

> ''this is what charity means to me, to **donate** is, you know to help, to help people'' Year 5
>
> ''**help** those in need'' Year 5,
>
> ''I put **helping** those less fortunate than us'' Boy, Year 5

Aside from associating charity with behaviours or acts, 'money' was also a frequently mentioned word, with nearly a third of all focus group participants including it on their list, and my data suggests that money is understood as something that enable acts of helping, giving and donating. For example:

> "I wrote **help** as you're helping them…..I also wrote **money** because most of the time you are giving money'' Boy, Year 6
>
> "I wrote, **help** people in many different ways, but the most common way is **money**" Boy, Year 6

6.1.2 Charity is depicted as helping other people

Following on from the word association exercise, the children were asked to draw a picture of what charity means to them and then asked to describe to the group *why* they had drawn what they had drawn, the purpose of which was to generate a discussion on the topic since, ‘’children and young people often find it easier to discuss issues while absorbed in the drawing’’ (Brady and Graham 2019, p.126). Children were specifically asked *why* rather than *what* they had drawn as, asking *what* might be interpreted as a criticism of their drawing skills, whereas the purpose of the exercise was to generate a discussion on the topic (Brady and Graham 2019). Incorporating creative methods in the research process has added benefits to the process such as maintaining interest including maximising engagement and enabling each child to express themselves in their own way (Brady and Graham 2019) and as an enjoyable activity. The drawing activity yielded some interesting and rich data, a review of the drawings and the accompanying explanations given by the children reveal several themes generating insights in terms of what these children understand and think about charity. In total, 25 drawings were collected from children. Whilst definitions of philanthropy are indeed contested (Daly 2016)(Michael Moody and Breeze 2016), three of the drawings reflected the literal translation of philanthropy, ‘love of humankind’ and this interpretation is reflected Figure 6.1, Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.1 Charity is Love

‘’I drew a big heart because its kind’’ Boy, Year 5

Figure 6.2 Charity is Love

''I drew loads of hearts connected because, first of all when I think of charity, I think we are all in this together'', Girl, Year 5

Figure 6.3 Charity is Love

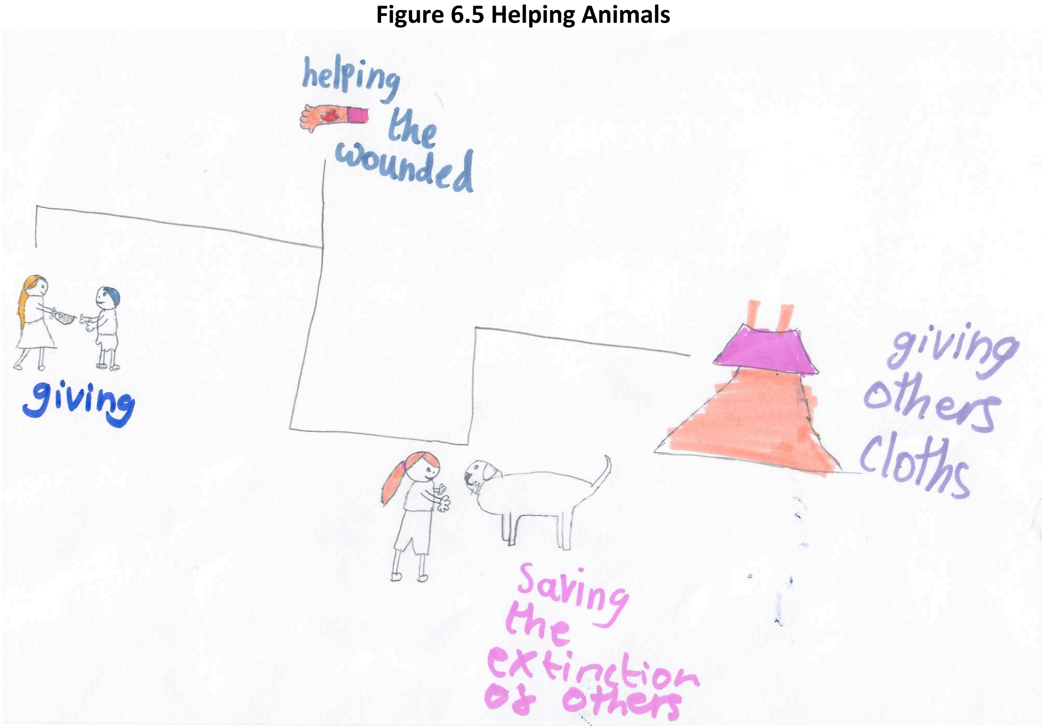
"I've drawn someone showing and teaching love'' Boy, Year 5

Three of the drawings included references to animal causes and charities, for example, Figure 6.4 and Figure 6.5:

Figure 6.4 Helping Animals

"Well, I chose a random topic which is like save the turtles, so I drew a pot with lots of money in it….to give money to help save the turtles'' Girl, Year 6

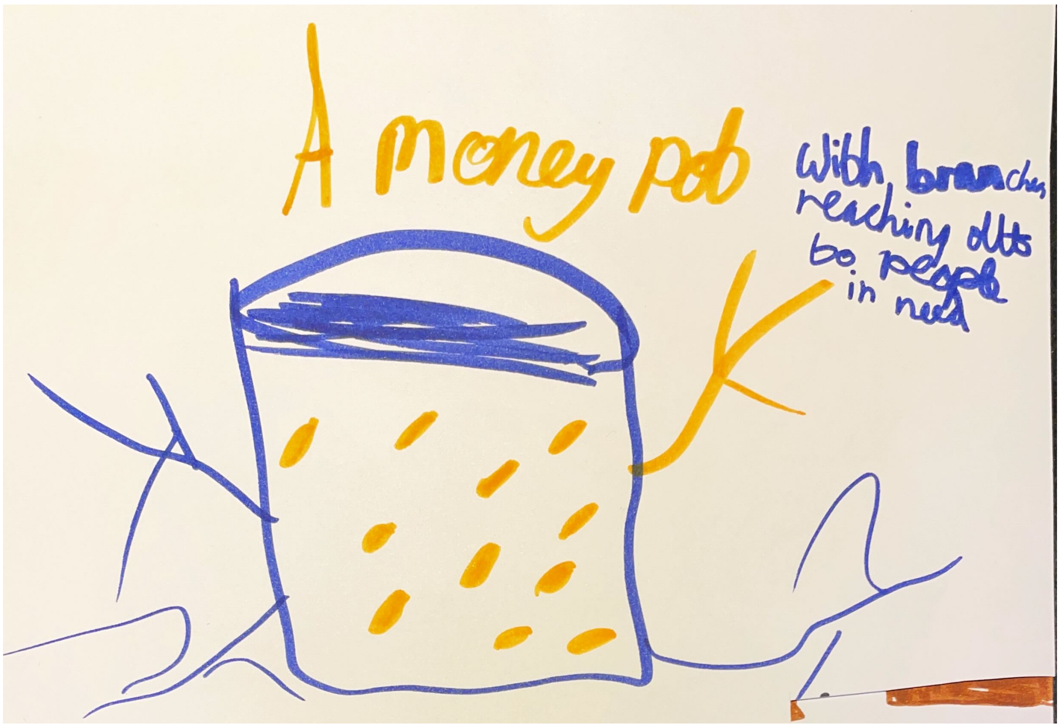
Figure 6.5 Helping Animals



"I think of helping like the wounded and giving people money and donating clothes and saving others from extinction'' Girl, Year 5

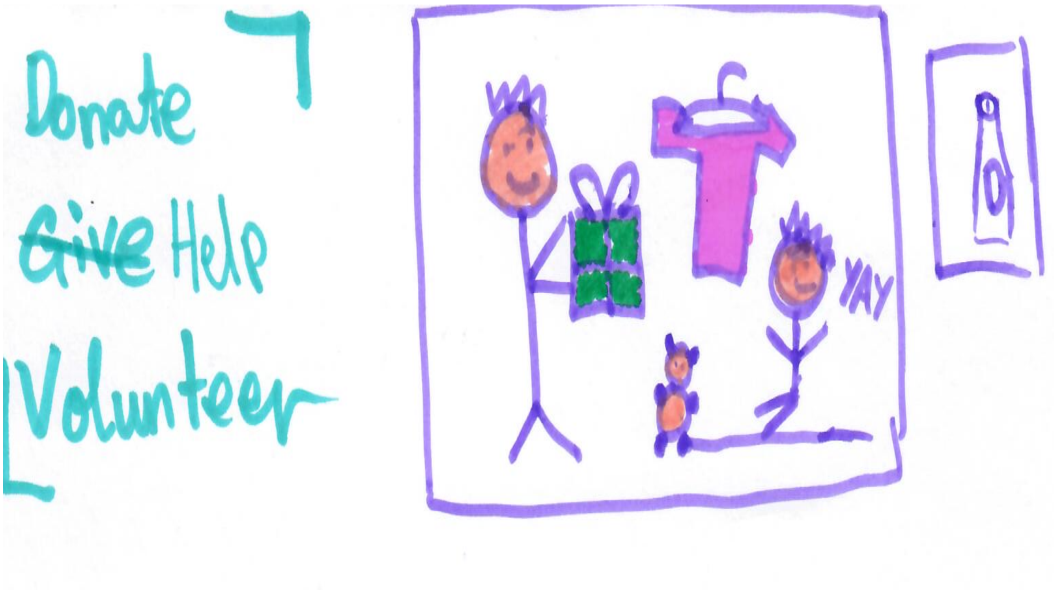
However, people rather than animals feature in nearly all of the drawings which showed donors helping and giving to others (the beneficiaries). Children mostly drew or referenced people, who they describe as being *less fortunate* and being helped with donations of money or items, see Figure 6.6 and Figure 6.7. Although one child did draw a charity shop (Figure 6.8), although in this picture, charity still seems to be framed according to helping beneficiaries/people with 'clothes and food'. Charity appears to be unidirectional and mostly understood as an act or behaviour rather than a place, a cause or an organisation all of which feature less frequently in the drawings and accompanying explanations.

Figure 6.6 Helping others with money



"I've drawn a money pot with branches reaching out to those in poverty, they don't have what we all have, it's just giving them stuff''. Year 6, Girl

Figure 6.7 Helping others with items



"I drew a person giving clothes and toys to a child that didn't have more like us….so I think it is helping people that aren't as fortunate as us'' Girl Year 6

Figure 6.8 Drawing of a charity shop

''I drew a shop with clothes and food and then someone who is homeless and then they walk into it'' Girl, Year 6

Whilst there were some references to specific charities such as Cancer Research (see Figure 6.9 and Figure 6.2) and the Salvation Army, there were no references across the drawings or associated discussions to those charities associated with large-scale marketing campaigns that target school-age children such as Children in Need and Comic Relief. However, in each of the focus groups, the children were able to correctly identify the 'red nose' associated with Comic Relief – a 'prop' shown to children at the start of the focus group in order to get them thinking about the topic.

Figure 6.9 Drawing referencing Cancer Research

'I drew a hospital….its a charity all about helping people and giving the sick and people who aren't as privileged and can't pay for what we get…'I drew a Cancer Research tip box'' Girl, Year 6

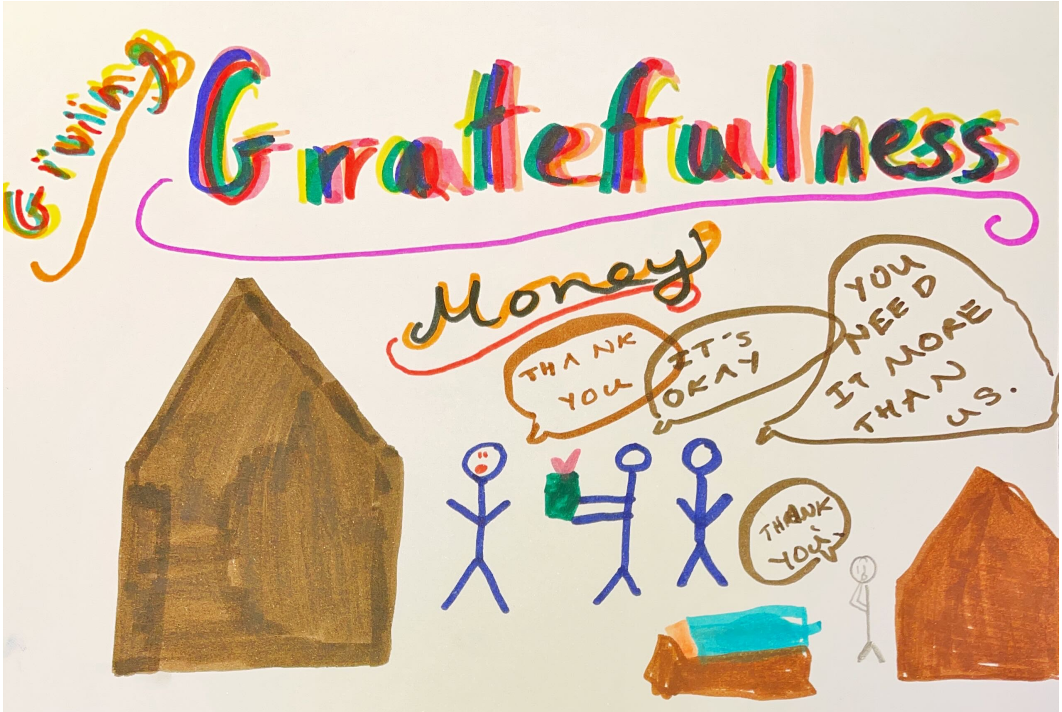
Although one child drew and described the volunteering that she did with her family (Figure 6.10), charity is mostly depicted and described by these children in terms of helping other people with money or material items and not in terms of social action or volunteering.

Figure 6.10 Drawing showing a family volunteering

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

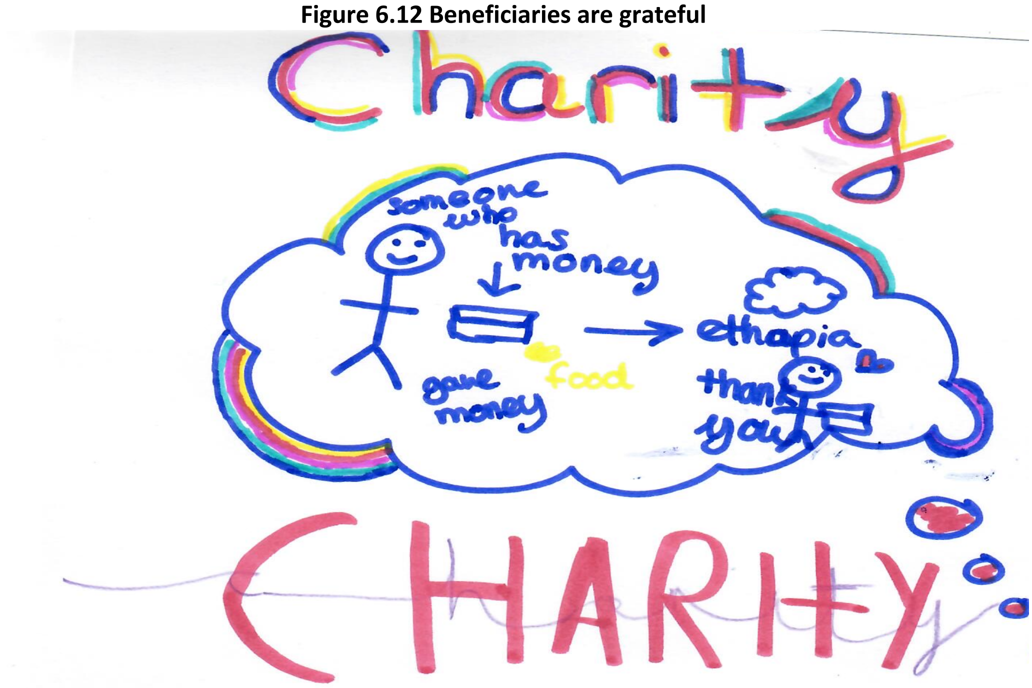
Beneficiaries are often portrayed and described as being 'grateful' see Figure 6.10, Figure 6.11, Figure 6.12 for examples. The donation of goods was often described in terms of *used* items that were no longer wanted by the donor such as toys and clothes, for example: ''Normally I give my clothes and teddy bears I don't want any more to Cancer Research or other charity shops'' Girl, Year 6.

Figure 6.11 Beneficiaries are grateful



''this is a person, a poor person, well not really poor, but an unlucky person and these are people like us that get what they want and so then they're giving this person a present and this person is really grateful…..and this one is saying its ok and this one is saying you need it more than us'' Girl, Year 5

Figure 6.12 Beneficiaries are grateful



''Some people might be giving food to the Salvation Army or someone whose given some money to go to Ethiopia and the person here is saying thank you because they didn't have that much money or food and supplies'' Girl, Year 5

The analysis of the drawings and the review of the focus group discussions show that the children largely understand charity according to the things that *they* or people like them do for charity, for examples see Figure 6.13, Figure 6.14 and Figure 6.15 and in relation to their own material and educational privilege for examples see: Figure 6.6, and Figure 6.11.

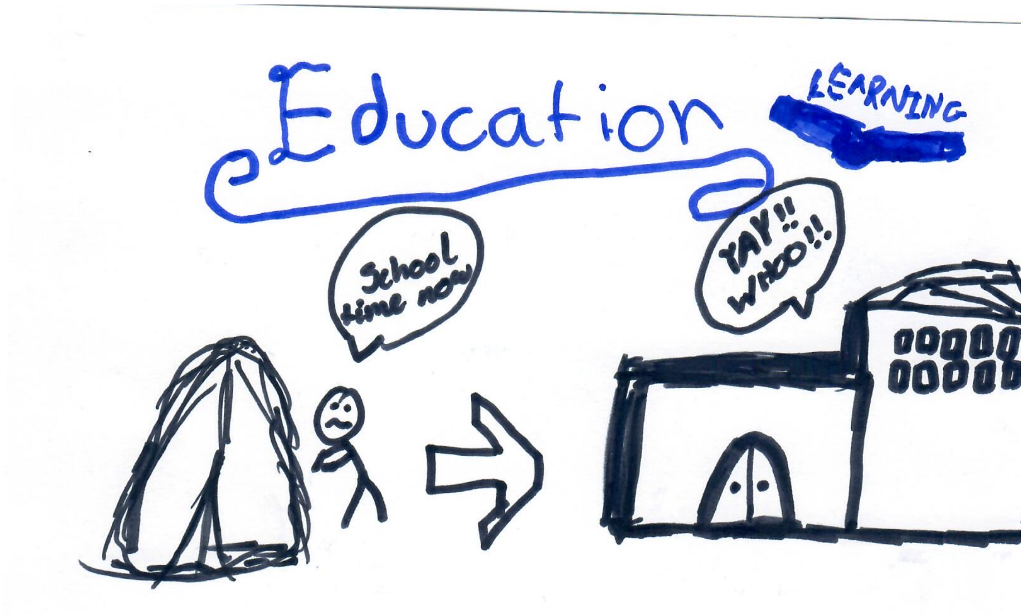
Figure 6.13 Things that children do for charity

''I drew a house and some people, a happy family because I think when people say charities, they think ok if I do this maybe I can help lots of people and can donate and the charities help people have a happy life'' Girl, Year 5

Figure 6.14 Things that children do for charity

'We normally do bake sales and then we count the **money** and we give it to some charities like Great Ormond Street'', Girl, Year 5

Figure 6.15 Providing a good education



"I've done a child which is going to his school hut, which was before just a bigger mud hut, then after his village has received a donation, their school becomes a real school and they get a proper education'' Boy, Year 5

Whilst the intention of incorporating the drawing exercise into the focus group activity was primarily to generate a discussion on the topic (Brady and Graham 2019) the drawings produced by the children resulted in some rich data that illustrates how they understand charity. Table 6.2 below, details the different themes that emerged from the analysis of the drawings and accompanying explanations (Column 1), as well as the frequency with which these themes were depicted or mentioned (Column 2) alongside an exemplary quote or reference (Column 3). These core themes will be returned to and discussed in detail in the discussion chapters where I consider how philanthropic understanding as shown in some of these drawings, reflects the concepts associated with the politics of benevolence as articulated by Jefferess (2008) .

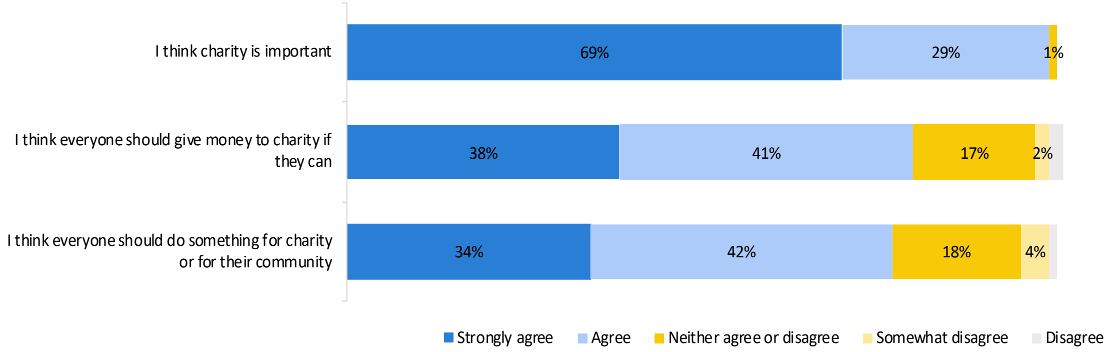
Table 6.2 Summary of the themes to emerge from the drawings and discussions about charity

Themes to emerge from the drawings	**No. Drawings**	**Example**
Charity is described as **'helping people'**	84% (21)	Nearly all the pictures included people rather than animals or other causes such as medical research.
Charity is described as the donation of **'money'**	76% (19)	''So, this is a person, like these two people are like people from our school and they are saying let's give money to charity, yes and there is an arrow showing that it is going into the money donation place'' Boy, Year 5
Beneficiaries are understood and described as being **'Less Fortunate'** or '**Unlucky'** or '**not as privileged'**	28% (7)	''this is a person, a poor person, well not really poor, but an unlucky person'' Girl, Year 5
Charity is described as the **donation of 'items'** such as toys, food and clothes	24% (6)	"I drew a bear, like a cuddly toy and a toy train because whenever, I donate to charity we normally go to a charity shop.....Boy, Year 5
Beneficiaries depicted and described as being **'grateful'** / expressing **'gratitude**' / saying **'thank you'**	20% (5)	Drawing included a speech bubble with the words ''thank you, I have never been given something like this'' Girl, Year 6
Charity is described as **'making beneficiaries happy'**	20% (5)	Drawing shows two people (donors) in the centre that are happy and two people (beneficiaries) on the edge that are sad…''what charity does it makes everyone happy'' Boy, Year 5
Beneficiaries described as '**poor'** or people in **'poverty**'	16% (4)	A spider diagram including the words ''help people in poverty''
Charity is described as the donation of **'presents'**	16% (4)	''I drew….a £20 note or a present…and then I drew an arrow, so it all goes to people in the world who need help'' Girl, Year 6
Charity is drawn and/or described as **'love'**	16% (4)	''I drew a massive heart because charity is a really kind thing'' Girl, Year 6
Beneficiaries described **as 'homeless'**	12% (3)	''I've got someone donating into like a piggy bank most of it going to like homeless people'' Boy, Year 5
Charity is described as **'helping animals'**	12% (3)	Drawing included a child helping an animal.
Charity is described as **'collective action'.**	8% (2)	''we are all in this together'' Girl, Year 6

6.1.3 Charity is important

Nearly all the children (98% *n.213*) that completed the survey agreed or strongly agreed with the statement *charity is important*, with more than three quarters agreeing that it is *our duty to help in the community or give money to charity if we can.* These findings are illustrated in Figure 6.16 below:

Figure 6.16 Children's Survey - *How much do you agree with the following statements?*



The findings illustrated in Figure 6.16 above are broadly the same as those found in Power and Taylor's (2018) study involving nearly two thousand children from both advantaged and disadvantaged communities, as well as the findings in the CAF study (2013) which examined the attitudes of one thousand children and young people towards charity (500 aged 9 – 11 and 500 aged 16-18) which were presumably also from a broad socio-economic demographic. However, the children in my study, all of which are from a specific socio-economic background (financially secure households) exhibited a greater level of agreement overall with broadly comparable statements:

- 99% of children in my study think charity is important, compared to 78% of children that participated in the CAF study (2013 p.11) and 76% of children in Power & Taylor's study (2018 p.710)

- 79% of children in my study think everyone should give money to charity (if they can) compared to 63% of children in the CAF study (2013) which think the more money people have the more they should give

6.2 What do financially secure children give to?

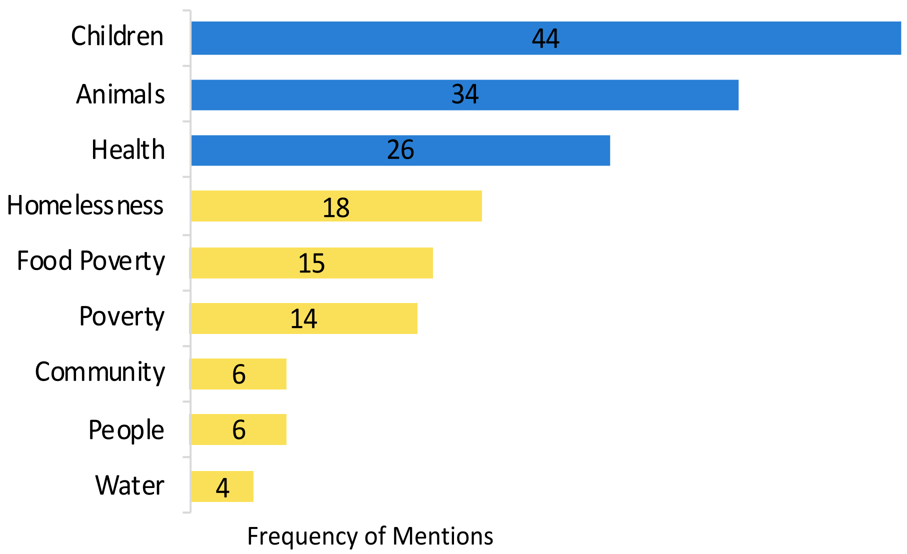
The survey and focus groups included items exploring the giving preferences of the children who participated in the study. In the survey, children were asked the following question: *You have £10,000 to give to charity – what would you do with it?* They were also asked which cause or causes they would like the researcher to make a small donation to, on their behalf, as a gesture of appreciation for the time they spent completing the survey. The text responses in the surveys were also examined for references to causes and charities as were the focus group transcripts and the findings of this analysis are presented below, providing an indication as to how the children prioritise societal need.

6.2.1 Causes and charities that help people and animals are prioritised

Survey Findings

The survey responses provided insight as to how children prioritise need – the causes children consider in need of their support. The children were deliberately not guided by a list to choose from when responding to the survey question: *You have £10,000 to give to charity, what would you do with it?* In response, children specified causes as well as specific charities to which they would allocate the money. The 'free text' responses were analysed, and the qualitative responses translated into quantitative data. Figure 6.17 sets out the causes in order of frequency with which they were mentioned by survey participants in response to the question about distributing a £10K windfall to charity.

Figure 6.17 Causes referenced by children in the survey in response to the £10K question



Most children specified a cause area in their response with nearly a quarter of the children (52) referencing a particular charity or charities to which they would allocate the money, with the top three being Cancer Charities /Cancer Research, WWF and Stand by Me - the most frequently mentioned charities are presented in Table 6.3 and the charities that were mentioned only once in response to the £10K question are shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.3 Charities specified by children in the survey in response to the £10K question

Name of Charity	Frequency of Mention	Cause Area
Cancer Charities[1]	12	Health / Medical
Cancer Research	6	Health / Medical
****[2]	9	Children
WWF	9	Animals
****[3]	7	Food Poverty
Cafod	4	Aid
Salvation-Army	3	Community / Faith
NHS	2	Health / Medical
Rugby-Portobello	2	Community
UNICEF	2	Children

Table 6.4 Charities with one mention in the survey in response to the £10K question

Name of Charity	Cause Area
Chamos	Children
Childline	Children
NSPCC	Children
Sponsor a Child	Children
Khan-Academy	Education
Care Homes	Elderly
British Red Cross	Emergency Aid
Wild-Tomorrow-Fund	Environment
Cardiac risk in the young	Health / Medical
Diabetes	Health / Medical
Enchroma	Health / Medical
GOSH	Health / Medical
Trinity-Hospice	Health / Medical
Rainbow-Trust	Health / Medical / Children
Centrepoint	Homelessness
Crisis	Homelessness
Comic Relief	Poverty
Food Banks	Poverty
Gates-Foundation	Poverty
Oxfam	Poverty
Breaking Barriers	Refugees

[1] Within the cause area of health/medical charities – children specified ‘cancer charities’ in general rather than specific cancer charities, with the exception of ‘Cancer Research’ – listed separately in the table.

[2] The name of the charity is anonymised so as to protect the identity of the school.

[3] The name of the charity is anonymised so as to protect the identity of the school.

As can be seen in the tables above, the children that participated in the survey, appear to prioritise health/medical charities overall and this is consistent with the findings in earlier studies involving children such as those by CAF (2013) and Power & Smith (2016 p.198) and in line with empirical data on adults such as that recorded in the annual giving surveys carried out by the Charities Aid Foundation (CAF 2022 p.17). Children want to give to the charities that they know - popular charities included a specific charity helping children and a specific charity tackling food poverty [4], both of which are designated 'school or partner charities' that have benefitted from ongoing support from the respective schools for many years and certainly during the school lifetime of the children that participated in this study. The aforementioned children's charity (anonymised to avoid making the school identifiable) was also mentioned multiple times in the focus group discussions with CF School and reflected in quotes such as the following:

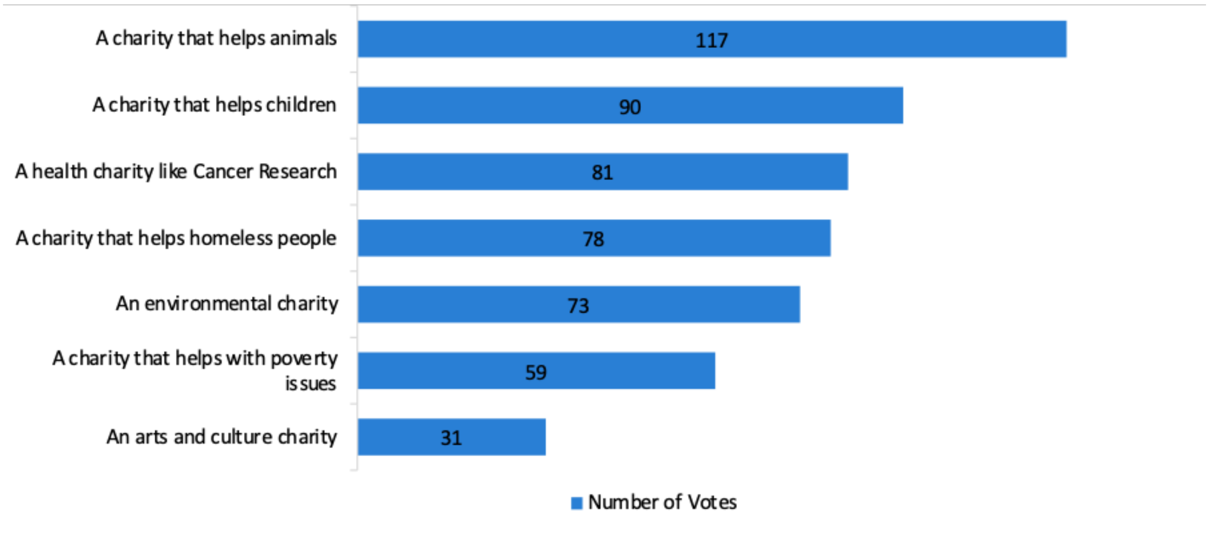
> ''There's a 'school charity' ....when the school first started like supporting it, I was one of the few and my brother, he doesn't go to this school, he's like 18 right now…..yeah we sponsored two different children'' Boy, Year 6

Whilst the charities that CF School and DE School partner with are large by income standards, (in 2020, the food poverty charity had an income of £16m and the children's causes charity had an income of £1.6m)[5], they are not 'well known' brands with large scale media campaigns such as Comic Relief and Children in Need, organisations that are often associated with school fundraising initiatives. The aforementioned high-profile charities were notable by their absence in the responses to this question, and as shall be seen, across the data more broadly.

The findings outlined above can be triangulated with the results of a further question on the survey whereby children were specifically asked to select a cause area from a list that they would like to benefit from a small donation that the researcher would make on their behalf as a gesture of appreciation for their participation in the survey. Whilst in a slightly different order of priority, the top four cause areas that children selected were the same: Animals, Children, Health and Homelessness (see Figure 6.18)

[4] The names of these charities are not used in order to maintain the anonymity of the schools.
[5] The names of both of these charities are not used in order to maintain the anonymity of the schools.

Figure 6.18 Which causes should benefit from a donation from the researcher?



Focus Group Findings

The focus group transcripts were coded and analysed to identify the cause areas that children say benefit from charitable support. Table 6.5 below presents the deductive and inductive codes that were used for the analysis as well as a definition of the code, an exemplifying quote, as well as the frequency of mention.

Table 6.5 Focus Group Findings: Beneficiaries of Charity

Deductive Codes	Inductive Codes	Definition	Examples	Frequency*
Beneficiaries of Charitable Support	**People**	Children talk about people as being the main beneficiary of charity	"I drew a picture of someone giving food and water to someone, so giving and then someone like taking someone out of like an avalanche, so aid in a disaster" Boy, Year 5 "I drew a house and some people, a happy family because I think when people say the charities they think okay if I do this maybe I can help lots of people and can donate" Girl, Year 5	Very High
	Less Fortunate	Children refer to beneficiaries as those that are 'less fortunate'	"someone giving money to a charity and then they give it to somebody whose like homeless because like they're less fortunate than us" Boy, Year 5 "helping people who are less fortunate than us and don't have the opportunities that we have in life just to help them erm, have a better, just have a better life" Girl, Year 6	Very High
	Homelessness	Children refer to homeless people as beneficiaries of charity	"I've got someone donating into like a piggy bank most of it going to like homeless people" Boy, Year 5 "we help cook a lot of food for the homeless " Girl, Year 5	Very High
	Animals	Children refer to animals as beneficiaries of charity	"I also drew like binoculars because obviously when you're doing some charity work for animals you have to like observe their like habitat" Girl, Year 6 "I adopted two tigers from WWF" Girl, Year 6	Low
	Environment	Children refer to environmental causes and issues as beneficiaries of charity	"to help our environment" Girl, Year 6 "you're all trying to stop maybe like climate change and you're all trying, you're all aiming for something and you're all humans and all should be treated together" Girl, Year 5	Low

***Where Low - <5, Medium 6 – 10, High 10-20, Very High 20+ mentions**

There was also evidence among the discussions that children are motivated to give to causes in response to life events or personal experiences, for example:

> ‘’I am diabetic, and I raise money for the JDRF to find a cure’’ Girl, Year 5
>
> ‘’My grandfather died of skin cancer, so we support research’’ Girl, Year 5

Similarly, committed adult donors were found to support causes that relate to life experiences and events, as well as autobiographical factors such as losing a relative or friend to cancer and prompt and informed giving decisions (Breeze 2013).

Despite an overwhelming desire to help people as articulated in both the focus groups and survey responses, when presented with a list of causes to donate money to, animal charities were the most popular amongst the children. In order to compare the giving priorities of children with those of their parents, the opportunity was taken in the survey completed by parents, to find out how they would distribute a £10K windfall, by ranking causes according to priority, the results of which were, as follows:

1. **Children’s Charities**
2. **Poverty**
3. **Medical Research**
4. **Homelessness**
5. **Environmental**
6. **Arts & Culture**
7. **Animal charities**

Where the children in my study prioritise animal charities, this was the least popular cause area among adult participants.

6.2.2 Children want to help many causes and charities

Whilst the data presented above tells us something about the way children and parents prioritise charities and causes, the responses to the question as to how they would distribute £10k to charity, found that nearly half (43%) of the children would divide the amount between several charities or causes, some of whom were very specific in terms of how much should be distributed and to where, as reflected in the following quotes:

> “I would give 2,500 to Mary's Meals to help people get food, 2,500 to the Gates Foundation to help them develop vaccines/distribute vaccines in places where they don't have them, 2,500 to CAFOD to again help support the wellbeing of people in poverty, and 2,500 to Khan Academy to help support education.” Boy, Year 6

''I would split it across a few charities: Stand-by-Me and Salvation Army especially'' Girl, Year 6

''I would give all of it to different charities like the WWF, Childline and a number of others and I would actually donate some of it or hospitals because to make the cancer vaccine and some more vaccines.'' Girl, Year 6

''I would give around £2,000 of all the money to the government so they can then give it to the children that rely on school food to survive but now because of lockdowns and Covid 19 cannot receive any food. I would then give £5,000 of that money to medics so they can use it to either help people with deceases [diseases] or they can use it to help make cures for deceases, for example cancer research. Finally, I would give the last £3,000 to give to charities that help children in countries that have put them in difficult situations, for example if they are in a country that is currently in war, or they have no food and water or they have been separated from their parents and now are living somewhere on the streets'' Girl, Year 5

A sense of fairness and equity is also reflected in the comments children wrote when choosing how to allocate the small donation I agreed to make on their behalf. For example:

''please do all of them'' Girl, Year 5

'any charity, I just want to help'' Girl, Year 5

''I want to give the same equality and education that a rich child in England would have to a child in poverty somewhere else'' Boy, Year 6

''if possible, can you do some for all highlighted but if not then only the animal one and the environmental'' Boy, Year 5

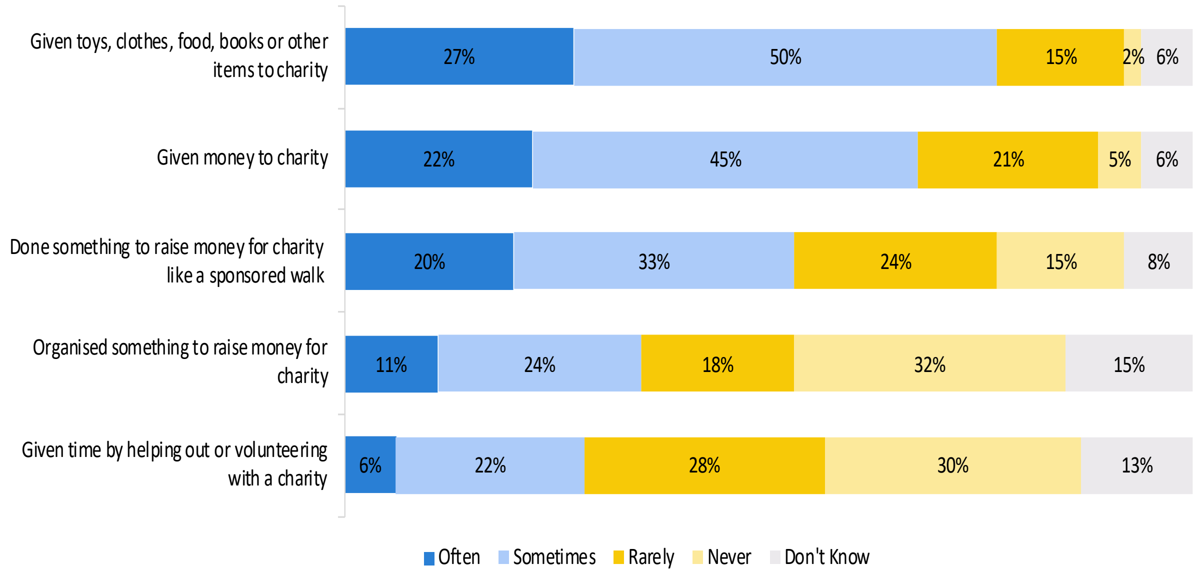
''All charity's benefit and I think I am happy for money to go to all of them'' Boy, Year 6

Fairness and equity is also an underlying motivating factor in terms of why children want to give, and this explored further in Section 6.4.

6.3 What do financially secure children give?

The children that participated in the survey, report giving treasure (money and items), time (volunteering) and talent (organising fundraising initiatives). The frequency with which they engage in these activities is shown in Figure 6.19.

Figure 6.19 Survey Findings: Frequency children report doing philanthropic activities



As seen in Figure 6.19, the activity that children report doing most frequently involves giving items and money which is in line with the way the children describe and understand charity, as reflected in the drawings and discussions presented in Section 6.1, where charity was mostly framed according to money and items given to needy others. What they give is further explored in Section 7.1 which examines the range of philanthropic activities that the children in my study report doing.

6.3.1 An expressed preference to give rather than spend or save

The survey asked children what they would do with a windfall of £10,000 if they did not have to give it all to charity (the preceding question on the survey was *You have £10,000 to give to charity – what would you do with it?*). The 'free-text' nature of this question captured qualitative data and elicited detailed and varied responses from the children, the content of which required analysing and coding. A directed approach to content analysis was taken, whereby the coding structure 'derives from pre-existing theory or hypotheses' (Cohen, Lawrence and Morrison 2018), that is, the categories were determined in advance rather than developed from the material itself (ibid.). The responses were analysed, and the text categorised according to the themes and categories identified in Power & Smith's (2016) research upon which this question was modelled, which asked children to imagine what they might do if they received an albeit larger windfall of £1 Million. This process of content analysis enables numerical data to be extracted from the word-based data (ibid. p.675), as such the findings to emerge from this part of the survey are understood and presented in this format. Whilst Power & Smith's study chose a windfall amount of £1M, following on from the initial piloting of the study in which some children distributed the £1M windfall as if it were £100,000, I took the decision to make the amount £10,000 which I felt was a more manageable and easier to quantify, but equally a significant amount, at the same time the figure felt more realistic than fantastical. Whilst the quantity of imaginary windfall in each of the studies is different, I made and assumption that since both studies involve similarly hypothetical questions with similarly significant amounts, comparisons can be made between the two studies.

Taking Power & Smith's (2016) categories which were underpinned by Lonergan's work on the social value of money (Lonergan, 2009 in Power & Smith, 2016 p.194), the responses were categorised firstly according to the child's primary intention as to whether they would 'give', 'spend' or 'save' the money, where *givers* would give at least a 'significant part of the money away' (Power and Smith 2016 p.195). Table 6.6 presents the principal intentions of the children, and like the analysis in Power and Smiths (2016) study, givers are separated into two categories – those that would give it all away and those that would give a significant amount away.

Table 6.6 Principal Intentions - giving all or some of the money away

Principal Intention - Totals	**%**	**n.**
Give it all away (givers)	37.4%	*65*
Give some away, spend or save the rest *(givers)*	32.2%	*56*
Save all of it *(savers)*	15.5%	*27*
Spend all or most, save some *(spenders)*	14.9%	*26*

These findings are further illustrated in Table 6.7 below, broken down by gender and presented alongside the findings from Power & Smith's study so that, in the absence of any other such studies involving children in the UK, comparisons can be made. The top two rows of Table 6.6 are merged to become the 'giver' figure in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 Principal Intentions by gender and compared to Power & Smith (2016)

Principal Intention	**Survey Findings (2021)**			**Power & Smith (2016)**		
	Boys	**Girls**	**Total**	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Total**
Givers	**60.0%**	**79.7%**	**69.6%**	**41.2%**	**57.8%**	**49.9%**
Savers	**21.0%**	**9.4%**	**15.5%**	**18.1%**	**9.9%**	**13.9%**
Spenders	**19.0%**	**10.9%**	**14.9%**	**40.7%**	**32.2%**	**36.3%**

In both studies, *givers* represent the largest group with half (50%) of the survey respondents in Power and Smith's study and more than two thirds (70%) of the children in my study electing to give some or all of the money away. Spenders represent the smallest group in each study, which goes against the ''prevalent discourse of a consumer society'' (Power and Smith 2016 p.192) and concerns regarding a society increasingly built upon neo-liberal ideology and individualism (explored further in the discussion chapter). Nearly three quarters of the children that participated in my study (69.6% *n.121)* would still give some or *all* of the money *away* (givers) of which, more than half (54% *n.65)* electing to 'give it **all** away' (Table 6.6) and the rest of the givers (46% *n.56)* choosing to 'give *some* and spend or save the rest**'.**

Given that a significant proportion of children in this study would give the money away, the results were further categorised as to how the money would be distributed (see Table 6.8). Power and Smith's categories were again used, but with the additional category of 'giving *most* of it away to *charities*', the reason being that 'give some away to *charities, families* and *friends*' was too broad given that several children would give most but not all of the money to charity, for example:

> ''I am extremely fortunate, I would give most of it to charity, but I would need some to provide for myself like, food, water, clothing but only necessary items.'' Anonymous
>
> "I might save a little bit, but most of it would go to charity'' Girl, Year 6
>
> "I would probably keep a quarter of it for myself, a quarter of it for charity, a quarter to the poor and homeless and the last quarter to endangered animals'' Girl, Year 5

Table 6.8 How the £10K windfall would be distributed

Giving it Away % of Participants	**Survey Percentage of all Participants (2021)**	**Power & Smith Percentage of Participants (2015)**	**Survey Percentage of Givers (2021)***
Giving it *all* away to Charities	23.6%	7.8%	34.9%
Giving most away to charities	15.5%	*n/a*	22.3%
Giving it all away to family and friends	8.0%	10.4%	11.5%
Give it all away to charities, family and friends	6.3%	7.0%	9.1%
Give some away to charities, family and friends	16.1%	24.8%	23.1%

*In this column, the children classified as 'givers' in Table 6.7 (rather than spenders or savers) are broken down according to the way they would distribute the money.

As can be seen in Table 6.8 above, the children in this study are seemingly more generous overall than the children in the Power & Smith (2016) study when comparing the proportion of children whose principal intention was to give the money away. My data also suggests that the girls appear more generous than boys, also the case in Power & Smith's study. In terms of giving the money away, three times as many children in my study (23.6%) compared to 7.8% of the children that participated in the Power & Smith

(2016) study would give *all* of the money to charity, with a further 15.5% giving most of it away to charities. However, methodological caveats must be acknowledged that might contribute and explain the differences in the proportions of givers to charity in each of these studies. For example, one might argue that in my study, the children have to some extent been 'primed' to give to charity as the question was embedded in a survey about charity, whereas the question in the Power & Smith (2016) study was part of a wider survey on children's 'current concerns and future aspirations' (p.194). However, the children in my study were specifically told that they did not have to give the money to charity and the preceding question had already and deliberately covered 'giving £10K to charity', the implication being that despite being told that the money did not have to go to charity, and that topic had already been covered, many of the children still elected to donate the windfall. However, further explanations for this outcome will be considered and covered in the discussion chapter.

6.4 Why do financially secure children give?

In the survey, children were not asked explicitly why they give, this was explored more specifically in the focus group discussions. However, explanations as to why these children give could be found in both sets of data.

6.4.1 Children give for many reasons

Building on the data collected via the surveys, the opportunity was taken to further explore the giving motivations of the financially secure children in my study. The focus group transcripts were analysed and coded in order to identify the reasons children articulated terms of *why* they give, the results of this exercise are set out in Table 6.9 setting out the reasons for giving as well as the articulated benefits they may receive from engaging in the act of charitable giving.

Table 6.9 Focus Group Findings - Why do children give?

Deductive Codes	Inductive Codes	Definition	Examples	Frequency*
Why children give?	**Fairness & Equality**	Children talk about fairness or the desire for equality as a reason for giving or doing	"I think everyone deserves the same and it's not fair that some people have what they have " Girl, Year 6 "We do this because we want to help people and we want everyone you know to have the same as we have as well" Year 5	Very High
	Observing Need	Children talk about the need they observe, such as homelessness	"Just walking around", Boy Year 5 "I remember once as a family donated a lot to the school KKA because, after Grenfell, because they had lost a lot of children" Boy, Year 5 "If we see a homeless person on the street, we'll give money'' Boy, Year 5	High
	Feeling Good or Warm Glow	Children refer to an internal feeling or warm glow that they get from giving or doing	"I feel good because I will know that I am helping someone'' Year 5 "It makes you feel really like fulfilled". Girl, Year 6	High
	Make People Happy	Children say they give because they want to make people happy	"what charity does it makes everyone happy by giving everyone like supplies and money and so that they can live a good life" Boy, Year 5 "it felt actually really nice because you knew that you were helping people and you were making people happier" Year 6	Medium
	Connection to the Cause	Children specifically talk about a personal relationship with a cause or charity	"I do them because I'm a diabetic and I raise erm, I raise money for the JDRF to er, find a cure one day and I, coz I really want a cure" Girl, Year 5	Low
	Make a Difference or Impact	Children say they give because they want to make a difference	"well it made me feel, it made me feel really good erm, and sort of accomplished because I managed to make a difference" Girl, Year 6	Low
	Private Benefit	Children talk about the tangible private benefits they accrue for giving, such as a toy, or adopting an animal - less altruistic end of the scale.	"you got like a toy" Boy "I adopted a snow leopard" Boy	Low

*** Where Low - >5, Medium 6 – 10, High 10-20, Very High 20+**

6.4.2 Awareness of financial security

The analysis of the findings revealed that an, 'awareness of one's own financial security' as a possible motivating factor to give or donate. The responses to the survey question that asked children what they would do with the £10k windfall if they did not have to give it to charity, suggests that some children are aware of their own financial security in the same way that some of the children in Power and Smith's (2016) study, articulate an awareness of their own financial *in*security. For example, Power and Smith found a 'significant' number of children would give all or some of the cash windfall to family members in order to help pay off ''debts, mortgages and generally help family businesses'' (Power and Smith 2016 p.198). In comparison, only one child in my study would use the £10K to ''help pay the mortgage'' Boy, (Year Group not specified).

As such, this finding suggests that many of the children in my study *feel* financially secure and have an awareness of not only their financial security but also their material and opportunity advantage which can be seen amongst some of the comments recorded in the survey as well as in the focus group discussions:

> "I would probably use the money for other people in need because i don't need that money i already have a good living so i would probably set up my own charity don't know what it would be called or anything, but it would be useful instead of buying a load of rubbish that i don't need." Boy, Year 5

> "I would give it to the poor people as I don't need that much money as I'm happy with what I have now and I think the poor will need it much more than me" Girl, Year 5

> ''I would still give it to charity as without this £10,000, I already live a happy life with a nice home and I know that someone else would need the money more than me'' Survey, Boy Year 6

> ''not sure. Have never thought about that but would probably give it all to charity as I don't need it'' Survey, Girl Year 5

> "I am already really lucky, so I don't need anymore, and the children in the world who live hard lives and don't have any home or food deserve and need it more." Girl Year 5

> "Some people don't have that much and they, they can't, they don't have access to the things that we do, and I think everyone deserves the same and it's not fair that some people have what they have'' Girl Year 6

6.5 Summary of Chapter

In this chapter, I have analysed, presented and described the findings that relate to RQ1- RQ3. The findings presented explore how the financially secure children in my study describe and understand philanthropy, what they give to and why. The philanthropic intent and behaviours of the children are broadly the same as those found in other similar studies involving children. Philanthropic action is mostly defined and understood as helping other (less fortunate) people. The children are motivated to give by feelings of empathy and compassion, out of a desire for fairness and equality, driven by a sense of obligation or duty. Being and feeling financially secure influences giving behaviour. In the next chapter, the data is explored, described and analysed in response to the fourth and final research question, examining how the financially secure children in my study are learning to give and to participate in philanthropy. The themes to emerge from this chapter and the next will be explored and discussed in Chapters 8 and 9.

Chapter 7 Findings and Analysis: *Experiencing, Observing and Learning about Philanthropy*

The previous chapter presented and examined the data collected to explore what the financially secure children in my study think and know about philanthropy. In this chapter, the data is explored further, to find out how the children are learning to give and to participate in philanthropy, addressing the final research question:

> **RQ4:** *How do financially secure children learn to give and to participate in philanthropy – what philanthropy do they experience, observe and learn?*

The findings are described and presented below and organised according to: (1) the philanthropy the children do/experience; (2) the philanthropy they observe and (3) the philanthropy they learn about through opportunities to discuss and ask questions. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings concerning philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by a group of financially secure children.

7.1 Experiencing Philanthropy

The philanthropic activities that children report doing

As seen in the previous chapter (Figure 6.19) the survey participants report regularly donating money and items such as toys, clothes, food or books to charity with lower levels of participation recorded in volunteering or the more social justice-oriented activities such as organising community-based initiatives such as a beach clean or a litter pick.

Whilst some children volunteer at least sometimes, for many (58% *n127)*, this activity rarely or never takes place. In terms of organising activities such as a beach clean the results revealed a gendered differentiation, with twice as many girls (28.6%) compared to boys (13.9%) have organised something like a beach clean at least sometimes and more girls (44%) than boys (30.6%) report organising a fundraising activity at least sometimes. In order to find out whether the activities detailed in Figure 6.19, were initiated by family members, friends, school or self-motivated, survey participants were asked to consider whose idea it was to engage in these activities, and the results are reported in Table 7.1 below. The data suggests that the main socialising agents are the school and family. Whilst there is some evidence of peer group influence, the scale of reported influence is not overly significant which is expected since friends and social groups become a more dominant influence during adolesence

Table 7.1 Survey - Whose idea was it to do these charitable activities?

	Family	School	Mine	Friends
Given toys, clothes, food, books or other items to charity	**47%**	20%	23%	7%
	130	56	64	20
Given money to charity	**34%**	24%	30%	7%
	75	54	67	15
Given time by helping out or volunteering with a charity	23%	**28%**	21%	11%
	34	41	30	16
Organised something like a beach clean	**24%**	20%	21%	16%
	27	23	24	18
Done something to raise money for a charity like a sponsored walk or baked cakes for a sale	19%	**37%**	21%	17%
	40	78	44	36
Organised something to raise money for charity	20%	26%	**28%**	16%
	32	42	45	25

As can be seen in Table 7.1, the donation of money and items by children is primarily motivated by the family as well as being self-motivated, with 47% of children (n.130) reporting such action to be the idea of family members. Fundraising activities such as bake sales are mostly initiated by the school, 37% (78) of children consider engaging in such activities is driven by the school. Less children have organised something to raise money for charity and for those that have, such activity was either self-motivated (28%) or school motivated (26%).

7.1.1 Philanthropic action mostly involves donating money and things

Whilst Figure 6.19 shows that the children engage in a range of philanthropic activities, the activities they most frequently experience involves the donation of items such as food, toys and clothes, with more than three quarters (77% *n.173)* of survey participants donating items at least sometimes. The children also reported regularly donating money to charity, with 67% (*n.147)* of survey participants report giving at least sometimes and these activities are most likely to be self-motivated or initiated by the family (See Table 7.1). The focus group discussions were similarly concerned with the giving of money and other items to charities, charity shops as well as giving directly to beneficiaries:

> “When I go outside, I usually give money to the homeless, but sometimes not money, sometimes food and water, I also donate all my clothes to a charity shop that don’t fit me, books, toys, everything’’ Boy, Year 5
>
> “If we see a homeless person on the street, we’ll give money’’ Boy, Year 5
>
> “My family like virtual donating, so we use websites like the Salvation Army….there is one where you can buy clothes and toys for them and the charities’’ Boy, Year 5

The analysis of the focus group transcripts found fifty mentions of ‘donating money’ by the (28) children when they described and discussed charity, or when they talked about what they do for charity, Table 7.2

sets out the additional activities that the children in the focus groups described and discussed as well as the frequency with which they are mentioned.

Table 7.2 Focus Group: What children say they do for charity

Deductive Codes	Inductive Codes	Definition	Examples	Frequency *
What children say they do for charity	**Donating money**	Children talk about donating money when describing charity or talking about what they do for charity	''I also wrote money because most of the time you're giving money'' Boy, Year 6	Very High
	Donating unwanted items	Children talk about donating toys, clothes and other items to charity – in this instance they are referring to unwanted items such as old toys or clothes that are too small - usually donated to a charity shop and a different category to donating food or new items.	"Yeah, my mum gives away things that we don't need any more sometimes like really old school shoes that my brothers grown out of or football shoes and really old computers or something like that" Year 5 "Whenever, I donate to charity we normally got to a charity shop where we put toys and clothes in, so I put those toys in" Boy	High
	Fundraising	The fundraising activities that children do for charity	"So, at school we have the book sale, so the money we give goes to charity Boy, Year 5 "During lockdown when I was in year 4 I did well my garden's so big, so I did 2000 laps in it with my sister for Red Wings " Girl, Year 5	High
	Donating new items	Children talk about the donation of new items to charity such as food to a food bank or basic supplies needed by beneficiaries	"Christmas, we did, we have been doing the Christmas shoeboxes, which is where we would get a shoebox and we'd pack erm, we would pack, the things that, that maybe that they, could use like toothbrushes, "Year 5	Medium

Where **Medium = 6 – 10 mentions, **High** = 10 – 20 mentions, Very **High** = 20+ mentions*

7.1.2 Fundraising frequently takes place at school

As seen in Figure 6.19 and Table 7.2, the next most popular philanthropic activity that the children report engaging in involves fundraising. Over half (53% *n.116*) of the children that completed the survey reported engaging in fundraising activities at least sometimes and 20% (*n.43)* report fundraising often / regularly. As indicated in Table 7.1 fundraising is something that survey participants do at school or with friends and this is reflected in comments from focus group participants:

> ''So, my sister and some of her friends…we made some lemonade and brownies then we sold them and then I think it was like 50% of the money went to the NHS'' Girl, Year 6

> ''So, in our country house, we live outside a hill, so in the summer holidays we make slushies, we make cakes, we make lemonade, we make loads of things, and we give the money to a hospital or charity'' Girl, Year 6

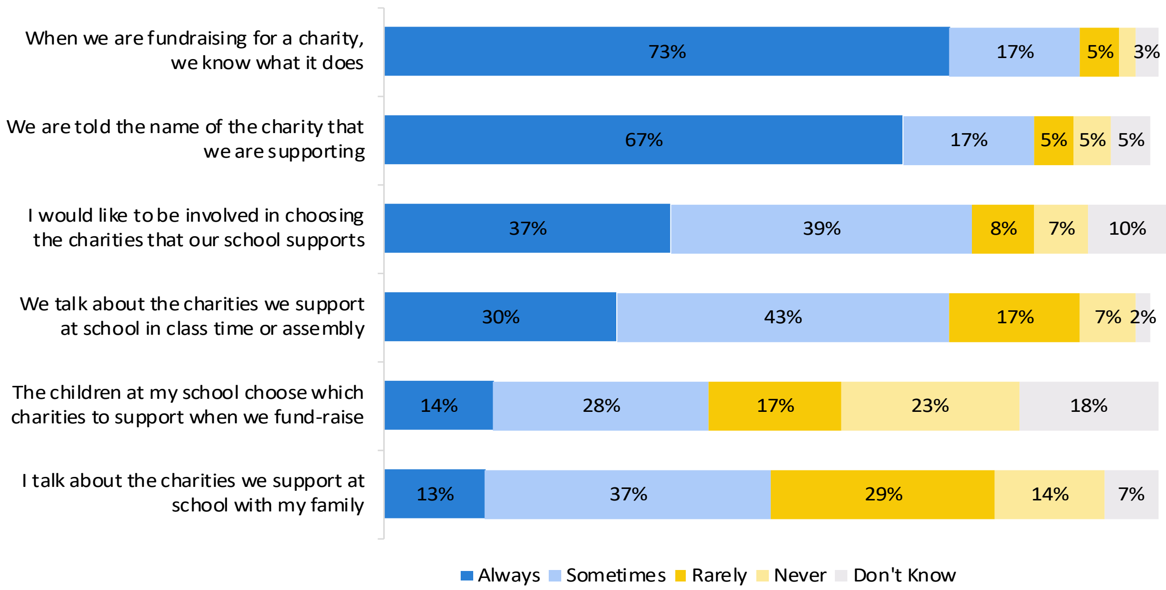
The survey specifically asked children about the fundraising activities they participate in at school, 90% (*n.192)* of them agreed that their school organised fundraising activities at least sometimes and half (51% *n.110)* agreed that this happened often, see Table 7.3

Table 7.3 Frequency of Fundraising at School

Question	Often	n.	Sometimes	n.	Don't Know	n.	Rarely	n.	Never	n.
My school organises fundraising activities for charity	51.4%	110	38.3%	82	3.3%	7	6.5%	14	0.5%	1

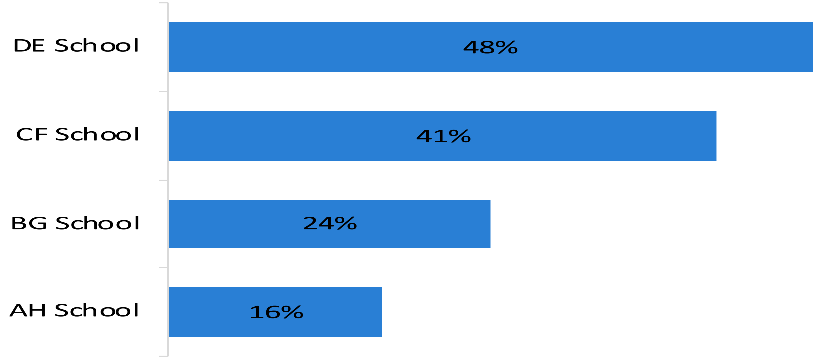
The children that participated in the survey feel confident that they know and understand what they are fundraising for at school (Figure 7.1) at least sometimes, and nearly three quarters, (73%) of them report having opportunities at school at least sometimes to discuss and ask questions about the charities that they support in these fundraising activities. When it comes to selecting the causes and charities that benefit from school fundraising activities, there was an even spread in terms of the responses given by children (Figure 7.1), 42% of them felt they were involved at least sometimes and 40% felt that they were never or only rarely involved in such decisions.

Figure 7.1 Fundraising at School



Whilst the results in Figure 7.1 above, give a broad overview of the sample in its entirety, there are marked distinctions between the individual schools in the sample. For example, only 53% of children attending AH School reported *always* being told the name of the charity they are fundraising for which compares with 82% at CF School and 74% at DE School. Furthermore, whilst 30% of children overall report always 'talking about the charities we support at school in class time or assembly', there was a clear distinction between CF School and DE School with BG School and AH School as shown in Figure 7.2 below.

Figure 7.2 Survey - We always talk about the charities we support at school in class time or assembly



Of note, CF School and DE School each maintain long-term partnerships with two charities and have supported these organisations for many years. The teachers at CF School and DE School felt that forming long term relationships with charities enabled greater levels of engagement ''the boys are very very into it'' (Teacher, DE School). In addition, such partnerships meant that the charities come into school regularly to talk about the work they do with the children. Furthermore, compared to the other schools that participated in this research that do not have long-term partnerships with charities, the children at DE School and CF School, the children are more likely, to be involved in choosing the additional charities or causes that their school will support.

Interviews with teachers confirmed that the main way children engage with philanthropy at school is through fundraising activities such as bake sales, fairs and sponsored challenges. However, it became apparent in these discussions with teachers that there is a distinction between school-organised fundraising and fundraising organised by the parent body (Parents Association). For example, at AH as reflected in the comment below, parent-organised fundraising often includes activities *involving* the children as fundraisers such as the read-a-thon (sponsored reading), in aid of charities selected by the parent body, whereas school-organised fundraising seems to be more likely to involve the children in selecting charities and causes they are fundraising for, which is also the case at CF school:

> ''The [Parents Association] ask parents to suggest charities that they will support for the academic year and then they have a number of events that raise money for these charities it might be the read-a-thon ….. At school we also have our charities and I try as much as possible to generate those charities every year from the girls'' Teacher, AH School
>
> 'So, the local charity is voted for by the parent body'' Teacher, CF School

As well as selecting beneficiaries, the parent body also designs and implements the fundraising activities and children are involved as fundraisers. For example, raising as much money as possible by reading as much as possible (read-a-thon) or, as donors buying a cupcake at a bake sale:

> ''we try and have a bake sale once….twice a year and the PTA [Parent Teacher Association] are the main organisers of that …..parents and children will bring in baked goods and then the children will come and purchase the goods'' Teacher, BG School

When describing the fundraising activities organised by the parent body, and as reflected in the comment above, the teachers report that such activities are parent devised and parent-led, such as bake sales or the read-a-thon. The children play a more peripheral or tokenistic role, they do not appear to be involved in choosing charities or causes to be supported and the teachers state that the parent body make such decisions. Furthermore, the fundraising activity is designed and implemented by the parents, particularly bake sales and the children play a passive role as donors/customers at the sale.

Beneficiaries of school-based fundraising

Noticeable in terms of absence in the children's survey results and focus group discussions were references to the major charities with large-scale marketing campaigns that specifically target schools. Confirmed in the interviews with teachers, these schools consciously choose not to participate in these national fundraising schemes in support of organisations such as Comic Relief and Children in Need. Whilst it was not clear as to why *all* of the schools that participated in this study opt out of these large-scale fundraising campaigns, discussions with teachers at CF School and DE School revealed a deliberate choice to support smaller charities over the large national organisations, believing that a more engaged and mutually beneficial relationship could be formed. CF School and DE School have formed long-term partnerships with charities with whom they believe they can develop a *long-term*, meaningful relationship and with whom the children can properly engage with and form a connection with and are invested in, as reflected in the following quotes:

> ''We did National charities like Comic Relief and Children in Need, then we decided we would have one international charity that we would have a commitment with and then we would have a local charity…..we would have two charities each year, but the international one would be permanent as we wanted to actually build a relationship with a school somewhere'' Teacher, CF School
>
> ''It was decided if they couldn't actually talk about it [the charity] and feel like it belonged to them, well then we weren't doing it right'' Teacher, CF School

These partnerships also create opportunities for children to learn directly from charities as well as opportunities for teachers to benefit from such relationships, for example:

> ''For the kids, we have speakers coming in from our different charities….I think twice teachers have actually gone over to Rwanda and seen the schools and been involved in classes….and this year, they've [the children] have seen a presentation put together to show where their money is going …..and the kids love that'' Teacher, BG School
>
> ''We've had teachers that have been to Ethiopia, so they have been there'' Teacher, CF School

CF School partners with a charity that regularly visits the school and talks about the work that they do, it has also attended the school fete, which raises money for charity. Activities run by the charity have included 'experiencing' what it is like to carry heavy water containers in order to connect them with the experiences of beneficiaries, and at the same time, they are asked if they would like to sponsor a child in a school in Africa. All four teachers that were interviewed emphasised that fundraising activities need to be in support of causes that *they* believed were relevant to the children, as well as the importance of causes that served the community within which the school is located, as seen in the following quotes:

> "We always start by focusing on charities very local to us, sort of local and relevant……we try to make it relevant to the girls'' Teacher, AH School
>
> ''So, we raise money for [a food poverty charity] and uh, we also have the ****[6] which is a homeless charity in Westminster'' Teacher, DE School

It was also noted that all school-based fundraising activities were in support of beneficiaries external to the school. That is, there were no reports from children or the teachers of fundraising efforts that would directly benefit the school, although teachers did talk of some fundraising being in aid of the bursary scheme. Whilst there is evidence, as seen in Figure 7.1 that some children are involved in choosing charities (42% report being involved at least sometimes Figure 7.1 also shows that the children express the desire to be *more* involved in the decision-making process when it comes to choosing charities, with 76% claiming that they want to be involved in such decisions at least sometimes.

Devising school-based fundraising activities

Beyond decisions regarding the charities and causes that benefit from school fundraising, the children and teachers in this study report a range of fundraising activities designed to generate not just monetary funds but also goods and items. As noted above, some of these fundraising activities are designed by adults (teachers, schools and parents), however there is also evidence of initiatives designed by the children and school councils are often involved in such activities:

> ''they take on and they devise their own ways to raise money…..one year they did tag team in the pool and during the course of the week swam the distance between England and France'' Teacher, BG School

At CF school, according to the teacher interviewed and responsible for embedding philanthropy within the ethos of the school, the school has purposefully tried to create an environment and culture in which children can initiate fundraising activities in response to something they have seen or heard. The school will coordinate and facilitate activities in support of such requests. For example, and worth quoting at length:

[6] The name of the charity is anonymised so as to protect the identity of the school.

> “a couple of years ago, pre-Covid Christmas, the children came up to us and said they wanted to have a ‘coat drive’ for Wrap up London, so we facilitated that…..We collected all the coats then I took five children to one of the storage places one Saturday where we actually sorted the coats …………We listen if we can make it happen if it aligns with the sort of school values, and to be honest, it’s also quite enterprising for them they sort of take ownership of it, but the Wrap-Up London thing, it was actually really nice on a Saturday and those children worked really hard, they worked just as hard as any adult and it wasn’t pleasant putting your hands in coats that you had to check that no one had left anything nasty in the pockets, and then what they did was they put little messages in pockets for people, whenever they got it so they would take it out and read it. It was sweet but really worth it you know.’’ Teacher, CF School

As such, these findings suggest a culture within at least two of the schools where child-initiated and directed fundraising activities are enabled.

7.1.3 Low reporting of volunteering

Some of the children did associate charity with volunteering, as seen in the earlier drawings (Figure 6.10) and in the following comments made by focus group participants:

> “you can also kind of go there to the place to volunteer to help them’’ Boy, Year 6
>
> ‘’my grandma did lots of volunteer work for the homeless’’ Girl, Year 6

Overall, the survey participants reported lower levels of volunteering compared to other activities such as donating and fundraising despite, as discussed, in the background chapters, a policy drive to encourage and provide young children with volunteering opportunities. Looking at the volunteering rates in Figure 6.19 more than half of the survey participants (58% *n.127)* reported never or only rarely participating in such activities with only 6% (*n14)* claiming to volunteer regularly. The low rates of regular volunteering amongst this group are similar to the participation levels found in other studies such as the CAF study (2013) of non-wealthy children in which only 5% of participants reported volunteering in the previous month. However low reporting rates on volunteering might be attributed to the ways children might define and recognise volunteering.

The findings suggest that some volunteering activity is initiated by the family or at home (see Figure 6.10) and there were various examples of volunteering activity that takes place at school, such as the coat and device drives mentioned above, as well as mentions of activities such as performing music for people in a care home or hosting a tea with elderly members of the community, and in one school, children regularly write letters to children in a school in Africa that they fundraise for and with whom they have a charity partnership. However, the surveys and discussions with children yielded no evidence of formal volunteering programmes operating in schools which was confirmed by the teachers interviewed:

> ‘’No, is the answer! It’s something we’ve been talking about but it’s obviously, just [finding] the time” Teacher, DE School

> ''I've never really thought about volunteering for that year group, I've always thought they were too little, but it would be interesting to know what other schools do and if they provide volunteering'' Teacher, BG School

Despite the lack of formal volunteering programmes at school, all four of the teachers agreed that such programmes would be of value and benefit to the children. One teacher felt unsure as to what such programmes might look like and wondered how they might be implemented, raising safe-guarding issues as a barrier:

> "I'm thinking what children could do and if they worked maybe in a homeless shelter, I think that would be really difficult…. I think that's quite a difficult thing to experience…. then litter picking again, in London? I'm thinking from a very health and safety viewpoint….but I'm definitely going to look into it'' Teacher, BG School

As such, it seems that certainly the teachers that participated in this study are interested in implementing formal volunteering programmes within these schools.

7.1.4 Some evidence of social justice activities

To encourage children to reflect on some of the philanthropic activities that go beyond the more traditional charitable activities of donating money and items, volunteering and fundraising, the survey included questions that were specifically designed to enable children to reflect and report on activities of a more social justice nature. Activities such as actions designed to effect change and/or social and environmental benefit and included in Body et al. (2021) definition of philanthropic citizenship or that characterises Westheimer's (2015) 'social justice-oriented' citizen. The children that participated in the survey were given examples of such activities and asked whether it was something they had done and if not, to reflect on whether it was something that they might do in the future. The opportunity was also taken to collect additional (qualitative) data about the type of action and the cause area.

As seen in Table 7.4, several of the survey participants have engaged in action designed to effect change, the most common of which involves activity designed to encourage others to change behaviours such as walking instead of driving to school. Whilst the type of social action that may be considered more social-justice in nature (i.e., action designed to tackle the root causes of problems and issues) and reported by children relate to environmental issues, however, this cause area is mostly absent and features less prominently in the data overall (see Table 6.3 and Table 6.5). Essentially, the findings overall, reveal a cause preference amongst the children that participated in the study, for helping people and animals rather than the environment.

Table 7.4 Survey - Action to effect change

Survey Question	Yes / might do in the future		Whose idea was it?*				Frequency of themes mentioned	
	Yes	Future	Teacher	Self	Family	Friends	Key Themes <5	Key Themes >5
Have you ever written a letter or an email to a newspaper, government official or an important person?	42	106	25	13	4	1	Environmental (13), Animal Protection (11), Refugee Crisis (5)	Elgin Marbles, Homelessness Unemployment, Covid Restrictions
Have you ever joined a march or protest?	22	54	1	7	15	2		BLM, Womens Rights, Anti-Brexit, Climate Change+C27
Have you ever been involved in making and important change happen? Like reducing plastic usage or encouraging people to walk to school?	80	65	38	33	21	10	Environmental: walking to school, reducing plastic, beach cleans, litter picks	

*some children selected more than one choice for 'whose idea was it'.

The children were asked to provide additional information about the things they had done in relation to the questions asked in the survey which were (1) Have you ever written a letter or an email to a newspaper, government official or an important person? (2) Have you ever joined a march or protest? (3) Have you ever been involved in making an important change happen? (Like reducing plastic usage or encouraging people to walk to school). Examination of the qualitative data revealed that many of the children had engaged in action to effect change such as writing letters to politicians; designing campaigns to reduce plastic use and encouraging family members to walk rather than drive to school. In these descriptions, the activities children reported on, that were more social justice in nature, were the result of individual rather than collective action, as seen in the quotes below:

> ''I help run a campaign about cutting down on plastic waste'' Girl, Year 5
>
> ''I wrote an article about global warming and informed people at my school'' Girl, Year 6
>
> ''I made a magazine telling people to stop using plastic things'' Girl, Year 5

For some children, engagement in such activity was in connection with positions of responsibility at school via School Councils or Environmental Committees:

> ''As a green girl [member of the Environmental Committee at School], I tried to encourage people to walk to school and use plastic less, I did this in my speech for green girl and in everyday life'' Girl, Year 6

The findings set out in Table 7.4 are consistent with the answers children gave in response to questions about who encouraged or enabled them to engage with the various charitable activities they do as seen in Table 7.1, which shows the donation of items is initiated by family members and fundraising activities and social justice oriented activities, initiated and organised by the school. This finding is further reflected in the results of the parent survey which found the majority of respondents (60%) rarely or never engage in fundraising or volunteering activities together as a family.

7.1.5 Additional activities

Beyond the charitable activities outlined above, there were individual mentions in the surveys of blood donation, adopting an animal and housing refugees. In addition, several children at CF School included in their surveys, and talked in the focus groups about sponsoring a child or meeting their ''sponsor'' (a child they sponsored), as reflected in the following comments:

> 'If I have £10,000, I would use this to sponsor a child in Dembi Doholo'' Girl, Year 6
>
> ''I would use one half [of the £10k] to sponsor a child and the other £5,000 to go and visit my sponsor when I get one'' Girl, Year 5
>
> ''Give it [£10K windfall] all to charities or surprise my sponsor'' Girl, Year 5
>
> ''Do a mini surprise visit to my sponsor''. Girl, Year 5

The 'sponsor', children wrote about in the surveys or mentioned in the focus groups discussions refers to a child in a school in Ethiopia, a relationship facilitated by the charity that the school partners with. Funded by their parents, children and their families can sponsor a child in the partner school which involves not only the donation of money and items but also writing cards and letters (activities enabled by the school during class time). However, at CF School, all children were involved and able to write letters and send gifts to children in the partner school regardless of whether or not they or their family had officially ''sponsored'' a child. The children at CF School talked passionately and enthusiastically about the children they sponsored and wrote to, and hope to meet them one day:

> ''I think the children are probably the ones that are spurring it on and going home saying that it [sic. Sponsoring a child] means something to them'' Teacher CF School

Other activities that seem to be initiated through school involve packing hampers to be delivered to elderly people in the community (at DE School), collecting gifts at Christmas for distribution in the community (at AH School), and filling shoe boxes with gifts for disadvantaged children (at CF School).

7.2 Observing Philanthropy

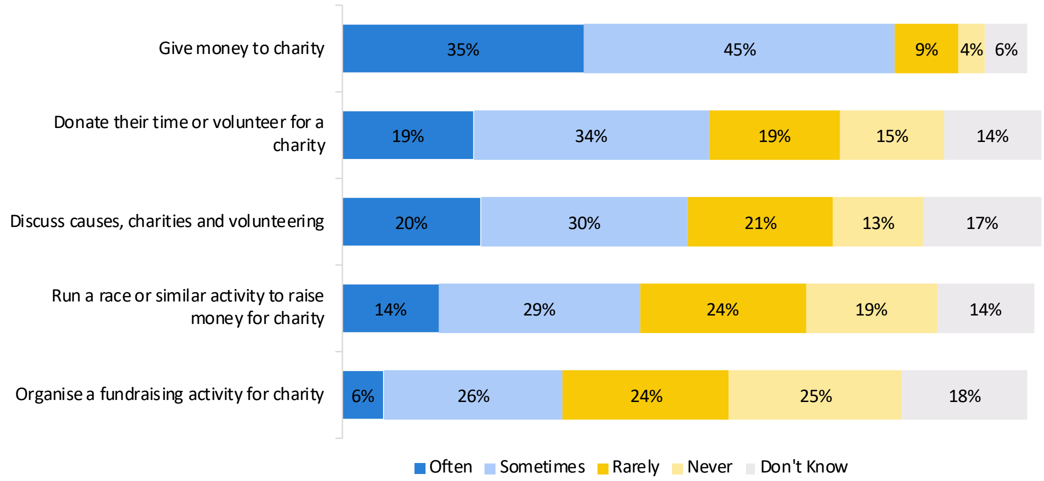
The philanthropy children observe and see others doing

During middle childhood, what children see and observe is important in terms of shaping values and behaviours (Piaget and Inhelder 1969). The children in my study observe socialising agents such as family members and teachers engaging in philanthropic activities, and they also observe public figures behaving philanthropically. The children also report observing 'need' within and beyond their community and environment.

7.2.1 Adult family members regularly give money to charity

The philanthropic activity that the children most frequently observe family members doing is *donating money to charity with 80% (*n.166) of children observing this action at least sometimes. As seen Figure 7.3 the children are less likely to have seen their parents organise a fundraising event, volunteer, fundraise or discuss causes, charities and volunteering.

Figure 7.3 Survey - Frequency children report observing family members participating in philanthropic activities



Survey participants were given the opportunity to include, in their own words, other charitable activities they had seen adults do. Nearly half (47% /*n.*105) of the children that participated in the survey, provided comments, in the most part they re-iterated activities that had been recorded earlier such as donating money or volunteering and in so doing, referenced mothers, fathers, grandparents, siblings and five of the children wrote about the things they had observed their nanny doing. The following comments were captured in the survey data and show a range of philanthropic activities the children have seen family members, nannies and others do at home:

> "My grandparents support lots of refugees and had lots stay in their house while they find a house to live in by themselves…and for a while a refugee from Syria stayed in our house, his name was Issa and he was very nice'' Girl, Year 6
>
> ''My friend has donated blood for people who have blood loss'' Girl, Year 5
>
> "My family work for food banks on the weekends and support a poor school'' Boy, Year 5
>
> ''I have seen a lot of my family donate to help people in need and to charities'' Boy, Year 6
>
> "My dad is a person who knows a lot about eyes, and he sometimes helps short sighted, long sighted and even blind people'' Girl, Year 6
>
> "My nanny makes Christmas dinner for her village in the Philippines. It is very poor, and this really helps'' Boy, Year 6
>
> ''My nanny cleans the church and my grandmother raised money for peace in Northern Ireland'' Boy, Year 6

Some children took the opportunity to provide a detailed account of the things they have seen family members do for charity and in the following example, which is worth quoting at length, it is evident that the child in question not only observes family members in engaging in philanthropic activities but also participates in, and is involved in discussions around the cause areas supported:

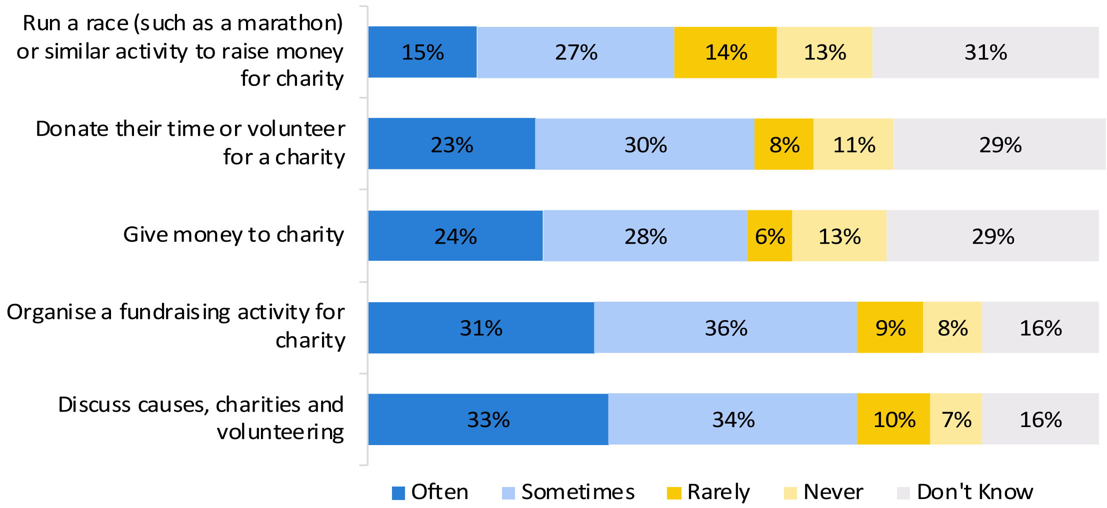
> ‘’We give away clothes that are too small for us and that are in good condition, to Fara kids, my mum gives some of her clothes away that she no longer wears (either on auction and then money goes to charity, or she just gives the ones that she no longer wears to charity, I am not sure.) My mum also sponsors a charity called mothers2mothers. This year I was meant to do a sponsored cycle to raise money for them, but due to Covid I couldn’t do it, but my parents did it over zoom. Mothers2mothers helps women with HIV, they give them jobs and help to try and stop the transmission of HIV to their children less likely, they will support the families and give them health support. During Covid, we gave weekly amounts of food to a food bank. And at Christmas time, my sister felt like we should do something to give people a little Christmas cheer, and so we donated, wholesome food and treats to give some families the Christmas that they deserve. At school when we have the readathon, I read as much as possible and get my family to sponsor me. We bake cupcakes at the bake sale, which also like the readathon gives money to charity.’’ Girl, Year 6

In comparison, as seen in Figure 7.4 and reflected in the comment below, the charitable activities that children observe teachers doing mainly involves fundraising and discussing causes, charities and volunteering.

> ‘’I have seen my sports teacher run a long marathon’’ Boy, Year 6

> “The deputy head at my school ran a marathon and my Head Teacher zip lined across the Thames’’ Boy, Year 5

Figure 7.4 Survey - Frequency children report observing teachers engaging in philanthropic activities



The children that participated in the focus groups were also asked about the kinds of things they see people do for charity or their community and who they see doing these things. The transcripts were analysed and coded according to what the children say they see, and in addition to observing family members and friends, they also talked (unprompted) about public figures including Bill Gates, Marcus Rashford, David Attenborough, Greta Thunberg as well Mr Beast, who, with nearly 1 million subscribers, claims to be "YouTube's biggest philanthropist'' (Urwin 2022). In addition to observing role models, the children also report observing need, specifically homelessness in London where they live. Table 7.5 below, includes quotes extracted from the focus group transcripts as well as the deductive and inductive codes that were used to code the data and the frequency of reference.

Table 7.5 Focus Group - Observing Philanthropy

Deductive Codes	**Inductive Codes**	**Definition**	**Examples**	***Frequency of Reference***
Observing Philanthropy	**Role Models: Family & Friends**	Where children talk about the activities, they see family members or friends doing	"In Year 4 we had like erm, a refugee come and stay in our house for like a couple of months and like lots of my, my **grandparents** did that too and yeah it's really cool." Girl, Year 5 "My great grandma she did lots of volunteer work for the homeless and she er, she'd make friends with them, and they'd always help her out and er, she like cooked them meals and looked after them." Girl, Year6	**High** (10 – 20 mentions)
	Role Models - Public Figures	Where children reference public figures that they admire for the work they do for charity	"Twitch is a platform where you can stream, you can donate to people all that money that donates if it's a charity stream goes to that charity if people donate, there was a streamer called Dr Lupo who raised money for a heart foundation" Boy, Year 5 "I admire Bill Gates because he has so much money and he gives most of it to charity erm, and keeps not a lot for himself " Boy, Year 5 Other role models include: Marcus Rashford, Greta Thunberg, MrBeast & David Attenborough.	**High** (10 – 20 mentions)
	Need	Children describe the need they observe such as the prevalence of homeless people	"Just walking around", Boy Year 5 "I remember once as a family donated a lot to the school KKA because, after Grenfell because of they had lost a lot of children" Girl Year 6	**High** (10 – 20 mentions)

Whilst it is not within the scope of this study to examine the role that the online environment plays in terms of shaping philanthropic understanding and behaviours, given the apparent absence of any empirical data on the subject, it is of value to share such data that emerged from this study. The boys at BG School became quite animated, engaged and enthusiastic when they began talking about the philanthropy that gamers, streamers and influencers do via online platforms such as YouTube. These are adult 'role models' they observe through the gaming that they do at home. All of the boys (6) from BG School that participated in the focus group had something to contribute on this topic as shown in the following quotes:

> ''Twitch is a platform where you can stream, you can donate to people, if it's a charity stream all that money goes to charity….there was a streamer called Dr Lupo who raised money for a heart foundation'' Boy, Year 5
>
> ''The YouTuber everyone knows is Mr Beast and he is always doing things for charity and making so much money he just gives it all to charity and he said in his thing that he doesn't like having money'' Boy, Year 5
>
> "Once he [Mr Beast] bought a whole supermarket …..and he got 5 whole trucks and just gave it to charity'' Boy, Year 5
>
> ''He [Mr Beast] runs food banks, he's just really interesting yeah, he gives money to charity, he is just a good person in general'' Boy, Year 5

Interestingly, one boy also commented, with others agreeing that people are motivated to give on these platforms for less than altruistic motives:

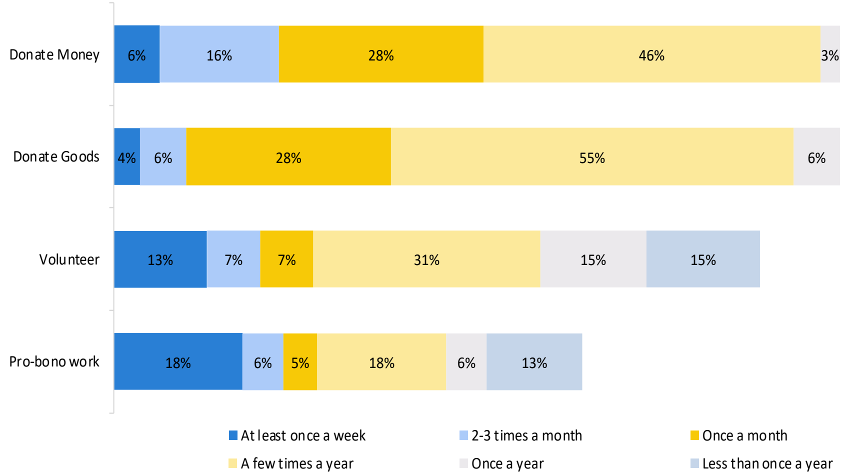
> 'The sad thing is lots of people don't actually donate for the charity, they just donate to go up on the screen so they can get like a shout – out. So, some people take advantage of it and some people can refund it'' Boy

As such, the range of role models that children observe engaging philanthropic activity goes beyond teachers and family members and includes public figures and online celebrities.

7.2.2 Parents regularly donate money and items to charity

Whilst not all of the parents that participated in this study appear to be particularly generous givers (20% report giving less than £500 per annum), some appear more generous as they donate at levels (see Table 5.3), significantly higher than the national average. However, it is acknowledged that this apparent generosity might not be inferred if the donation levels are considered as a proportion of income. As such, the opportunity was also taken to find out what kinds of philanthropic activities the parents that participated in this research engage with and potentially role model for their children. The parents reported regularly engaging in and participating in philanthropic activity, similar to the children in this study, the most popular of which involves the donation of goods and money, 96% of parents report donating money at least a few times a year, with half (50%) donating money at least once a month. In terms of donating goods to charity, 93% report doing this at least a few times a year, with 38% donating goods at least once a month. As seen in Figure 6.19 these are the activities that the children in this study report engaging in with most frequently. In terms of volunteering, 58% of the parents report volunteering at least a few times per year, with a third volunteering or carrying out pro-bono work at least once a month. As such, the parents in this study report regularly donating and volunteering. These findings are illustrated in Figure 7.5.

Figure 7.5 Survey – The philanthropy that parents participate in



In terms of fundraising activities, the parents that participated in the survey also regularly engage with and participate in fundraising activities. The data also revealed nearly all of the parents (96%) had attended a charity event at least once in the last three years and more than half of which (56%) had raised money through a sponsored walk, bike ride or similar. Three quarters had organised, or helped organise, a charity event at least once or twice in the last three years.

Of the parent respondents, seven are currently employed by a charity or non-profit organisation and a further ten have been in the past. Nearly a quarter of them (n.25) play an active role in a charity as a trustee or NED (Non-executive director of a charity) and a further 12, having done so in the past. Respondents took the opportunity to provide a more detailed account of the philanthropic activities that they participate in and included activities not captured in the previous questions, for example, providing details of the organisations that they are involved with as Trustees or as supporters; the level of pro-bono work that they do and type of volunteering that they do such as being a school governor or coaching a sports league team.

7.3 Learning about Philanthropy

The opportunities to learn about and discuss philanthropy

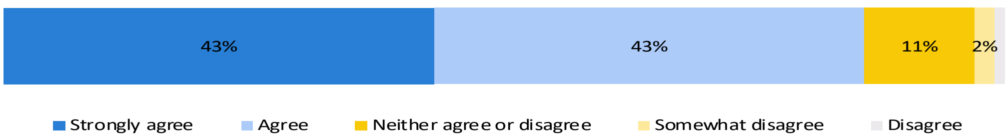
The third identified route through which children might acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours is via opportunities to learn about and discuss philanthropy, formally through the curriculum as well as informally via discussions at home and at school.

7.3.1 Knowledge about philanthropy

The children that completed the survey exerted a notable level of confidence in terms of ranking their knowledge and understanding of charity, with 86% (*n187)* agreeing with the statement *I know about charities – what they do and why they are important* (Figure 7.6) and this is similar to the children drawn from a wider socio-economic background in the CAF (2013) study which found 82% of the children felt they knew about charities and what they do. However, given that the survey was facilitated by the school and by teachers, it is possible that the responses to questions such as these, that ask children to rank "what they know" might be influenced by the power dynamics associated with the teacher/pupil relationship and therefore susceptible to bias and exaggeration (Brady and Graham 2019). However, there was some evidence to support such claims, for example one child (quoted below), demonstrated an insightful understanding of how charities operate that was articulated as a rebuttal to the accusations made by a fellow participant that Oxfam and other charities do not give all the charitable donations to those that need it and some use it to pay ''corrupt officials and staff that run the charity'' Boy, Year 5.

> ''I think the reason that charities take, like take some of the money is because they actually want to keep their charity going, like they should take like 20% and give the rest…..they still need money, they just can't give all the money to the people because they need to keep their company going'' Boy, Year 5

Figure 7.6 Survey - I know what charity is and why it is important



At the same time, the analysis of the focus group discussions suggests that despite this confidence, the knowledge held by some of these children is not always entirely accurate. For example:

> ''I drew like a shop with clothes and food and then someone who's homeless and then they walk to it'' Girl, Year 6

The implication being that charity shops are a place where homeless people go to in order to get clothes. In this further comment, the suggestion is that hospitals are for the privileged, although the child could indeed have been referring to a hospital outside of the UK:

> ''I drew a hospital….it is a charity all about helping people and giving the sick people wo aren't as privileged and can't pay for what we get'' Girl, Year 6

Whilst more than half (58%) the children that participated in the survey expressed a desire to know more about charities, further analysis of the findings reveal a gendered differentiation in terms of responses to this question – 70% of girls compared to 53% of boys agreed or strongly agreed with the statement *I would like to know more about charities.* Answering a similar question also included in the survey, *Do you want to know more about charity. – what it is and why it might be important?* 56% of the girls versus 31% of the boys selected the answer 'Yes Please! with 24% of the boys (versus 7% of girls) responding 'don't know' or 'not until I am older'. These findings are shown in Table 7.6

Table 7.6 Survey - Do you want to know more about charity?

	Girl	Boy
Yes Please!	56%	31%
Maybe!	37%	45%
Don't Know	6%	14%
Not until I am older!	1%	10%

7.3.2 Opportunities to learn about and discuss philanthropy

To explore the opportunities that the children might have to learn about and discuss philanthropy, causes and charities, the children were asked to consider how often such learning opportunities took place. Since the teachers and family are the main socialising agents at this age, the statements in the survey mostly focused on these areas. It is evident from the findings detailed in Table 7.7 that the school setting, according to the children, provides regular opportunities for children to participate in philanthropic activities through doing (i.e. participating in fundraising or volunteering) as well as learning directly from charities or through opportunities to discuss and ask questions at school. Whilst 44% of the children report at least sometimes discussing charity and charities at home, more than half (51% *n110) rarely or never* talk about charity or charities at home. The findings suggest that children more often find out about different charities through school or from the media (including TV, magazines, social media or the internet) than from family discussions at home.

Table 7.7 Survey - Opportunities to learn about and discuss philanthropy

Question	Often	*n.*	Sometimes	*n.*	Don't Know	*n.*	Rarely	*n.*	Never	*n.*
At school we have opportunities to discuss, ask questions and find out about charity	**26.4%**	**56**	**45.3%**	96	4.7%	10	20.3%	43	3.3%	7
I find out about different charities from T.V, a magazine, social media or the internet	25.2%	54	33.6%	72	6.5%	14	20.6%	44	14.0%	30
Charities normally come to my school to talk about the work they do	**18.0%**	**38**	**45.5%**	96	4.7%	10	26.5%	56	5.2%	11
My school arranges for us to do some voluntary or charity work in the community	**16.8%**	**36**	**36.9%**	79	15.0%	32	20.1%	43	11.2%	24
At home I talk with my family about charity and charities	9.3%	20	34.9%	75	4.7%	10	36.7%	79	14.4%	31

The parent survey produced further insights in terms of the philanthropy children might learn about through discussions at home and Table 7.8 shows the frequency with which parents involve children in discussions about charity or philanthropy, what it is to be charitable, charities, causes as well as in terms of family giving decisions. Furthermore, only a third of parents think their children know all about the philanthropic activities they are involved in, with most (54% *n61)* thinking that they know about some things but not everything. While piloting the survey, one parent commented that it had inspired them to involve their children more in their philanthropic activities:

''I've realised we need to involve the boys more in what we do'' Parent (Pilot)

Since the live survey was completed anonymously it is not possible to tell whether the process had the same effect on other parents, but it could be a potential outcome.

Table 7.8 Survey (Parents): Frequency of discussions with children about philanthropy

Question	Regularly		Often		Occasionally		Rarely		Never	
I talk about philanthropy and what it is to be charitable with my children	25.69%	28	26.61%	29	44.04%	48	3.67%	4	0.00%	0
My children ask me questions about charities and philanthropy	9.17%	10	15.60%	17	57.80%	63	15.60%	17	1.83%	2
I talk about different charities and what they do with my children	11.93%	13	20.18%	22	53.21%	58	13.76%	15	0.92%	1
Do you involve your children in family giving decisions*	7.41%	8	31.48%	34	24.07%	26	22.22%	24	0%	0

*14.81% reported never involving children in giving decisions, but might do in the future

Drawing on and comparing the data collected from children, and from parents, what is significant is that parents think they do talk about philanthropy and what it is to be charitable with their children whereas, the children do not think these conversations happen as frequently as the parent data implies. That is, 51% of the children think that discussions at home with family members about charity rarely or never take place, whereas only 4 % of parents would rate such conversations as taking place never or rarely. Table 7.9 sets out and compares the responses from children and from adults regarding similar questions.

Table 7.9 Comparing data from children with that from parents

Question	(Regularly) / Often / Sometimes	Rarely / Never*
Children: *At home I talk with my family about charity and charities*	44.20%	**51.10%**
Parents: *I talk about philanthropy and what it is to be charitable with my children*	96.34%	3.67%
Parents: *I talk about different charities and what they do with my children*	85.32%	13.76%
Parents: *Do you involve your children in family giving decisions?*	62.96%	22.22%
Children *Involvement in family giving decisions*	52.2%	31.7%

*The frequency options in the parents' survey was Regularly / Often / Sometimes / Rarely / Never / Don't Know. In the children's survey the options were Often / Sometimes / Rarely / Never. For comparative purposes, I am grouping the Rarely / Never responses in each survey.

Furthermore, there is a high expectation from parents that schools should teach their children about philanthropy, with 67% strongly agreeing with the statement *I expect my children's school (s) to teach them about philanthropy and what it is to be charitable* and nearly half of all respondents (47.7%) believe the school should do more to teach their children about philanthropy. Yet, children see it differently, despite many children reporting having opportunities to learn about and discuss charities at school (Table 7.7), the children are more likely to turn to their parents rather than teachers for discussions about charity, with *mothers* being the person that they would mostly likely speak to as reflected in the response to the question: *Who would be the best person to talk to about charity?* as shown in Table 7.10. Essentially parents turn to schools to teach their children about philanthropy, yet children look to parents for such discussions and learning opportunities.

Table 7.10 Survey: Who would be the best person to talk to about charity?

Person	Percentage of Respondents *
Mother	91%
Father	76%
Teachers	66%
Brother/ Sister / Grandparent / Other Adult	>20

*Respondents could select more than one person

Similarly, when the children were asked in the survey who they might ask for advice when distributing to charities the imaginary windfall of £10K, they were more likely to ask their parents for help with such giving decisions. If only one parent was cited (rather than 'parents'), in most cases it was the mother with 31 references compared to six references to father. When it comes to participating in family giving decisions, more girls (61.6%) than boys (46.3%) report being involved in such discussions at least sometimes, see Table 7.11.

Table 7.11 Have you ever been involved in helping your parents decide which causes or charity your family wants to donate to?

	Girls	Boys	All
Often	20.90%	17.60%	18.50%
Sometimes	40.70%	28.70%	33.70%
Rarely	12.80%	15.70%	13.70%
Never	9.30%	22.20%	18.00%
Don't Know	16.30%	15.70%	16.10%

The figures in Table 7.11 above show that parents believe they have regular conversations of a philanthropic nature with their children at home, yet the children do not consider these conversations to happen as frequently, and at the same time, children say they would prefer to talk to their parents rather than teachers about philanthropy. In the focus group discussions, children also talked about finding out about charities from sources other than their parents, family and teachers, such as via adverts on television:

> "An advert will be like err, a really, really scruffy but cute dog and then like it will just turn into a black screen like donate and like this is what you can do to a dog's life and then it will show the dog all cleaned and like happy and jumping around'' Boy, Year 6

7.3.3 Philanthropy is mostly caught at school

Whilst the children reported on a range of activities they observe, experience and learn about, the interviews with teachers provided an opportunity to explore in detail the places and spaces for children to engage with philanthropy at school, such opportunities are both 'taught' through the curriculum as well as 'caught' through the ethos of the school, its customs and practices as well as informal learning opportunities through participating in mainly fundraising activities. There was some evidence of informal volunteering such as device or coat drives or performing concerts for members of the community. The opportunities that children have to learn about and discuss charities and causes fall outside of the curriculum. It is down to individual schools to create learning opportunities and there is an expectation amongst these (fee-paying) parents, that the school teaches children about philanthropy – 67% (*n.*73) of the parents that participated in the survey strongly agreed with the statement *I expect my children's school(s) to teach them about philanthropy and what it is to be charitable* and a further 26% (*n.28)* somewhat agreeing with the statement. However, in these schools, Maths and English takes priority alongside a preoccupation and a focus on preparing children for the highly competitive 11+ entrance exams for (independent / private) Senior Schools. The children apply to academically selective senior schools whilst in Year 6 which involves cognitive verbal and non-verbal reasoning tests, exams in English and Maths as well as interviews and a detailed application form. The process is competitive, with many senior schools receiving in excess of 800 applications for 100 or less places. As such, Maths and English are prioritised at the expense of other subjects and there is huge pressure on these schools and the teachers to get pupils into 'successful schools' as reflected in the comment below:

> ''quite often most of the lessons may get pushed to the side because it's not Maths and English'' Teacher CF School

The opportunities children do have to learn about causes and charities at school are connected to fundraising - through the fundraising activities that children are involved in and from the charities that the fundraising efforts support. Each of the school's report charities coming to talk about the work that they do with the money that is raised, for example:

> ''****[7] Charity comes in and talks about how the funds raised are spent'' Teacher, DE School

[7] Name of charity anonymised to protect the identity of the school

’When they are raising money for those events we try as much as possible to educate them around who they are raising money for, why it’s important to raise money etc’’ Teacher, AH School

"Quite often we use the assemblies at the end point to share – look how much we’ve raised, and this is where your money is going’’ Teacher, AH School

’’I think they [the children] were more generous because they truly understood where the money was going’’ Teacher, BG School

CF School carefully and purposefully selects charities with which children can build a connection, and as such, they partner with charities that are willing to engage directly with the children about the work they do and beneficiaries they help:

’’so that it’s not just a charity simply in July to find out that they’ve raised X amount and have no idea what it’s about, so yeah I think it was decided if they couldn’t actually talk about it and feel like it belonged to them, well then we weren’t doing it right’’ CF Teacher

As discussed in the literature review, citizenship and character education represent routes through which philanthropic learning may take place, formally in the classroom and via the curriculum during PSHE (Personal, Social, Health and Economic education) lessons, in particular. It was noted by the teacher at CF School that the current focus in the PSHE curriculum, which is a non-statutory subject (aside from the relationship education element), is currently concerned with mental health and well-being and encourages pro-social action such as ’’doing good and helping people’’. However, in these schools, PSHE is restricted to one teaching hour per week, and according to one teacher, if philanthropic education is to be taught explicitly, it would need to be ’’embedded in the timetable in order for it to be taken seriously’’. However, in DE School, which has a long-term partnership with one charity, the relationship is tightly woven into the fabric of the school and ’’****[8] charity is wedded into our curriculum’’.

My data suggests that the teachers that participated in this study, frame and understand citizenship education in terms of pro-social behaviours such as being kind, ’’doing good and helping people’’ (Teacher, CF School); ’’thinking about those less fortunate to us’’ (Teacher, AH School). At one school, the general ethos of the school is described as ’’being kind’’ and ’’being a good citizen’’ is important. To that end, positive behaviour is acknowledged and rewarded, for example in BG School, each week, teachers, children and parents nominate boys for the ‘kindness cup’ or ‘citizen of the week cup’ and in another ’’we regularly give out certificates in assembly if the children have donated to charity’’. At CF School, they ’’try to embed it into the ethos, we want parents to be able to walk around our school….and feel that our children actually care about other children, be it themselves or other people in the community’’ and this is further illustrated in the photographs below that show the charity noticeboard at the school (Figure 7.7).

[8] Name of charity anonymised to protect the identity of the school

Figure 7.7 Photographs of the charity noticeboard at CF School

The Independent Schools Inspectorate (ISI) promotes *engagement* with the community in their inspection rather than volunteering per se, a requirement articulated by the Department of Education (DfE 2019a). The ISI inspector reportedly asked one school ''what about links with the community?'', referring according to the teacher, to links with local state schools. As such, in this example the inspection seems to promote engagement with local schools rather than the community more broadly. However, the school in question, felt that such links may well create a power imbalance that they were not comfortable with and they do not want to appear patronising ''depending on who you are speaking to within that environment they could take it the wrong way'' (Teacher, DE School)

CF School talked about some of the activities that they have incorporated inside and outside of the classroom, in order to embed a charitable mindset amongst the children. For example, one partner organisation built a mud hut in the playground and children were challenged to carry water containers in order to 'experience' something of what it must be like for the children they support. The teacher also finds 'teachable' moments in the curriculum. For example, in a maths lesson "we don't want them to think that charity is taking £20 out and giving it somewhere and not thinking about where it went'' – as such children were tasked with planning for two months of food on a budget of £40, the value of a food hamper for a family in Ethiopia that would last for two months. The teacher believes that instead of a standalone lesson, concepts can be incorporated across the curriculum, as reflected in the following comment:

> "I would say that you can have it throughout the curriculum, so there is no reason why you couldn't embed it in maths if you were talking about money or percentages….you can bring the context of charity into English for writing'' Teacher, CF School

As such, in these schools, philanthropic knowledge and behaviours are *caught* through the fundraising activities and the ethos of the school. Whilst it is not taught through the curriculum (although, as seen above, the charity champion at CF School, tries to find teachable moments within the curriculum), in the schools that participated in this study, there are opportunities outside of the curriculum for philanthropic knowledge and behaviours to be acquired, through discussions and the space to ask questions. However, my data suggests that these teachable moments are framed around how money is raised and how it is used, rather than used as an opportunity to question why there is a need in the first place. Such discussions are also limited to and framed around the charities that benefit from fundraising efforts and activities.

Two teachers, independent of one another, felt that a philanthropy education programme would be helpful and beneficial to children and suggested something along the lines of a Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme (DofE) for primary school children or drawing on the ''work that the Scouts do and bringing that into schools'' (Teacher, DE School). At CF School, the teacher who had experienced the DofE scheme looked for something similar for the children in her school, found nothing and suggested to the Head ''about trying to find some sort of, or make our own challenge type thing where children are actually encouraged to volunteer, join a club.....What the Duke of Edinburgh have put together is common sense''. Whilst service-learning programmes such as these are particularly common in America, schemes such as the DofE (www.dofe.org) or First Give (www.firstgive.co.uk) which operate in the UK are currently only available in senior schools. Schemes and education programmes are limited in the UK and what does exist for children aged 11 and under, is embryonic and not easily accessed.

7.4 Summary of the Chapter

The data analysed and presented in this chapter and in the last in response to RQ1-4, finds a group of children aware of their own financial security and material advantage, predisposed to give rather than spend an imaginary £10K windfall and motivated by a strong philanthropic impulse to help and to give. My data suggests that philanthropic learning amongst these children is *caught* through engaging in philanthropic activities such as fundraising and through observing role models via informal learning opportunities at home and at school rather than formally *taught* at school through the curriculum or education programmes. The children understand charity according to the things *they* do for charity which mostly involves the donation of money and items. In the next two chapters, drawing on the findings described in this chapter and the last, I discuss the key themes to emerge from the findings in response to each of the four research questions before returning to the central research question in the final and concluding chapter to this thesis.

Part III: Synthesis

Chapter 8 Discussion – *Giving and Doing*

''If we teach today's students as we taught yesterday's we rob them of tomorrow''
Attributed to John Dewey, 1916

As discussed in the background chapters, there exists a small but growing body of literature that examines how children in the UK engage with philanthropy and I am not aware of any studies that look specifically at children that belong to financially secure households. £5.5Tn is predicted to pass through generations between 2017 and 2047 (Cebr, 2017) and children from financially secure households are likely to be amongst the recipients or inheritors of some of this extraordinary wealth transfer, meaning they will potentially, have the means and resources to give generously. These research findings are therefore important in terms of understanding how children from financially secure households (potential wealth inheritors), are engaging with and learning about philanthropy as an indication as to what kind of donor they are learning to become and whether they have the desire to be generous givers. However, since this study considers philanthropic action to include more than just the donation of time, talent and treasure and instead draws upon the broader concepts of citizenship and philanthropic citizenship as articulated by Westheimer (2015), Westheimer & Kahne (2004) and Body (2022), the findings give an indication as to the type of philanthropic *citizen* the children in this study are learning to become, therefore addressing the overarching research question:

What kind of philanthropic citizen are financially secure children learning to become?

In chapters 6 and 7, the novel data collected from the children, parents and teachers that participated in this study was presented, analysed and the key findings summarised in Section 7.4. In this final part of the thesis, the themes to emerge from the findings are explored within the context of the wider literature discussed and the conceptual framework so that conclusions can be drawn as to the kind of philanthropic citizen the children in my study are learning to become. This first chapter begins with a summary of the themes that will be explored, and the discussion that follows across this and the next chapter, is organised according to the four research questions that enable an exploration of the central research question that this thesis seeks to address. Table 8.1 below, provides an overview of the structure of the chapters, RQ1 and RQ3 will be considered in this first chapter and RQ2 and RQ4 in the next. Throughout the discussion, this new knowledge will be situated against the wider literature reviewed in the background chapters and in relation to the theories, models and ideas that make up the conceptual framework. In the final concluding chapter, I will return to the central research question, draw conclusions and in so doing, consideration will be given as to the significance of these findings, in terms of what they tell us about future giving from this group of children; implications for societal understanding of philanthropy and in terms of philanthropy education going forward.

Table 8.1 Structure of the discussion chapter

	RQ	Question	Theme / Finding
Chapter 8	RQ 1: Section 8.1	**What is distinct about the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children?**	Aside from a few exceptions, the philanthropic intent of financially secure children is broadly the same as children in earlier studies.
	RQ 3: Section 8.2	**Do financially secure children express the desire to give – what do they give to, what do they give and why?**	Financially secure children mostly give money and items to causes that help people. They give for many reasons, and many of the same reasons as adults. Giving from a position of financial security influences philanthropic intent.
Chapter 9	RQ2: Section 9.1	**How do children from financially secure households describe and understand philanthropy?**	Philanthropic understanding and behaviours are framed according to the established constructs of benevolence and individualism.
	RQ4: Section 9.2	**How do financially secure children learn to give and to participate in philanthropy – what philanthropy do they experience, observe and learn?**	Philanthropic understanding is mostly caught through the things they do and through observing others rather than taught. Understanding and learning reflects a character approach to education.

Summary of Key Findings and Themes

The findings analysed and described in the previous two chapters find a group of children aware of their own financial security, predisposed to *give* rather than spend and motivated by a strong philanthropic impulse; the implication being that they have the desire to give time, talent and treasure and that the philanthropic tradition will be transferred alongside the wealth that is predicted to transfer across generations over the coming years. My data suggests that philanthropic learning amongst these children is *caught* through engaging in philanthropic activities such as fundraising and through observing role models via informal learning opportunities at home and at school rather than formally *taught* at school through the curriculum or education programmes. The children are involved in and experience a range of philanthropic activities, and engagement can be both *participatory*, where, for example, children may identify a need or cause area, design and then implement and lead their own fundraising appeal. Or, engagement can be *transactional* where, for example, children fundraise but have not been involved in the decision-making processes and participation is described as passive. The children understand charity according to the things *they* do which mostly involves the donation of money and items, rather than what charity or philanthropy does for society more broadly. Aware of their own financial security, the children are motivated to give out of a desire for fairness and equality, by feelings of empathy and compassion and driven by a sense of obligation or duty. Children understand and engage with philanthropy according to the established constructs of *benevolence*, where philanthropic action is mostly defined and understood as *helping* other (less fortunate) people, where those in a position of privilege are able to help and needy others are no more than objects of benevolence (Jefferess 2008, p.28). Where such a narrative of benevolence serves to perpetuate the problem rather than enabling a response, that seeks to address the root causes of the problem, rather than alleviate the effect. It is apparent that the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by these children are influenced and informed by character education and reflects an individualised approach to, and understanding of, philanthropy. To that end, there is little evidence of formal learning opportunities that promote collective action or the spaces in which children can critically engage with and fully understand philanthropy, causes and charities. Finally, the analysis of the data revealed a gendered dimension to the findings, in line with the feminisation of charity and giving found elsewhere in the literature concerning gender and philanthropy. The discussion that follows begins by considering how the findings compare with those found in other studies of a philanthropic nature involving children and in so doing, addresses RQ1, before moving on to an exploration of the remaining three research questions.

8.1 What is distinct about the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children?

In light of the inter-generational transfer of wealth that is predicted to take place over the coming years, this study set out to examine the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours of children from a specific socio-economic demographic, namely children that belong to households of wealth holders. A group defined for the purposes of this study, as 'financially secure' children, those that are likely to be amongst the recipients of the forthcoming wealth transfer. Furthermore, by focusing on a so far unstudied group of children, this study contributes to the small but growing body of literature that examines the philanthropic knowledge, behaviours and attitudes of children, such as studies by, Body et al. (2020,2021), Power and Taylor (2018), Power and Smith (2016), CAF (2013) and Ho (2010), studies that do not account for variations in socio-economic backgrounds, specifically wealth. Whilst Power & Smith (2016) do attempt to account for variations in socio-economic status in their study involving Welsh children, by applying the extensively used metric (Taylor 2018) of 'eligibility for free school meals', the comparisons drawn relate to poverty rather than affluence and the authors note the benefits and value of exploring and comparing the impact of socio-economic status on children's giving behaviours and preferences (Power and Smith 2016 p.196). It is therefore against the context of the predicted wealth transfer and in the absence of any studies of a philanthropic nature that account for socio-economic factors relating to affluence, that RQ1 is concerned.

As such, in response to this first research question, the discussion that follows considers the differences and similarities between the findings associated with the children my study and earlier UK based studies concerning philanthropy and involving children drawn from various socio-economic backgrounds. Since I modelled some of the questions in the data collection on tools used in earlier studies, such as those by CAF (2013), Power & Smith (2016) and Body et al (2019), despite making some minor adaptations, general comparisons can be drawn between the data collected in my study from financially secure children and that collected from children from a range of socio-economic backgrounds. The noted adaptations to the questions were in part driven by the restrictions and impact of Covid-19. For example, where I asked a question concerning the frequency with which a survey participant might engage in certain activities, I chose to ask participants to reflect back on the previous 12 months to include pre-Covid times, rather than the previous month, a time measurement commonly used in these earlier studies.

8.1.1 The attitudes towards philanthropy of financially secure children are broadly the same as reported by children in earlier studies

Overall, my data shows that the children in my study report similarly high levels of participation in philanthropic activities such as donating and fundraising, as seen in the studies involving children carried out by CAF (2013), Ho (2010), Power & Smith (2016) and Body et al (2019). Attitude towards charity and philanthropic intent amongst the children in my study is consistent with the findings in the aforementioned studies, that is, like the 9 – 11-year-olds in the CAF study (2013) and the children in Power & Taylor's study (2018), the children in my study agree that charity is important, and that people should give to charity if they can (see Figure 6.16). Whilst there were some small differentials in terms of the order of prioritisation of cause areas both within my study (Figure 6.17 and Figure 6.18) and compared to the children in the CAF study (2013, p.23), the children across all these studies similarly express a preference for causes concerning Children, Animals and Health. However, in this regard, the findings more broadly, when compared with earlier studies revealed three areas of difference which have a bearing on the discussions that follow in this chapter and the next.

8.1.2 Unlike children in earlier studies, financially secure children do not engage with large-scale fundraising campaigns at school

The schools involved in my study do not participate in the large-scale fundraising campaigns associated with major charities such as Sport Relief, Comic Relief or Children in Need, charities known to have 'strong ties with schools' (Power and Taylor 2018 p.706) and frequently referenced and talked about by children in the studies by Body et al (2020, 2021) and Power and Taylor (2018). Instead, my data shows that the schools that participated in this study elect not to engage with these major fundraising campaigns and these are deliberate decisions taken by the school on account that they prefer to engage with and support charities that have been specifically selected by the school, pupils or parents. Selecting charities that tend to be lesser known and much smaller, that support the local community in which the school is located or, causes that are considered relevant and relatable to children, for example charities that address children's needs and issues such as those that provide education opportunities, healthy breakfasts or books for children. The schools also express a preference towards supporting charities or causes identified by the children rather than engaging with large fundraising campaigns, which often result in children not knowing who or what benefits from their fundraising efforts (Body et al 2019 2020). In addition, two of the schools, DE School and CF School, follow a deliberate strategy of forming long-term partnerships with charities that do not have high-profile or large-scale media campaigns. In these schools, partnerships are formed with smaller, lesser-known charities that are willing to visit the school and talk to children about the work that they do, either within the local community or internationally and how donations and funds raised by the school are used. In the next chapter (Section 9.3) I discuss how the long-term partnerships with these smaller organisations might enable or contribute to a more participatory, less reward driven and less transactional engagement with charities, causes and fundraising.

8.1.3 The financially secure children who attend schools with charity partnerships express higher levels of engagement with fundraising causes

The second area of difference and linked to the previous point, is that the children attending the two schools in this study that have formed long term partnerships with charities, express higher levels of confidence in terms of knowing *what charity they are fundraising for and what it does' compared with not only the children that participated in Body et al's study* (2019) and Power and Taylor's study (2018), but also compared with the children attending the two schools in my study that do not have long term partnerships with charities, that instead vary the organisations that the school community supports. Again, the absence of major fundraising campaigns may in part explain this outcome. For example, the annual Comic Relief appeal is criticised for being too focused on fundraising activities to the extent that it distracts from the cause, in addition, the remit of the organisation is broad (it is grant giving) and serves a wide range of beneficiaries, meaning it is difficult to always know who benefits.

8.1.4 The expressed preference to give rather than spend or save is more pronounced among financially secure children

The third notable difference finds more of the children in my study (69.9%) electing to give rather than spend or save an imaginary monetary windfall compared to the children in Power & Smith's (2015) study (49.9%), upon which this question was based – *If you didn't have to give all of the £10,000 to charity - what would you do with it?* The most popular choice overall amongst the children in my study and in Power and Smith's (2015), was a preference to give the money away, however, this finding across both studies, is different to the results of other similar research discussed in the background chapters, carried out by Kian et al (2016) in the US which similarly asked children how they would distribute an albeit, smaller, hypothetical amount of $100. Kian et al. (ibid) found a preference amongst the children in their study, which were drawn from various socio-economic backgrounds, to *save* rather than give or spend. Whilst the children in my study and Power & Smith's study (2015) express a preference for giving and the children in Kian et al's study (2016) for saving, a study by Bain and Bongiorno (2022) found adults (drawn from 33 countries and various socio-economic backgrounds) would use a similarly hypothetical windfall (in that case a lottery prize), exclusively for themselves, family and friends rather than for the more altruistic purposes of benefiting society or ''the world''. There will be several factors at play that will influence the varying outcomes of each of these studies not least the way the surveys were set up, but also factors such as social desirability bias and the context of the question as well as the variation in the amounts to be distributed, that mean direct comparisons cannot be made as to whether one group is necessarily more generous than another or whether children are more generous than adults. However, in Section 8.2.5 drawing on this data, I consider the reasons, that might contribute to, and explain why, so many of the children in my study overall express a preference to give, and in so doing, I examine how giving from a position of financial security might influence philanthropic intent and apparent generosity.

8.2 Do financially secure children have the desire to give - *what do they give to, what do they give and why?*

As with previous philanthropy research involving children, such as studies carried out by Body et al. (2019), CAF (2013) and Power and Smith (2016), the children in my study similarly express a strong philanthropic impulse and the desire to give and help, which mostly involves the giving of money and items. The children express a preference to give rather than spend an imaginary cash windfall. The analysis of what children choose to give to and how they describe charity suggests how they prioritise need and this is discussed first in Section 8.2.1. My data suggests that the expressed desire to give and participate in philanthropic activities is motivated by many factors, and many of the same factors that explain adult donor behaviour. The giving motivations associated with the children in my study are explored in 8.2.2. In Section 8.2.3, I discuss reasons that might explain why so many of the children in my study express a preference to give, rather than spend an imaginary cash windfall.

8.2.1 The children talk about helping people, but seem to prioritise animal causes

The children in my study, describe and understand charity in terms of helping 'other' people, however, when it came to allocating a small monetary donation to charity, animal charities were the most popular (Figure 6.18) and the second most frequently mentioned in response to distributing an imaginary £10K to charity (Figure 6.17). Across the data, in the context of monetary donations real or imaginary, the children in my study express a preference for health and medical charities; children's charities and homeless charities and these cause areas are prioritised over environmental and arts & culture charities. The giving preferences expressed by the children in my study are broadly in line with the preferences expressed by adults in the most recent CAF UK Giving Report (CAF 2022) as well by children in earlier studies such as those by Power and Taylor (2018), CAF (2013) and Body et al (2019). Although, for the 4 – 8-year-olds in Body et al.'s (2019) study and the 9 – 11-year-olds in the CAF study (2013), health/medical charities were deemed less of a priority than animal, children and homelessness charities.

The charities and the causes that children choose to donate to gives an indication as to how they prioritise need and what they think ''needs to be put right in the world'' (Power and Taylor, 2018 p.9). Whilst the children seem to prioritise animal charities when making a monetary donation, nearly all of the children that participated in the focus groups drew *people* in their pictures of what charity means to them, and when describing charity, the discussions focused around helping people with very few references to animals (Table 6.5). Furthermore, amongst the list of named charities included in the survey responses, the only animal charity to be mentioned was WWF, by 9 children (Table 6.3 and Table 6.4). In the focus groups, the children consistently talk about and describe helping people, specifically the 'less fortunate', 'needy' or 'disadvantaged'. As such, my data suggests that the children prioritise *people* when drawing, describing and talking about charity yet prioritise animals when considering where to allocate an actual monetary donation. This finding suggests that what children choose to donate a real or imaginary monetary donation to, is not necessarily indicative of what they think needs to be put right in the world, as the focus groups attest. How they understand and describe charity is different to what they do in practice. This paradox is consistent with the findings articulated in a study by Breeze (2013) that found committed (adult) donors similarly understand and describe charity in terms of helping needy others, yet this is not always reflected in their actual giving choices where such decisions are not necessarily based upon logic and ''fully reasoned arguments for prioritising a particular concern'' (Breeze 2013, p.16). Instead, Breeze (2013) finds that the committed donors in her study adopt a range of methods or 'heuristics' when choosing which charities to support, some of which, along with other explanations in the literature, can be drawn upon to explore the giving decisions and cause preferences expressed by the children in my study.

Donating to animal causes was a popular choice in the survey responses and most popular when it came to allocating an actual monetary donation, an outcome which was perhaps to be expected given that people give to causes that personally appeal to them (Breeze, 2013) and people, choose causes because they can relate to the beneficiaries (Body et al. 2020). My data also shows that even very young children (9 – 11-year-olds) like adults, make giving decisions based on their own ''philanthropic autobiography'' (Payton and Moody 2008), where according to life-course theory, individual biographies and life events can ''profoundly change individuals and their capacity to engage with civil society'' (Power 2020, p.1) For example, the child quoted below that raises money for a cure for diabetes, or the child also quoted below, that supports cancer research. To that end, cancer charities were the most frequently mentioned across the data.

> ’I am diabetic, and I raise money for the JDRF to find a cure’’ (Girl, Year 5)
>
> ‘’My grandfather died of skin cancer, so we support research’’ (Girl, Year 5)

Such giving, prompted by personal experiences such as a relative having cancer, or taste based giving decisions such as giving to animal charities, suggest that the children in my study elect to give to charities and causes with which they have a connection. Having a connection to the cause, may also explain why many children in the survey and focus groups talk about giving to children’s charities and also why children want to give to the Food Poverty Charity[9] and the Children’s Charity[10] which are school-nominated and supported charities. Belief or connection to the cause was found to be one of the strongest motivating factors for the wealthy donors in Breeze & Lloyd’s study (2013). Proponents of a relationship approach to fundraising find that that connection to the cause leads to ‘’greater donor engagement and more generous giving’’ (Breeze 2021 p.105). Referring back to Breeze’s (2013) study, the committed adult donors in the study adopt a range of ‘heuristics’ to determine which causes are worthy of support, decisions that are less about the need they see and understand and more driven by taste. The implication being that, since such heuristics are evident in the young children in my study, these decision-making methods develop in childhood and are indicative of future giving behaviours.

Whilst a connection to the cause might encourage or enable giving, it can also be problematic, with the implication being that such an approach prioritises the giving preferences of the donor over beneficiaries and societal needs. Effective altruists, for example, posit such an approach that leads to an inefficient allocation of donated funds and instead recommends that people aim to do the ‘most good’ they can through considered and objective reasoning (Singer 2015), advocating for a head-not-heart approach to giving involving rational and evidence-based giving decisions rather than subjective decisions (MacAskill, 2016). Proponents of effective altruism, a social movement and philosophy believe that giving that is motivated by a personal connection to a cause means that the best use of money donated is not necessarily achieved, arguing that funds donated should be allocated according to the greatest impact. For example, Singer (2015) argues that it is better to prevent 400 people in a developing country from going blind than to use the same amount of money, to provide one guide dog in the UK.

Ostrower (1995) and Odendahl (1990) find wealthy (adult) donors support causes that reflect their own personal interests and giving to causes with which they have a connection or have experience of is problematic as it is likely to be at the expense of more needy causes such as those concerned with

[9] Anonymised to protect the identity of the school.
[10] Anonymised to protect the identity of the school.

inequality, arguments also put forward by Reich, (2019). To that end, there is perhaps some evidence in my findings that suggests this notion of privilege supporting privilege in terms of the causes and the charities that the children in my study appear to prioritise support. In particular, there is a strong preference towards Health and Medical charities (Table 6.3 and Figure 6.17), a cause area that the children themselves may directly or indirectly benefit. However, I suggest that this is perhaps not necessarily the case as, charity is described consistently across the focus group data as helping *other* people and the children talk about and elect to support a variety of causes and charities including those with which they do not seem to have any personal connection such as homelessness or food poverty charities. Thus supporting Breeze's (2021) assertion that a lack of direct connection or experience of a cause area does not mean that a donor does not care about the issue. Furthermore, given the lack of opportunities at school through the curriculum for the children in my study to critically engage with philanthropy (as evidenced in the data and explored further in the next chapter) or opportunities to acquire the knowledge upon which to make evidence-based giving decisions, it is perhaps not surprising that giving decisions and priorities of the children in my study are subjectively motivated and taste-based rather than evidence based. This section discussed the causes that the children in my study prioritise and how giving decisions are seemingly made, which perhaps give an indication of future giving patterns. In this next section, I explore the factors that explain why the children in my study give and participate in philanthropy.

8.2.2 Like adult donors, children are motivated to give for many reasons.

As discussed in the background chapters, there exists extensive literature across multiple disciplines that provide explanations for adult charitable giving – including reviews of the literature that explain why people give carried out by Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) and Pharoah (2016) and studies that examine the giving behaviours of major or wealthy donors such as studies by Breeze & Lloyd (2013), Schervish (2005) and Ostrower (1995). Literature that concludes adult donors are driven by a mix of motives and influences (Breeze and Lloyd 2013 p.11) and the philanthropic impulse is ''complex and multi-faceted, embedded in personal, spiritual, social and economic contexts of donor's lives'' (Pharoah 2016 p.81). Literature that finds donors both altruistically driven to give and/or at the same time motivated out of self-interest and the private benefits accrued from giving. My data supports the conclusions found in the literature and studies concerning adult donors, in that the children in my study exhibit and articulate a broad spectrum of reasons as to why they give their time, talent or treasure (Table 6.9), conveying many and many of the same reasons that adults articulate when explaining why they give.

Drawing on Bekkers & Wiepking's (2011) eight mechanisms that drive adult donor behaviour, as discussed in the literature review (Section 3.2), the children in my study express similar motivations to give. For example, the children are motivated to give in response to an *awareness of need*, they want to help and give to homeless causes and directly to people, perhaps motivated by the prevalence of rough sleepers which is greatest in London (Shelter 2021) and in the boroughs where the children in my study live and go to school:

> ''If we see a homeless person on the street, we'll give money'' Boy, Year 5.

Like the children in the studies by Body et al (2109, 2020), the children give to what they see but, in terms of the beneficiary need they see, rather than, in response to high-profile charity campaigns they may be exposed to. However, exposure to such fundraising appeals may be less acute as the schools, as discussed above, typically do not engage with the high-profile campaigns associated with Children in Need or Comic Relief. The children are also motivated by the *psychological benefits* helping and giving affords them such as the warm glow received from giving: "It makes you feel really like fulfilled'' (Girl, Year 6) and as an expression of values such as the desire for fairness and equality "*...*we want everyone…to have the same as we have as well*''* (Child, Year 5). These expressed (internal) motivations are also in line with the child development literature that posits middle childhood as a period during which children become less egocentric, develop feelings of empathy and become more responsive to the needs of others and wider society (Eisenberg and Mussen, 1989) (Markus and Nurius 1984).

As with the participants in the study by Breeze (2013) involving committed adult donors, the children in my study similarly express a desire for personal impact for example. For example, they want to make 'sad people happy' by giving them gifts and money – Figure 6.10. As such, the efficacy (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011) of the donation is important, they want to make a tangible difference. The children are also inspired to give by *influential figures*, for example, public figures such as Marcus Rashford or David Attenborough or the YouTuber Mr Beast - ''The YouTuber everyone knows is Mr Beast and he is always doing things for charity and making so much money he just gives it all to charity and he said his thing is that he doesn't like having money''. Boy, Year 5.

Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) find that donors give as an expression of values, and Grenby (2002) in an examination of Victorian children's books find charity is presented to children as a route through which to demonstrate one's virtue to teachers, friends and parents. Engaging in philanthropic activities for the signalling properties it affords the donor is discussed in studies such as those by Dalsgaard (2007) and Andreoni (1998) and Ostrower (1995) which similarly finds elite donors engaging in volunteering for the prestige attached to participation. Whether or not the children in my study are motivated to give and participate in philanthropy as an expression of values or for signalling purposes is unclear. Across the data there is no evidence of the children articulating these factors as a reason to give and participate in philanthropy. However, what the data does show is that engagement and participation in philanthropic activities is often recognised and rewarded at school. For example, at CF School:

> ''we regularly give out certificates in assembly if the children have donated to charity'' Teacher, CF School

At BG School, whilst not specifically in recognition for giving, positive behaviour is acknowledged and rewarded – teachers, children and parents nominate pupils each week for the ‘kindness cup’ or the ‘citizen of the week’ cup. Whilst it is evident that activities that recognise and reward giving and participation occur in the school setting, it is difficult to determine from the data whether they are indeed motivating factors for the children in my study. For example, no child mentioned receiving a certificate or cup. However, what the findings do show is that giving and participation in charity is presented and framed according to benefits or rewards, and this is discussed in the next section.

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

As discussed above, the external factors associated with giving, such as enhancing reputation and the ‘social consequences of donations for the donor’ (Bekkers and Wiepking 2011 p.13) were not expressed or detected across the data collected from the children in my study as a reason to give or engage in philanthropic activity. Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) identify ‘benefits’ accrued to the donor as a mechanism that drives philanthropic giving amongst adults, to that end, fundraising strategies that specifically target children will often involve a reward such as a toy or gift in exchange for a donation. Charities such as WWF, RNLI, Donkey Sanctuary and the RSPCA all offer some kind of tangible reward or gift in exchange for a donation and support from children. Similarly, school fundraising initiatives often involve children benefiting in some way, such as receiving a ‘red nose’, the opportunity to ‘dress-up’ for the day, or to receive a cupcake or b(Body *et al.* 2021)r a donation (Body *et al.* 2021). For the most part, rewards and benefits such as these, tangible or otherwise, were not specifically expressed as reasons to give or engage in philanthropic activities or associated with fundraising activities by the children that participated in my study. Philanthropic understanding and descriptions were mostly free from references to tangible rewards with only two of the twenty-eight children that participated in the focus groups (Table 6.9) mentioning such benefits as adopting an animal or receiving a toy. There were also no significant mentions amongst the children of fundraising events such as ‘bake-sales’ or ‘dress-up days’, despite such events taking place regularly in these schools, although it is acknowledged that Covid-19 may have the limited the number of such events in the recent months prior to data collection. This difference in outcome compared to earlier studies, may be explained by the age of the children, that is, unlike the 4–8-year-olds in Body (2019) study who did mention such ‘rewards’, the children in my study are at the upper end of middle-childhood, the concrete operational stage of development a period during which children become less ego-centric (Markus and Nurius 1984)). Furthermore, in the instances of children designing their own school-based fundraising or charitable activities, the children did not shape or frame these activities around rewards from which they might benefit such as buying a cake, book, dressing up or throwing a sponge at teacher or similar such activity. Instead, the fundraising activities the children designed in response to a societal need they had identified included the collection of coats for refugees, collecting devices for children who did not have access to such items during the pandemic or, through raising money via sponsored sporting activities.

Despite the absence of references by the children to rewards, all of the teachers that participated in this study talked about the reward based fundraising activities organised by the school or the parent body as examples of the types of charitable activities that take place, the implication being that parents and teachers that design and implement such activities may be mis-reading the motivations of the children in their schools. As such, charities with their gifts of soft toys and schools, including those in this study, when fundraising with and from children appear to overlook the innate philanthropic impulse in children and potentially do more long-term harm than short term good, as argued by Body et al (2021) and Power & Taylor (2018), by creating a seemingly unnecessary expectation of reward instead of creating the necessary conditions in which altruistic tendencies or inclinations are enabled. Encouraging passive and incentivised giving, which focuses on the funds raised or the rewards accrued, rather than the cause itself, Body et al (2021) argue is detrimental in terms of cultivating a more social-justice oriented citizen. Furthermore, this so-called *mainstreaming* of charity (Power and Taylor 2018) in school, is problematic not least for reward based, transactional giving but also for promoting a narrative that sees charity as a response to social ills, thus encouraging the perpetuation of inequality. Such an approach fails to equip children with the knowledge and skills to critically engage with the issues that sit behind charities and causes, to explore alternative issues as well as question the very notions of philanthropy itself. This lack of critical enquiry is associated with the philanthropy that children in my study and in schools in general experience, is explored and discussed more fully in the next chapter. Elsewhere in the literature, Twenge (2013) raises concerns and associates the over-use and unnecessary use of self-esteem boosting tactics such as ''participation trophies'' and other forms of recognition and rewards, for contributing to higher rates of narcissism and a preoccupation with individual success rather than collective action leading to less empathy and concern for others. The apparent individualised approach to philanthropy is also explored in the next chapter. Where this section has examined fundraising practices specifically, which are the most common form of philanthropic action within the school setting for the children in my study as well as the children Body et al.'s (2019) and Power and Taylor's (2018) study, the next section considers volunteering, since the DfE (2019) promotes and encourages programmes of volunteering for children at primary school level.

8.2.4 Children and schools do not appear to engage with volunteering activities for instrumental reasons of enhancing human capital

As discussed in the background chapters, Dean (2014) finds older, specifically middle-class children, attending grammar schools in the UK engage in volunteering, not for the purposes of enrichment and personal development rather ''they just needed the appearance of activity to fill their personal statements'' (Dean, 2014 p.11) on university application forms. For Handy et al (2010), university and job applicants volunteer for the purposes of resume building and the 'signalling' effect volunteering might have within competitive environments such as the labour or educational market. Employers and Universities associate volunteering with leadership skills, self-confidence and critical thinking abilities (Astin & Sax, 1998 Astin et al. 1999 in Handy, 2010 p.500), the implication being that employers and universities consider the individual that has volunteered more employable or motivated to study than one that has not volunteered (Dean 2014) (Handy 2010). Universities are incentivised to create student volunteering opportunities (Dean, 2014) as this, along with other co-curricular activities are included in the 'Key Information Set' upon which they are measured, such metrics are important in an increasingly competitive Higher Education sector. Thus, engaging in philanthropic activities for instrumental reasons is prevalent amongst children and young people as they progress through education and on to employment and opportunities to do so are readily more available to children from advantaged backgrounds(Handy *et al.* 2010)(Dean 2016)

The Department for Education asks (primary) schools to consider how well they promote the value of volunteering and service (DfE 2019a). Whilst this is not a statutory requirement, the DfE recommends that all schools provide volunteering opportunities for children (DfE 2019a). Despite this policy context, there was no evidence within any of the participating schools of formal volunteering programmes available to the children. Although the reported volunteering levels are relatively low, compared to the activities of giving money and items, more than a quarter of the children (28% *n63*) report volunteering at least sometimes. The children in my study did not report engaging in volunteering activities either at home or at school for self-enhancement purposes, personal gain or, for the prestige it might afford them. This was, to some extent an unexpected finding as, applications to senior schools for these children, is a highly competitive process (most of the children in this study will move on to senior school in Year 7, age 11 years) involving entrance exams, interviews and an application form designed to capture all extra-curricular activity and achievements over the preceding years. Yet, the children in my study did not report engaging in activities such as volunteering for instrumental reasons of self-promotion or to gain advantage over others in the university application process. This, in part, may be explained by the lack of availability in these schools of volunteering programmes or given their position of privilege, these children are likely to have access to enough application enhancing extra-curricular activities and/or senior schools not necessarily taking into consideration such activities. Although, as Handy et al (2010) and Dean (2016) assert, such participation is used to gain competitive advantage over others in the application process. However, this finding is also in line with Power's finding (2022) that 40 percent of nearly one thousand 14-year olds in Wales that participated in her study, engage in philanthropic activities such as volunteering ''in order to improve things and help people'' or because they ''enjoy it'' (28.2%) compared to those that report volunteering for the instrumental reasons such as getting a recognised qualification (5.5%) (Power 2022, p.52). As such, perhaps it is a positive finding that the children in my study are not encouraged by schools to engage with volunteering for instrumental reasons. Having considered what, the children in my study choose to give to and why they give, this next section considers how the data suggests giving from a position of financial security influences giving behaviours.

8.2.5 Giving mostly involves the donation of money and items and feeling financially secure influences giving decisions

The children in my study understand charity according to the things they do which mostly involves the donation of money and items (Figure 6.19). This is in line with the ambitions set out in the Parliamentary Inquiry in 2012 (CAF 2012; CAF 2014) to encourage younger generations to grow up giving and to give more and reflects the results of earlier studies that similarly find children engage in giving and donating money and items more frequently than other philanthropic activities such as volunteering. As shown in (Table 6.6), the majority of the children in my study would give an imaginary windfall away. This reported preference to give rather than spend or save acts as counter to the popular narrative that finds a society that is becoming increasingly narcissistic (Grubbs *et al.* 2019). It is also counter to empirical data that finds consistent generational increases in narcissism, where each new generation is more narcissistic than the previous (Twenge 2013), and a narrative that finds a society 'consumed by commercialism' (Barber, 2007 in Power & Smith, 2016 p.162) where anxious parents are concerned by the consumer desires of their children (Pugh 2009). The preference to give rather than spend or save, suggests that that the desire to give and donate and feelings of empathy towards others, over-ride selfish or materialistic desires. A similar study involving a hypothetical monetary windfall carried out by Kian et al (2015) and discussed in the background chapters, found a preference for saving. Kian et al (2015) drew further conclusions in that saving preferences were significantly related to materialism attitudes and the desire to give (to charity) linked to gratitude; however, this study did not account for socio-economic factors that might explain why children that elected to give were found to have higher levels of gratitude. Drawing on the prior literature, I find two possible explanations linked to the socio-economic profile of financially secure children that might explain why so many of the children in my study elect to give rather than spend the imaginary windfall. Firstly, being and feeling financially secure, we know from the data collected from parents that the children are likely to reside in relatively wealthy or affluent households (Table 5.3). An awareness of one's own financial security and/or the belief that one's own material needs have and will continue to be met might explain why so many children elect to give rather than spend or save. Secondly, and linked to this awareness of financial security, is the concept of serial reciprocity which provides a further explanation as to the dominant preference to give among the children in my study where the idea that giving (to charity) is an expression of gratitude acknowledging the economic and material advantage bestowed on them by parents and the duty to reciprocate, by giving to others (Moody 2008).

8.2.6 Feelings of financial security might explain a preference to give rather than spend or save (or apparent generosity?)

The data collected from parents (Table 5.3) supports the assumption made that children attending independent schools in London belong to financially secure households, and the data collected from the children suggests that many of them are indeed aware of their own material and financial advantages as well as the opportunities it affords them (see section 6.4.2). Consistent with the child development literature, that finds middle childhood a period during which children begin to develop self-knowledge and self-concept as well as an awareness of their own socio-economic standing (Markus and Nurius 1984) many of the children not only belong to financially secure households, but demonstrate an awareness of their own financial security, for example:

> "I am already really lucky so I don't need anymore, and the children in the world who live hard lives and don't have any home or food deserve and need it more." Girl, Year 5

We know from the literature on adult donors, that ''feelings of financial security matter more than actual financial resources'' (Breeze and Lloyd 2013, p.12) in terms of what donors give. Awareness of their own financial security and feeling financially secure may, in part, explain why more than two thirds elect to still give away the imaginary £10k windfall and also, the frequency with which they claim to donate money and items.

Drawing on the responses to the question that asked survey participants what they would do with an imaginary windfall of £10K, (Table 6.6, Table 6.8), the majority of children would give the money away with more than half of them electing to give all or most of it to charity. A sense of financial security may also, in part, explain why more children in my study (69.6%) compared to the children in Power and Smith's (2016) study, upon which this question was modelled (49.9%) elect to give rather than spend or save, further reflected in the following comments:

> ''I have drawn a money pot with branches reaching out to those in poverty, they don't have what we all have'' Girl, Year 6
>
> ''Helping those who are less fortunate than us and don't have the opportunities that we have in life'' Girl, Year 6

A sense of financial security may also explain the frequency with which children report giving money and items away to charity. This sense of financial security implied in the findings relates to money perceptions and not to the amount of money actually held, the children *feel* rather than *know* they are financially secure enough within their families to not *need* this windfall to meet their own material desires or financial needs of family members. Conversely, a 'significant number' children in Power and Smith's study (2016 p.198), in recognition of their own financial *in*security intended to give the money to family members to pay off debts, mortgages and help family businesses. Feeling financially secure is an important finding as it supports the data that adult donors, regardless of their own financial resources donate less if they do not *feel* rich (Wiepking and Breeze 2012) and; those that have a positive perception of their own financial security (Bekkers and 2007) or; consider themselves 'financially better off' than others (Bennett and Kottasz 2000) are more generous givers, and ''those who understand themselves as financially secure contribute a higher percentage of their wealth'' (Schervish in Moody and Breeze 2016, p.199). In these studies, it is the subjective nature of attitude towards money or, as Wiepking and Breeze (2011) assert, those that worry about their financial situation or feel financially insecure donate less to charitable causes.

Power and Smith (2016) describe this preference to give rather than spend as an act of generosity (ibid.p.201), and considering this assumption, the children in my study may similarly be described as generous on the grounds that so many elect to give. However, I suggest that the perceived ability to be generous is less about ''prioritising the needs of others'' over one's own (Allen 2018 p.2) and more about the extent of one's own needs already being met and therefore being in a position of financial security, to give away excess. That is donations are not sacrificial but involve giving away surplus, as implied in the following comments from children:

> ''I would still give it to charity as without this £10,000, I already live a happy life with a nice home and I know that someone else would need the money more than me'' Survey, Boy Year 6
>
> ''not sure. Have never thought about that but would probably give it all to charity as I don't need it'' Survey, Girl Year 5

Whilst asking children what they would do with a hypothetical monetary windfall does not necessarily reflect what the children would actually do in practice, such findings are useful, as Power and Smith (2016) assert, as intentions tell us something about the children's perception of money and the social meaning that can be attached to these intentions. Since money is subjective (Zelizer 2021) and since ''different attitudes towards money can explain differences in philanthropic behaviour'' (Wiepking and Breeze 2012, p.21), these findings contribute to the discourse on the social properties of money. Power & Smith (2016) conclude that the children in their study, that elect to give rather than spend or save an imaginary cash windfall prioritise social obligations over individual consumption (Power and Smith 2016, p.201). As such, the same assumption may be inferred in relation to the children in my study that elected to give away a similarly imaginary cash windfall. However, the decision to give rather than spend or save for the children in my study may instead or as well as, be motivated by feelings of financial security and the availability of excess wealth that enables giving.

8.2.7 Serial reciprocity might also explain a preference to give rather than spend or save

More than half (57%) of the children that would give away the £10K windfall would give all or most of it to charity (Table 6.8), an examination of the comments suggests that serial reciprocity as articulated by Moody (2008), may provide an additional explanation as to this outcome. The concept of serial reciprocity find people reciprocating for what they have received from, for example a parent, by providing or giving to a third-party beneficiary rather than to the original giver (Moody 2008). Whilst the comments below do not explicitly refer to parents, a preference to give rather than save or spend appears to be motivated in recognition of their own good fortune, the financial and material opportunities they have been given, presumably by their parents:

> "I would give it to the poor people as I don't need that much money as I'm happy with what I have now and I think the poor will need it much more than me" Girl, Year 5
>
> ''I would still give it to charity as without this £10,000, I already live a happy life with a nice home and I know that someone else would need the money more than me'' Survey, Boy Year 6

What is key to serial reciprocity is that the receiver (in this case the children), feel an obligation or debt to the giver (presumably the parents) that provided the financial security and 'nice home' but the obligation to repay this debt is directed towards a third party / beneficiary. As potential inheritors of the forthcoming wealth transfer due to take place over the coming years, if serial reciprocity is at play and motivates children to give rather than spend or save, then this may act as a positive indicator in terms of future giving.

8.2.8 Summary of Chapter

In this chapter I considered and discussed the factors that explain the giving behaviours and motivations of the children in my study and whilst these are broadly the same as those of children in earlier studies, there are some differentials. Overall, the children express a desire to give and participate in philanthropy, a preference to give rather than spend or save, in part motivated by their own financial and material advantage but also suggests the philanthropic impulse and innate altruistic tendencies drive philanthropic participation. In the next chapter, I examine how the financially secure children in my study describe and understand philanthropy and how they are learning to give and participate in philanthropy.

Chapter 9 Discussion - *Knowing and Learning*

"Whilst philanthropy is an altruistic impulse, it is also a learned behaviour''.

Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2014

The previous chapter explored RQ1 and RQ3, and considered the expressed giving motivations and preferences held by the financially secure children that participated in my study. This chapter draws on the concepts of citizenship, philanthropic citizenship as well as children's participation models to examine how these children understand philanthropy and how they are acquiring the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours they hold. The discussion that follows is framed according to the two remaining research questions:

RQ 2: How do financially secure children describe and understand philanthropy?

RQ4: How are financially secure children learning to give and participate in philanthropy – what philanthropy do they experience, observe and learn?

In the first part of this chapter, I suggest that the philanthropic understanding and intent of the financially secure children that participated in my study is narrow, uncritical and framed according to the traditional constructs of benevolence and individualism. In the second part, I consider how this philanthropic understanding held by the children in my study is mostly *caught* through the philanthropic activities that they participate in and the philanthropy they observe others doing rather than explicitly *taught* at home or at school. In the final concluding chapter, the themes considered in each of these discussion chapters are summarised and conclusions drawn as to what kind of philanthropic citizen financially secure children are learning to become.

9.1 How do financially secure children describe and understand philanthropy?

The findings produced some rich data, providing insight as to how the children understand and articulate charity. The children mostly understand charity in relation to the things that *they do* for charity, which mostly involves the donation of money and items to 'needy' others, rather than what charities do for society more broadly or the wider activities and concepts associated with philanthropy. In the discussion that follows, I contest that the parameters within which the children understand and define charity are limiting and potentially problematic.

9.1.1 Narrow, one-dimensional and uncritical understanding of charity

In line with previous studies, such as those by Body et al. (2021); Power & Taylor (2018); and CAF, (2013), the financially secure children in my study recognise the value and importance of charity and the role that it plays in improving the lives of others. Whilst the children in the study expressed high levels of confidence in their own knowledge and understanding of charity (Figure 7.6), like the children in Ho's study (2010), their understanding is narrow and not always entirely accurate. For example, the view that hospitals and medical care are only for the privileged (Figure 6.9) or the belief that goods donated to a charity shop go directly to beneficiaries (Figure 6.8).

When describing and articulating what charity means to them, charity appears to be mostly understood by the children in my study as something that *they* do, that benefits *other* people that are disadvantaged in ways such as lack of education opportunities (Figure 6.13), food poverty (Figure 6.12) or homelessness (Table 6.2). Charity is always represented in the drawings as an act of giving in a one-way direction to (needy) others and associated with 'helping' (Table 6.2). Charitable giving is mostly understood as being executed via the donation of money or (used) items. Charity in the drawings and discussions is described and understood as something that benefits disadvantaged others, a solution to inequality, yet when selecting causes and charities to donate money to, imaginary or otherwise (Table 6.3, Table 6.4, Figure 6.19), the children show a preference for animal and health charities, rather than those that specifically address these issues. The findings therefore suggest that children understand charity as a solution to societal problems but prioritise animal and health charities when electing to donate money. Overall, the majority of the children did not express an understanding of the broader concept of philanthropy that is the ''voluntary action for the public good'' (Payton and Moody 2008, p.9) which includes activities that create benefits across society (Breeze 2021a, p.4), themselves included such as the development of vaccines, conservation work or environmental matters. Furthermore, when thinking about and defining charity in the focus groups, the children were less inclined to include activities such as recycling, activities cited by children in earlier research by Body, Lau et al. (2019) or other pro-social activities associated with philanthropic citizenship such as campaigning and advocacy despite engaging in such activities such as writing letters to effect change, organising a litter pick or joining a march (see Table 7.4). The children do not associate charity with some of the social action that many of them report doing, such as organising a litter pick or participating in a protest, instead charity is primarily discussed and described as the donation of money and items mostly to solve social problems such as those associated with inequality. As such, the children demonstrate a lack of awareness as to alternative solutions or responses such as activities that are driven by a desire for social justice, activities that can be channelled towards challenging the systems and structures that give rise to or exacerbate the issues associated with the cause.

As Power and Taylor (2018) and Body et al (2021) assert, understanding social problems and social inequality as something that is solved by the donation of money or items, is a so-called ''sticking plaster'' approach (Power and Taylor 2018, p.711) or as Simpson labels, a ''charity mindset'' (Simpson 2017). An understanding framed in this manner is problematic because such understanding serves to *perpetuate* the issues rather than seeks to address the issues that give rise to the need in the first place. Furthermore, this apparent narrow understanding of charity amongst the children, centred on social problems and the need to help ''those less fortunate than us'' (Boy, Year 5), fuels the ''unfounded assumption that the purpose of philanthropy is to tackle poverty and inequality'' (Breeze 2021a, p.142). As such, the children do not demonstrate an understanding or awareness of the wider role of charity and charities in society. That is, across nearly all of the drawings and discussions, charity is framed as a solution to inequality and disadvantage and that charity is enabled by money and material items and on occasion volunteering. This is problematic because it presents charity as *the* solution to social ills (Body et al 2021; Power and Taylor 2018) and it is also problematic because such an understanding fails to take account of the much wider role that charity and philanthropy plays in society, be-it developing vaccines or tackling climate change. Thus, this narrow, one-dimensional and transactional understanding of charity that is held by the children in my study, is particularly problematic in that it suggests a lack of awareness of the scale, scope and wider purposes of philanthropy to society. As well as, a lack of awareness of the system and structural deficiencies and the role that governments play in relation to the social issues described and depicted in the data and a lack of awareness of alternative solutions to giving money or items such as the benefits of social justice oriented action. Furthermore, this narrow, one-dimensional, uncritical and sometimes inaccurate understanding expressed by the financially secure children in my study frames giving from a position of privilege, reflecting a politics of benevolence as articulated by Jefferess (2008) and discussed in the background chapters.

9.1.2 Unquestionable benevolence

Benevolence is a term, broad in meaning, used across time and place to define and characterise philanthropic activities (Payton and Moody 2008) (Prochaska 1980) and used interchangeably with philanthropy (Daly 2012). However, as discussed in the literature review, a 'benevolent' conception of philanthropy can be problematic. It is argued that a 'benevolent' understanding perpetuates the problem rather than enables a response designed to address the root cause (Jefferess, 2008), implies a power imbalance between those that help and those that are in need of help (ibid.) (Simpson, 2017), where giving from a position of privilege is unquestioned (Jefferess 2008) (Body and Lacny 2022) and is used as a tool to offset privilege (Kenway and Fahey, 2015). This problematic conceptualisation of benevolence is indicated in the drawings and comments made by the children in my study. The financially secure children in the study draw and describe charity that positions *themselve*s as benevolent and *others* as objects of benevolence. The drawings and analysis in Chapter 6 (see Table 6.2) show that children portray themselves as donors giving to *others.* The language used by children, as well as teachers, to describe beneficiaries positions them as 'objects of benevolence', describing them as 'less fortunate', 'needy' and the 'disadvantaged', as seen in the following quotes:

> ''help those in need'' Year 5
>
> ''I put helping those less fortunate than us'' Boy, Year 5
>
> ''there are strands of thinking about those less fortunate to us'' Teacher, AH School

An understanding framed in this way is considered problematic for normalising the conditions of privilege that allow some to be able to help (Jefferess, 2008) and failing to consider the role that privilege plays in terms of contributing to inequality and the need for help in the first place. However, Mackenzie et al (2016) argue that giving that is motivated by a desire for fairness and equality indicates that the donor *is* aware of the contributory role that they might play in terms of perpetuating inequality, suggesting that they do take some responsibility for the problems that they see. To that end, as seen in Table 6.9, throughout the focus groups 'fairness and equality' was frequently referenced as a reason for giving and participating in philanthropy, for example:

> "I think everyone deserves the same and it's not fair that some people have what they have " Girl, Year 6
>
> "We do this because we want to help people and we want everyone, you know to have the same as we have as well" Year 5

Taking the argument put forward by Mackenzie et al (2016), my findings suggest that understanding amongst the children in my study is not completely devoid of an awareness of their own privilege and advantage, since they demonstrate a desire for fairness and equality. Though, counter to this, is Kenway and Fahey's (2015) argument that draws on the notion of noblesse oblige and the obligation to give back that comes with privilege, where comments such as those set out above, could be interpreted as charity being used and understood as a mechanism to *offset* privilege which the authors argue is problematic. However, the way charity is described in terms of the relationship between donor or benefactor and beneficiary and object of benevolence, is suggestive of a power imbalance, particularly in terms of the expectation of gratitude as articulated and depicted in the drawings by the children.

9.1.3 An expectation of gratitude

As discussed, in Section 8.2.4, the children in my study did not *express* a motivation to give in return for tangible rewards such as toys and cakes. However, the children do express an expectation of 'gratitude' or 'gratefulness' from beneficiaries in return for donations made, reflected in many of the focus group drawings and associated descriptions explicit in Figure 6.11 which incorporates the word 'gratefulness' in the image and is accompanied by the following comment:

> ''…so then they're giving this person a present and this person is really grateful''
> Girl, Year 5

In addition, gratefulness is implied in Figure 6.12 which depicts a beneficiary saying, 'thank you' to the donor. This expectation of gratitude or gratefulness is implied in several of the drawings that show 'gift-wrapped presents' or shows the beneficiary being presented with such a gift, for examples see, Figure 6.7 and Figure 6.9 and in Figure 6.10, the present appears to have the ability to turn sad beneficiaries into happy ones. Depicting philanthropic donations as 'gifts' akin to birthday or Christmas presents given to (grateful) human recipients in these drawings is suggestive of the complex and much debated gift-giving processes. Where, the notion or possibility of a 'true gift', defined as a selfless act, free from the expectation of reciprocity is impossible according to Bourdieu (Schrift 1997) or, possible according to Titmuss (1970) where the social gift of blood donation involves no expectation for something in return. The expressed expectation of gratitude and gratefulness found in some of the drawings produced by the children in my study might suggest that the gift giving depicted is less an exercise in what Titmuss, (quoting Sorkin), refers to as 'creative altruism' where social gifts and actions carry no implicit right to return a gift or action (Titmuss 1970, p.179), and could instead, be interpreted as a reflection of power dynamics that might be at play, where the act of giving by the donor (child) creates an obligation in the recipient/beneficiary to be 'grateful' or express 'gratitude'. For van Hulzen, gratitude in return for a charitable gift signifies an expression of obedience and the ''dark side of gratitude'' (van Hulzen 2021, p.115) and for Schwartz (in Titmuss 1970, p.57) reciprocity in the form of gratitude similarly implies an expression of control over the recipient. There may, however, be other possible interpretations of the references to gratitude and gratefulness found in the drawings.

9.1.4 An individualised approach to philanthropy

The financially secure children in my study understand and describe charity according to the things *they* do. The drawings showed individual acts of kindness, mostly involving the donation of money to 'needy' others. The children draw and describe helping others in terms of individual rather than collective action, presenting charity as something that involves acts of kindness or generosity by individuals. This individualised approach to charity, reflects, as discussed in the background chapters, an education system that is criticised by Westheimer (2015) and others, for preparing children for individual success and economic gain over developing active and engaged citizens. A system underpinned by a neo-liberalism ideology – a system that promotes individual grit and resilience. The comments from the teachers that participated in my study, reflect this preoccupation in UK schools with attainment, asserting that there is little space in the timetable for subjects other than those that prepare children for the entrance exams to ''successful schools'' (Teacher, CF School) they will take at the age of 11:

> ''quite often most of the lessons may get pushed to the side because it's not Maths and English'' Teacher CF School

Westheimer (2015) suggests that citizenship behaviours and knowledge can be acquired through implicit lessons that form part of the school life through the ethos of the school. My data shows that the version of 'good citizenship' that is promoted and disseminated in the schools in my study appears to be one that is built on positive character traits and a sense of personal responsibility, as reflected in the following quotes from teachers:

> ''doing good and helping people'' Teacher, CF School
>
> ''thinking about those less fortunate to us'' Teacher, AH School

At one school, the general ethos of the school is described as ''*being kind''* and *''being a good citizen''* is important to school life, and children are rewarded for demonstrating these characteristics. Jerome and Kisby (2019) criticise character education for being ''individualistic and moralistic'' and Twenge (2013) suggests that an individualistic approach leads to a society that is increasingly self-interested, the implication being ''lower empathy, less concern for others and less civic engagement (e.g., interest in social issues, government and politics'' (Twenge 2013, p.1). However, what seems apparent in the data is that these notions are *caught* rather than formally taught in the classroom and acquired via the culture and ethos of the school.

9.2 How are financially secure children learning to give and to participate in philanthropy - what philanthropy do they experience, observe and learn?

The background chapters reveal pro-social behaviours and virtues are developed during middle-childhood through doing, experiencing and learning. Philanthropic knowledge and behaviours are *caught* through observing role models such as parents and teachers; *taught* by learning cognitively through thinking and discussing and *sought* by experiencing through participating in philanthropic activities such as volunteering. For the financially secure children in my study, philanthropic understanding as articulated above, is mostly caught through the things they do and through observing role models such as parents and teachers, with a lack of opportunity to formally acquire philanthropic knowledge through the curriculum at school. Children understand charity in terms of individual acts of giving rather than in terms of collective action or collective benefit, and this, I suggest, reflects a type of character education promoted by current Conservative Government education policy, shaped by neo-liberalism ideology and criticised for being individualistic and anti-social, and this will be explored in the following section.

9.2.1 Philanthropic understanding appears to be mostly caught through the things they do and through observing others at home and at school

As depicted in the drawings in Chapter 6, the children in my study understand charity as an 'act' or 'behaviour', in terms of the things *they* do for charity, which mostly involves the donation of money and items rather than in terms of what charity *does* or why it is needed. Knowledge and understanding that is framed according to a child's own experience is consistent with Piaget's definition of middle childhood – the concrete operational stage of development – a period during which knowledge is based upon a child's own experiences and interactions with the world (Piaget and Inhelder 1969). Children acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours via the things that they do and experience, by observing role models and through opportunities to discuss and ask questions. For the most part, studies of a philanthropic nature involving children have tended to focus on either the school environment such as those by Body et al (2019, 2021) or Power and Taylor (2018) *or* the family/home setting such as those by Muddiman et al (2022) or, via the controlled experimental studies which were discussed in the background chapters. In this study, I set out to explore the role of both the school *and* the family in terms of shaping the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours of financially secure children, asking children to reflect on the things they do, see and learn about at home and at school, as well as asking parents and teachers to report on the philanthropy that takes place in these setting.

My data finds that the children do observe parents and family members engaging in philanthropic action, but suggests that the school environment is significant and important as it presents more opportunities for children to learn about and participate in philanthropic activities, mostly through fundraising initiatives and discussions about charity in connection to the fundraising that occurs. Yet, studies exploring the philanthropic journeys of adults, such as those be Breeze & Lloyd (2013), Schmitz et al (2021) and Haydon et al (2021) find, when reflecting back adult (wealthy) donors will cite parents and family as playing a significant and an important role during childhood in terms of shaping their ''philanthropic disposition'' in adulthood (Haydon et al. p.10) with no mention of schools. However, it is unclear as to whether this is because the adult research participants in those studies were asked specifically about family influences or whether the school experience did not play a part in shaping their philanthropy beliefs, practices and understanding. For the children in my study, it is unclear as to whether school experiences feature more prominently because the survey and focus groups were carried out in connection with the school or whether there are less opportunities at home for discussions about charities and causes, less role modelling observed and less opportunities to participate in philanthropic activities. This is an area worthy of further enquiry, as set out in Section 10.4.

9.2.2 Philanthropy at home mostly involves the donation of money and items

The philanthropic activity that the children in my study report engaging in most frequently at home involves the donation of money and items (Figure 7.1) and such activities are more likely to be facilitated by, and initiated within, the home setting by family members (Table 7.1). Since children are likely to be dependent on adults to facilitate the donation of money and items, we might assume that family members play an active role in terms of enabling such action, as seen in comments such as:

> ‘’And at Christmas time, my sister felt like we should do something to give people a little Christmas cheer, and so we donated, wholesome food and treats to give some families the Christmas that they deserve’’ Girl, Year 6

> "Whenever, I donate to charity we normally go to a charity shop where we put toys and clothes in, so I put those toys in" Boy (school year unknown)

However, the findings also suggest that the children may play a passive and tokenistic role rather than one that is more participatory in such activities, as reflected in the comments:

> ‘’my mum gives away things that we don’t need anymore….like really old computers or something like that, toys’’ Boy, Year 5

In terms of observing role models, the activity the children report seeing family members doing most frequently involves the donation of money to charity, with 80% of the children observing parents making such donations at least sometimes (Figure 7.4). Since parents modelling pro-social behaviours are found to enhance the propensity in children towards pro-social behaviours in adulthood (Clary and Miller 1986) (Schmid et al. 2020) (Haywood/Haydon et al. 2021) and the findings also show that parents in this study regularly donate money to charity at above-average levels, and as generosity is considered an inherited trait (Ben-Ner *et al.* 2017), these findings suggest that the children in this study have the potential to engage in the pro-social act of giving and donating in adulthood. Given the apparent generosity of their parents, it may be inferred that the children have the potential to be similarly generous with the excess wealth that some of them are likely to inherit by virtue of inheritance. The findings suggest that they may well reproduce the giving patterns of previous generations, as such the giving patterns expressed by the parents in my study.

Whilst the children report regularly observing family members engaging in a range of philanthropic activities and frequently engaging in activities such as donating money and items, there is, according to the children, little opportunity to learn about and discuss philanthropy within the home setting. Despite this, if the children were to seek advice regarding giving decisions, they are more likely to ask a parent rather than a teacher for help. Yet half the children report rarely or never having the opportunity to discuss charities at home, even though the parents that participated in this study claim that such discussions take place more frequently. Table 7.9. sets out the disjuncture between the frequency of discussions of a philanthropic nature according to parents and to children, suggesting missed teachable moments at home. That is children want to talk to their parents about charity and charities, but do not report having regular opportunities to do so.

9.2.3 Philanthropy at school mostly involves fundraising

As with the children in Body et al.’s study (2020), the children in my study exhibit a strong philanthropic impulse, motivated to give and to help. As Titmuss asserts, it is important to develop and implement the conditions that enable altruism to flourish, opportunities for 'social gifts and actions' that enable the 'biological need to help express itself' (Titmuss 1970, p.179). As reflected in the drawings, the children in my study appear to engage in philanthropic acts of giving to strangers, and as Titmuss asserts, much of social policy is concerned with ''stranger relationships, with processes, institutions and structures which encourage or discourage the intensity and extensiveness of anonymous helpfulness in society'' (ibid. p.179). It is therefore important to examine the conditions shaped by education policy that may enable or hinder the expression of altruism.

The interviews with teachers confirmed earlier assumptions set out in the background chapters that the curriculum in these schools does not provide formal opportunities for children to be taught about charities, causes and the issues that sit behind them. Whilst guidelines exist, such as those set out by the Department of Education (2019) that promote the benefits of providing volunteering opportunities for young children, a possible route through which the so called ''biological need to help" (Titmuss 1970) can be expressed, the guidelines are not statutory. The four schools that participated in the study find space outside of the curriculum to encourage and enable children to engage with philanthropy, and these opportunities are, for the most part, *caught* through the ethos of the school:

> 'I try to embed it into the ethos, we want parents to be able to walk around our school….and feel that our children actually care about other children, be it themselves or other people in the community'' Teacher, CF School

However, my findings suggest that the main route through which children acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours is through the fundraising activities that take place in schools.

In line with the findings of the similar studies involving children such as those by Body et al (2019), CAF (2013), Power & Taylor (2018), the philanthropic activity that children engage with most frequently at school centres around fundraising, with nearly 90% reporting that their school organises fundraising activities for charity at least sometimes, with more than half reporting that such activities take place often. The schools that participated in this study raise significant amounts for charities and beneficiaries, as one teacher commented, ''we do have some parents who could just write a cheque for £20K plus'' Power & Taylor (2018) and Body et al (2019) assert, the money raised by schools through fundraising initiatives is to be commended, not least for the amounts raised, but also in terms of the benefits accrued to the schools and children from working together ''on collective [fundraising] endeavours for others'' (Power & Taylor, 2018 p. 712) such as bake sales. However, the positioning of charity, the authors attest, within schools is problematic, particularly with regard to fundraising practices. Power and Taylor (2018) and Body et al (2019) question the apparent transactional, reward-based nature of fundraising amongst children in primary schools which runs the risk of not only over-riding the philanthropic impulse and associating giving with a transactional process, but for promoting a narrative that charity is *the* solution to social problems and needs. When what is needed is a more social justice approach and understanding or providing children with the skills and opportunity to critically engage with the underlying issues that sit behind causes and charities. This so called *mainstreaming* of charity in school, is enabled, according to Power and Taylor (2018) by a business-like to approach to fundraising in aid of large international and national charities (rather than addressing local and community needs) which, enabled by commercial business partners (such as ASDA, Sainsburys and Amazon) develop large scale marketing campaigns targeted to schools which are designed to not only raise funds for the charities in question but, at the same time promote their own brand or sell products. Many of the concerns raised by Body et al (2020, 2021) and Power and Taylor (2018), regarding fundraising practices in schools are linked to the major marketing campaigns that specifically target school, implemented by large well-known charitable organisations (and their commercial partners) such as Children in Need, Comic Relief and Sport Relief, which they argue (1) encourages passive, transactional, tokenistic and reward-based giving that (2) promotes charity as a solution and (3) uses fundraising for commercial gain. However, the schools that participated in my study consciously choose not to engage in these large-scale fundraising campaigns and the findings show some evidence of a more participatory approach to charity as articulated in the model of philanthropic citizenship as conceptualised by Body et al (2020). Overall, the findings suggest that the fundraising practices that take place in these schools and the way that charity is presented to the children in my study, miss the opportunity for a more social justice approach and instead promote a narrow, individualised and uncritical approach to charity. This evidence is explored in the discussion that follows.

School fundraising can be tokenistic but sometimes it can be more participatory

Drawing on the theoretical concepts discussed in Chapter 4, the findings suggest that the level of agency the children in my study have in terms of some school fundraising activities sits more towards the lower rungs of participation where ''y*oung people are assigned tasks and informed how and why they are involved'* (Hart 1992b). Thus, reflecting the non-participatory levels of tokenism, decoration or manipulation on Hart's (1992) model.

Body et al (2021) raise concerns regarding the sometimes passive and tokenistic involvement of children in school fundraising efforts particularly those involving reward-based activities such as 'dress up days' or 'bake sales' which can be anti-UNCRC, anti-fundraising code of ethics and risks over-riding the innate philanthropic impulse found in children (Body et al 2021). Similarly, there is evidence within my findings of such fundraising practices, particularly those organised by the parent body, in which children play a passive or, somewhat tokenistic role, reflecting the lower rungs of Hart's Ladder of Participation (Hart, 1992). However, there are some examples in the data of children being given the opportunity for a more participatory rather than transactional engagement in fundraising activities. Whilst the teachers say children are involved in selecting the charities the schools fundraise for, only 42% of the children consider this to happen sometimes and only 14% consider this to always be the case (Figure 7.1). Yet 76% would like to be involved in such decisions at least sometimes. So, whilst the school considers children to be involved in the decision-making process many children disagree but would like to be more or fully involved. The findings also suggest that children do have opportunities to talk about the charities and causes that they support through their fundraising activities, with 75% reporting such discussions take place at least sometimes (Figure 7.2), however drawing on the data from teachers, the implication is that these discussions are largely framed around the money raised and the impact achieved, rather than the wider issues that sit behind causes. Elsewhere in the data, nearly three quarters (73%, Figure 7.2) of the children in my study report, when fundraising, they *always* know the name of the charity and what it does, which compares with less than 20% of the 4–8-year-olds that participated in Body et al.'s study (2019). However, saying 'you know' and 'knowing' can of course be different.

Clearly, not all fundraising that takes place in these schools is teacher- or parent-led where children are involved in a passive and transactional way, instead, there is evidence of children having the opportunity to initiate, design and implement fundraising activities, reflecting the upper rungs of Hart's Ladder of Participation (Hart, 1992) (Figure 4.1). For example, Section 7.1.2 details some of the opportunities that children have at school to design and implement their own fundraising activities which, as can be seen, are also less about the reward they may accrue from the activity, and more about raising money and addressing need:

> "a couple of years ago, pre-Covid Christmas, the children came up to us and said they wanted to have a 'coat drive' for Wrap up London, so we facilitated that….We collected all the coats then I took five children to one of the storage places one Saturday where we actually sorted the coats'' Teacher, CH

> ''they take on and they devise their own ways to raise money….one year they did tag team in the pool and during the course of the week swam the distance between England and France'' Teacher, WP

In Section 8.2.2 above, the developmental stage that the children in my study are at provided one explanation as to why they do not readily associate fundraising with rewards. A further and perhaps more compelling explanation as to why the findings suggest a more participatory engagement with school fundraising opportunities, is the absence of the major marketing campaigns associated with organisations such as Comic Relief or Children in Need as found in the schools involved in Body et al (2019) and Power & Taylor's (2015) studies which often involve reward based fundraising activities such the opportunity to dress up, 'splat the teacher' (Body et al. 2019) or buy a cake and central to the argument in these studies as to why school fundraising can be problematic. According to the teachers interviewed, the schools, consciously and actively do not engage with these fundraising campaigns, choosing instead to support charities that they can ''build a relationship with'' (Teacher, CF School) or by ''focusing on charities very local to us, sort of local and relevant'' (Teacher, AH School). School organised fundraising and partnerships with charities appear to be genuinely considered in terms of the type of beneficiaries as well as, in terms of the educational value that such partnerships bring. That is, the teachers feel that partnering with smaller organisations results in more opportunities for children to learn directly from the charity about the work they do, and to that end, two-thirds of the children (Table 8.7) report charities coming into their schools to talk about the work they do.

> ''so, we get the guest speakers to come in from Mary's Meals to, to share the story and see where their money is actually being spent as well'', Teacher DE School
>
> ''we have er, speakers coming in for our different charities, so we've got Rwanda Aid as our main charity this year and we've been supporting them for the last couple of years erm, and I think twice teachers have actually gone over to Rwanda''
>
> Teacher, BG School

Additional examples of a more participatory approach to fundraising, according to the teachers include:

> "We ask them [school council representatives] to go away and ask their classes or we give them a list of five and ask them to get their class to vote on which one they would like to support''. Teachr AH School
>
> ''We did National charities like Comic Relief and Children in Need, then we decided we would have one International charity that we would have a commitment with and then we would have a local charity….we would have two charities each year, but the international one would be permanent as we wanted to actually build a relationship with a school somewhere'' CF School

Given that the teachers report careful selection of the school supported charities in terms of the causes supported, as well as the educational value such partnerships might enable, and children report knowing why they are fundraising and what for, with 73% (Figure 7.2) claiming to have the opportunity to discuss the causes and charities they are fundraising for during form time or assembly, such evidence suggests these schools enable a more participatory approach to fundraising. The formation of such partnerships is mutually beneficial – charities will invest the time to come in and engage with the children as the funds raised from schools such as these can be significant, relative to the organisation's total income. Furthermore, driven by the educational value to the school community and perhaps an expectation from (fee-paying) parents, as seen in the data, for schools to teach their children about charities, independent schools are motivated to form charity partnerships with organisations that are both relevant as well as small enough to engage directly with donors (the children). Whilst I did not intend making comparisons between the schools, I did find that the two schools that had designated 'school charities and established partnerships with charities that they had supported for at least the duration of the child's time at the school, demonstrated higher levels of participation, compared to the two schools that did not have long term relationships with a charity see Figure 8.2 and analysis.

Lack of opportunities at school to critically engage with philanthropy

School fundraising initiatives, particularly the large-scale ones associated with big charities, have been criticised for their lack of educational value, the JEM Survey quoted in Power and Taylor (2018) found only 18% of such activities educational. Whilst the schools in this study elect to fundraise for, and build relationships with, smaller organisations for the educational value accrued, the learning opportunities in places appear to be largely framed around fundraising and how the funds are used by the charities, that is, the response to the need is defined in terms of money. For the children in my study, charity appears to be inextricably linked to money and not understood in terms of wider activities such as volunteering or activities that may be considered more social justice in nature such as advocacy, protesting or campaigning. There did not appear to be evidence of discussions framed around the underlying issues that give rise to the need for support in the first place or, to that end, alternative solutions to solving social problems. Power and Taylor (2018), Body et al (2021) as well as Westheimer (2015) argue that this mainstreaming of charity is problematic, for presenting charity as the only solution to societal issues. Whilst the charity partner that CF School works with does however seem to engage children in more than just discussions as to how funds are used, such learning opportunities are still framed according to how charity can fix a particular problem.

Some evidence of community-based fundraising and social justice type activities, no up-selling by corporates

In relation to the final criticism levelled at the type of fundraising activity found in schools and associated with the major charity campaigns, is that school fundraising initiatives often overlook community-based fundraising and act as a conduit for corporates to promote and sell their goods. Since the schools that participated in my study do not engage in such campaigns, they were found to support and to some extent prioritise community need and there was no evidence of corporate upselling. The teachers that were interviewed felt the curriculum followed, did not provide opportunities to formally teach children about philanthropy, but there was still evidence of school-initiated social justice-oriented activity. For example, Table 8.5 shows that teachers are more likely than family members or friends to have initiated social-justice-oriented activities such as writing letters to officials about matters concerning, for example, the environment, animal protection or the refugee crisis. Although social justice-type activity does not appear to be immediately recognised as a charitable activity by the children, they do experience and engage with some such activities, through school-based initiatives.

9.3 Gendered Angle to the Findings

Whilst I did not set out to examine gender differentiations, it became apparent that the findings reflected in Table 6.7 – in line with Power & Smith's (2016) findings, more girls (79.7%) than boys (60%) are givers rather than spenders or savers – the implication being that girls are more generous than boys. A gendered dimension is also apparent in the findings, in terms of socialising agents at home, the children in this study were more likely to ask their mothers rather than fathers to help with giving decisions, and in one such question there were 31 references to mothers compared to 6 references to fathers. This finding is in-line with Muddiman's research, which finds it is ''mothers and grandmothers who play a central role in sharing civic and pro-social values with younger generations'' (Muddiman, Power et al. 2022) and the feminisation of charity as found in the children's picture books examined in Body and Lacny's (2022) study. Elsewhere in the data, more girls (62%) than boys (45%) report being involved in family giving decisions similarly, suggestive of the feminisation of charity, and in line with Muddiman's (2022) research, and earlier studies that find the mother as a key socialising agent in young children.

9.4 Summary of Chapter

In this chapter I considered and discussed the themes to emerge from the data that show how the children are learning to give and participate in philanthropy. Most learning and experiencing takes place at school through participation in fundraising activities and whilst there is evidence of higher levels of participation than perhaps found in earlier studies, philanthropy/charity is still presented to children as a solution to social ills, solutions that require money to enact. I find that philanthropic understanding is framed according to the constructs of benevolence, involving individual acts rather than collective action, where giving comes from a position of privilege, echoing some of the concerns found in the critiques of philanthropy. Philanthropic learning that takes place in schools reflects a character approach to education, underpinned by a neo-liberalism ideology. In the next and final chapter, conclusions will be drawn, and I will revisit the central research questions with which this thesis is concerned.

Chapter 10 Conclusion: *Personally Responsible Philanthropic Citizens*

In this research, I have explored how financially secure children engage with and participate in philanthropy to identify the knowledge and behaviours held and how they are acquired. I have also identified and considered the philanthropic features and characteristics that are distinct to this group. Drawing on the findings to emerge from the mixed-methods research approach used to collect data from these 9 – 11-year-old financially secure children as well as parents and teachers, in this concluding chapter, I return to the central research question that this thesis seeks to address:

What kind of philanthropic citizen are financially secure children learning to become?

Referring to the themes to emerge from the findings and analysis presented in Chapters 6 & 7 and the discussion that followed in Chapters 8 & 9, using Westheimer's (2015) typology, my data suggests that the financially secure children in my study are learning to become 'Personally Responsible' philanthropic citizens. An outcome that is arguably desirable in so far as encouraging charitable giving from a group that is likely, by virtue of inheritance, to have the means and resources to give generously in adulthood, but falls short if we are looking to raise philanthropists with the necessary knowledge, skills and desire to not only make informed giving decisions and to improve upon philanthropy (Breeze, 2021), but the ability to critically engage with the notion of charity as well as the issues that give rise to the need for philanthropy in the first place (Body and Lacny 2022).

In this concluding chapter, I revisit the overall aim and objectives of this thesis. I begin by summarising the context from which this research emerges, followed by an overview of the research approach taken. In the concluding discussion, I summarise the key findings against the individual research questions and what can be concluded from the research undertaken. In particular, I consider what these findings mean in terms of future giving from a group of financially secure children, societal understanding of philanthropy, and the policy implications for philanthropy education going forward. Also included in this chapter are suggestions as to future research directions, the contribution of new knowledge that this thesis makes against the objectives set out in the introduction and ends with some final reflections.

10.1 Summary of the thesis

As articulated in the introduction and context setting chapters (Part I), this research study was initially motivated by the declining statutory funding of the charity sector and the increasing need for more individuals to give more and to give better to fill this income gap and to meet increasing and pressing societal needs. This need was framed against a backdrop of wealth accumulation and the predicted wealth transfer of £5.5Tn that will take place over the coming years, meaning future inheritors are likely to have more liquid wealth to give to charitable causes. Children, particularly those that belong to households that are currently wealthy and therefore financially secure, were considered likely to be among the future recipients of this extraordinary wealth transfer. Individuals that, by virtue of inheritance, would have the means and resources to be amongst the donors of the future. Against the current and popular anti-philanthropy narrative, Breeze (2021) advocates for more, but better-informed donors giving more but making ethical decisions and improving upon philanthropy. Regarding educating children, there is a shared belief across the literature, that the preoccupation with character rather than citizenship education, as favoured by the current Conservative Government, is failing to adequately prepare children to be active democratic citizens. A citizenship approach to philanthropy, as conceptualised by Body (2020, 2021 2022, n.d), moves beyond the traditional activities of giving, donating and volunteering to also include activities such as advocacy, activism and social action, as well as providing children with the skills and opportunities to critically engage with philanthropy, causes and charities. Middle childhood (6 – 12 years) was identified as an important developmental stage for children in terms of acquiring pro-social habits and behaviours such as giving, volunteering and helping. Engaging in such pro-social activities such as volunteering, by the age of ten, was found to lead to higher and sustained levels of participation in adulthood (Arthur *et al.* 2017).

The examination of the prior research concerning children and philanthropy in Chapter 3 identified a lack of studies examining the philanthropic attitudes and behaviours of children in the UK, particularly in terms of children at the upper end of middle childhood and none that take into consideration socio-economic background in terms of affluence. The literature that does exist concerning children and philanthropy revealed two areas of concern in terms of (1) how children participate in philanthropy which is mainly through fundraising activities, and (2) how philanthropy is presented to children, particularly, at school. Participation, particularly in relation to fundraising, was found to be tokenistic, passive and reward-driven and therefore risks overriding the innate philanthropic impulse. Schools are criticised for presenting philanthropy as solution to social ills and reflecting a politics of benevolence, problematic as such a narrative serves to perpetuate rather than address the underlying issue or cause and enabling a power imbalance balance between donor and beneficiary. Instead, a more social justice approach to philanthropic engagement is promoted, and philanthropic citizenship, as conceptualised by Body et al. (2020, 2021 2022, n.d), advocates for an approach that provides children with the opportunities and spaces to play a more participatory role in philanthropy rather than one that is transactional, reward-based and superficial.

The literature examined, drawn from fields in addition to philanthropy such as social psychology and education, contributed to and shaped the conceptual framework underpinning this thesis, enabling the research topic and research questions to be developed and explored. The framework, presented and discussed in Chapter 4, incorporates theories, concepts, models and ideas concerning children's participation, the socialisation of pro-social behaviours such as giving and helping as well as models of citizenship as conceptualised by Westheimer (2015) and Body et al (n.d.; 2020; 2021). As such, this thesis aimed to find out whether children from financially secure households have the desire to not only give and participate in philanthropy but also the knowledge, skills and opportunities to critically engage with philanthropy, causes and charities and in so doing, find out 'what kind of philanthropic citizen they are learning to become'. In light of the wealth transfer and the acute lack of studies concerning children and philanthropy, it is important to know how children engage with, and participate in, philanthropy as they are the donors and citizens of the future and what is learnt in early childhood shapes behaviour in adulthood. To achieve this objective, four individual research questions were identified, enabling an exploration of the knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children:

RQ 1 What is distinct about the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children?

RQ 2 How do financially secure children describe and understand philanthropy?

RQ 3 Do financially secure children express the desire to give – what do they give to, what do they give and why?

RQ 4 How do financially secure children learn to give and participate in philanthropy – what philanthropy do they experience, observe and learn?

Part II of this thesis began with the rationale behind the research approach taken, followed by a detailed description of the research process, the decisions made, and the steps taken. A mixed methods approach was selected, reflecting a pragmatist philosophical assumption, an approach that integrates and blends elements of both quantitative and qualitative research into one project (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018). In Chapter 6, the research results were described and analysed, drawing on the data collected primarily from children aged between 9 and 11 attending four independent schools in London, through surveys and focus groups, as well as from parents via an online survey and from teachers via interviews. The key themes to emerge from the findings were explored and discussed in the previous two chapters, and in so doing, addressed each of the individual research questions. In the concluding discussion that follows, I will revisit the research questions, summarise the findings, and offer conclusions as to the implication of these findings.

10.2 Concluding discussion

Whilst the sample size and the non-probability sampling means that the research findings are not generalisable to all financially secure children, the results are useful and important in terms of providing data upon which to examine the knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children or children aged between 9 and 11 in relation to findings associated with studies involving children from broader socio-economic backgrounds and/or of various ages in earlier and future studies. This concluding discussion therefore begins by considering RQ1.

What is distinct about the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children?

The research finds that attitudes towards philanthropy and the level and type of engagement with philanthropy that are associated with the children in my study are broadly the same as the findings in earlier similar studies involving children. The children in my research similarly exhibit a strong philanthropic impulse and high levels of participation in activities such as giving, donating and fundraising. The children are similarly passionate about charity and recognise the important role that it plays in society. The implication is that the philanthropic impulse is being transferred across generations to this group of financially secure children. However, there were three significant differences between the results in my study compared with earlier studies that have a bearing on the rest of the findings. Firstly, the children in my research do not elect to donate to or report participating in the major campaigns typically associated with school fundraising, such as Comic Relief and Children in Need, as found in studies by Body (2019, 2020, 2021) and Power and Taylor (2018). Secondly, and connected to the previous point, the children in my study express higher levels of engagement with school fundraising than those found in similar studies. Finally, the expressed preference to give rather than spend or save is more pronounced amongst the children in my study compared to the children in Power and Smith's (2016) study upon which the question was modelled.

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

Despite the expressed preference to give rather than spend or save an imaginary windfall being more pronounced among the children in my study compared with earlier similar studies designed to gauge attitudes towards money and giving, this thesis does not suggest financially secure children are necessarily any more generous than non-financially secure children. Instead, the apparent generosity is explained by the children being and feeling financially secure, and confident in the knowledge that all their material needs have been met. Whether or not giving from perceived surplus wealth is considered any less generous than giving from non-surplus wealth is not the concern of this thesis; rather, if this attitude towards giving, saving and spending holds in adulthood and the children continue to feel financially secure, enabled by the wealth transfer they might inherit, they have the potential to be generous givers.

How do financially secure children describe and understand philanthropy?

My research finds that the financially secure children in my study often express a fairly narrow, one-dimensional and uncritical understanding of charity. An understanding that is framed upon benevolence involving individual acts, such as donating money or items to other, less fortunate people, rather than collective action. In return for the gifts of money and items, children expect gratitude from beneficiaries, implying a power imbalance between donor and beneficiary. These findings reflect the criticisms in the literature, in terms of the way that philanthropy is presented to children but also in terms of the criticisms levelled at philanthropy more broadly, and giving by the wealthy specifically, concerning philanthropic engagement and giving from a position of privilege. The understanding expressed by the financially secure children in my study also suggests a lack of knowledge and awareness of the broader benefits of philanthropy and understanding fails to consider alternative solutions to social issues. As such, understanding framed in this way perpetuates a politics of benevolence and a charity mindset as articulated in the literature.

Whilst an understanding that is framed in terms of the traditional ideas of benevolence or noblesse oblige or, as Simpson (2017) asserts, a 'charity mindset' might encourage and enable giving, reproducing the giving patterns of previous generations, it serves to perpetuate established philanthropic behaviour rather than improve upon philanthropy that involves a more ethical and informed approach to giving. In addition, philanthropic understanding framed in this manner, particularly among individuals likely to have the means and resources to be generous givers, fuels the anti-philanthropy narrative, a narrative that also poses a threat to all philanthropy (Breeze, 2021).

Do financially secure children express the desire to give – what do they give to and why?

The findings revealed a disconnect between how the financially secure children in my study understand and describe charity and what they elect to give to; they talk about helping people but prioritise animal causes. My data finds that giving decisions are subjective, and like the adult committed donors in Breeze's (2010) study, the children use a variety of heuristics upon which to make giving decisions, choosing charities that appeal to them or those with which they have a connection with. While taste-based decisions might enable giving, it is also potentially problematic in that causes that donors have a connection with are prioritised at the expense of other potentially more needy causes, as evidenced in the data – children prioritise health causes over food poverty.

Understanding *why* people give is one of the key questions explored in studies of a philanthropic nature (Breeze, 2017). The financially secure children in my study give for many reasons and many of the same reasons as adult donors; they want to give to causes and charities with which they have a connection, but also in response to a need that they see, such as giving to rough sleepers and homelessness charities. This is in connection to the children's apparent awareness of their own financial security. The data also suggests that serial reciprocity may motivate children to give and explain why so many children elect to give rather than save an imaginary windfall; giving to others as an expression of gratitude towards their parents for the good fortune they have bestowed upon them. Whilst the children in my study express a range of motives that explain why they give and to what, it could be argued that the expressed motivations lie more towards the altruism rather than the self-interest end of the philanthropy giving scale. For example, there was little evidence of children reporting on tangible rewards that they may receive in return for donating. This finding suggests that giving that is motivated by more external factors at the self-interest end of the philanthropy scale, such as volunteering to enhance human capital or for the signalling properties afforded to the donor, is not evident during this period of middle childhood and instead are formed later in life. To that end, the reward and recognition attached to the adult-organised philanthropic activities that take place in schools are, on the one hand, misjudging the philanthropic intent of children and creating an unnecessary expectation of reward which, as Body et al (2021) articulates, runs the risk of over-riding the innate charitable impulse.

The findings in response to this and the previous question suggest that the financially secure children in my study express the desire to give. Furthermore, as a consequence of the forthcoming wealth transfer, there is potential in terms of future giving from the financially secure children in my study as they will have more to (liquid) wealth to give, and we know this because of the quantities of wealth held by their parents. The articulated and implied giving motivations suggest that the children in my study have the desire to give and are likely to have the resources with which to give generously. However, giving behaviours and attitudes reflect those associated with adults, therefore reproducing existing giving patterns.

How do financially secure children learn to give and participate in philanthropy – what philanthropy do they experience, observe and learn?

Children need to observe role models such as parents and teachers and public figures engaged in philanthropic activities to emulate such behaviours. They also want to talk about and discuss charities and causes with their parents, but such opportunities occur less frequently than they would like, and parents think they happen more often than they do. For the children in my study, philanthropic understanding is mostly caught through the things they do and observe, rather than formally through the curriculum or through formal conversations at home. The philanthropy children participate in occurs at school and mainly involves fundraising activities with little opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills, as well as the spaces, to critically engage with philanthropy, causes and charities. Instead, philanthropic understanding is 'caught' and reflects a character approach to education. I conclude that the learning opportunities and the opportunities to acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours that the children in my study are exposed to, enable and develop 'personally responsible' philanthropic citizens, and the implications of which will now be discussed.

10.3 Personally Responsible Philanthropic Citizens

Enabled by the wealth they are likely to inherit, an awareness of their own financial security and socio-economic advantage, coupled with a strong philanthropic impulse couched in the traditional understanding and practice of philanthropy, which is one of benevolence, and the preference for giving rather than saving, my findings suggest that the children in my study exhibit the desire to give. Therefore, the findings suggest that these financially secure children are learning to become 'Personally Responsible' Philanthropic Citizens. Westheimer & Khane (2004) and Westheimer (2015, p.39) define and describe the 'personally responsible citizen', adapted in the context of my study to a 'personally responsible *philanthropic* citizen', as someone that acts responsibly in the community, a person that will, for example, pick up litter, recycle and may give blood or donate money and goods to charity. Good citizenship for the 'personally responsible', according to Westheimer and Khane (2004), involves having good character, being honest and responsible and described as someone that might *contribute* or donate to a food bank. The 'personally responsible' individual is distinct from the 'participatory citizen', described as someone that might, for example, *organise* a collection for a foodbank and distinct from the 'social justice-oriented citizen', described as someone that would seek to challenge and address the root causes that give rise to the need for a food bank in the first place. In the absence of an education approach that prioritises citizenship education or philanthropic education programmes or engagement that promotes a social justice mentality, the children in my study do not appear to have the opportunity to acquire the skills or have the spaces in which, to critically engage with philanthropy, causes and charities. However, the children do exhibit the character traits associated with the desire to give.

Where some argue for a citizenship approach and others defend a character approach to education, taking Peterson's (2020) argument, and in the context of philanthropy education, Body's position that both approaches are necessary. The virtues and traits associated with positive behaviours are the foundations upon which to acquire the knowledge and skills to actively participate in, and critically engage with philanthropy. The children in my study have the outlet and opportunities to demonstrate their character through the fundraising initiatives they participate in, and what is missing are the citizenship programmes that enable a more social justice response to societal need. As such, in order to improve upon philanthropy and create opportunities for children to critically engage with charities and causes, as well as the underlying issues that give rise to the need for philanthropy, learning opportunities are needed that allow for a social justice understanding and response to take place.

However, not all philanthropy is about inequality and social ills, which suggests that not all philanthropy needs necessarily require a social-justice response. Therefore, I suggest that since different types of 'philanthropy' might require different responses, what is important is to provide all three types of learning opportunities and programs of education, so that children can draw upon and identify *the* most appropriate response to societal needs or the needs of causes and charities, depending on the situation. To provide children with the knowledge, skills and opportunities to critically engage with issues and causes, but also the ability to self-reflect and know what kind of response is required in response to a societal need, be it one of personal responsibility, one of collective or participatory action, or a need or issue that requires a social-justice approach or, to that end a combination of responses. The children that participated in my research are likely to have through inheritance and in the absence of a tax system that significantly redistributes wealth, the means and resources to be able to address immediate and urgent societal needs, as such, a social justice approach should not be promoted at the expense of encouraging giving (as seen in Simpson's 2017 study). For example, whilst it is important and necessary to address and act on the root causes of food poverty or domestic violence or an environmental disaster, such action should not be at the expense of or instead of addressing the short-term needs of those affected. As such, what is needed is an approach to philanthropic education that seeks to not only develop personally responsible, participatory and social-justice oriented citizens with the skills and knowledge but to be able to reflect upon and identify which response or responses to draw upon in order to address the societal need or issue.

10.4 Future Research Directions

The possibilities for further research are wide, particularly concerning the lack of studies that examine the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by children. In exploring the topic, through the literature reviewed, and the research undertaken, further research opportunities and directions became apparent. Firstly, as acknowledged, philanthropic citizenship as conceptualised by Body et al. (2020, 2021, 2022) is embryonic and would therefore benefit from further investigation in this area. For example, the research undertaken in this thesis could be applied in different settings with children from different socio-economic backgrounds or with older financially secure children in senior school. Comparing the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children in senior school with the findings in my study for example, would be of value, particularly since adolescent children from advantaged backgrounds are said to engage in civic activities for instrumental reasons as well as a period when citizenship education is a statutory subject. Since, the concept of philanthropic citizenship was not fully formed when I was designing my research approach (I used it instead more as a lens through which to examine my findings), the data collection tools used in this study (survey and focus groups), could be adapted in further studies to incorporate questions that directly derive from the concept. Drawing on this concept further, I also, think it would be of particular interest to explore whether philanthropic citizenship programmes work. Take Simpson's (2017) research that implemented a programme of unlearning a 'charity mindset' to teachers, drawing on why the approach taken ultimately failed and developing and implementing an education programme specifically designed with a social-justice objective.

A second research direction would be to examine the data collected from earlier studies involving adults reflecting back on their philanthropic journey and whether they only refer to childhood memories involving parents engaging in philanthropy because they were only asked about family influences or whether they were asked about experiences at school but had none to report.

None of the schools in my study have charitable status, they are all for profit entities. Furthermore, bursary places are less common at primary school level than they are at senior school. Approximately 70% of independent schools have charitable status and I think a further research direction would be to explore the scale and scope of philanthropic activities such schools engage with and the extent to which they are linked with demonstrating charitable purpose. Furthermore, since many schools demonstrate their charitable purpose through the provision of bursary places for qualifying candidates, I think, whilst a sensitive topic, it would be of value to examine these schemes from the perspective of those that have or have benefited from such places.

A gendered dimension to the findings was apparent in terms of attitudes towards and engagement with philanthropy and in terms of socialising agents. More girls than boys elected to give rather than spend or save the £10K windfall, more girls than boys have organised something like a beach clean or a fundraiser. Females appear to be the key socialising agents for children, and in line with previous studies involving adults, all the teachers that participated in the research are female and children are more likely to turn to their mothers or female family members for help making giving decisions. Building on the findings of this study, I suggest the role of gender and philanthropic citizenship could be further explored.

10.5 Final Personal Reflections

It is impossible not to reflect on the time period during which this research was carried out. The research began shortly before the first reported cases of Covid-19 in December 2019 and by the time I began considering research methodologies, the country was under national lockdown, schools were closed and a stay-at-home order in place. The uncertainties surrounding the pandemic and the associated restrictions and limitations, existed for the duration of the scheduled data collection period. In light of this, I took precautions to mitigate the risk of not being able to conduct focus groups, firstly I incorporated additional qualitative questions on the survey. I also maintained regular contact with the teachers in each of the schools and this helped in terms of having an idea as to whether or not I would be able to go into the schools. The speedy transition to the home learning environment and online learning created an opportunity to develop an online survey to collect data from the children I wished to reach. It was important to me that the tool that I designed was appealing and engaging to children and that completing the survey might be fun, and I feel that this aspect of the research was particularly successful. In terms of the surveys themselves, if I were to repeat the research with a different group of children, I would include more questions linked to philanthropic citizenship and I would include more questions in each of the surveys for children and parents with which direct comparisons can be made, as the comparisons that were made were particularly insightful.

I would have liked to have surveyed the parents of all of the children that participated in the research, but this was not possible for practical and ethical reasons. I would also have liked to have generated more responses from parents, as I feel that those that did participate are not necessarily representative, in that those that did complete the survey were perhaps more philanthropically minded than the general parent body. If I were to repeat the research, I would be more direct in terms of asking the schools if they would distribute the survey to all parents in the school community, I suggest that a request directly from the school might generate more responses.

10.6 Contribution to Knowledge

A central requirement of doctoral research is to enhance existing knowledge. The empirical research contributes new knowledge to the areas identified in the introductory chapter and are, as follows:

(1) The review of the literature revealed an acute lack of studies that place children at the core of philanthropic studies. Relevant studies that do exist involve children in the UK drawn from various socio-economic backgrounds and do not account for wealth or affluence. As such, the empirical research addresses this gap in the literature and contributes new knowledge about a so far unstudied group of children, namely children that belong to financially secure or wealthy households and generation alpha. The richness of the data collected from children, particularly the qualitative data in terms of the comments added to the survey, and in particular, the drawings produced in the focus groups represent a particularly valuable set of data.

(2) Understanding why people give is fundamental to, and perhaps the key question asked in studies of a philanthropic nature (Breeze and Lloyd 2013). However, these studies are concerned with

adult donor behaviour and motivation. My findings therefore make an important contribution to this area, showing that children demonstrate many of the same motivations and decision-making strategies associated with adults, suggesting that such behaviours are formed in childhood. In addition, studies that have shown parents as an important influence during childhood in terms of shaping future philanthropic behaviour have relied upon adult participants reflecting back on childhood memories, which is not necessarily an overly reliable method. As such, my research contributes to this area, by capturing the philanthropic things that children observe adults doing, as they are occurring.

(3) The concept of philanthropic citizenship articulated by Body et al (2020; 2022; 2022) is new and emerging and studies to date have involved younger children and an examination of children's picture books aimed at very young children. My research therefore contributes to this area of study, by drawing on the concepts and applying them to older children, aged 9 to 11 years, at the upper end of middle childhood, from a specific socio-economic background. As such, my research provides empirical data on a so far unstudied, specific group of children.

(4) The findings also contribute to the literature that examines how children are socialised to behave pro-socially. Demonstrating the important role that parents, teachers and public figures play in socialising pro-social behaviour, particularly those associated with philanthropy among children during middle-childhood.

(5) Finally, from a methodological perspective, the research approach and design was driven by a participatory approach involving research with, and not on children. Whilst data was collected from adults, this was secondary to that collected from the children. My research therefore adds to the studies that place children at the centre of the research process. In addition, whilst self-administered online surveys are not recommended as an appropriate tool to collect data from children, this research demonstrates that with an appealing design and clear functionality, young children are highly capable of completing a survey in this manner.

Finally, it is hoped that the findings articulated in this study are useful to educators, policy makers, parents and charities for what they reveal about children's behaviours and attitudes towards giving, charity, causes and philanthropy.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Ethics Application Form

FULL ETHICS APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH

WITH HUMAN PARTICIPANTS – FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

If any of the questions in Section IV(B) and/or IV(C) and/or IV(D) is answered 'yes', a full ethics application must be made to the REAG. This also applies for studies not defined as 'research' in the narrow sense, i.e., evaluations/audits, etc. Complete this form and send it to the Faculties Support Office along with supporting documentation: a copy of the full research proposal; any participant information sheets and consent forms; any surveys, interview schedules; any advertising material or proposed website wording. **<u>It is important to note that you must not commence any research with human participants until full approval has been given by the Research Ethics Advisory Group - you will be notified via email when this has been granted.</u>**

During term time we aim to process a research ethics application within two weeks, however during vacation periods and busy times (e.g. exams and marking period) it can take up to four weeks. It is the applicant's responsibility to ensure that their application is submitted in good time.
Overview
Name of Applicant(s)
Fiona Fairbairn
Contact Details (Please include your UoK address, email and telephone number)
[redacted]
Title of Project
Philanthropy, Children and Independent Schools
Lay Summary (Please provide a brief summary of the study)
The purpose of this study is to critically investigate and evaluate the way philanthropic knowledge and behaviours are acquired by children attending independent schools. Taking a mixed-methods research approach, this study aims to gather empirical evidence on an under-researched topic in the UK, namely children and philanthropy, against a backdrop of unprecedented levels of intergenerational wealth transfer which are predicted to take place over the coming decades.

The objectives of the study include: (1) contributing a UK perspective on the subject of intergenerational wealth transfer and philanthropy; (2) advancing theoretical understanding on why people give and with regard to the links between childhood experiences and pro-social behaviour in adults (3) understanding as to how children attending independent schools are learning to give, and (3) addressing a gap in the literature concerning philanthropic understanding and attitudes of children whose voices have, historically been marginalised in the research process. *The study involves data collection from: (1) children aged 9 – 11 years that attend (three) independent schools in London and the SE; (2) the teacher in each of those schools responsible for the PHSE or philanthropy activity / education and; (3) parents with children aged 9 – 11 years that attend any independent school.* *Originally, the intention was to use 'focus groups', complimented by a questionnaire / survey to collect data from children. However, in light of Covid-19 and associated DfE guidelines regarding social distancing, the research methods have been adapted with the uncertainties in mind and are now, as follows:* • ***Online Survey for children*** *(boys and girls) aged 9 to 11 years, in Years 5 and 6 attending one of the three participating independent schools. (Online as opposed to paper based and the primary tool for collecting data from children)* • ***Online Survey for parents*** *with children (boys and girls) aged 9 to 11 years (Years 5 and 6) attending an independent school* • ***Interviews with teachers*** *(either face to face or via telephone or virtual), those responsible for the philanthropy education or activities at the three schools participating in the survey with children* *If permitted and in light of Covid-19 and DfEE restrictions:* • ***Focus Groups with children*** *in Years 5 and/or 6 – the aforementioned survey has been adapted to include, at the end a 'free text' narrative based question, the intention of which is to go some-way towards eliciting the type of data that might have been collected in a focus group. However, it is the researcher's desire to collect at least some data through focus groups and whilst this method will not be relied upon as being essential to the study, this application includes details should focus groups be possible at some point during the data collection period (October 2020 to September 2021). As such, this research study is not dependent on focus groups being possible, rather any data collected via this method will be in addition and will add a further layer of data to be analysed.*
Name of Supervisor(s) (If applicable)
Dr Alison Body & Dr Beth Breeze

Risks and ethical issues
Please list the principal inclusion and exclusion criteria
The study will focus specifically on children (boys and girls), aged 9 – 11 years (Years 5 & 6) attending three independent schools located in London and/or the surrounding areas, ideally one girls' school, one boys' school and one mixed school. In addition, the views and opinions of parents (with children attending independent schools) and teachers will be included in the study. *[The researcher declares that that she has a 10-year-old child that attends one of the schools included in the sample. The child will participate anonymously. Furthermore, the researcher will also be mindful so as to ensure that all participants known to the researcher cannot be identified from their survey responses. To that end, the intention is that any focus groups involve a different school or year group to that which the researchers' child is a member].*
How long will each research participant be in the study in total, from when they give informed consent until their last contact with the research team?
Consent to complete a survey or where possible join a focus group, will be obtained from the relevant gatekeepers as well as from the children involved. However, in the case of children they will be required to give 'assent' to participate as, due to their age they are not considered old enough to provide consent. The assumption is that the individual schools can provide collective consent for the children to participate in the study. However, the researcher will take guidance from the individual schools and work according to any policies, guidelines and advice provided by the school and will adapt the process of acquiring consent / assent accordingly and if necessary. *Detailed information sheets containing the background to, and the purpose of the study will be provided – a version for adults as well as a version for children where the language and format has been adapted to make it more child-friendly.* ***Survey - Children*** *Once consent has been acquired from the school for its members to participate in the study, assent will be obtained from each child participating in the **online survey**. If (technically) possible, a short video will be included at the start of the survey explaining to the children what the study is about and that it is entirely their choice as to whether they participate or not and that they are free to change their mind at any time. They will be advised that they need to agree to participate in the study, by ticking the relevant box on the screen. Once they have agreed to participate, they will be involved in the study for the time it takes to complete the survey, approximately 10 to 15 minutes.* ***Focus Groups - Children*** *In the case of **focus groups**, since it is unclear as to whether these might take place, assent from children to participate will be treated separately to the survey. Children will be asked at the start of any focus group that they join to provide assent and, if they agree, they will be involved in the study for the duration of the focus group which should last between 30 and 45 minutes. (Children will potentially, be provided with the information sheet, in advance of the focus group starting so that they have time to read it and ask any questions).*

Survey - Parents

Adults (Parents) will be involved for the time it takes to complete an online survey as well as the engagement process, approximately 10 to 15 minutes in total.

Interviews - Teachers

It is expected that the teacher that facilitates the surveys and the contact with children will also be interviewed. As such, the teacher will be asked to provide consent for the school to be involved and then act as a point of contact throughout the data collection period. The teacher will also be required to give informed consent to be interviewed, where the interview will last for approximately 30 – 45 minutes.

What are the potential risks and burdens for research participants and how will you minimise them? (Describe any risks and burdens that could occur as a result of participation in the research, such as pain, discomfort, distress, intrusion, inconvenience or changes to lifestyle. Describe what steps would be taken to minimise risks and burdens as far as possible)

Philanthropy can at times be a sensitive topic, particularly amongst beneficiaries. As such, the researcher will be mindful of anything controversial or of a sensitive nature that might arise particularly during the focus groups if they do take place. Ultimately, the research topic is not intrinsically distressing, as such, it is anticipated that the research process will not expose participants to any risks or burdens and the research should not pose any threat of physical or psychological harm to the participants. Risks and burdens to research participants will be minimised, as follows:

Survey – Children

The survey will be extensively piloted with children, so as to ensure that not only the desired data is collected, but also to identify any potential risks and sensitive issues that might arise. All participants will be advised that they are free to change their minds at any stage of the process about participating in the study and do not have to complete the survey if they change their minds part way through and they do not have to give a reason.

Focus Groups – Children

The researcher will direct the discussions in a manner that is inclusive and with an awareness that a child that is participating, may be in receipt of a bursary place at the school. To that end, the researcher will discuss in advance of the focus group, with the schools as to whether there are any such sensitive situations that need to be considered. However, the researcher will keep a careful watch for any signs that suggest the participants feel uncomfortable and will endeavour to check that they are ok throughout the process to ensure that they continue to be willing participants.

All participants will be advised that they are free to change their minds at any time during the focus group about participating and that they do not have to give a reason. If a participant no longer wants to join in, they will have the option of reading or drawing at a separate table in the room.

*In addition, it is expected that any focus groups with children within schools will be under '**supervised access**', that is, a member of the teaching staff will be present throughout the recruitment process and data collection stage so as to not only meet safe-guarding requirements of the school but also to ensure that the children continue to be willing participants. As such, the researcher*

will ask the member of teaching staff to keep a watchful eye so as to ensure that all the children in the group continue to be willing and to draw discreet attention to anyone that might have withdrawn from the group or appears upset. ***Survey – Parents*** *The survey will be extensively piloted, so as to ensure that not only the desired data is collected, but also to identify any potential risks and sensitive issues that might arise. All participants will be advised that they are free to change their minds at any stage of the process about participating in the study and do not have to complete the survey and do not have to give a reason.* ***Interviews - Teachers*** *interview questions will be extensively piloted, so as to ensure that not only the desired data is collected, but also to identify any potential risks and sensitive issues that might arise. All participants will be advised that they are free to change their minds at any stage of the process*
Please describe what measures you have in place in the event of any unexpected outcomes or adverse effects to participants arising from involvement in the project
A teacher / member of staff from the school will be present throughout any focus group / contact with children. Should a child become disengaged or upset, the intention is that the member of staff can address the issue – alternative activities such as drawing will be available to occupy a child that might have disengaged or become and unwilling participant in the group discussion. Those participating in the surveys or interviews, will be able to withdraw at any time. The interviews will be stopped should the interviewee express a desire to do so or becomes noticeably upset.
Will interviews/questionnaires or group discussions include topics that might be sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting, or is it possible that criminal or other disclosures requiring action could occur during the study?
The research topic is not intrinsically distressing and unlikely to cause embarrassment or upset. It is also highly unlikely that any criminal or other disclosures requiring action are likely to occur during the study. However, it is acknowledged that discussions around philanthropy (and charity) can be sensitive, and the researcher will continuously monitor the situation, to ensure that the wellbeing of all participants is maintained.
If yes, please describe the procedures in place to deal with these issues
The researcher will follow guidance and instruction from the member of teaching staff present should the focus group need to be stopped at any time. As mentioned, above, alternative activities such as drawing will be available. *Furthermore, the researcher will make efforts to provide all children in the group with the opportunity for their voice to be heard at the same time being mindful that some may not want to speak.* *Interviews will be stopped should the situation necessitate it.*

What is the potential benefit to research participants?
Children *The intention is that the survey will be enjoyable and hopefully fun for the children involved. The look and feel of the online questionnaire, will be designed so that it is appealing to children through the language and images used. As a thank you to the children that have participated and as part of the research process children will acquire 'credits' as they progress through the survey which can be allocated to a charitable cause of their choice from a list at the end of the survey. The credits will equate to £2 per survey completed. This donation will be funded by the researcher.* ***Teachers / Schools*** *It is anticipated that the findings will reveal examples of good / best practice with regard to philanthropy education that can be shared with participating schools and teachers. As such, for each school that participates a short, tailored report will be provided. Furthermore, by participating in this study, the school can demonstrate that it is engaging with and thinking about philanthropy education.* ***Parents*** *As a gesture of appreciation for each survey completed by a parent, a small donation will be given to a cause of their choosing (from a list), the details of which will be included on the survey. The amount will equate to £2 per survey completed and this will be funded by the researcher.* ***All Participants*** *Participants will be given the option of receiving a short report, summarising the key findings of the research and; notification of any publications resulting from the report. A report specifically for distribution amongst the children that have participated in the study will also be provided to the participating schools. The report for children will be designed with the child in mind, as such the language and any imagery will be written in a format accessible to children – the report will be piloted before it is distributed.*
What are the potential risks to the researchers themselves?
In terms of the online surveys and interviews, the data collection methods used do not pose any issues of personal safety to the researcher. In terms of any focus groups that may take place, the researcher will follow any rules and guidance with regard to health and safety precautions as advised by the schools, particularly with regard to social distancing guidelines if required. In addition, the researcher will inform her supervisors or other relevant individual of her whereabouts in connection with the data collection.
Will there be any risks to the University? (Consider issues such as reputational risk; research that may give rise to contentious or controversial findings; could the funder be considered controversial or have the potential to cause reputational risk to the University?)

There are no known risks to the University, however, so as to minimise any reputation risk, the researcher will ensure that all advice, guidelines and policies specified by the schools participating in the research will be followed. The researcher will be mindful as to any findings that might arise and ensure that the reputation of the University is not compromised. To that end, any areas of concern that arise, will be addressed, in the first instance with the researchers Supervisors.
Will any intervention or procedure, which would normally be considered a part of routine care, be withheld from the research participants? (If yes, give details and justification). For example, the disturbance of a school child's day or access to their normal educational entitlement and curriculum).
Online Survey - Children *In terms of completing the survey, the expectation is that children will take part during the school day, potentially as part of the PHSE curriculum so as to add value rather than to disrupt the school day and to avoid impacting on the normal educational entitlement and curriculum of the child. However, the researcher will work with the school in terms of the best and most appropriate way of implementing the survey particularly with regard to timing. Since the survey is delivered online, it is also possible for children to complete it remotely should the school prefer to incorporate completion into home learning activities.* ***Focus Groups (Children)*** *Any focus group will be scheduled to take place at a time that is convenient for the school (and the children) and in an appropriate room in the school building such as a classroom. As such it is expected that the activity will take place during or immediately after the school day at such a time that it does not compromise access to the child's normal education entitlement and curriculum. The researcher will be flexible and accommodating so that any research activity causes the least amount of disruption to the school day. With this in mind, data collection activities involving children, such as focus groups will be designed to take place within a timeframe that can be accommodated by schools for example during break time, at the same time being mindful that this is 'play time' and therefore making the activity fun. The researcher will seek advice on this from schools/ teachers with regard to the timeframe available for the focus group and adapt the schedule accordingly.* *Furthermore, the researcher is aware that children in Year 6 will be preparing for and taking entrance exams for senior school during the Autumn Term and at the beginning of the Spring term. As such, any research activity will be timed to take place at a time that is least impactful and most convenient for the schools / children. Therefore, it is likely that data will be collected from Year 5 children in the Autumn Term and from Year 6 children in the later part of the Spring Term. The researcher is familiar with the school calendar and will ensure that timings are appropriate for all concerned.*

Recruitment and informed consent
How and by whom will potential participants, records or samples be identified?
The researcher has already had an informal discussion with an organisation that owns a number of independent schools in London which has agreed to give access / make introductions to the relevant people at the individual schools within the group. In addition, an introduction to an additional school outside of London is being facilitated. The following sets out the anticipated process: ***Schools*** *The first step in terms of gaining access to the children is via the school. As such, the relevant gatekeeper will be contacted through introductions via the researchers own network. It is expected that the relevant person at the school with be the Headmaster / Headmistress / Head of Pastoral / Head of PHSE Curriculum or similar. Once the introduction has been made, an email will be sent providing detailed background on the research as well as a formal request for the school to participate in the study which will involve: 1. Year 5 and Year 6 children completing a survey and 2. Relevant Teacher at the school being interviewed and if possible but not essential to participation 3. Focus Groups with small groups of Year 5 and Year 6 children. Consent will be required from the individual to participate in the interview and separate consent, regarding consent for the school to participate in the study (need to be clear and distinguish between individual participation and school participation). Teachers will need to confirm whether they are indeed talking on behalf of the school they represent or conveying their own personal views / opinions. Prior to confirming consent, the schools will be given the schedule of questions that the researcher intends asking the children.* ***Surveys - Children*** *The researcher will advise the schools that are willing to provide access, that all children in Years 5 and 6 are eligible to participate. However, if the school prefers to administer the survey during class time and with one class or a small group, I will highlight the fact that a randomly generated (such as a whole class), rather than a carefully curated collection of children is preferred.* *A short video or audio recording will be included at the start of the survey telling the children about the research, what is needed from them, and that participation is completely voluntary. This will be followed by the information sheet and the consent form to complete before starting the survey questions.* ***Focus Groups - Children*** *Should focus groups be possible, the researcher will ask the school, if possible, to randomly identify children to participate rather than a carefully selected group. The intention is that I will initially meet with this group of approximately 8 children to tell them about my research, what I need from them and to provide them with an opportunity to ask questions about the focus group. Children will be encouraged to ask questions and if they would like to ask a question privately, they can write it on a piece of paper, put it in a box and then I will answer it to the whole class or group without identifying the 'asker' this encourages children that might not be confident to ask a question in front of the whole class. The intention is that the children will have enough (but not too much) information in order to decide whether or not they wish to participate in the focus group. However, this approach may*

need to be adapted according to the requirements of the school – that is, the school may provide the background and information sheet in advance of the researcher attending the school to carry out the focus group.

The intention is that the focus group will take place at break-time or immediately after school so that those that do not want to participate are not impacted, but if all children in the same class want to participate and are able to participate, then the focus group might take place during a lesson time. Guidance will be sought from the school.

Surveys - Parents

Data will be collected from parents, via an online survey which will be distributed through the researchers own network. It is not the intention to marry up and compare what the children say with what the comments made by the parents of the same child, as such, data collected from parents whose children have not participated in the study is also relevant. Similarly, the parents do not have to be connected to the schools that have participated. As such, the parents need only to have children aged 9 – 11 years that attend independent schools in London and the surrounding areas.

Will this involve reviewing or screening identifiable personal information of potential participants or any other person? (If 'yes', give details)
No (email addresses of parents in the researchers own network are already held)
Has prior consent been obtained or will it be obtained for access to identifiable personal information?
No
Will you obtain informed consent from or on behalf of research participants? (If 'yes' please give details. If you are not planning to gain consent, please explain why not).

*The ability of minors to give informed consent is contested, that is children are legally considered too young to provide informed **consent** and can only **assent** to participate in research. As such, in terms of children participating in this study, informed consent will first be sought from the school, confirming that it agrees for the school and its members to participate in the study. Essentially the research is being carried out with the school. A detailed information sheet will be provided to the school, along with a consent form to be signed off on behalf of the school. Once the school has provided consent to participate, assent will be obtained from each individual child participating in the survey and each child participating in a focus group. A child-friendly version and a version for adults of the information sheet for participants has been produced. The information sheet confirms that all participants are guaranteed complete confidentiality & anonymity as well as the opportunity to withdraw at any time. Pseudonyms will be used and in the case of survey, only first names will be asked, and children will be able to select a 'fake' name if they wish. Furthermore, participants will be advised that codes will be used as a substitution for school names in the research report.*

Survey - Children

The children participating in the survey will be asked to provide assent. At the beginning of the survey either via a video or an audio recording will be an explanation as to the purpose of the study, that is to find out what they know and do about charity /

philanthropy and that this will be through answering some questions which have no right or wrong answers. The video / audio recording will cover everything set out in the information sheet for children and after listening, children will have the information upon which to decide whether or not they wish to participate in the survey.

Focus Groups - Children

Children will be read and given a copy of the information sheet (adapted for children), they will be given the option of asking any questions before the focus group starts. If they are willing to participate, they will be asked to sign a form confirming that they agree to participate. However, the researcher is willing and able to talk about the research and what is involved on a day before the focus group is due to take place so that children have time to think about whether or not they wish to participate. The researcher will take guidance from the school as to the best way to approach this so as to provide minimum impact on the children and the provision of their normal curriculum. It may be that the school provides the children with information in advance.

Survey - Adults

Adults (Parents) completing an online survey will be provide with the information sheet at the start of the survey and this will be followed by a consent form to which they have to agree to before progressing with the survey. Adults will be advised and will have the option of either not participating or not completing the survey.

Interviews – Teachers

Teachers participating in the interview will receive in advance of the interview the information sheet and at the same time, advised that they will be asked to sign a consent form at the beginning of the interview. At the start of the interview, the researcher will provide a hard copy of the information sheet and ask the interviewee to sign the consent form. Opportunities to ask any questions will be given at the start of the interview.

Will you record informed consent in writing? (If 'no', how will it be recorded?)

Yes –

Schools – *will be required to sign a form confirming that the school gives its consent to participate in the study*

Surveys – Adults & Children *will be required to tick the relevant boxes before progressing to the survey questions.* ***Focus Groups*** *– Children will be required to sign a form confirming assent before the focus group starts*

Interviews *– Teachers will be required to sign the consent form before the interview starts*

How long will you allow potential participants to decide whether or not to take part?

Schools / Teacher

Schools will be asked to confirm participation and will be given two weeks to do this – a reminder email will be sent after one week if no reply has been received. In terms of implementation of the research methods (distribution of the survey) the researcher will work around the school calendar. The intention is that survey data will be collected from Year 5 children immediately after half-term during last two weeks of November and from Year 6 children in the Spring term.

Surveys - Children

The researcher will work with the schools as to determining the time that children have to decide whether or not to participate. The time will be different depending on the setting in which the survey is completed. That is, if children are given the option of completing the survey at home as part of home learning activities a longer time frame might be given. However, if children are required to complete the survey during class time, then they will have a shorter time period to decide whether or not to participate.

Focus Groups - Children *If focus groups are possible, the intention is that the researcher will visit the school and talk to Year 5 class and a Year 6 class or group about the study for approximately 10 minutes, explaining that the purpose is to find out what know and do about charity, and this will be through some questions in a group activity. Children will be given the opportunity to ask questions about the study and will be told that it is entirely up to them as to whether or not they wish to participate. They will be given an information sheet. In addition, at the start of the focus group, they will be given the option to change their mind about participating. However, this process might be adapted according to the preferences of the schools involved and it is likely that the children will decide at the start of the scheduled focus group whether or not they wish to participate. Essentially, the researcher will need to work with the individual schools as to the implementation of the surveys and focus groups.* ***Survey - Parents*** *Parents will be able to decide in their own time whether or not they wish to participate. At the start of the survey, they will further have the opportunity to not participate.* ***Interviews – Teaches*** *It is assumed that the teacher most likely to be interviewed will have the time it takes the school as a whole to decide whether or not to participate. If the teacher to be interviewed is not the main contact, then the researcher will ensure that the identified individual is given time to decide (at least a week).*
What arrangements have been made for persons who might not adequately understand verbal explanations or written information given in English, or have special communication needs? (eg, translation, use of interpreters?)
Schools will be consulted as to whether any participant has a special communication need and adjustments where possible made under guidance from the school. Only English speakers will be involved in the study.
If no arrangements will be made, explain the reasons (eg, resource constraints)

Confidentiality
In this section personal data means any data relating to a participant who could potentially be identified. It includes pseudonymised data capable of being linked to a participant through a unique code number.
If you will be undertaking any of the following activities at any stage (including in the identification of potential participants) please give details and explain the safeguarding measures, you will employ • Electronic transfer by magnetic or optical media, email or computer networks • Sharing of personal data outside the European Economic Area

- Use of personal addresses, postcodes, faxes, emails or telephone numbers
- Publication of direct quotations from respondents
- Publication of data that might allow identification of individuals, either directly or indirectly
- Use of audio/visual recording devices
- Storage of personal data on any of the following:
  - Manual files
  - University computers
  - Home or other personal computers
  - Private company computers
  - Laptop computers

A) 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 sis kept securely? Do you plan to destroy data after the project is completed?*

All data of a personal nature, including contact details, notes, transcripts of the interviews and survey responses will be stored on my private computer system which is password protected and in a folder that is also password protected. A recognised, reliable and Data Protection compliant tool will be used for the web-based survey for example Qualtrics.

Children completing the online survey will be required to provide their first name only, in addition they will be told that they can choose a fake name if they would like. As such, survey data will not be attributable to an individual child only the school that it attends.

Children participating in any focus group will be referred to by their first name only and can choose a fake name if they would like, as such only limited personal data regarding children will be stored.

Those adults completing the web-based survey will have the option of including a name and email address should they wish to receive further information or a report of the findings. These details will be kept in a password-protected folder.

Any material containing personal data will be destroyed after the thesis has been marked.

When presenting the findings all responses contained in the surveys, interviews and focus group analysis will be made anonymous. Any supporting quotes or comments will be made anonymous by the use of pseudonyms. As such, it will not be possible to trace any comments back to the participants. The children that complete surveys and participate in focus groups, will be able to choose a fake name. However, all schools that participate in the study will be asked whether or not they wish to be named in the acknowledgement section of the thesis (but at the same time maintaining anonymity in the report itself), codes will be used as a substitution for school names in the research report (eg WLG1 / WL M1 / WLB 1 / Bucks M1 / Oxon M1)

Personal data associated with the participants will not be shared with anyone.

How will you ensure the confidentiality of personal data? (eg, anonymisation or pseudonymisation of data)

Any quotes will be anonymised and where necessary, pseudonyms will be used. Personal details of participants will not be revealed to anyone beyond the researcher.

If schools require consent to be given by Parents / Guardians in respect of their child participating in the survey, this will be communicated by the school. As such, there will be no need for the researcher to hold any data relating to the parents of children participating in the study.

Names of schools will not be used in connection with the findings.

A spreadsheet will be created which will record details of the schools participating such as location, number of students, mixed/single sex but with the name omitted, in order that the data can be made available for re-use at the same time maintaining anonymity. All other data of value to secondary researchers will be recorded and made available in a format that both meets the needs of the researchers, at the same time maintaining full confidentiality and anonymity of the participants.

Data will be held on the researcher's private computer and folders will be password protected. Participant's quotes and comments will be anonymised in the report by the use of pseudonyms, so that the information contained in the report will not lead to the identification of any individual involved in the study.

Who will have access to participants' personal data during the study?

Only the researcher

How long will personal data be stored or accessed after the study has ended? (If longer than 12 months, please justify)

Up to 12 months after the study has finished.

Please note: as best practice, and as a requirement of many funders, where practical, researchers must develop a data management and sharing plan to enable the data to be made available for re-use, eg, for secondary research, and so sufficient metadata must be conserved to enable this while maintaining confidentiality commitments and the security of data.

Incentives and payments

Will research participants receive any payments, reimbursement of expenses or any other benefits or incentives for taking part in this research? (If 'yes', please give details)

Participants will not be paid. However, a small charitable contribution to charity will be made as a gesture of appreciation in respect of surveys completed. These charitable donations will be funded by the researcher.

Will individual researchers receive any personal payment over and above normal salary, or any other benefits or incentives, for taking part in this research? (If 'yes', please give details)
No
Does the Chief Investigator or any other investigator/collaborator have any direct personal involvement (e.g. financial, share holding, personal relationship, etc) in the organisations sponsoring or funding the research that may give rise to a possible conflict of interest? (If 'yes', please give details)
No

Publication and dissemination
How do you intend to report and disseminate the results of the study? If you do not plan to report or disseminate the results please give your justification
It is hoped that parts of the thesis will be of a publishable standard in an academic journal.
Will you inform participants of the results? (Please give details of how you will inform participants or justify if not doing so)
Participants will be asked if they would like to receive a summary report of the key findings and the report will be adapted to make it accessible to children.

Management of the research		
Other key investigators/collaborators. (Please include all grant co-applicants, protocol authors and other key members of the Chief Investigator's team, including non-doctoral student researchers)		
N/A		
Has this or a similar application been previously rejected by a research Ethics Committee in the UK or another country? (If yes, please give details of rejected application and explain in the summary of main issues how the reasons for the unfavourable opinion have been addressed in this application)		
No		
How long do you expect the study to last?		
• Planned start date: October 2020	• Planned end date: September 2021	• Total duration: 11 months?
Where will the research take place?		
Data collection will take place online and in schools which will be located in London and the surrounding areas.		

Insurance/indemnity
Does UoK's insurer need to be notified about your project before insurance cover can be provided? No *The majority of research carried out at UoK is covered automatically by existing policies, however, if your project entails more than usual risk or involves an overseas country in the developing world or where there is or has recently been conflict, please check with the Insurance Office that cover can be provided. Please give details below.*
No

Children
Do you plan to include any participants who are children under 16? (If no, go to next section)
Yes
Please specify the potential age range of children under 16 who will be included and give reasons for carrying out the research with this age group
Aged 9 – 11-year olds. This age group represents an under-researched group of children (most studies of a philanthropic nature focus on adults, elsewhere, the focus is on adolescents)
Please describe the arrangements for seeking informed consent from a person with parental responsibility and/or from children able to give consent for themselves
The researcher holds a valid and up to date DBS certificate. *The researcher will provide the school with an information sheet and a consent form regarding the school and its members participation in the study – it will be up to the school as to whether they require parents to 'opt' in or 'opt' out in terms of giving consent. If necessary, the participant information sheet can be adapted and sent by the school to the parents if required.* *The children that able to participate in the survey will be provided with information verbally and in the case of focus groups, also in hard copy, specifically created with the child in mind as well as consent / assent form which they will be asked to agree to. Consent forms will be required for both survey participation and focus group participation.*
If you intend to provide children under 16 with information about the research and seek their consent or agreement, please outline how this process will vary according to their age and level of understanding
The children involved in this study will all be aged between 9 and 11 years – as such one set of materials (survey and focus group questions) will be used. The questions have been designed with children aged 9 – 11 years in mind and will be piloted with a similar age group. The online survey will be designed so as to appeal to this age group.

In the first instance, it is anticipated that the teacher or member of staff will provide a summary of the study and what it involves, this should provide an opportunity for children to ask questions. For those children participating in the survey, they will be able to watch a short video or listen to an audio recording at the start of the survey or, if this is not possible (if the survey is to be completed in the classroom setting for example a separate video for the school to use will be available. The information sheet will be adapted to make it more accessible and interesting to children – as such plain English will be used and images will be included to make it more appealing.

In addition, the information sheet and consent forms will be piloted with children of the same age and any recommendations or improvements will be made according to their feedback.

Participants unable to consent for themselves	
Do you plan to include any participants who are adults unable to consent for themselves through physical or mental incapacity? (If yes, the research must be reviewed by an NHS REC or SCREC)	
No	
Is the research related to the 'impairing condition' that causes the lack of capacity, or to the treatment of those with that condition?	
☐ Yes	If 'yes' proceed to next question
☒ No	If 'no' the study should proceed without involving those who do not have the capacity to consent to participation
Could the research be undertaken as effectively with people who do have the capacity to consent to participate?	
☐ Yes	If 'yes' then the study should exclude those without the capacity to consent to participation
☐ No	If 'no' then the inclusion of people without capacity in the study can be justified
Is it possible that the capacity of participants could fluctuate during the research? (If yes, the research must be reviewed by an NHS REC or SCREC)	
N/A	
Who inside or outside the research team will decide whether or not the participants have the capacity to give consent? What training/experience will they have to enable them to reach this decision?	
N/A	
What will be the criteria for withdrawal of participants?	
Participants are free to withdraw at any time and without giving reason	

Declaration	
To be signed by the Chief Investigator • I agree to comply, and will ensure that all researchers involved with the study comply with all relevant legislation, accepted ethical practice, University of Kent policies and appropriate professional ethical guidelines during the conduct of this research project • If any significant changes are made to the design of the research I will notify the Faculty of Social Sciences Research Ethics and Advisory Group (REAG) and understand that further review may be required before I can proceed to implement the change(s) • I agree that I will notify the Faculty of Social Sciences Research Ethics Advisory Group of any unexpected adverse events that may occur during my research • I agree to notify the Faculty of Social Sciences Research Ethics Advisory Group of any complaints I receive in connection with this research project	
Signed:	Date:

What to do next
Send your completed form, along with all supporting documentation, to the Faculties Support Office, at fsoethics@kent.ac.uk.

Checklist	
Please ensure you have included the following with your application (where relevant):	
• Full research proposal (current project)	☒
• Participant information sheet	☒
• Consent form	☒
• Covering letter (if relevant)	☒
• Any questionnaires/interview schedules/topic guides to be used	☒
• Any approved instruments/measures to be used	☒
• Any advertising material to be used to recruit participants	☒
• Confirmation that project is covered by UoK insurance policies (if necessary)	☐

Appendix 2

Consent Forms and Information Sheets

<u>**Consent Form for Children**</u>

Title of Research Project: ***Charity + Children***

Researcher: **Fiona Fairbairn**

School: ---

Please circle one of the following Statements

Add your name and sign at the end

😀 I understand everything I have heard about the research and I would like to join this focus group

🙁 I do not want to join the focus group

🤔 I am interested but I have some questions to ask before I decide

Your Name: ……………………………………………………………….

Date: ……………………………………………………………….

Your Signature: ……………………………………………………………….

Researcher: Fiona Fairbairn Date: XX2020 Signature:

Consent Form: Teacher Interviews

Title of Research Project: ***Philanthropy, Children and Independent Education***

Researcher: **Fiona Fairbairn**

Name: ---

Please tick each box, sign and date the form at the end

☐ I confirm that I have read and understand the information letter, dated XX/2020 which I may keep for my records and I have been given the opportunity to consider the information and to ask any questions

☐ I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason

☐ I understand that my personal details such as my name and contact details will not be revealed to anyone other than the researcher

☐ I understand that my responses will be anonymised before analysis and my words may be quoted in the report and other research outputs but my name will not be used

☐ I understand that any information I provide is confidential and that no information could lead to the identification of any individual or institution being disclosed in any reports on the project or to another party

☐ I agree for any anonymised data collected may be used in future research and this will only be done so at the discretion of the researcher and guidance from the University of Kent

☐ I understand that I do not have to answer any questions that I am not happy with
I agree to take part in the above research project

☐ I agree to have my interview recorded

Name of participant: ……………………………………………………………….

Date: ……………………………………………………………….

Signature: ……………………………………………………………….

Researcher: Fiona Fairbairn Date: XX2020 Signature:

University of Kent | School of Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research

Focus Group Information Sheet for Children

About Me:

I am a student at the University of Kent and I am studying for a special type of qualification called a PhD. I also have a daughter that is in Year 6.

My Research:

I want to find out what children like you, know about charity which is sometimes called philanthropy. I want to find out what you see and learn about charity at school and at home. I also want to find out if you do anything for charity like baking cakes or running a race to raise money or even helping out or volunteering with a charity.

What can you do to help me with my research?

You may remember completing a survey for me during your home-learning time. You are now being invited to participate in a group interview which is sometimes called a focus group. In the focus group, I will ask you some more questions about what you think and know about charity. Your opinions and views are important and there are absolutely not right or wrong answers, I just want to find out what you really think. If you don't want to participate in the focus group, you don't have to and you can stop if you decide you do not want to continue.

About the Focus Group

The focus group will take between 30 and 40 minutes and I will record it on my phone and I-Pad, but only your voices - not your faces. I hope that you enjoy sharing your views and opinions as I am really excited to hear what you have to say.

Important things to know:

I will study everything from all of the people that join in with my research (which will includes adults) and I will write a very long report (more than 300 pages) about the things that I find out. I will never use your real name or the name of your school in the report. If you have any questions before we start, you can ask me.

Next Steps:

If you are happy to join in, please sign the attached consent form.

Thank you!

Research Information Sheet for Schools

Research Area: *Philanthropy, Children and Independent Schools*

Researcher: Fiona Fairbairn (f.fairbairn@kent.ac.uk)

Background

I am a post-graduate student, studying for a PhD in the Centre of Philanthropy at the University of Kent. I am also a parent of a 10-year-old daughter in Year 6 at [redacted] School. The purpose of my thesis is to examine an under-researched topic in the UK, namely children and philanthropy. I am particularly interested in finding out how 9 – 11-year-old children attending independent schools in the UK, are learning, observing and; experiencing philanthropy both at school and at home.

Invitation

I would like to invite [redacted] School to take part in this research project and if the school agrees to participate, its involvement will mean:

- Allowing children in Years 5 & 6 to share their views and opinions regarding what they see and learn about charity / philanthropy at school and at home. This information will be collected through the implementation of an online survey and if possible but not essential, through some small focus groups.

- Allowing a member of staff to be interviewed and answering on behalf of the school about the extent to which philanthropy education and activities form part of school life.

However, before the school agrees to participate, it is important that it understands why the research is being done and what is involved. Please take time to read the following information before committing and please feel free to contact me at f.fairbairn@kent.ac.uk if there is anything that is unclear or if further information is required.

Why participate?

Children and philanthropy is an under-researched topic in the UK, particularly with regard to pre-adolescent children. Furthermore, any study concerned with matters to do with children, should provide an opportunity for their voices to be heard.

What is Involved?

For schools, participation in this study involves:

- An online survey to be distributed to and completed by children in Years 5 & 6
- A focus group activity involving 2- 3 groups of approximately six to eight children in Years 5 & 6 (only if possible in light of Covid-19 restrictions but not essential to participation in the study)
- An interview with a member of staff that can discuss the schools' philanthropy activity

I am also collecting data from parents of children attending independent schools, however, this is reliant upon my own network and separate to the schools' involvement – that is, I do not require [redacted] School to distribute the survey to the parent population.

The Survey

In terms of gathering the views of children in Years 5 & 6, I would like them to complete an online survey, a *preview* of which can be found via the following link (this is not the live version so responses at this stage will be deleted):

Survey for Children about Charity PREVIEW VERSION

The live version is identical but will record the children's responses and this link will be provided to the school on commencement of the data collection. The survey can be completed at home or during school on an electronic device. The survey includes a short, animated information video, the purpose of which is to ensure that the children are fully informed before agreeing to participate in the study. The survey will take between 10 and 15 minutes to complete, they do not have to answer all of the questions and they can stop at any time and without giving a reason.

Focus Groups
If at all possible, during the data collection period which is expected to last throughout the current academic year, I would like to carry out some focus groups with small groups from the school. However, this is of course, dependent on social distancing, DfEE and school guidelines and policies and not essential to participation in the study. Details and practicalities of these focus groups activities will be discussed in detail in advance should they be possible.

Interview with a Member of Staff
The interview can be in person, by telephone or via an online video conferencing method and will take approximately 30 - 45 minutes. The interview will consist of a series of questions designed to find out how children in Years 5 & 6 are learning, observing and experiencing philanthropy at school. It is not necessary for all the questions to be answered and it is fine to skip any of them and if the individual decides to take part and then later changes their mind, they are free to do so without providing a reason.

Duration

The data collection period will run from December 2020 to June 2021.

Participation
Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and the school can change its mind at any stage and withdraw from the process and without giving a reason.

What happens to the Information?

Surveys
The information collected via the online surveys will be done so via GDPR compliant survey software and the data will be examined in its entirety. When completing the online survey, children do not have to use their real name and may choose a fake name.

Focus Groups
The focus groups will be audio-recorded and the recordings will be transcribed so that all the information can be studied.
Interviews
The interviews will be audio-recorded, and the recordings will be transcribed so that all the information discussed can be studied (it is difficult to write notes as fast as people speak).

All of the information that is gathered will be private and nobody or no school will be named in the final report or any other reports or publications that are produced as a result of this research. Any quotes taken from interviews or surveys and used in the report will be anonymised by the use of pseudonyms and not attributable to the school or any individual. Furthermore, when completing the online survey, children do not have to use their real name.

Funding
This PhD research is entirely funded through a scholarship awarded by the Vice Chancellor at The University of Kent.

Ethical Approval
This study and the associated methods of data collection have been approved by the Research Ethics Advisory Group within the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Kent. I can also provide a copy of my DBS certificate.

Risks and Disadvantages
There are no foreseeable risks or disadvantages associated with this research project.

Benefits to Participants
The intention is that [redacted] School will be provided with an electronic copy of the final thesis; a summary of the key findings and notification of any associated articles and reports that are published. In addition, if requested, a short report summarising the findings specific to the school can be provided. A child-friendly short report will also be provided to the schools to be distributed to the children that participated in the study. In addition, for each survey completed and to show my appreciation for the help that the children have given me, I will make a small donation to a cause of the participants choice.

GDPR
All data of a personal nature such as contact details, notes, transcripts of interviews and survey responses will be stored on a private computer system which is password protected and in a folder that is further password protected. The web-based survey is hosted on a data protection compliant system. Personal data will be stored for up to 12 months after the thesis has been marked. For further information regarding compliance with EU GDPR legislation can be found here:
https://research.kent.ac.uk/researchservices/wp-content/uploads/sites/51/2018/12/GDPR-Privacy-Notice-Research-updated.pdf
It is best practice for researchers to make the data collected available for archive and re-use for further research, however this information will be anonymised and not attributable to any participant in the study. As such you will be asked to provide consent for the anonymised data to be shared which will only be done so at the discretion of the researcher and under guidance from the University.

Contact Details
Should you have any questions or concerns about this research, please contact me by email:
Fiona Fairbairn f.fairbairn@kent.ac.uk
In the event of a complaint please contact either of the following at the University of Kent:
Dr Beth Breeze B.Breeze@kent.ac.uk / Dr Alison Body A.M.Body@kent.ac.uk

Withdrawal from the Research
If you do agree for [redacted] School to participate in this study, the school is free to withdraw from the process at any stage and without consequences or without needing to provide a reason.

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information sheet and for considering whether or not to take part in this research project. Please keep a copy of this information for you records. If you are willing to participate in the study, I would be grateful if you could complete and sign the separate consent form.

Appendix 3

Data Collection Tools

Children's Survey – Questions

Also available online at:

https://kentsspssr.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_5z31hZSoG8IEWO2

Q1 Welcome to my research project, please watch this short video which will tell you everything you need to know before starting the survey......

Q2

Now that you have heard about the research and why your opinions and views are important, please let me know if you would like to participate in the study.

I would like to participate / I do not want to participate

Q3 **Firstly, think about some of the charitable things you have done and tell me how often you do them. Please try and give a response for each one and don't worry if you haven't done some of these things, just answer as best you can!**

Often / Sometimes / Rarely / Never / Don't Know

- Given toys, clothes, food, books or other items to charity
- Given money to charity
- Given time by helping out or volunteering with a charity
- Organised something like a beach clean or a litter pick)
- Done something to raise money for charity like a sponsored walk or baked cakes for a sale
- Organised something to raise money for charity

Q4 **Think back to the last time you did these things; can you tell me whose idea this was? You may tick more than one box.**

Mine / School / Friends / Family / Don't Know

- Given toys, clothes, food, books or other items to charity (1)
- Given money to charity (2)
- Given time by helping out or volunteering with a charity (3)
- Organised something like a beach clean or a litter pick (4)
- Done something to raise money for charity like a sponsored walk or baked cakes for a sale (5)
- Organised something to raise money for charity (11)

Q5 **How much do you agree with the following statements**
Strongly Agree / Agree / Neither Agree or Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Disagree

- I think everyone should give money to charity if they can (1)
- When I give to charity I know that I am helping and that makes me feel good (2)
- I think charity is important (3)
- I think everyone should do something for charity or for their community (4)
- I know about charities - what they do and why they are important (5)
- I would like to know more about charities (6)

Q6 **Look at the following activities and decide how often they happen, don't worry if you don't or all of the things, just answer as best you can**
Often / Sometimes / Rarely / Never / Don't Know

- At home I talk with my family about charity and charities (1)
- At school we have opportunities to discuss, ask questions and find out about charity (2)
- I find out about different charities from T.V, a magazine, social media or the internet (3)
- Charities normally come to my school to talk about the work they do (4)
- My school organises fundraising activities for charity (5)
- My school arranges for us to do some voluntary or charity work in the community (6)

Q7 **Have you ever written a letter or an email to a newspaper, government official or an important person about an issue or a problem?**
Yes/ No / Not yet, but I might do / Don't know

Q8 Please can you tell me a little about what it was that you did?

Q9 Whose idea was this?
Mine/Teachers/Friends/Family Member / Other

Q10 Have you ever supported a cause by signing a petition either online or on paper?
Yes/ No / Not yet, but I might do / Don't know

Q11 Please can you tell me a little about what it was that you did?

Q12 Whose idea was this?
Mine/Teachers/Friends/Family Member / Other

Q13 Have you ever joined a march or a protest?
Yes/ No / Not yet, but I might do / Don't know

Q14 Please can you tell me a little about what it was that you did?

Q15 Whose idea was this?
Mine/Teachers/Friends/Family Member / Other

Q16 Have you ever been involved in making an important change happen? Like reducing plastic usage or encouraging people to walk to school?
Yes/ No / Not yet, but I might do / Don't know

Q17 Please can you tell me a little bit about what it was that you did?

Q18 Whose idea was this?
Mine/Teachers/Friends/Family Member / Other

Q19 Think about the times that you were involved with raising money for charity at school (for example the read-a-thon, pyjama day, bake sale, sponsored walk) rank the statements as best you can.
Always / Sometimes / Rarely / Never / Don't Know

- We are told the name of the charity that we are supporting (1)
- When we are fundraising for a charity, we know what it does (2)
- The children at my school choose which charities to support when we fund-raise (3)
- We talk about the charities we support at school in class time or assembly (4)
- I talk about the charities we support at school with my family (5)
- I would like to be involved in choosing the charities that our school supports (6)

Q20 Do you want to know more about charity - what it is and why it might be important?

Yes Please! (1) / Maybe! (2) / Don't Know (3) / Not until I am older! (4)

Q21 Who would be the best person to talk to about charity - choose any of the following by dragging them into the box:
These are the people I would like to talk about charity with:

Mother / Father / Sister / Brother / Teachers / Grandmother / Grandfather / Other Adult Family Members / Others

Q22 Have you seen your parents, grandparents, adult family members, nanny or carers doing any of these things?
Always / Sometimes / Rarely / Never / Don't Know

- Give money to charity (1)
- Organise a fundraising activity for charity (2)
- Donate their time or volunteer for a charity (3)
- Run a race (such as a marathon) or similar activity to raise money for charity (4)
- Discuss causes, charities, and volunteering (5)

Q23 Have you ever been involved in helping your parents decide which charity or causes your family want to donate to?
Often / Sometimes / Rarely / Never / Don't know

Q24 Have you seen your teachers doing any of these things?
Often / Sometimes / Rarely / Never / Don't know

- Give money to charity (1)
- Organise a fundraising activity for charity (2)
- Donate their time or volunteer for a charity (3)
- Run a race (such as a marathon) or similar activity to raise money for charity (4)
- Discuss causes, charities and volunteering (5)

Q25 Are there any other things you have seen your parents, grandparents, adult relatives, teachers, nanny or carers do for charity?

Q26 Think back to when you were in Year 1 at school, did you know more or less about charity than you know now?

Q27 You have £10,000 to give to charity - what would you do with it?

Q28 If you needed help with your decision who would you ask to help you decide?

Q29 If you didn't have to give all of the £10,000 to charity - what would you do with it?

Q30 Is there anything else you would like to say about charity? (It doesn't matter if you don't!)

Q31 What is your first name? You can use your real name or you can choose a fake name!

Q32 **What year are you in at school?**

Q33 **What School do you go to?**

Q34 **Please tell me if you are a boy or girl**

Q35 Thank you so much for all your help - your opinions and views are very important to this study!

To show my appreciation for the time you have spent completing this survey, a donation will be made to a charitable cause of your choice, please choose one or more from the list:

- A charity that helps animals (1)
- A charity that helps children (2)
- A health charity like Cancer Research (3)
- An environmental charity (4)
- An arts and culture charity (5)
- A charity that helps homeless people (7)
- A charity that helps with poverty issues (8)

Please tell me if there is something else or a particular charity: (6)

Parents Survey – Questions

Also available online:

https://kentsspssr.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_aXmw6gzJNaGBNlz

Q1: Introduction

Welcome to this Research Study: Thank you for your interest in helping with this study, the purpose of which is to examine how philanthropic knowledge and behaviours are acquired by young children attending independent schools in the UK. The study aims to find out how these children are observing, learning and experiencing philanthropy at school and at home. Philanthropy is defined as voluntary action for the public good and includes charitable activities such as the donation of money, time and talent. You are being invited to complete a short survey involving a series of mainly tick box questions which should take no more than 10 minutes to complete. You may complete the survey anonymously and you are free to skip any questions you do not wish to answer and you can withdraw from the study at any time. As a token of appreciation of your time, a small charitable donation will be made for each survey completed. If you have any questions about the study, please email Fiona Fairbairn

Q2 Before starting the survey, please read the following and click on either the 'I Agree' or 'I Disagree' button at the bottom of the page.

- I understand the nature of this study and that my participation is completely voluntary
- I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason
- I have been given the opportunity to consider the information and to ask any questions
- I give permission for the data generated from this survey to be used in the researcher's publications on this topic I understand that my words if provided may be quoted in the researcher's publications but my name if provided will not be used
- I understand that my personal details if provided will not be revealed to anyone other than the researcher
- I understand that any information I provide is confidential and no information used could lead to the identification of any individual or organisation being disclosed in any reports on the study or to another
- I understand I do not have to answer any questions that I am not happy with
- I agree to take part in the study

Q3 How many children do you have that attend an Independent School?

Q4 How old are your children?

Q5 Thinking about the types of philanthropic activities you do, in an average year, how often would you say you do these things? At least once a week / 2 -3 times a month/ one a month / a few times a year / once a year / less than once a year / never

- Volunteer
- Donate Money
- Donate Goods
- Pro-bono work

Q6 During the last three years, have you done any of the following and if so, how many times:
5 times or more / 3-4 times / Once or Twice / Never / Don't Know

- A sponsored walk, bike ride, swim or marathon or similar activity for charity
- Organised or helped organize a charity event such as a gala dinner, activity day, auction or similar
- Attended a charity event such as a gala dinner, activity day or auction
- Fundraised for charity

Q7 Are you currently employed by a charity or a not-for-profit organisation?

Q8 Do you play an active role in a charity such as a Trustee or Non-Executive Director?

Q9 Please add any other philanthropic or charitable activities that you are involved with:

Q10 Do your children know about the philanthropic activities that you participate in?

Yes, everything / Yes, some things but not everything / No - but I would like to involve them more / No / Don't Know

Q11 **Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:**

Strongly agree / Somewhat Agree / Neither Agree nor Disagree / Somewhat Disagree / Strongly Disagree

- I think it is important that my children know about philanthropy and what it is to be charitable
- I expect my children's' school(s) to teach them about philanthropy and what it is to be charitable
- I think my children's' school(s) should do more to teach them about philanthropy and charity
- My parents taught me about charities, giving and volunteering

Q12 **Please rate the frequency of the following activities:**

Regularly / Often / Occasionally / Rarely / Never

- I talk about philanthropy and what it is to be charitable with my children
- My children ask me questions about charities and philanthropy
- I talk about different charities and what they do with my children

Q13 Do you involve your children in your family giving decisions?

Always / Sometimes / Occasionally / Rarely / Never - but I might do in the future / Never

Q14 **Please rate the frequency you engage with the following charitable activities:**

Regularly / Often / Occasionally / Rarely / Never

- As a family we fundraise together by doing things like sponsored runs or bike rides
- As a family we volunteer in the community or for a charity

Q15 **Are there any other philanthropic activities you do with your children?**

Q16 **If you had £10,000 to donate to a charitable cause today, rank the following by moving each according to order of preference - click and drag the cause into position:**

Environmental Causes / Children's Causes / Medical Research / Arts & Culture / Animal Charities / Homelessness Causes / Charities addressing poverty / Other, please specify

Q17 If your children had £10,000 to donate to a charitable cause today, select the cause(s) you think they would give it to:

Environmental Causes / Children's Causes / Medical Research / Arts & Culture / Animal Charities / Homelessness / Poverty / Other, please specify

Q18 Is there anything else that you would like to say about the types of philanthropic activities that you, your family or school are involved with or on the subject of philanthropy more broadly?

Q19 On average, how much in total do you donate to all charitable causes per year?

Up to £500 / More than £500 but less than £1,000 / More than £1,000 but less than £2,000 / More than £2,000 but less than £5,000 / More than £5,000 but less than £10,000 / More than £10,000 but less than £50,000 / More than £50,000

Q20 Please describe your gender

Q21 Please indicate your age

Q22 Which region in the UK to you live?

Q24 Are you interested in receiving further information about this research project?

Q25 Please provide your name and email address to which further information can be sent - alternatively, if you wish to remain anonymous you can email me to be added to the mailing list

Q26 Thank you very much for your time and interest.
As a gesture of appreciation for your help with this study, a donation will be made to the ALMT - a charitable trust that seeks to mitigate the suffering of children worldwide.

<u>Structure of Focus Groups</u>

Objective:

To find out what children think and know about charity and how they acquire philanthropic knowledge and behaviours, building on the data collected by the survey.

Materials:

Mobile Phone + I-Pad (to audio record) / plain paper / colouring pens / post-it notes / folded card for names / consent form for children to complete *(I will supply all of these)*

Thank you gift,:

RSPCA Pin (*if the school agrees*)

Introduction:

I will introduce myself and explain a little about my research, why I need their help and what is involved, if a consent form has not been signed in advance, then children will be asked to do this. I will explain that the session will be recorded.

Warm-up Activity – 5 minutes

In order to get the children to start thinking about charity, I will show them a red nose, a collection box and a picture of the WWF logo. I will the children if they have done anything for comic relief or put money in a collection box.

I will then play a quick word association game and ask them to say the first word that comes to mind when I say these words: ''lunch' / ''book'' / ''kind''

The children will then be asked to write their name in big letters on the folded card provided and around it, write three words or phrases that spring to mind when I say the word ***'charity' –*** *I will then ask a few of them to share their words.*

Drawing Activity

The children will be asked to spend 3-4 minutes drawing a quick picture of what charity means the them, if they don't want to draw, they could just write a sentence or phrase.

Then, each child will be asked to briefly explain (if they want to) what their drawing meant to them and why they had drawn those images. If they would like to, the children can give their drawing a title.

Questions *(I will work through the questions, listed in order of priority until time runs out)*

1. **What kinds of things do you do for charity?**
2. **Why do you do these things for charity?**
3. **How does it make you feel?**
4. **What kinds of things do you see other people doing for charity or their community? Who do you see doing these things?**
5. **Do you admire anyone for the things they do for charity?**
6. **Who would you ask if you wanted to know more about charities and what they do?**
7. **Why do you think people do things for charity?**
8. **How do you find out about charities?**
9. **Do you know anyone that has volunteered?**

-End-

The children will be thanked and given an RSPCA badge to say thank you

Interview Schedule for Teachers

Thank you so much for participating in this interview – I really appreciate the support and help and I hope that in return I can provide you with a useful and helpful report.

As mentioned, are you comfortable with the interview being recorded? The reason being that it is difficult to write quick enough – nothing that you say will be attributable to you in the report – everything will be completely anonymous. Once the recording has been transcribed, it will be destroyed.

Consent Form – have you had chance to read the document and are you in agreement with each of the statements? To re-iterate, you are free to leave the interview at any time. Please can you return a signed version?

The intention is that the interview would take 30 – 45 minutes depending on your time restrictions and I will be referring to a list of questions.

Thank you to all the children that participated – in total I had xx completed responses, please can you tell me how many children were asked to participate?

*In this interview we will talk about the ways in which children learn about charity or philanthropy at school. An emerging concept is the idea of teaching children to be ''philanthropic citizens'' – which ties into or is potentially incorporated into citizenship education and understood as ''**teaching the values, knowledge and behaviours associated with philanthropy''***

1. Do you think **philanthropy / charity / philanthropic citizen** education at your school is something that is formally taught in the classroom in lessons or something that children 'experience' through involvement in activities and events such as fundraisers or harvest festival?
2. Can you tell me about the fundraising activities the school organises – can you tell me a little bit more about this and in particular the ones that involve the children?
3. Are the children involved with choosing who to fundraise for and do teachers have the time and opportunity to discuss with children the cause they are fundraising for, why it is important and what it does?
4. I see from the survey results that 'Stand By Me' is a charity that children at the school like to give to, can you tell me about this?
5. Do Charities ever come into the school to discuss their work – can you tell me a little bit more about this?

6. Does the school organise any volunteering opportunities for children in Years 5 6? If 'yes' is it compulsory or optional? What kinds of opportunities are there and are they available to all children?
7. Do you think that there are enough (or any) tools and guidance available to teachers in order to help them teach children about **philanthropy / charity / philanthropic citizenship**?
8. Compared to other subjects, how does the school view **charity / philanthropy / philanthropic citizen** education / activity?
9. Do you think parents expect the school to teach children **about philanthropy / charity / philanthropic citizenship**? Do you expect parents to teach children about **philanthropy / charity / philanthropic citizenship**?
10. Where, if anywhere, in the curriculum do you think **philanthropy / charity / philanthropic citizen** education should sit?
11. Looking forward do you think teaching children about **philanthropy / charity / how to be a philanthropic citizen** will be more / less / or as important in your school?