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BEING AND BECOMING DONORS:

HOW CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE
ENGAGE WITH CHARITIES

Mary (Mei Yi) Ho

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The University of Edinburgh

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DECLARATION

I, Mary (Mei Yi) Ho, hereby certify that this thesis is my own work.

Signed: ....*Mary Ho*.................

Date: ......27/10/2011.................

ABSTRACT

Extant research on nonprofit marketing and specifically donor behaviour have been quantitative and focused on profiling donors or examining motivations for giving. Prior research in these areas has also focused on adult populations, neglecting children and young people in general and those under 16 in particular. This dearth of research on children and young people in the nonprofit sector is even more surprising in light of the wealth of research on this group in the commercial domain. Furthermore, current understandings of the socialisation of children into donors are largely fragmented. It is important to give children and young people a voice in the literature, and one which reflects their contribution to society. There is also a need to examine how children and young people learn about charities and how they currently behave as donors. This interpretive study sought to explore how children and young people understand, donate and relate to charities. It aimed to provide a thick description of children and young people's donor behaviour and their socialisation as donors, and to understand their charity consumption experiences through their eyes. Research was guided by child-centred, participatory research principles, with the multi-method research design involving thirty-three individual/paired interviews and focus groups with 91 children and young people and three surveys completed by a total of 606 9-24 year-olds in Scotland. The main findings are that children and young people engage in a variety of charitable activities and have a generally positive image of charities. Their knowledge, awareness and understanding in relation to charities become increasingly complex as they age, reflecting their cognitive and emotional development and greater life experience. Their donor behaviour also changes with age, and this is related to a range of personal and social influences, including the charity consumption arenas in which giving takes place. The process of donor socialisation extends into young adulthood, offering evidence of lifelong socialisation processes in the nonprofit context. The thesis concludes by considering the implications of the study for charity marketers, educators and public policy makers, and by outlining several fruitful avenues of future research.

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Charities play a significant role in contemporary societies, not only by providing services to those in need but also by raising awareness and making the public think about important societal concerns. In recent decades, the nonprofit sector has been subject to much change in terms of size, composition, funding structures, and increasing recognition of the sector's work by the public. Its reliance on individual donors is still strong, if not stronger than ever, given recent and forthcoming Government cuts in public spending and the increasingly competitive environment in which charities operate. Now more than ever, the nonprofit sector seeks to professionalise communications and explore new income streams. This requires an understanding of donors and their giving behaviour.

The literature on donor behaviour dates back to philosophical and religious writings from Ancient Greek and Roman times and has largely focused on people's motivations for giving. More recent sector research has focused on profiling donors and measuring their giving behaviour. The use of qualitative research in the nonprofit sector is still underdeveloped (Russell & Scott 2005), but qualitative exploration could yield further insight into how and why people decide to give. Most donor research has also focused on adults, although many charities have begun to target young people as part of their drive to develop new income streams (Saxton et al. 2007). Lack of research interest in children and young people's contributions to the nonprofit sector and lack of understanding about how they behave as donors and volunteers limits charities' abilities to target this age group effectively. Despite the wealth and exuberance of literature on children as consumers, research has not

considered how they behave as 'consumers' of charity, or how they learn to become donors in the first place.

This study was designed to explore how children and young people understand, donate and relate to charities. The following sections of this chapter explain the origins of the study and outlines the research gap that was identified from reviewing literature on donor behaviour and children's consumer behaviour. It then provides an overview of the research design and the structure of the thesis.

1.2 ORIGINS OF THE RESEARCH

This thesis emerged from an intellectual curiosity about what motivates people to give to charities and a desire to conduct research with children and young people, who can be endlessly fascinating.

Many charities owe their existence to the goodwill of ordinary members of the public, and the public's cumulative contribution to charities is quite extraordinary. The reasons people state for giving have intrigued philosophers for centuries, and kindness and altruism seem part of the human condition. Reflecting on her own charitable experiences and motivations, and observing the kindness of others, made the researcher want to contribute to existing understandings of giving, especially amongst children and young people.

Although no longer a young person herself (at least not as they are defined for the purposes of this research), the researcher had previously worked with a wide range of children and young people, in various teaching contexts and through dissertation research for undergraduate and Masters level degrees. These experiences had left her with admiration for their great capacity to learn and absorb cues from their surroundings, and to develop as individuals.

Noting this maturation and development fuelled interest in how children learn to be donors and, as they approach adulthood, fully-fledged citizens. Their ability to offer their unique viewpoints on the world around them provides a challenging yet rewarding prospect for researchers, and they are often more candid in discussing their experiences than older people.

Along with these interests in charity and the development of children and young people, another key motivating factor for this study was the researcher's interest in a range of research methodologies, and the focus on children and young people allowed her to learn more about and apply child-centred research philosophies and methodologies, including projective techniques such as drawing and concept mapping.

Having considered the origins of this research, the research gaps that it seeks to fill are outlined in the following section.

1.3 THE RESEARCH GAP

Gaps in knowledge about how children and young people engage with charities are apparent in the literature. Increasing research attention has been paid to both nonprofit marketing and the consumer behaviour of children, but there has been little effort to integrate the two by considering children and young people as consumers/donors in a nonprofit context.

Within nonprofit marketing, research has traditionally focused on documenting the professionalisation of charities and on providing toolkits or case studies of best practice. More recently research has concentrated on examining donor behaviour. However, existing research on donor behaviour is primarily quantitative, and concerned with profiling those who are most likely to give or examining donor motivations. Relatively little research attention has been paid to experiential aspects of donor behaviour, and

qualitative research has considerable potential to contribute to knowledge in this area. Furthermore, both academic and nonprofit sector reports deal almost exclusively with adult populations, and surveys which include young people do not generally involve those below the age of 16. The first research gap therefore concerns how children and young people donate to charities. Secondly, within the consumer research field, a great deal of attention has been paid to how people learn to become consumers, yet the donor research literature has not examined how children and young people learn about charities and charitable behaviour, or how they relate to charities.

How children and young people engage with charities should not only be of interest to nonprofit marketing researchers, as it can also fill gaps in current understandings of children and young people as consumers and as citizens. There is considerable media coverage of young people as disengaged from society in general, and of their antisocial behaviour (Youthnet 2010), yet a lack of research interest in their charitable giving may lead to their societal engagement being under-reported.

Established areas of research within consumer behaviour include consumer socialisation, personal and social influences on consumption, the context of consumption, and materialism, yet these have scarcely been considered with reference to charities and giving. There is much discussion of the "kids getting older younger" phenomenon in academic and popular writing, as many argue that children are entering the commercial world and exercising their autonomy as consumers at a younger age (Linn 2004; Lindstrom 2003; Mayo & Nairn 2009; Schor 2004). Might this also be the case with donating? Are children becoming donors at a young age, and if so, what might be the implications of this? How do they learn to be donors, and who prepares them for this role?

1.4 THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study attempts to fill the gaps identified by utilising an interpretive approach guided by the principles of participatory, child-centred research. A multi-method research design was employed, incorporating both qualitative and quantitative research, with the aim of providing a thick description (Geertz 1973) of how children and young people engage with charities. The study used a combination of focus groups, individual and paired interviews, projective techniques and three surveys to examine how children and young people engage with charities. This allowed for a comparative analysis of various types of data, including spoken words, drawings, concept maps and statistical data.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is divided into seven further chapters. Chapter Two provides the context of the study by reviewing the extant literature on donor behaviour. It considers the ways in which people currently give to charities, with emphasis on their motivations for giving. Since donor behaviour research has largely been conducted on adult populations, Chapter Three considers what we know about children and young people's donor behaviour. It elaborates on current understandings of how they donate to charities and how they relate on a broader level to the nonprofit sector. The review then examines the consumer behaviour of children and young people, drawing out the defining characteristics of children and the influences on them in their role as consumers. This chapter includes a discussion of literature concerning materialism and values, and consumer socialisation. Chapter Three concludes by proposing a theory of donor socialisation by drawing together multidisciplinary research on socialisation.

Chapter Four outlines the interpretive study undertaken by providing the rationale and justification for the multi-method, child-centred research design and further discussion of the individual data collection instruments. Chapters Five to Seven present the findings, each focusing on different facets of how children and young people engage with charities. Chapter Five discusses how children and young people understand charities by examining their perceptions of charity and how their understanding of charities changes from childhood to adulthood. Chapter Six documents how children and young people currently donate to charities. Their current donor behaviour will be examined with a specific focus on the age differences in giving, their motivations for giving, and the personal and social influences on their giving. Chapter Seven considers how children and young people relate to charities and points towards their engagement with charities as the future giving public. Finally, Chapter Eight draws together the whole thesis and articulates the key findings from this study and its contributions to the various fields of literature consulted as part of the research. It also considers the implications for academics and practitioners before concluding with a discussion of how future research could build on this study.

CHAPTER TWO: NONPROFIT MARKETING AND DONOR BEHAVIOUR

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CHAPTER TWO:

NONPROFIT MARKETING AND DONOR BEHAVIOUR

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Charities contribute to the social fabric and economic wellbeing of British society and as demand for services has increased, so too have the charities income and employees in the sector. In the UK, there are approximately 171,000 general charities[1] currently operating, generating a total income of £33.2 billion (Almanac 2009). British people have been shown to be particularly generous; they give around £9.9 billion each year to charity (CAF/NCVO 2009) and at 0.73% of GDP, their giving levels are the highest in Europe and second only to the US in global terms (CAF/NCVO 2006).

Despite such generosity and claims that we are "witnessing the birth of a new era of increased altruism" (Pharoah et al. 2006:6), charities' incomes are unpredictable (Clegg et al. 2008; Kottasz 2004; Ritchie et al. 1998; Wilding et al. 2006) and "static at best" (Wilding et al. 2006:5). There has been a 58% increase in the number of registered general charities since 1989[2], with this increase attributed to the extensive privatisation of healthcare and other social services, cutbacks in public funding for arts and cultural organisations, and changes in tax regimes that encouraged good causes to register as charities (Bennett 2005; Sargeant 1995). The ease of setting up charities and reluctance to close them also contributed to the increasing number of charities during this time period (McCurry 2001; Pyne & Robertson 1997). Such growth in the UK mirrors global trends (Anheier et al. 2005).

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[1] That is, organisations that were not educational establishments, housing associations, trade unions or places of religious worship.
[2] calculated using figures taken from Charity Commission (2009) and Bennett (2005).

Many of these charities have struggled to survive financially, however, with some forced to merge or close their doors as they jostled for government funding, earned revenues and the public's pennies in an intensely competitive environment (Bennett 2005; Clegg et al. 2008; Jas 2000). This situation is exacerbated by difficult economic conditions and decreasing financial support from the state; the coalition Government recently announced significant spending cuts, for example, and urged the public to double personal level of giving to charities in order to help the sector cope with these (Brindle 2010). With some charities relying on the state for the majority of their income (Brindle notes that the average level of dependency among employment and training charities is 70%), this points to further tightening of charity belts and sector insecurity.

Faced with these challenges, charities have looked towards the commercial sector for help and inspiration and have ventured down several paths, such as alliances with businesses, use of celebrity patrons and links with the fashion and sports industries, with varying success. With survival of the fittest tactics being employed, charities constantly seek innovative ways of reaching out to potential donors. They have sought to target existing donors more rigorously and to target previously neglected segments, such as children and young people (Baker 2010). Historically, the contributions of children and young people to the nonprofit sector have been overlooked in academic and sector research, and despite the growth of literature in both nonprofit marketing and marketing to children, there has been little development of research in the area of nonprofit marketing to children and young people.

This chapter briefly outlines developments in the nonprofit marketing field and different disciplinary perspectives on charitable behaviour before examining extant research on donor behaviour in general and identifying some limitations of research in this area. Chapter Three then considers what is known about the donor behaviour of children and young people and more broadly how they engage with the nonprofit sector. Having highlighted the

sparseness of such research, it considers how studies of children and young people as consumers may contribute to understanding of their donor behaviour, and it ends by examining the socialisation processes which may explain how children learn about charity both as a virtue and as an institution.

2.2 THE NONPROFIT MARKETING FIELD

Kotler and Levy (1969) first considered the idea that commercial marketing practices could be applied in a nonprofit context in their seminal *Journal of Marketing* article, with their ideas further developed by Kotler and Zaltman (1971) under the guise of 'social marketing'. In the years after the birth of the nonprofit marketing field, research centred on documenting the increasing number of charities adopting commercial marketing practices in a bid to increase income and further awareness of their work. The literature has traditionally been awash with guidelines and toolkits for boosting marketing effectiveness and case studies of best practice (e.g. Bruce 1994; Grounds & Griffiths 2005; Lindsay & Murphy 1996). As the nonprofit marketing field has developed, research has concentrated on documenting the professionalisation of charities (e.g. Balabanis et al. 1997; Liao et al. 2006) and the adoption of commercial marketing practices. Examples of research in this vein are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Studies exploring the professionalisation of charities

Topic	Indicative studies
Market orientation	Balbanis et al. 1997; Bennett 2005; Gonzalez et al. 2002; Liao et al. 2001
Market segmentation	Mindak & Bybee 1971; Schlegelmilch & Tynan 1989; Shairo 1973; Smith & Beik 1982; Yavas & Riecken 1997
Charity brands and personalities	Griffiths 2005; Haigh & Gilbert 2005; Hankinson 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004; Ritchie et al. 1998; Sargeant et al. 2008; Tapp 1996
Fundraising and relationship marketing	Aldrich 2009; Bennett 2005; Bennett & Barkensjo 2005a, 2005b, 2005c; Bennett & Kottasz 2001; Macmillan et al. 2005; Masters 2000; Palmer et al 1999; Paton 1999; Toohill et al. 1997
Charity retailing	Alexander et al. 2008; Broadbridge & Parsons 2003a, 2003b; Horne 1998, 2000; Parsons 2000, 2002; Quinn 1999
Charity communications	Arnold & Tapp 2003; Bennett 2004; Dower 2002; Geiger & Martin 1999; Goatman & Lewis 2007;Gray 2002; Masters 1999
Human resources management (volunteer recruitment)	Boezeman & Ellemers 2008; Handy et al. 2010
Organisational issues	Bennett & Savani 2004 ; Bowman 2006; Gaskin 1999 ; Kahler & Sargeant 2002; O'Neill 2008; Sargeant & Lee 2002

A major challenge for the nonprofit sector is that fuelled by consumerism, individualism and self-expression (Thake 2008), donors are becoming more demanding, technologically advanced and keen to see value for money, even in relation to donations (Brodie et al. 2009). Similarly, among volunteers, people's expectations of agency, choice and flexibility in their dealings with commercial companies have been transferred to charities (Rochester 2006). In order to meet the needs of such demanding publics, charities have had to develop a greater understanding of donor behaviour, and this is the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

2.3 DONOR BEHAVIOUR: HISTORICAL AND DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES

The word 'charity' first entered the English language through the old French word 'charite'. This was in turn derived from the Latin 'caritas', meaning preciousness, dearness, and high price (Oxford English Dictionary 2010). From this, in Christian theology, caritas became the Latin translation for the Greek word agape, meaning an unlimited loving-kindness to all others. This wider concept was integrated into the Christian triplet 'faith, hope and charity'. Today, the word charity has several connotations[3], with the Oxford English Dictionary (2010) offering three perspectives. It can be considered as kindness and tolerance in judging others, as when people offer a 'charitable' interpretation of others' actions. Charity can also be seen as an organisation or system of organisations that exists to provide help or raise money for those in need (charity as an institution). Finally, charity can refer to the voluntary giving of help (charity as a virtue).

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[3] It should be noted that the use of the word charity is UK-based. Notions of charity are more commonly considered to be philanthropy in the USA. In the UK, the word philanthropy is normally viewed as being elitist and patronising (Wright 2002).

As Hodgkinson (2003) notes, giving and the sharing of wealth have a long historical tradition, and volunteering has also been 'a part of most societies throughout human history'. The history of giving has been documented in philosophical and religious writings, dating back to Ancient Greek and Roman times. Charitable giving throughout history has always been understood in terms of generosity and sharing, even though the causes may have differed. Ancient Greeks gave to city defences, civic buildings and poor relief. In the Middle Ages, bridges, helping the poor and sick, and education were deemed worthy causes. Throughout this period, culture and religion were the two biggest drivers of giving – particularly in Islamic, Christian and Jewish teachings. In Britain, during Elizabethan times, giving was institutionalised as charities were formally recognised as organisations (Mullin 2002). In 1601 three specific categories of charitable activities were identified: the relief of poverty, the advancement of education and the advancement of religion. The scope of charities expanded further in the Victorian era, mainly due to the highly public donations of philanthropists such as John Davidson Rockefeller and Joseph Rowntree who gave to numerous causes, Henry Wellcome who supported medical research in particular and Andrew Carnegie who supported a multitude of educational causes (*ibid*).

Nowadays there are a plethora of charities and causes, as stipulated in the Charities Act (2006), which defines the scope of charitable activities as including:

- the prevention or relief of poverty;
- the advancement of education;
- the advancement of religion;
- the advancement of health or the saving of lives;
- the advancement of citizenship or community development;
- the advancement of the arts, culture, heritage or science;
- the advancement of amateur sport;

- the advancement of human rights, conflict resolution or reconciliation or the promotion of religious or racial harmony or equality and diversity;
- the advancement of environmental protection or improvement;
- the relief of those in need, by reason of youth, age, ill-health, disability, financial hardship or other disadvantage;
- the advancement of animal welfare;
- the promotion of the efficiency of the armed forces of the Crown or of the police, fire and rescue services or ambulance services;
- other purposes currently recognised as charitable and any new charitable purposes which are similar to another charitable purpose.

The ubiquity of charities and acts of human kindness has inspired many writers to study the act of giving. Contemporary theories of giving are influenced by a variety of academic disciplines.

There are longstanding philosophical debates about why people give and attempts to conceptualise giving. Much of the literature in this field uses the notion of altruism, which has been defined as an "intrinsically motivated, voluntary behaviour intended to benefit another" (Eisenberg & Fabes 1998). Altruism provides a broader conception than giving, and as Mullin (2002) notes, it draws on the distinction made by Aristotle in his *Nichomachean Ethics* between:

Liberality   concern with significant material support for the needy

Prodigality   a vulgar scattering of sums to anyone indiscriminately

Lordiness   concern with spectacular public expenditure and
or magnificence significant matters of state

Aristotle's principles were promoted and debated through the Italian Renaissance and can be seen to influence many writers including Thomas Aquinas in the 13th Century, whose work had strong Christian overtones and

broadens the scope of Aristotle's three principles (Mullin 2002). In the 20th Century, notions of charitable giving developed further and became more nuanced with discussions of charitable giving as altruism and philanthropy. Writers including Thomas Nagel (1970) argue that altruism depends, not on love, but "on a presumably universal recognition of the reality of other persons". He argues for pure rational altruism to be differentiated from behaviour motivated by emotions such as sympathy or love. For Bierhoff (1987), altruism may be thought of in terms of:

- o an intention to help another person
- o an act initiated voluntarily by the helper
- o a performance without expectation of reward from external sources

The idea that people give altruistically is universal and blood donation has been regarded as one of the purest forms of altruism (Alfonso Valdes et al. 2002; Garcia Gutierrez et al. 2003; Glynn et al. 2002; Misje et al. 2005; Piliavin 1990). Some have questioned whether altruism actually exists (Hoffman 1986), however, and many writers have suggested that giving may be motivated by more than altruism.

Early economists were unwilling to accept the idea that people gave out of the goodness of their hearts. Mandeville, writing in 1714, speculated that "pride and vanity have built more hospitals than all the virtues put together" (cited in Guy & Patton 1988). Economics (particularly neo-classical micro-economics) works on the assumption that individuals' preferences are one of the primary drivers of their behaviour. Behaviour is assumed to be selfish and aimed at optimising personal self-interests, restricted only by resources and market constraints. However the theory does posit that self-interest or anticipated gains can be immaterial in nature, such as the psychological gain and good feeling that comes from having helped someone. This notion has been developed into the public-good theory of philanthropy, which holds that

individuals give to the collective good of society with the expectation that they will benefit from such collective resources should they ever be in need (Jas 2000; Walker 2002). In this vein, contributing to the public good becomes economically sensible whilst preserving self-interest.

The application of economics to charitable giving, with its focus on rational choice and constrained optimisation models, therefore stresses the benefits and costs of charitable donations within a utility-maximization paradigm. Leading on from this notion, economic theories would predict consumer indifference between making a monetary donation and volunteering if the two resources were equivalent in value (Reed et al. 2007). However, this seems to be an impractical hypothesis to test and validate, as estimations of the value of a unit of time versus a monetary donation to a cause are inherently subjective. Other strands of economic research have focused on testing explanatory variables such as gross household income and wealth, marginal tax price of charitable contributions, and homeownership status for their effect on individuals' charitable behaviour (Forbes & Zampelli 2010). The application of economics to giving seems to be an uneasy one within the wider field of donor behaviour. This is due to fundamental contradictions within the economics discipline, as immaterial or psychological gains, which are integral to understanding people's motivations cannot be measured in terms that are acceptable within a micro-economic framework (Halfpenny 1999). In general, economics may provide a more rational perspective on giving, but its contribution in terms of empirical evidence is limited.

For some writers, the basic need to help others is not only deep-rooted but also inbred. Gilchrist (2004:1) contends that "studies of humans and other higher primates suggest that we share an inherent sociability, a willingness to connect and cooperate". Ever since Darwin, socio-biologists have postulated that the selfish gene dictates behaviour that would further the proliferation of the species at the expense of others, but more recent theories of the altruistic gene recognise that altruism increases genetic fitness and thus the chances

for survival of the species. This has profound implications for the study of giving as it posits that we, as humans, have an innate propensity to give. Wilson (1978) distinguishes *hard-core* altruism – which works beyond expectations of social reward or punishment and which "is likely to have evolved through kin selection or natural selection operating on entire, competing family or tribal units" (Wilson 1978) and *soft-core* altruism – which "expects reciprocation from society for himself or his closest relatives" and which "can be expected to have evolved primarily by selection of individuals and to be deeply influenced by the vagaries of cultural evolution" (*ibid*).

The evolutionary socio-biological perspective is not without its critics, who argue that theoretical possibility is substituted for empirical reality (Batson 1998). Furthermore, other social scientists argue that altruistic behaviour is not genetically hardwired, but more a learned behaviour influenced by an individual's environmental circumstances (Gefland et al. 1975).

Within the field of psychology, researchers generally emphasise individual altruistic personality traits and individual perceptions of charities as key determinants of giving. Social psychology involves the study of human behaviour at an individual level and within the context of the social groups that the individual is a part of. Social psychologists have focused on understanding charitable behaviour through intrapersonal and interpersonal factors such as self-concept, values, cognitive dissonance, and group dynamics. Batson (1998) identified seven main theoretical contributions of social psychology to the study of giving: social learning, tension reduction, norms and roles, exchange or equity theory, attribution theory and inferences about the cause of events, esteem enhancement/maintenance models, and moral reasoning theories (also called cognitive developmental or rational developmental theories of morality). Each of these provides different perspectives on altruism and helps to understand people's motivations for giving. According to Batson (1994) there are four possible inter-related categories of drivers motivating charitable behaviour:

- Egoism – where the intention is to increase one's own welfare
- Altruism – where the goal is to increase the welfare of one or more individuals
- Collectivism – where the goal is to increase the welfare of a group
- Principlism – which aims to uphold some moral principle

The idea that egoism would motivate charitable giving has been considered in some detail by the economic, sociological and psychological disciplines (Campbell 1975; Mansbridge 1990). The main premise is that individuals give money to charity to gain material, social or self-rewards, or conversely to avoid material, social or self-punishments (Batson et al. 2002). In this vein, an individual may be motivated to give money to aid the common good but the action may ultimately be undertaken to gain praise, recognition or self-esteem enhancement or to avoid feelings of guilt or shame.

Altruism is at the opposite end of the spectrum, in that the goal of giving is to help people other than oneself. Batson (1991) notes that altruism should not be confused with self-sacrifice, which emphasises the cost to the self rather than the benefit of others. Altruism is most commonly associated with empathy. Batson et al. (2002) posits that if another person is perceived to be in need, then empathy creates feelings of sympathy, compassion, or tenderness, which motivates a person to give.

Batson's third driver for charitable giving is collectivism, which is concerned with increasing the welfare of a certain group. The 'group' may be one's family, friends, as is often the case for blood donation (Alfonso Valdes et al. 2002; Glynn et al. 2002; Schreiber et al. 2003). It may also be defined more broadly in terms of neighbourhood, country, or humanity, or it may relate to categories like gender, religion, or social class. The individual does not need to be a member of a particular group to seek to help it; many people with

homes of their own donate money to charities for homeless people, for example.

The final category discussed by Batson is principlism, which posits that individuals give to uphold some moral principle. Principlism is a response to criticisms of egoism, altruism and collectivism by moral philosophers including Kant (1975/1898) and Rawls (1971). From this perspective, people are motivated to give in order to uphold principles such as justice, ensuring that individuals who may have been wronged are offered some form of restitution, for example.

Some sociological perspectives on charitable behaviour have emphasised the importance of power relations between beneficiaries, donors, volunteers and other stakeholders. For Marx, philanthropy is the exercise of bourgeois power or as a concatenation of systems for the exercise of control in Foucauldian terms, while Weber argued that socioeconomic resources and status are the principal determinants of voluntarism (Janoski & Wilson 1995). The importance of social networks and social trust, that is, social capital, have also been emphasised in this discipline (Putnam 2000). More recent studies support the view that class is an important determinant of giving (Hall 2000). Economic sociology, based on the premise that economic relations are embedded in the fabric of social life, can provide further insight. Social relations are reinforced by economic exchanges taking place within the same context – that is, the exchange of donations and services. Trust within these exchanges is based on the shared norms and values that form the core of social networks (Putnam 2000). This presupposes the existence of social capital, which is taken to be the "connections amongst individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam 2000:19). This is not unrelated to Bourdieu's (1986) earlier conceptions of cultural, economic and symbolic capital which emphasise social networks and the value or goodwill attached to them by individuals. Social capital is considered by Bourdieu to be a source of privilege that

benefits the already privileged in society and has led to the exclusion of others in society. He draws upon work by Weber and neo-Marxists on the class structure of society to emphasise that class and its associated economic resources is a determining factor in participation (Gilchrist 2004). This is supported by Musick and Wilson (2008) who found that less well developed social networks acted as a barrier to giving for less educated individuals.

The development of social network and social movement theories has furthered theoretical understandings of how loose social networks can be sources of power, influence and social change (Castells 1996:469). Social networks are viewed as a "web of lateral connection and avoidance of formal bureaucratic structures" (Gilchrist 2004:29). They have been found to be important in mobilising social movements and participation in society (Buechler 2000; Diani 2002; Melucci 1989).

Within the marketing discipline, there is a wealth of data on charitable giving, although donor behaviour is considered from a more pragmatic perspective. The main concern is providing support for effective fundraising strategies but more recently research has centred upon understanding the behaviour of consumers (or donors/volunteers/beneficiaries). This includes understanding the helping decision process, an adaptation of the consumer decision-making model for a nonprofit context (Guy & Patton 1988). The majority of these studies seek to document the intrinsic and extrinsic determinants of giving behaviour and explain how these will help fundraisers target potential donors more efficiently (most notably Sargeant 1999).

These disciplines have contributed to and framed our understanding of donor behaviour and the relationships people have with charities. Taken together, they indicate the complexity of people's charitable behaviour and motivations. The following sections review empirical evidence on these topics, from both

academic and nonprofit sector studies[4], in order to piece together current knowledge concerning what, how and why people give to charities.

2.4 WHAT DO PEOPLE GIVE?

It is important to consider charitable giving within the wider context of participation or engagement with society. Acting charitably is not limited to giving money and time but can encompass a whole host of activities including donating goods to and buying goods from charity shops; donating blood or organs; and campaigning or protesting for a charity or cause (Brodie et al. 2009). Within sector research, charitable activities have been subsumed under the umbrella term of participation, which also includes activities such as recycling, buying fair-trade goods and voting in elections. The focus on participation stems from worldwide political interest in documenting and encouraging civic engagement (Dunn et al. 2007; White 1996; Jochum et al. 2005). As with research in donor behaviour, studies in the field of participation often focus on one type of activity (i.e. voting, volunteering), often amongst a particular group (such as service volunteers or older people), leading Brodie et al. (2009) to call for a less fragmented view. These authors theorised participation under three categories:

- **Public participation**:   political, civic, or vertical participation – the engagement of individuals with the various structures and institutions of democracy, by voting in local or national elections; being a councillor; taking part in government consultations for example.

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[4] Sector studies include the annual national surveys by Charities Aid Foundation and National Centre for Voluntary Organisations on individual giving. For volunteering, sector research is focused on the Citizenship Survey which is carried out by the government in conjunction with the main volunteering associations in the UK. These sector surveys provide the most comprehensive data on giving levels in the UK.

- **Social participation**: civil, horizontal or community participation – the collective activities that individuals may be involved in as part of their everyday lives, such as being a member of a community group, tenants' association or trade union; participating in a demonstration/strike; or formal or informal volunteering.

- **Individual participation**: actions that individuals take as part of their daily life that are statements of the kind of society they want to live in. Examples here include choosing fair-trade goods; boycotting specific products; using green energy; donating money to charities; and signing petitions.

It should be noted that Brodie et al. (2009) intended these categories to be broad and fluid, acknowledging that many activities straddle boundaries between the different types of participation. Of particular interest for the study of donor behaviour are social participation (which seems to encompass volunteering) and individual participation (which can include monetary donations to causes and body part donation. Reflecting the most common forms of charitable giving (CAF/NCVO 2009), most academic and sector research - including large-scale national surveys conducted by CAF/NCVO (2009) and Low et al. (2007) - have focused on donations of money and time, and thus these two activities feature prominently in the following sections.

2.4.1 Donations of money

According to CAF/NCVO (2009), 54% of British people give money to charity in a typical month. Low et al. (2007) reported even higher rates: 81% of their respondents claimed to have given to charity in the past month, and 95% in the past year. Although many people give cash or small change on a one-off basis, financial donations can take many forms, including

- regular charitable giving arrangements (such as standing orders)
- giving money to beggars in the street

- making online or telephone donations in response to charity appeal or events (such as Children in Need or Disaster Emergency Relief advertisements)
- paying to go to a charity-related event
- sponsoring someone else taking part in a fundraising activity
- buying charity-related products such as charity ribbons, badges, wristbands, t-shirts or publications, or Fairtrade products
- buying goods from a charity shop or catalogue
- buying charity gifts, such as mosquito nets for a family in a Third World country.

2.4.2 Donations of time

Donations of time can also be made on a one-off basis or as part of a regular arrangement. There are some definitional problems here: traditionally, within the donor behaviour literature, volunteering has been viewed as unpaid work or activism but more recently volunteering is viewed as a leisure time activity, exemplified by the growth of "voluntourism", holidays which incorporate some humanitarian work, typically undertaken by gap year students. This is symptomatic of a broader "productisation" of volunteering opportunities (Evans & Saxton 2005).

Theorising the donation of time, Cnaan et al. (1996) define volunteering as an activity that is undertaken by choice and without obligation or remuneration; in a more or less organised context; and for the benefit of others. This definition is not without its critics. Hankinson and Rochester (2005) note for example that some volunteering may not be undertaken by choice (as in some community service schemes for school students) and that it may not be entirely unpaid, since expenses may be covered. For the purposes of this study, charitable donations of time incorporate:

- formal volunteering – volunteering for a charitable organisation on a regular basis
- informal volunteering – also known as community or occasional volunteering - which can involve helping out a neighbour
- preparing for and taking part in a sponsored event
- campaigning or protesting on behalf of a charity/cause
- encouraging others to donate to charity.

Participation rates are difficult to gauge and compare due to the many ways that one can volunteer and the different timeframes examined. Comparing the findings from different British studies is like comparing apples and oranges – both may be fruit, but they have quite distinct features and properties. Thus, Low et al. (2007) reported that 59% of the adult sample had engaged in formal volunteering in the past 12 months, whereas the rate found by Brennan (2008) for 3,000 people over the age of 16 was 19% in the past 3 months. Respondents were asked if they had given time in the last 3 months but categorisations of formal and informal volunteering were not made explicit. It is likely that the variance in estimates is due to the different reference periods and likely timing of the surveys. The Citizenship Survey (Kitchen et al. 2005) reported formal volunteer participation rates of 42% and 44% for 2003 and 2005 (over the past 12 months for the adult population).

Such variation is symptomatic of the difficulties in measuring giving behaviour. Even though these surveys all concern volunteering, the different samples and questions invalidate direct comparisons. Differences in reported participation rates may also be explained by changes in the environment. Between 2000 and 2010, for example, there have been many policy initiatives and state interventions to promote volunteering which may have affected estimates of the numbers of people who give time (Rochester 2006). Notable examples include the Year of the Volunteer 2005, the Volunteering for All programme, and the Goldstar Volunteering and mentoring programme.

2.4.3 Other charitable activities

Beyond giving time and money, individuals can engage in other charitable activities such as donating goods, but there is relatively little research on this subject. Anonymous donations of blood, skin, bone marrow and organs are often heralded as the ultimate act of humanity. In 2007/08, 19 million units of blood were donated along with 3,235 organs in the UK (NHS Blood and Transplant 2009). Literature in this area is sparse, dated, and based on American data, however. This may be because participation rates are typically lower than for other types of giving: only 6% of the UK population are active blood donors (Barkworth et al. 2002), compared with the 59% who give money and the 54% who give time (CAF/NCVO 2009; Low et al. 2007). There are also unique factors and challenges associated with blood donation compared to more conventional models of donor behaviour. With blood donation, the main aim is to increase the new donor base rather than encouraging existing donors to give more and more frequently, which is often the case with monetary donors or volunteers (Barkworth et al. 2002). There are also particularly complicated triggers and barriers in relation to blood or organ donation, including issues of health, time horizon, psychological risks, self-sacrifice and embodied mortality (Lai et al. 2006).

In sum, research on what people give centres around donations of time or money and to a lesser extent, giving other things such as goods, although state and voluntary sector researchers have increasingly extended definitions of charitable activities to incorporate civic engagement and participation in local communities. Academic understandings of what people give could also be broadened as there is little data on the range of charitable activities that people engage in. Furthermore, research has neglected people who engage in multiple charitable behaviours such as giving both time and money, and how this balance is negotiated at an individual level. This suggests the need to move research attention beyond single forms of participatory activity, to embrace the fluid and dynamic relationships between different activities.

2.5 HOW MUCH DO PEOPLE GIVE?

Estimating levels of giving is often problematic. As discussed later, many factors may affect reported levels of giving, and commentators such as Piper & Schnepf (2007) advise caution when interpreting giving statistics. The most reliable British sources are the Charities Aid Foundation and National Council for Voluntary Organisations (CAF/NCVO) *Individual Giving Survey* and government reports.

The average amount given per person in a typical month in the UK in 2008 was £18, with an average amount per donor of £33 (CAF/NCVO 2009). Studies consistently show that most donors give much smaller amounts: 11.3 million people (42% of donors) gave under £10 in a typical month (*ibid*). Whilst this is a significant number of donors, these donations comprise only 5% of the total amount given. Conversely, a small number of people typically account for a substantial proportion of donations. In 2008/09, 2 million people (7% of donors) gave more than £100 per month, but these higher-level donors generated almost half (49%) of the total amount given to charity (*ibid*). The proportion of funds provided by higher-level donors has increased since 2004, making many charities reliant on this group (*ibid*).

Turning to donations of time, most volunteering hours are often unrecorded and episodic. In considering how much people volunteer, a good starting point is the frequency of volunteering. Low et al.'s (2007) national survey of volunteering found that 59% of the sample had volunteered at some point in the past 12 months (Table 2.2). Of these volunteers, 66% were regular volunteers, who donated an average of 15.9 hours in the past four weeks, compared with 10.9 hours for all current volunteers. One should bear in mind the different reference periods for these two estimates, however, and again a range of methodological and extraneous factors may affect the reliability of volunteering level estimates.

Table 2.2: Frequency of formal volunteering in the past 12 months

	All %	Current volunteers %
Regular (once a month or more)	39	66
Quite often or just a few times	16	27
One-off activity only	4	7
No formal volunteering	41	n/a

Base (unweighted) – 2,155 for all volunteers and 1,371 for current volunteers.
Source: Low et al. (2007), Helping Out, Office for the Third Sector: UK. p.16.

A further issue to consider in how much people volunteer is the number of organisations for which people work. Low et al. (2007) found that 41% of volunteers volunteered for one organisation while a further 23% volunteered for two organisations. Some volunteers appear to be very active across a range of charities however: 30% of volunteers helped 3-5 organisations and 6% volunteered for 6 or more organisations, and Low et al. (2007) report that the figures for multiple volunteering have increased since a previous comparable survey in 1997.

2.6 HOW DO PEOPLE GIVE?

There is not an abundance of academic research on the methods by which people give, and studies in this area tend to be descriptive (for example, Jas 2002) or focus on one particular method (for example, CAF 2005; CAF 2006). They typically identify preferences and trends but do not examine why people prefer particular methods, or consider the personal or situational factors which may influence those preferences.

Figure 2.1: Donation of money in the last month by method
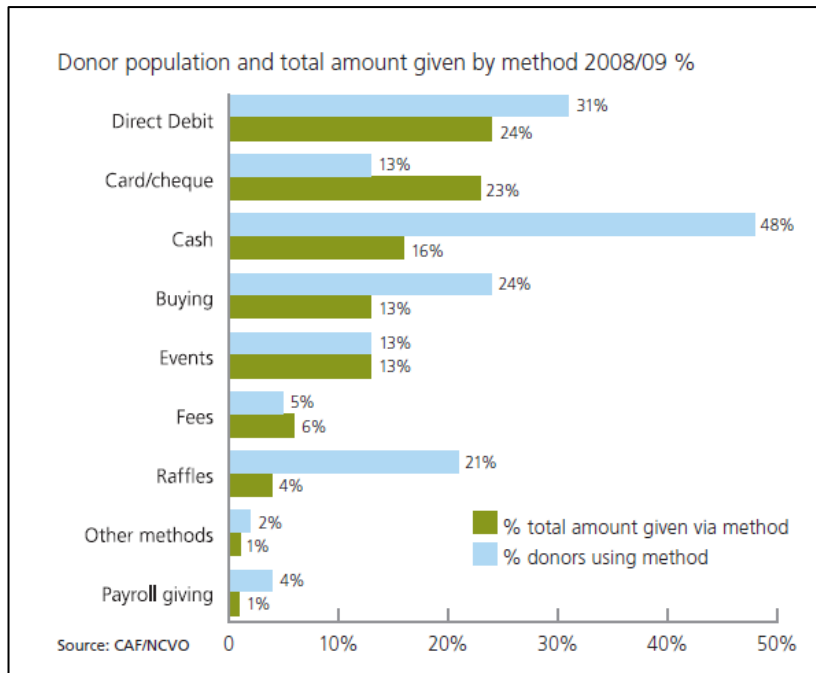
Source: CAF/NCVO (2009), UK Giving: UK. p.9.

As indicated in Figure 2.1, the most popular method of giving money in Britain is still cash in the form of spare change but this is in decline (CAF/NCVO 2009). Considering the proportion of the total amount given by the different methods, direct debit is the most important, followed by card/cheque and cash. Recent studies have documented the rise of regular methods of giving such as direct debit or payroll giving (*ibid*) and the decline of giving by envelope or tin collections (Saxton et al. 2007). It also seems that larger donations are being made through direct debit - the average donation through this method was £24 compared to £10 for cash donations.

Turning to donations of time, the national survey of volunteering conducted by Low et al. (2007) shows the breadth of activities undertaken by volunteers.

Table 2.3: Types of volunteering activity undertaken in the last 12 months

	All Volunteers %	Current Volunteers %
Raising, handling money	38	65
Organising, helping run an event	30	50
Committee member	17	28
Educating	14	25
Secretarial, administrative, clerical	12	21
Transporting	11	19
Representing	11	19
Visiting people	10	17
Giving advice, information, counselling	10	16
Befriending	9	15
Campaigning	9	14
Other practical help	21	35
Other help	8	14
No help given	41	N/A
Base (unweighted)	2,156	1,372

Source: Low et al. (2007), Helping Out, Office for the Third Sector: UK. p.29.

As indicated in Table 2.3, the main activities were found to be raising and handling money, followed by organising and running an event. The majority of volunteers (71%) engaged in more than one volunteering activity with over half (53%) reporting involvement in three or more. These patterns are similar to those reported in the 1997 national volunteering survey (Low et al. 2007).

2.7 WHERE DO PEOPLE GIVE?

How people give raises questions of where people give. Data on this topic are very sparse, which is surprising as pinpointing where people are most likely to give would greatly benefit fundraisers or volunteer recruiters. People typically donate money in schools/educational establishments, workplaces, at home and in the street. Studies examining giving in these different arenas

are few and far between. Breeze and Thornton (2005) however shed some light into how children donate in schools. In their study of 1,125 11-16 year-olds, they found that 76% of children had been involved in school fundraising. There is little comparable data for other arenas despite calls for research from writers such as Wright (2002) who highlights the potential of universities in particular in developing segments of the population into donors.

There is some research available on giving in the workplace, perhaps reflecting the growth of corporate philanthropy in recent years (Jas 2002). Furthermore, the use of payroll giving has continued to grow in popularity with over £83m being donated using this method in 2004/05 (CAF 2005). Low et al. (2007) found that 42% of employees reported using giving schemes that were available to them in the workplace. This has important implications for fundraisers, especially as charities seek to increase their reach. Despite individual giving surveys and the *Family Expenditure Survey* gathering data on individual and household giving respectively, the exploration of donor behaviour within different arenas (namely, the home and workplace) would benefit from further investigation.

Volunteering appears to be undertaken increasingly in places of work. Supported by government initiatives, businesses have been encouraged to implement employer-supported volunteering schemes (Bussell & Forbes 2002). Two types of workplace volunteer scheme are evident. *Employer-supported* volunteering tends to be employee-led, usually undertaken in the employee's own time, and unpaid. It is encouraged and supported by the employer, but not compulsory. *Employer-directed* involvement is employer-led, undertaken in work time, on projects chosen to match the organisation's needs, and typically used as a personal development tool. Both types of voluntary work became more widespread in the late 1990s (Hill 1999), with one survey estimating participation in the UK by some 15,000 organisations (Hussain 1999). Recent research suggests that where an employer-supported volunteering scheme is available, the uptake is favourable, with

29% reporting participating in such schemes in the past year (Low et al. 2007). There were no comparable statistics for employee-led volunteering. Over half of the employees surveyed in *Helping Out* (2007) said they would like to see a volunteering or giving scheme established by their employer, showing a willingness to engage with charities in the workplace. 16-34 year-olds were the age group most likely to want an employer-supported volunteering or giving scheme (66%). We might expect workplace schemes to be particularly attractive as companies try to demonstrate their corporate social responsibility credentials, but also in the personal development and enhancement of skills for individual employees. It is unsurprising then that the youngest age group expressed a desire to have such schemes so they can improve their skills, and get qualifications as a result of their participation (*National Survey of Volunteering* 1997).

2.8 WHO GIVES TO CHARITY?

Even though people of all ages give to charitable causes, research has consistently reported that the youngest adults (16-24 year-olds) are less likely to donate, and donate proportionately less, whilst older age groups are more likely to give (CAF/NCVO 2009; Hansard Society 2009; Low et al. 2007). Donors are also more likely to be female (Brennan & Saxton 2007; CAF/NCVO 2009; Clegg et al. 2008; Low et al. 2007). According to CAF/NCVO (2009), for example, 58% of women reported giving money in the past month compared to 49% of men, with this pattern consistent across all age groups. Men, however, claimed to give larger amounts than women (with the mean amount given in a month being £32 for men and £30 for women). As Figure 2.2 illustrates, however, this trend does not hold for each age group. For example, in the youngest age group women donate on average twice as much as men (£16 versus £7).

Figure 2.2: Average donation size (£), by demographic group
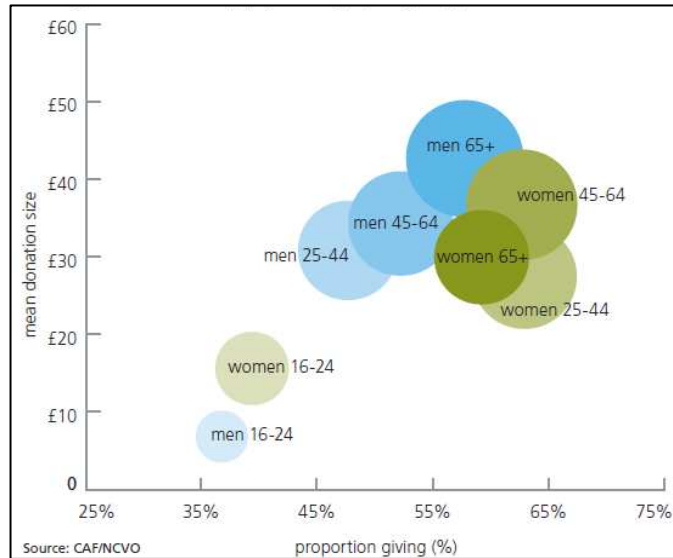
Source: CAF/NCVO (2009), UK Giving, UK. p.6.

Those with higher educational qualifications and in managerial and professional positions have a higher propensity to give (Clegg et al. 2008). Although there is a positive correlation with earnings and propensity to give, the amount donated by lower income households tends to represent a larger proportion of their income (Brennan & Saxton 2007; Taylor et al. 2007). Several studies report that people in ethnic minority groups are less likely to give compared with white people (Hansard Society 2009; Low et al. 2007). This may be due to samples taken from the population that under-represent ethnic minorities but Kitchen et al. (2006) found that a smaller proportion of Black and Asian respondents had given to charity in the last month, those of Black or Asian origin were the most likely to have donated at a place of worship pointing towards a relationship between ethnicity and religion.

Moving beyond demographic characteristics, those actively practising any religion appear to donate significantly higher amounts than those less active or non-religious (Low et al. 2007). Bennett (2003) also links donations to personal values, organisational values, materialism, individualism, and empathy. In general, it seems that religious, self-confident, satisfied,

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financially secure, intrinsically motivated, sociable, family-oriented, and politically aware individuals with a sense of physical and mental well-being donate more frequently and in larger quantities (Berkowitz 1972; Hall et al. 1998; Hall et al. 2001; Reed & Selbee 2000; Reykowski 1982).

2.8.1 The typical donor

According to Jay (2001), the typical donor within the charities sector is often labelled Dorothy Donor and characterised as white, over fifty-five, and single. She lives "comfortably" in the southeast of England, holds conservative political views, and enjoys reading and gardening. She communicates primarily through the mail and probably receives a lot of direct mail from charities, which she views as wasteful and increasingly annoying.

Although she has long been a common reference point within the nonprofit sector, fundraisers and commentators are now concerned that the changing demands and characteristics of donors have made Dorothy an obsolete ideal. In particular, drivers such as individualism, consumerism and self-expression are changing the way people relate to and evaluate charities (Low et al. 2007; Thake 2008).

With this increasing consumer sophistication, a new profile of donor is emerging. Handley (2009) speculates that Dorothy Donor will soon be replaced by Debbie, a younger and more demanding model who is more aware of environmental issues such as global warming and conservation (Brodie et al. 2009), more astute in her charitable giving choices and less loyal to one particular charity or cause (Bennett 2009). Debbie's profile is more varied but research indicates that single, childless women are particularly likely to give, as are all child-free households (Brennan & Saxton 2007). Handley (2009) suggests that "there are going to be more Debbies to recruit and engage than there ever were Dorothys".

2.8.2 The typical volunteer

Once again, the literature in this area tends to be very descriptive, focusing on demographic characteristics, although Denye (2005) compared the star signs of charity workers with those of the general population. Opportunities to volunteer formally are very wide-ranging and so the profile of volunteers varies by activity. Generally speaking, Britain's most active formal volunteers are those in middle-age and within the 35-64 age bracket (Communities and Local Government 2009; Low et al. 2007). It is important to highlight that young people (18-24 years-old) register relatively low volunteering figures despite their association with volunteering schemes such as the Duke of Edinburgh, gap years, and work experience. In fact, young people's participation has been decreasing for some time (Davis-Smith 1999; Evans & Saxton 2005; Low et al. 2007; Machin 2005). This may explain the many recent volunteer initiatives, such as *G-Nation* and the *National Year of Volunteers*, which seek to attract and recruit young people in particular (Rochester 2006).

Gender differences are also apparent, as are factors related to occupation. Women are significantly more likely to volunteer than men (Low et al. 2007) with mothers especially likely to volunteer (Rotolo & Wilson 2007). Writers have suggested that women may be more inclined to volunteer because of their caring nature whereas men are more likely to volunteer based on their motivations to utilise skills acquired but as yet there is little substantial evidence to support this (Wuthnow 1996; Wymer and Samu 2002). Volunteers are considered to be typically women, of higher social grades, in managerial positions, and degree educated (Brodie et al. 2009). It should be noted however that this may vary across volunteering organisations and activities, relating to the earlier point of differing motivations. Thus, men are more likely to volunteer for sport-related organisations, while women are more likely to volunteer in education-related institutions and health/disability organisations (Low et al. 2007).

This supports earlier research that revealed the typical charity volunteer to be between the ages of 35 and 45, in full time employment, often a professional, and is of high socio-economic status (Davis-Smith 1991; Horne & Broadbridge 1994). In Horne & Broadbridge's (1994) study of volunteers for one charity shop chain, they found that 98% of respondents were female, with the majority aged 55-64 (and very similar to Dorothy Donor). Whithear (1999) found similar results in that the typical charity worker in this study was "white, mature and probably middle class" (p.110). However, volunteers may be increasingly less likely to resemble Dorothy Donor, since the limited research on this topic suggests that the profile of the typical volunteer is shifting towards younger people who engage with volunteering on a more flexible and irregular basis (Rochester 2006).

2.8.3 The typical blood donor

Documenting people who engage in charitable behaviour other than giving time and money is much harder since the literature is sparse in this area. Research on donating body parts (i.e. organs, skin, bone marrow, and other body parts – whether living or deceased) is particularly limited. Pessemier et al.'s (1977) investigation of people's willingness to donate body parts found this was positively related to education, income, being a woman, charitable feelings, family values, liberal ideas, opinion leadership and religiousness. Willingness to donate appears to be negatively related to age and monetary incentives, though (Morgan et al. 1977; Murray & Barnes 1968; Osterle 1974; Rosenthal & Rosnow 1975; Simmons et al. 1972). Research aimed at profiling blood/body part donors and non-donors in terms of demographic characteristics, personality traits, attitudes and motivations have largely proved inconclusive (Analeeb & Basu 1995; Burnett 1981; Grace 1957; Miller & Weikel 1975). For example, variables such as sex, age, occupation, education, martial status, humanitarianism, and altruism have been related to such behaviour (e.g. Bartel et al. 1975; Bettinghaus & Milkovich 1975;

Condie & Maxwell 1970; Hook & West 1967; London & Hemphill 1965; Miller & Schmidt 1969; Oborne 1974; Oborne & Bradley 1975; Oswalt & Hoff 1975), but these findings have not always been in the same direction or of the same strength (Oborne & Bradley 1975; Oswalt 1977). Again, as noted by Oswalt (1977), these studies are difficult to compare because they have been conducted with different methods, different populations and sampling techniques and different variable measurements. Aside from methodological issues, relatively few studies measure actual donation. Usually, attitudes towards donation are measured as a proxy.

The limited empirical evidence on this topic suggests that blood donors tend "to be male, married with children, have rare blood types and low self-esteem, to be a low risk taker, very concerned with health, better educated, religious and quite conservative" (Burnett 1981:65). Reid & Wood (2008) used the theory of planned behaviour to examine people with high or low intentions to donate blood. Those in the higher intender group tended to be younger, (between 20-49 years of age) female, with university degrees, higher incomes and professional occupations. Couples with dependent children were also more likely to be in the higher intender group.

2.8.4 Overview of donor characteristics

Prior research on the characteristics of donors are summarised below, with Table 2.4 focusing on those who give money and Table 2.5 on those who give time.

Although profiling the typical donor has preoccupied many researchers, apart from a few stable demographic variables (such as age, income, education, occupation), many studies have yielded inconclusive and/or inconsistent results. This is perhaps not surprising given the methodological issues alluded to earlier. Furthermore, it should be noted that outwith the national sector surveys in the UK, many (academic) studies are based on American

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data. Research on giving in Australia and other parts of Europe is increasing but it is difficult to discern a national, let alone international, picture of giving. Where possible this review has considered UK-based studies on donor behaviour (these are shaded green in Tables 2.4 and 2.5).

Within the donor behaviour literature, most studies focus on identifying the personal (usually demographic) characteristics influencing the propensity to give and the amount given. They are overwhelmingly survey-based and some make use of models to predict donor behaviour. There has been relatively little emphasis on the relationships between variables or on how and why certain variables may affect giving. Research into giving behaviour in the home is underdeveloped. For example, how marital status or the presence of children affect individual and household giving has not been explored fully. One may also expect that factors such as income, wealth, and home ownership may be related to life stage, yet there appears to have been little attempt in the literature to place giving in the wider context of peoples' lives and experiences.

As with donating money, research on volunteering is still emerging and there is still much to understand about the nature of volunteering. Academic interest into volunteering as a form of consumption (Wymer & Samu 2002) has grown in recent years, especially within the marketing discipline. This suggests that general consumer behaviour concepts can assist in the understanding of inclinations, motivations and experiences in relation to charitable behaviour. The investigation of volunteering as a type of symbolic consumption concerns how volunteering may shape an individual's identities and values through giving time. Wymer and Samu (2002) posit that symbolic consumption serves four functions which can be applied to volunteering motivations: emblematic, role acquisition, connectedness and expressiveness.

Volunteering research has been more international in its scope and has traditionally been more exclusive in terms of sample populations. Research is generally conducted within specific groups, such as charity shop volunteers (Horne & Broadbridge 1994; Whithear 1999) or within specific organisations, such as hospices (Davis Smith 2004; MacNeela 2008).

Table 2.4: Summary of research on characteristics of those giving money

Factor	Effect on whether or not the individual gives money to charity	Effect on how much money individuals give to charity
Gender	Women were more likely to donate *(Braus 1994; CAF/NCVO 2009; Hodgkinson & Weitzman 1992, 1994, 1996; Kirsch et al. 1999; Low et al. 2007; Passey et al. 2000; Rajan et al. 2009; Saxton et al. 2007; Walker et al. 2002)* Single females more likely to give than single males *(Brennan & Saxton 2007; Capek 2005; Piper & Schnepf 2007)* Married females more likely to give than married males *(Piper & Schnepf 2008* Men are more altruistic when giving is cheaper *(Andreoni & Vesterlund 2001)*	Men gave more *(Braus 1994; CAF/NCVO 2009)* Women gave more *(Low et al. 2007; Piper & Schnepf 2007; Walker et al. 2002)* Single females gave more than single males *(Brennan & Saxton 2007; Capek 2005; Mesch et al. 2006; Piper & Schnepf 2007)* Married women gave more than married men *(Piper & Schnepf 2007)*
Age	Likelihood of giving increases with age *(Bennett 2003; Hodgkinson & Weitzman 1990; Rajan et al. 2009;)* Over 25s are more likely to give than under 25s *(CAF/NCVO 2009)* 16-24 year-olds are the least likely to give, 45-64 year-olds the most likely *(CAF/NCVO 2008)* 16-24 year-olds are the least likely to give, 35-44 year-olds the most likely *(Low et al. 2007)*	The amount given increases with age *(Hodgkinson & Weitzman 1990)* 16-24 year-olds gave the lowest donations, 55-64 year-olds gave the most *(Low et al. 2007)*

Table 2.4 (continued): Summary of research on characteristics of those giving money

Age of household head	Increasing the age of the head by 10 years raises the probability of giving by 3% *(Banks & Tanner 1997)*	Increasing the age of the head by 10 years increases the level of donations by over 30% *(Banks & Tanner 1997)*
Household composition	Both a higher proportion of females in the household and the presence of children raise the participation in giving – in the case of children, by 3% *(Banks & Tanner 1997)* Those with children are more likely to donate – especially to children's welfare charities *(Saxton et al. 2007)* Child-free households are more likely to give than households with children *(Brennan & Saxton 2007)* Households with multiple adults (shared flats) are amongst the groups most likely to give *(Brennan & Saxton 2007).*	The level of donations rises with the proportion of females in the household but the presence of children makes no significant difference *(Pharoah & Tanner 1997)* Households with children given less than child-free households *(Brennan & Saxton 2007)*
Education	A-levels raise the probability of participation by 5% College/university education raises it by 11% *(Pharoah & Tanner 1997)* Higher education increases the likelihood of donation *(Bennett 2003;* Drollinger 1998; Rajan et al. 2009; Yen 2002)*	A-levels raise the level of donations by nearly 40% *(Pharoah & Tanner 1997)* College/university education raises it by nearly 80% *(Pharoah & Tanner 1997)* Higher education increases the amount donated *(Yen 2002)*

Table 2.4 (continued): Summary of research on characteristics of those giving money

Employment status	Being self-employed reduces the probability of giving by 11%. Being out of work reduces it by 7% *(Pharoah & Tanner 1997)* Those who are employed or self-employed are the most likely to give Those not employed (due to illness) and unemployed people and students are the least likely to give *(Low et al. 2007)*	Those not in work are likely to give 20% more than where the head of the household is employed or self-employed *(Banks & Tanner 1997)* Those who are retired or self-employed give more than other groups Those not employed (due to illness) and unemployed people and students gave the least *(Low et al. 2007)*
Occupation	Those working in managerial and professional occupations are more likely to donate than those working in lower paid routine and manual occupations *(CAF/NCVO 2008)*	
Social class	People belonging to higher social grades are more likely to donate *(Donations Foresight 2002)*	Those in social class AB gave more than people in social class DE *(Passey et al. 2000)*
Seasonality	Probability of giving is higher in the second and fourth quarters *(Pharoah & Tanner 1997)*	Higher level of donations in the last quarter of the year *(Pharoah & Tanner 1997)*
Generational cohorts	Younger people (18-22 year-olds) are less inclined to give than older generations *(Pharoah & Tanner 1997)*	Younger people (18-22 year olds) give less than older generations *(Pharoah & Tanner 1997)*

Table 2.4 (continued): Summary of research on characteristics of those giving money

Ethnicity	White people are more likely to give than Asian and Black people *(Low et al. 2007)* Asian and white Americans are generally more likely to make a donation than their black and Hispanic counterparts *(Mintel US 2009)*	Black and Asian people gave more than White people *(Low et al. 2007)* Asian and white Americans generally give more than Black and Hispanic counterparts, mainly because they have higher median household incomes *(Mintel US 2009)*
Country of birth	Immigrants have a lower likelihood of giving *(Hodgkinson & Weitzman 1990, 1994, 1996; Kirsch et al. 1999; Toppe et al. 2002)*	Immigrants donate less *(Hodgkinson & Weitzman 1990, 1994, 1996; Kirsch et al. 1999; Toppe et al. 2002)*
Marital status	Married individuals have higher likelihood of being donors than single, divorced or widowed individuals *(Hall et al. 1998, 2001)* Couples (heterosexual or homosexual) are more likely to give than single people *(Brennan & Saxton 2007; Saxton et al. 2007)* Those who are divorced/separated are most likely to donate *(Saxton et al. 2007)* Spouse's incomes did not affect giving (*Hughes & Luksetich 2007*).	Widows give higher amounts than those with other marital statuses *(Hall et al. 1998, 2001)* Married or cohabiting people gave more than singles *(Mesch et al. 2006; Piper & Schnepf 2008)*

Table 2.4 (continued): Summary of research on characteristics of those giving money

Religiosity and values	Decrease in level of religiosity is associated with decrease in likelihood of being a donor *(Ragan et al. 2009)* Regular worshippers more likely to donate *(Saxton et al. 2007; Drollinger 1998)* Christians were more likely to give than Muslims or Hindus *(Low et al. 2007)* Those who are actively religious are more likely to give than those who were religious and inactive *(Low et al. 2007)*	Muslims gave more than Christians and Hindus *(Low et al. 2007)* Those who are actively religious gave more than those who stated no religious affiliations *(Low et al. 2007)*
Geographic region	Those people who live in the West Midlands and North East are more likely to give than other regions Those who live in London were least likely to give *(Low et al. 2007)*	Those people who live in London and the South East gave the more than other regions Those who live in the North East and Yorkshire and the Humber gave the least *(Low et al. 2007)*
Volunteers	Those who volunteer are more likely to donate than non-volunteers *(Saxton et al. 2007; Rajan et al. 2009)*	

Table 2.4 (continued): Summary of research on characteristics of those giving money

Civic engagement	Those who are involved in their communities are more likely to give than those who are not involved *(Saxton et al. 2007)* People who say that they know most of their neighbours by name are more likely to give than those who do not know their neighbours by name *(Saxton et al. 2007)*	

Table 2.5: Summary of research on characteristics of those giving time

Factor	Effect on whether or not the individual gives time to charity	Effect on how much time individuals give to charity
Gender	Women are more likely to volunteer than men *(Brennan 2008; Cnaan et al. 1996; Davis-Smith 1999; DiMaggio & Louch 1997; Gillespie & King 1985; Kirsch et al. 1999; Locke 2007; Low et al. 2007; Kaminski 1996; Rochester 2006; Weitzman 1990; Wilson & Musick 1997)* Political volunteers are more likely to be male *(Riecken et al. 1994)* No significant differences in 10 European countries *(Gaskin & Smith 1997)*	Women volunteer more hours than men *(Taniguich 2006)*

Table 2.5 (continued): Summary of research on characteristics of those giving time

Age	Those aged 34-44 and 55-64 are most likely to volunteer when compared to other age groups *(Low et al. 2007)* Volunteers tended to be older than non-volunteers *(Handy & Greenspan 2009)* 35-44 year-olds are most involved in occasional or one-off activities than younger counterparts *(Low et al. 2007)* 16-24 and 55-64 year-olds were the groups least likely to volunteer *(Brennan 2008)* 45-54 and 65+ year-olds were the groups most likely to volunteer *(Brennan 2008)*	Older volunteers donated more time than younger volunteers *(Low et al. 2007)* 16-24 and 55-64 year-olds are more likely to be regular volunteers *(Locke 2007)*
Socio-economic factors	Those in the ABC1 social grade were more likely to volunteer than those in C2DE *(Brennan 2007)* Using the ACORN classification system, Affluent Greys, Rural Communities were groups most likely to volunteer followed by Wealthy Achievers and Suburban Areas. Council Estate Residents, High Unemployment and People in Multi-Ethnic Low Income Areas were the groups least likely to volunteer *(Rochester 2006)*	

Table 2.5 (continued): Summary of research on characteristics of those giving time

Marital status	Married people were more likely to volunteer than single people *(Rotolo 2000; Wright-Hyman 1958)*	Married people volunteer more hours than single people *(Rossi 2001)*
Household composition	Mothers of school-age children are the most likely to volunteer, followed by childless women and mothers of young children *(Rotolo & Wilson 2007)* People with children were more likely to volunteer than those without *(Caputo 2009; Park & Smith 2000; Rossi 2001)* People with two or more children are more likely to be community workers than members of general population *(Denye 2005)*	
Education	Those with fewer qualifications were less likely to be involved in all kinds of volunteering *(Rochester 2006)* Volunteers tended to have higher educational attainments than non-volunteers *(Handy & Greenspan 2009)*	

Table 2.5 (continued): Summary of research on characteristics of those giving time

Employment status	Housewives are more likely to volunteer than full-time workers, then part-time workers *(Rotolo & Wilson 2007)* Those working part-time were more likely to be volunteers than those not working or working full-time *(Davis Smith 1999)* Those who were in employment were more likely to volunteer than those who were not *(Low et al. 2007)* Women working part-time (by choice) were more likely to volunteer than homemakers *(Putnam 2000)* Elders and retired people are more likely to volunteer than working people *(Okun 1994; Wilson & Musick 1997)* Little difference between employed and unemployed women as long as they had no children *(Anderson et al. 2007)* People looking after the home volunteered more than people who were sick or disabled *(Low et al. 2007)* People with long-term illnesses were less likely to volunteer than those with none *(Rochester 2006)*	Homemakers volunteered more hours than all employed women *(Rotolo & Wilson 2007)* Those who hold second jobs spent more time volunteering than those with one job *(Freeman 1997; Wilson & Musick 1997)* Professionals and managers volunteered more than other workers *(Wilson & Musick 1997)*
Geographic region	Those living in the South West and South East were more likely to volunteer than those in the North East and Yorkshire and Humberside *(Rochester 2006)*	

Table 2.5 (continued): Summary of research on characteristics of those giving time

Ethnic origin	White people are more likely to volunteer than those from minority ethnic groups *(Rochester 2006)* Volunteering rates are not significantly different between ethnic groups *(Low et al. 2007)*	White people were more likely to be regular volunteers (40%), compared with black (36%) and Asian people (29%) *(Low et al. 2007)*
Donors	Donors were more likely to volunteer than non-donors (21% vs 11%) *(Brennan 2008)*	Non-donors volunteered more days than donors *(Brennan 2008)*
Religiosity	Those practising a religion were more likely to volunteer *(Low et al. 2007)* People who were active in their faith were more likely to volunteer than people of no religion and non-active religious people *(Low et al. 2007)* Worshippers were more likely to volunteer than non-worshippers (29% vs 15%) *(Brennan 2008)* Christians and Hindus were more likely to be volunteers than Muslims *(Low et al. 2007)*	Worshippers volunteered more days than non-worshippers *(Brennan 2008)*

2.9 TO WHAT CAUSES DO PEOPLE GIVE?

2.9.1 Preferred causes for financial donations

In the UK, medical research is by far the most popular cause in terms of number of donors and this has remained relatively stable in the period 2005-2008 (CAF/NCVO 2008). In terms of the amounts given in the last month, however, there is greater variation in the causes that people donate to, as shown in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: Mean and median monthly donations, by cause (2008/09)
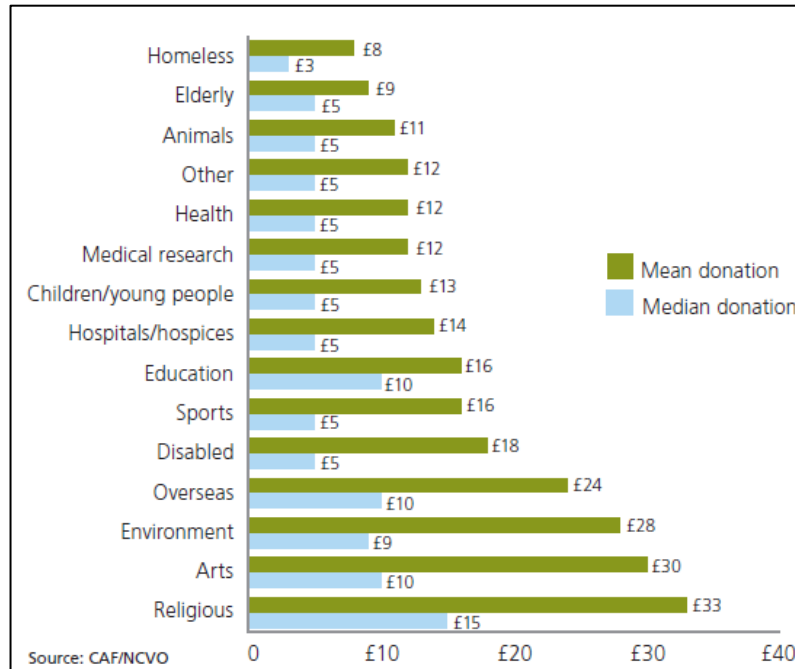
Source: CAF/NCVO (2009), UK Giving: UK. p.8.

The causes that people prefer to give money to can fluctuate considerably, with environmental factors such as economic conditions, marketing campaigns and natural disasters, likely to play an important part. It should also be noted that cause preference does not necessarily predicate actual donation to favoured causes. This may be due to situational influences in

giving situations but little is known about the relationship between cause preference and actual donor behaviour.

The top three causes for UK donors are unchanged in recent years despite the economic recession. They are still medical research, hospitals and hospices, and children and young people (CAF/NCVO 2009). There is not an abundance of research explaining cause preference but some interesting findings have emerged. Higher level donors have been shown to favour religious, educational and arts organisations, but are least likely to support charities for the elderly, animals and medical research (CAF/NCVO 2009). Although the study does not offer an explanation for this, it may be that higher-level giving is closely connected to donors' social networks, as alumni of educational institutions or as regular audiences for arts and culture events for example. In contrast, Reed (1998) found that high income people were least likely to support homelessness and children's charities but most likely to give to the third world and environmental causes. The reverse was true of the poorest donors. These contradictory results are indicative of the inconsistencies in reported cause preferences of donors.

Cause preference may also be considered in terms of locality. In her comparison of UK and US giving, Wright (2002) found a strong preference for American donors to donate to local charities (and even national charities). The inclination for charity to begin at home was not found in the UK where charitable giving is more international and seems to transcend national boundaries. This is supported by a recent Mintel report (2009) which found that 56% of Americans preferred giving to local causes.

Age may seem to be an obvious factor in determining cause preference but there is little empirical evidence to support this. Mintel (2009) found that 18-24 year-olds were more likely to state that they had no cause preferences. This may be because many people in this age bracket have not been donating for long enough to have developed a salient preference. Despite the

lack of data on cause preference, examining actual donations to causes may reveal indirectly age differences in cause preference. Table 2.6 is composed from data from Low et al. (2007) to examine the three most popular and least popular causes that people had donated to in the last 12 months.

Table 2.6: Three most popular and least popular causes by age group

	16-24 year-olds	25-34 year-olds	35-44 year-olds	45-54 year-olds
Most popular causes	Medical research Overseas aid Religion	Medical research Overseas aid Education	Medical research Education Overseas aid	Medical research Overseas aid Hospitals/hospices
Least popular causes	Hobbies Environment Arts, museums	Hobbies Sports Environment	Hobbies Sports Environment	Hobbies Sports Environment

Source: Data taken from Low et al (2007), *Helping Out*: Office for the Third Sector, p.83 on the donations made by respondents in the last 12 months.

Table 2.6 indicates a consistent preference for certain causes as based on actual donations, which seem fairly stable as adults mature. Little is known, however, about the preferences of young adults as they move through adulthood, although Bennett (2003) found that interest in health issues increased with age. This was related to greater preference for medical and health-related charities later in life. The three least popular causes seem fairly consistent too but this may be a result of the limited opportunities to give to charities related to hobbies and recreation.

Turning to gender differences, Piper and Schnepf (2007) found that the percentage of female donors was significantly higher than that of male donors for almost all causes, especially for animal welfare charities, and to a lesser extent for charities supporting children, the elderly, education and schools. Smaller gender differences were evident for charities related to the environment, religious organisations and mental health however. Women also appear on average to give to more causes, but since they distribute their donations more widely, the value of their gifts to individual organisations

tends to be smaller (Piper & Schnepf 2007). The reasons for such gender differences have received little research attention, although a better understanding of these patterns would benefit charities tailoring campaigns towards certain groups.

The proportion of donors appears to be very similar between single people and married/cohabiting people for most causes, with the gender differences discussed above evident in both single and married/cohabiting populations (Piper & Schnepf 2007). A person's personal circumstances may influence his or her choice of charitable cause in various ways, however. We might also expect the pattern of giving to schools or children's charities to change once a person has children, and that older people's increasing involvement with health services may encourage them to donate to medical research or healthcare charities (as reported by Bennett 2003). Andreoni et al. (2003) found that in married households, giving tends to follow the husband's preferences. When the wife was the decision-maker, however, she tended to distribute donations over more charities, giving less to each. There is certainly scope for further research into how different life stages affects giving (and cause preference), particularly in times of transition such as moving out of the parental home and entering further and higher education, starting work, getting married, having children, and retiring. How giving is negotiated between couples and possibly children within a household is another area which could benefit from further investigation.

2.9.2 Preferred causes for volunteering

A different set of preferences emerge when donations of time are considered. Low et al. (2007) found that the most popular types of organisations were related to education (31%), religion (24%), sports and exercise (22%) and health and disability (22%). Most volunteers (59%) helped more than one organisation and over a third (36%) helped three or more organisations.

Hodgkinson (2003) used a different categorisation of causes in his global study of cause preference, as presented in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7: Preferred causes for volunteering: international comparisons

Country	All	Social Welfare	Religion	Environment	Sport
USA	66	36	37	8	8
Sweden	54	15	23	4	17
Canada	47	21	18	4	13
Britain	43	33	6	8	4
Finland	37	14	7	2	13
Denmark	33	9	3	2	14
Belgium	32	12	6	3	8
Iceland	32	13	5	1	11
Netherlands	31	12	11	N/A	N/A

Source: Rochester, C. (2006) *Making Sense of Volunteering*, The Commission on the Future of Volunteering: UK. p.12

Their study suggests that social welfare organisations attracted most volunteers in Britain, by some significant margin compared to religious, environmental and sport organisations. This bias towards social welfare was only shared by the USA and to a lesser extent Canada.

Thus far, many aspects of donor behaviour have been reviewed, but one of the biggest areas in this field of literature concerns why people give. This requires investigating the triggers and motivations for giving, as well as barriers to giving, and these issues are considered next.

2.10 WHY DO PEOPLE GIVE?

2.10.1 *Motivations for giving money*

Although motivations for giving money to charity have been examined by many researchers, there is no agreed theoretical framework for donating. Sargeant (1999) synthesised literature on donor behaviour to propose a

model of charitable giving containing various following intrinsic and extrinsic determinants, as shown in Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4: Sargeant's model of individual charity giving behaviour

```
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │  EXTRINSIC DETERMINANTS  │
                    │       Age/gender         │
                    │        Religion          │
                    │    Social class/norms    │
                    │        Income            │
                    │   Geodemographic code    │
                    └─────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────┐    ┌─────────────────────┐    ┌──────────────┐    ┌──────────────┐
│   INPUTS     │    │ PERCEPTUAL REACTION │    │  PROCESSING  │    │   OUTPUTS    │
│   Charity    │    │      Portrayal      │    │ DETERMINANTS │    │ Gifts of cash│
│appeals/brands│    │    Fit with self    │    │Past experience│   │ Gifts of time│
│ Facts/images │    │ Strength of stimulus│    │  Judgemental │    │ Gifts of kind│
│  Mode of ask │    │   Perceptual noise  │    │   criteria   │    │  Size of gift│
└──────────────┘    └─────────────────────┘    └──────────────┘    │   Loyalty    │
                                                                    └──────────────┘
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │  INTRINSIC DETERMINANTS  │
                    │   Need for self-esteem   │
                    │         Guilt            │
                    │          Pity            │
                    │      Social justice      │
                    │        Empathy           │
                    │          Fear            │
                    │        Sympathy          │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
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Source: Sargeant, A. (1999) Charitable giving: Towards a model of donor behaviour, *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 15, pp.215-238

The model in general provides a framework for which the decision-making process for making donations can be considered. It allows for the inclusion of both intrinsic and extrinsic determinants to giving and an elaboration of the process for potential donors. Especially with regards to the extrinsic determinants within the model, some of these factors have been found to predict charitable giving to an extent, as specified above. For example, age and gender are relatively stable in terms of predicting donor behaviour but it is not entirely clear whether they can be considered as *motivating* factors in their own right. Does simply being female act as a motivation to give?

Various authors refer to intrinsic motivations for giving such as the need to enhance self-esteem, reap public gratification, gain personal satisfaction and fulfilment (Bruce 1994; Grace and Griffith 2009; Guy & Patton 1989; Hibbert & Horne 1996).

A number of studies have focused on psychological and social drivers of the decision to give. For example, Schwartz (1967) argues that giving is a way for individuals to 'atone for sins', though not necessarily in a religious sense; an individual may believe that giving to charity will counterbalance any prior misconduct or misdemeanours.

An additional area of research has focused on the influence of individuals' attitudes towards charities and giving on decisions to donate (Sargeant 1999). Attitudes to giving are accepted as strongly grounded in personal values and norms. There is also some evidence to suggest that they are related to demographic variables such as age, gender and income (Walker 2002), which have in turn been found to affect the giving decision. Knowledge about a charity or cause and past experience with it are also considered to affect decisions (Hall & Febrarro 1998; Mount 1996; Walker 2002).

The contribution of image congruence and identity theories may suggest further motivations for giving. People may give to a particular charity/cause to fit in with their own self-image or desired self-image. There is strong evidence to suggest that being a blood donor becomes an important aspect of one's self-identity, for example (Piliavin & Callero 1991; Hupfer et al. 2005; Beerli-Palacio & Martin-Santana 2009).

People also seem more likely to give to groups with which they identify or perceive as being similar to themselves (Sargeant 2002). Schwartz (1967) also claimed that social norms about giving, in society more generally and within an individual's social network, can affect whether and how much

people may contribute. Similarly, Macaulay (1970) suggests that seeing other people give influences an individual's behaviour. Based on data from the UK individual giving surveys, Piper and Schnepf (2007) argue that in the case of marriage, the giving behaviour of the couple converges as each partner is exposed to new social norms. This may be because spouses are likely to have similar background characteristics but further research is required to explore how social norms and roles within the household may affect giving.

Sector and government data suggests a multitude of motivations for giving, related to psychological, personal, social and situational factors (Radley & Kennedy 1995). As Figure 2.5 indicates, Low et al. (2007) report that the two most common reasons for people donating money to charities were that they felt the work of the charity/cause was important (52%) and that it was the right thing to do (41%). This would suggest that motivations were related to a responsibility to give and concern about the charity/causes.

Figure 2.5: Reasons for donating in the last four weeks
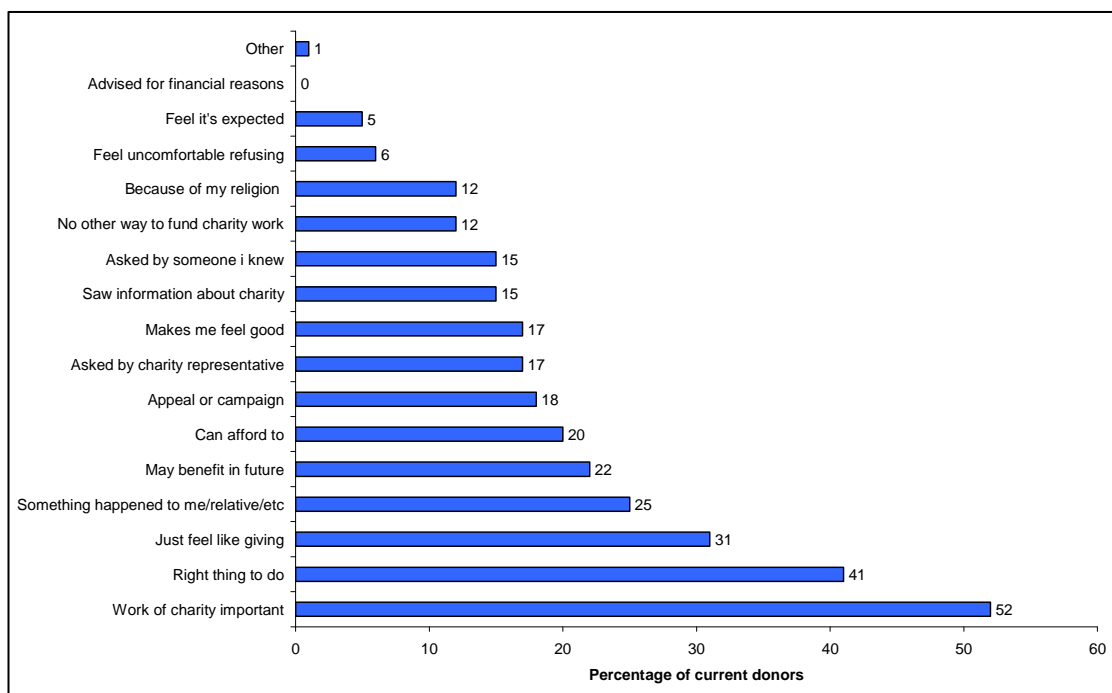
Base: n=1,765
Source: Low et al. (2007), *Helping Out*: Office for the Third Sector, p.96

A smaller proportion offered more personal reasons, such as something that had happened to them or someone they knew (25%) or because it may benefit them in the future (22%). Personal rewards from giving have also been shown to be motivators in the decision to give, as people seek economic, social and emotional benefits (Hibbert & Farsides 2005). Economic benefits are mainly derived from potential tax advantages to giving and the potential enhancement of one's skills and/or career prospects through giving. Social benefits mainly concern the recognition gained from giving, particularly where giving is in a social environment. The emotional benefits can be either positive – in feeling good after donating – or the avoidance of negative feelings like guilt or embarrassment.

It is also worth highlighting that 17% of Low et al.'s (2007) respondents stated that giving to charity made them feel good. It has long been claimed that giving to charity induces a 'warm fuzzy feeling' for the donor but quantifying or measuring this is extremely difficult due to the subconscious and subjective nature of estimating happiness and isolating the effect of the act of giving. However, Dunn et al. (2008) found that people who spent money on others (i.e. giving to charity) were happier than those who spent money on themselves, regardless of how much they had given. Their survey found that higher prosocial spending (i.e. donations) was associated with significantly greater happiness; even giving amounts as little as $5 was enough to produce "nontrivial gains in happiness" (p.1688).

In looking at whether motivations were influenced by demographic factors, Low et al. (2007) found that reasons for giving varied by age. Donors aged 25-34 were the most likely to say they gave because it made them feel good, while those aged 16-24 were the least likely to say they gave because of a media appeal or receiving information from a charity. The proportion of donors saying that they donated because the work of the charity was important increased significantly with age. This may point to awareness of societal issues increasing with life experience. The reasons for donating did not vary significantly with gender or income. However, Braus (1994) found

that women tended to view charity appeals containing caring values and 'responsibility to others' as being more persuasive, whereas men favoured justice-oriented themes and the idea of helping oneself. This may suggest gender differences in Batson's (1994) motivations for giving. However the literature is remarkably silent on how such factors may influence financial donations.

Reasons such as 'saw information from charity', 'appeal or campaign', 'asked by someone I knew' and 'asked by a charity representative' appeared to trigger donations. This suggests that marketing interventions do help in eliciting funds. Word-of-mouth communications, in the form of requests by friends and family, seem to be important. The influence of significant others in the decision to give supports Walker's (2002) argument that potential donors' decision-making will take into account "others' wishes, desires, hopes and feelings, either consciously or subconsciously".

Changes in personal circumstances are also considered to be important triggers to giving and generally the most common reason for increasing donations was found to be an increase in disposable income (41%) (Low et al. 2007). A third of respondents in this study who claimed to have increased their donations said that they did so because they felt that they should be giving more. A further 24% said that they increased donations as a result of other changes in personal circumstances (this may be changes to work or living arrangements, health or marital status).

Other triggers include events that have happened to donors themselves, or to close friends or relatives. Saxon-Harrold et al. (1987) found 70% of respondents claimed that illness of friends or relatives had encouraged them to give.

For charity workers, a further consideration is how to maintain giving from donors. Much of the literature on this is situated within the marketing discipline, particularly on relationship marketing. Although there are

numerous studies (Worth 2002, Merchant et al. 2010) that detail how charities can or should maintain communications with their donors, there is little discussion of the reasons why donors continue to give. Extant research tends to focus on donor acquisition rather than the continuation of the giving process (see for example Sargeant & Woodliffe 2007; Bendapudi et al. 1996; Bennett & Sargeant 2005). There is however some empirical research on why people stop giving.

Sargeant and Jay's (2004) study of lapsed donors found that the primary reason for lapse was a lack of financial resources, followed by the donor switching their support to another charity and thirdly, donors continuing to support the charity, but not in monetary ways.

The second reason is particularly interesting in that it points to the break-up of relationship between the donor and the charity. A typical charity will lose between 40-50% of its new cash donors within a year of the initial donation and about 30% of their donors year-on-year thereafter (Sargeant 2001). This has clear implications for charity marketers especially since donor acquisition is notoriously expensive relative to donor retention (Aldrich 2000). Sargeant (2001) found the most important reasons for lapse were no longer being able to afford donations (54%), feeling other causes were more deserving (35%) and death or relocation (16%). Almost one in ten had simply forgotten that they had supported the charity, but other reasons for donor defection pointed to service quality issues, such as the charity failing to acknowledge donor support (13%), failing to tell them how their money was used (8%) or why they still needed support (6%), or asking for inappropriate sums (4%). Similarly, qualitative research into the experiences of lapsed donors (Nathan & Hallam 2009) found that perceptions of charities as lacking in understanding or respect (for example by breaking promises or not paying attention to donors) were important.

Donors may also switch their giving to a rival charity or cause. Bennett (2009) identified eight potential factors influencing this:

1. Dissatisfaction with the abandoned charity's management or efficiency
2. Communication issues – such as dissatisfaction with the current charity's communications or more appealing communications from an alternative charity
3. Image congruence of each charity - the desire to use the affiliation with a charity to enhance one's self-identity to self and others
4. Personal involvement with the first charity may deter donors from switching
5. Over-familiarity - repetitive or excessive communications or boredom with the charity
6. Perceptions of charity substitutability - beliefs that charities are fairly similar and that there is too much choice may discourage switching
7. Duration of a donor's relationship with the first charity - the longer a donor continues to give to a charity, the higher their likely level of confidence in and commitment to it
8. General desire for variation.

Bennett (2009) found that while the decision to switch charities was not affected by concerns about efficiency or effectiveness, over-familiarity was cited by 37% as a major factor in switching decisions. Nathan and Hallam (2009) similarly found the existence of 'butterflies' who flit between charities and switch their support for charities or causes regularly. This is important for understanding of relationships between donors and charities and in considering what might trigger a donor to switch between charities.

2.10.2 Barriers to giving money

Table 2.8: Reasons for not donating or decreasing donations

	Non-donors in last year %	Donors decreasing donations since 2000 %
Not enough money to spare	58	75
Charities waste too much on administration	16	16
Government's responsibility to do what charities do	13	8
Most charities do not achieve what they are supposed to	9	10
(Now) give in different ways	10	5
Not all charities are honest	8	12
A relationship with a charity was disappointing	0	4
Have not been asked	11	N/A
Do not believe in giving to charity	8	N/A
No particular cause appeals	N/A	N/A
Plan to donate in will	0	N/A
Other reason	7	11
No real reason	15	8
Base (unweighted)	89	237

Source: Low et al. (2007), *Helping Out*: Office for the Third Sector, p.100

As indicated in Table 2.8, the principal barrier to giving emerges as 'not having enough money to spare', with 58% of non-givers citing this as their main reason and 75% explaining their reduced donation levels in these terms (Low et al. 2007). Concerns that charities were spending too much money on administrative costs, and not achieving their goals, were also offered as major reasons for not giving.

Lack of trust or confidence in charities is also seen as a major barrier to giving (Hibbert & Farsides 2005). Media stories of charity scandals in the UK and abroad have bred general distrust and widespread concern about the ineffectiveness, inefficiency and mismanagement by charities. This is reinforced by NCVO research (1998) into attitudes towards charities where 73% of the donors said that they wanted to know how much of their

donations went towards administration costs. Similarly 68% of the public agreed with the statement that charities wasted too much money on administration (MORI 1991). These apparent concerns are fuelled by misconceptions about the amounts charities spend on administrative expenses. A study by the CAF, cited by Hibbert & Farsides (2005), found that donors thought the split between funding and administration was around 50:50 when in fact, the average figure for administrative costs amongst the top 500 UK charities was around 7%.

An additional factor not considered by Low et al. (2007) is that intrusive fundraising methods can act as a deterrent to potential donors (Hibbert & Farsides 2005). Walker (2002) argued that more direct methods such as face- to-face fundraising made potential donors feel they were being coerced into giving. This 'emotional blackmail' may lead potential donors to feel antagonistic towards charities and discourage them from donating in the future.

Furthermore, people differ on whether the duty of care relating to 'good causes' lies with charities, government or individuals. Halfpenny et al. (1993) found that 91% of the public felt that "the Government has a basic responsibility to take care of people who can't take care of themselves", while 87% agreed that the Government should not rely on charities to raise money and should do more to help. More recently, 13% of respondents in the Low et al. (2007) survey reported that it was the Government's responsibility to provide the services that charities offer. Thus, some people may be making a political statement by not giving to charity. One final point is that 11% of non-donors stated that their reason for not giving was because they had not been asked. This suggests that charities need to market themselves and provide opportunities for people to give.

Despite these studies, the donor behaviour literature offers little understanding of why people do not donate or reduce their donations. Sector

reports may indicate some reasons but they do so at a superficial level and are unable to make reliable comparisons between demographic groups because of the small numbers of non-donors in the samples. Academic studies have also been superficial in their consideration of non-donors but there is "nothing to suggest any lack of informed, systematic decision-making on their part" (Hibbert & Farsides 2005:6). This may be supported by the fact that only 15% of non-donors stated that they had no real reason for not giving. It may be that respondents felt too embarrassed to admit their 'real' reasons for non-giving, but qualitative research could offer insights into why people choose do not give.

One may speculate that non-giving may be associated with feelings of shame or guilt but Hibbert and Farsides (2005) provide one explanation of how non-donors justify their decision not to give. Drawing on Strutton et al.'s (1994) adaptation of neutralisation theory[5] in consumer behaviour, they posit that non-donors use five techniques to ease potential conflicts or feelings of guilt that they may experience internally or within their social networks.

1. DENIAL OF RESPONSIBILITY – arguing that they are not personally accountable because factors beyond their control were operating

    It's the government's responsibility to support charities.

2. DENIAL OF BENEFIT[6] – denying that any benefit is derived from giving

    All the charity work in Africa hasn't made any difference, people are still starving.

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[5] This neutralisation theory was based on a study on juvenile delinquency by Sykes and Matza (1957) to explain how the delinquents insulated themselves from the negative effects of self-esteem.
[6] In Sykes and Matza's original conception, this was called Denial of Injury and denoted that the no one directly suffered because of the action.

3. DENIAL OF VICTIM – denying that the beneficiaries or victims require help, or arguing that they deserved what happened to them.

4. CONDEMNING THE CONDEMNERS – deflecting criticism back to others (who may not have donated either)

5. APPEAL TO HIGHER LOYALTIES – justifying not giving by claiming it is due to some higher order ideal or value.

There is no need for anyone to be homeless, there are plenty of jobs around.

What right do celebrities have to ask us to give? They should give some of their own money.

My priority is to look after my family… charity begins at home.

In sum, the biggest barrier to giving seems to be a lack of financial resources, but dissatisfaction and perceptions of charities can also affect the decision to give or not give. Psychological and sociological theories have helped in understanding how individuals 'negotiate' or reconcile their decision to not give. However, much of this research remains at a relatively superficial level, despite the complexity of these motivations. The next section considers motivations, triggers and barriers to volunteering.

2.10.3 Motivations for volunteering

Understanding the motivations of volunteers is important for recruitment purposes and can help charities satisfy their varying needs. Motivations for giving time may seem similar to those for giving money, in that altruism is at the core of volunteers' reasons for giving (Bussell & Forbes 2002). Giving time, however, may be more challenging than giving money due to the increased commitment, effort and planning involved in volunteering. Hence, there are more considerations for a volunteer than a donor, which is reflected in the greater number of studies on volunteer motivations.

Looking towards sector research on reasons for volunteering, Low et al. (2007) found that the main reason, reported by 53%, was a desire to improve things and help people (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6: Reasons for starting to volunteer

Reason	Percentage of current volunteers
Other	3
Give something back	1
Connected with my interests/hobbies	2
Already involved with organisation	2
Get a recognised qualification	2
Had received voluntary help myself	4
Help get on in my career	7
No one else to do it	13
Part of my religious belief	17
Learn new skills	19
Friends/family did it	21
Part of my philosophy of life	23
Use existing skills	27
There was a need in the community	29
Connected to family/friends' interests	29
I wanted to meet people, make friends	30
I had time to spare	41
The cause was important to me	41
I wanted to Improve things, help people	53

Source: Low et al. (2007), *Helping Out:* Office for the Third Sector, p.34

The cause itself and having spare time came joint second (41%) whilst meeting people and making friends; connecting to family and friends' interests, and seeing a need in the community were also strong motivators. Self-interest and instrumental factors, such as gaining a recognised qualification or career help, were reported to be less important.

Low et al. (2007) also identified some demographic variation. Motivation was fairly consistent across age groups, but volunteering in order to meet people was more common for the youngest and oldest age groups. Young people were also more likely to volunteer to enhance their employability and viewed volunteering as helping them in their career (27% versus 7% for all adults). They were also more inclined to use volunteering to learn new skills (46% versus 19% for all adults). Predictably, having spare time was the main reason offered by those aged 65 or older.

A more analytical perspective is provided in work by Batson (1994; Batson et al. 2002) and Clary and Snyder (1991), who provides valuable insights into the psychological motivations for volunteering. Two drivers within Batson's (1994) theory have been particularly debated in volunteer motivation theory. Writers have questioned whether altruism or egoism ultimately motivates volunteering behaviour. Bussell and Forbes (2002) argues that altruism is present in many types of volunteering, but others claim that a secondary group of egoistical factors affect motivations (e.g. Hibbert et al. 2003). Cnann and Goldberg-Glen (2002) claim that people volunteer to satisfy social and psychological goals and needs, such as the need for affiliation, prestige or self-esteem. Okun (1994) found that the strongest motivator for older volunteers was the need to feel useful or productive. Similarly, volunteering to develop skills or to enhance one's career has been well documented (Gora & Nemerowicz 1991; Riecken et al. 1996; Thippayanurraksakul 1989). Volunteering can also allow a person to enhance their self-image and express their core values and beliefs (Omoto & Snyder 1993) or to pass them onto others (Shor 1992). Wilson and Pimm (1996) found some slightly more unusual motives for volunteering such as wanting to wear a uniform, mixing with celebrities, health and fitness, and travel opportunities. The majority of studies in volunteering literature have come to acknowledge that altruistic and egoistic motivations co-exist and that motivations are inherently complex (Rehberg 2005; Dolnicar & Randle 2007a).

Clary and colleagues (Clary & Snyder 1991; Clary et al. 1992, 1994) proposed a theoretical framework for understanding volunteer motivations, based on functional theories of beliefs and behaviour developed by Katz (1960) and Smith et al. (1956). The functional approach to volunteering posits that people give time to achieve social and psychological goals, with different individuals seeking to satisfy different motivations. The Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) identified six key psychological motivations for volunteering:

- **Values**: acting on altruistic beliefs in order to help others
- **Understanding**: wanting to learn and experience new things and develop life skills
- **Career**: gaining career-related employment skills and experience for work advancement
- **Social**: conforming to behaviours favoured by people's peer group
- **Enhancement**: seeking to enhance one's self-esteem
- **Protective**: using volunteering as an escape mechanism to deal with negative feelings about oneself.

There is empirical support for the VFI and its component motivations or functions (Clary et al. 1996). These motivations also appear to be associated with different types of volunteering activity and demographic variables. Clary and Snyder's model has since been refined by the authors and considered by others researching volunteer motivations (e.g. Clary et al. 1996, 1998; Clary & Snyder 1999; Omoto et al. 1995). For example, McEwin and Jacobsen-D'Arcy (1992) created the Volunteer Motivation Inventory by adding four functions to the VFI (Brodie et al. 2009):

- **Reciprocity**: the individual volunteers with the belief that 'what comes around goes around'. Altruistic behaviour brings about positive things for the volunteer
- **Reactivity**: the individual is motivated to volunteer out of a need to deal and eradicate personal problems (past or present)
- **Social interaction**: the individual volunteers to build social networks and to interact with others
- **Recognition**: the individual is motivated to volunteer by the appeal of being recognised for their contribution.

These two inventories categorise volunteers by the benefits they hope to gain from the volunteering experience. This supports other studies in the field which purport that volunteers seek two types of rewards: *internal* rewards for

the individual (such as satisfaction, higher self-image and value, a feeling of self-efficacy, and/or personal efficiency) and *external* rewards stemming from the charity, beneficiaries or significant others, such as gratitude, higher social status, and/or social prestige (Cnann & Goldberg-Glen 1991; Gidron 1977).

Wuthnow (1996) investigated gender differences in rewards sought by volunteers. He found that women developed expectations of receiving greater rewards from volunteering than men. Research has also concluded that women derive more satisfaction and personal growth from volunteering than men (Kaminski 1996; Wuthnow 1996). Looking more deeply into gender differences in motivation, Wuthnow (1996) asserts that women associated volunteering with an expression of caring and of their inner selves, whereas men associated volunteering with the accomplishment of specific tasks or the roles that they play. Many women find caring for people more rewarding, which is possibly why many men shy away from providing service to others, particularly one-on-one (Kaminski 1996). Overall then, although both genders report helping others as a major motivation for volunteering, women are more motivated by personal influences and social values while men are more motivated by individual values (Davis et al. 1999; Ibrahim & Brannan 1997).

In contrast to these frameworks which focus on benefits to the volunteer, Dolnicar and Randle (2007a, 2007b) take a broader perspective by identifying six psychographic volunteering segments based on twelve motivational variables. The motivations included in their framework are:

- For social contact
- To gain personal satisfaction
- Because of personal/family involvement
- Because of religious beliefs
- To be active
- To learn new skills
- To do something worthwhile
- To help others/the community
- To gain work experience
- To use their own skills or experience
- Because they felt obliged
- It just happened

The 12 variables are statements about what might motivate volunteers to donate their time. This resulted in the formation of six segments of volunteers being identified, based on the combinations of motivations:

a) **Classic volunteers**: their motivations are threefold: doing something worthwhile, personal satisfaction and helping others

b) **Dedicated volunteers**: they perceive all motives for volunteering as relevant

c) **Personally involved volunteers**: their personal involvement in the organisation is typically through a family member

d) **Volunteers for personal satisfaction**: they are motivated egoistically

e) **Altruists**: their primary motivation is to help others

f) **Niche volunteers**: they have a narrower and more specific set of motivations such as work experience or religious beliefs, but this category also includes those who they felt obliged to volunteer or became volunteers by accident.

Research on the reasons for choosing specific types of organisation or volunteering activity is scarce although Horne and Broadbridge (1994) asked charity shop volunteers about their motivations. The most common reason given was meeting people and making friends (33%). Social factors were also evident in other responses; 14% said they were asked to help, while 10% had friends in the shop. Task factors also mattered, with 31% citing personal interest and 17% previous retailing experience. Convenience was also an issue, with 22% mentioning that that the shop was near their home.

Similar factors have emerged in more general studies. Merely being asked to participate is a major reason for volunteering (Communities and Local Government 2008; Low et al. 2007; Lowndes et al. 2006; Rochester 2006), and Wymer (1998) found that people were four times more likely to volunteer when asked than when they were not. Social networks are also crucial. Low et al. (2007) found that word-of-mouth was the most common way people

found out about volunteering, with two-thirds stating it as their main route into volunteering. People were also more likely to volunteer if they had a friend of family member in the organisation. Furthermore, Riecken et al. (1994) concluded that personal contact was important for volunteers as it reduced the perceived social risk of starting to volunteer in an organisation.

Other triggers identified by Low et al. (2007) included contact with previous beneficiaries of an organiser's services (20%), followed by posters or leaflets (15%). A number of external factors may also encourage people to start volunteering however. Changes to personal circumstances such as being made redundant, having a child, or moving to a new neighbourhood may encourage involvement with a particular charity or cause. One may also expect volunteering schemes such as the Duke of Edinburgh award or community service to feature but there is little data on this to date. According to Rochester (2006) almost half of volunteers found out about opportunities through others already active in a group, and one in five had previously used the service themselves. Word-of-mouth was more important than traditional publicity; 37% learned of opportunities from friends or neighbours, compared with 24% for local newspapers, local events and promotional events combined. School or college and places of worship were each mentioned by approximately one in five, but only 5% referred to employer-volunteering schemes.

Beyond volunteer recruitment, it is also important to consider how charities then support volunteers and maintain working relationships. Issues to do with training, qualifications and reimbursement of expenses are all important in this equation. Asked how their contributions should be recognised, 69% of current volunteers looked for verbal thanks from the organisation, 44% for written thanks, and 22% an award or certificate (Low et al. 2007).

2.10.4 Barriers to volunteering

Although investigating motivations and triggers to volunteering is important, it is equally important to consider why people do not volunteer. Lack of time was cited by 83% of non-volunteers in the study by Low et al. (2007), making it the biggest barrier to volunteering. This was constant across all age groups but particularly common among young people.

Brodie et al. (2009) classified barriers to volunteering under four main headings:

Institutional barriers
The sometimes complex recruitment procedures and officialdom can deter people from volunteering; almost half of non-volunteers stated that were put off by bureaucracy (Low et al. 2007), which may include filling in paperwork, getting references and disclosure checks.

Lack of resources
This denotes the lack of time but also a lack of financial resources (Rotolo & Wilson 2007), since the costs of travelling to undertake the volunteer work or paying for childcare can deter people from volunteering.

Practical deterrents
Practical factors include not knowing how to get involved, ill-health or disability, or transport issues can act as deterrents to volunteering.

Psychological barriers
Psychological or attitudinal factors are harder to elicit but these include worries about risk or liability, as reported by 47% of respondents in the survey conducted by Low et al. (2007). It can also include a lack of self-confidence and insecurities about self-image (Haberis &

Prendergrast 2007; Institute for Volunteering Research 2004). Non-volunteers may also feel that they lack the skills or experience to volunteer (Rochester 2006). The general image of volunteering may be a problem; stereotypes of "do-gooders" or "the blue rinse brigade" can deter certain groups from volunteering (Hankinson & Rochester 2005; Institute for Volunteering Research 2004; Volunteering England 2008), since "the fear of alienation or setting yourself apart from the crowd puts people off" (Communities and Local Government 2008).

Non-volunteers may be deterred by the interplay of several of these factors. For example, Nonis et al. (1996) identified four types of inhibitors in the case of blood donation: physical risks (transmission of disease), psychological (fear), social (moral responsibility or religious beliefs) and time (lack of time). The most influential barriers are fear of needles or fainting, transmission of infectious diseases and the weakness that may follow donating blood (Beerli-Palacio & Martin-Santana 2002). Perceived risk in particular acts as an inhibitor to giving (Allen & Butler 1993; Barkworth et al. 2002).

It is evident from the literature presented that there are key motivations, triggers and barriers to giving but a note of caution is required. The way motivations are researched may have a profound effect on findings. The most common way to determine why people give is to ask them in surveys, and researchers often provide respondents with a list of motivations to choose from. Because of this, Brodie et al. (2009) questions the contributions of empirical evidence in understanding motivations for giving.

Furthermore, motivations are complex psychological constructs and sometimes donors/volunteers may be unable to identify or articulate their reason for giving. Socially desirable responses may also affect results. In particular people are reluctant to admit they are doing something selflessly. They might feel the social pressure to receiving credit for their 'selfless'

actions' (Musick & Wilson 2008). It might also be the case that some may feel too ashamed to admit non-giving.

As considered above, triggers for giving are important and thus it is important to consider how potential donors/volunteers research charities and what information sources are available to them.

2.11 HOW POTENTIAL DONORS FIND OUT ABOUT CHARITIES

Word-of-mouth was the most frequently cited source of information across all ages; 43% of donors learned about the charity through a friend or relative, compared with 18% for TV/radio news broadcasts, 15% for press articles, 14% for traditional advertisements and 13% for employers (Mintel 2009). This points to the importance of social and familial networks as sources of information, since giving is to some degree a social activity which can express personal values and affiliation with causes. Self-expression may be achieved through word-of-mouth activities and by wearing charity ribbons, stickers and badges, which can also create viral communications about a particular cause or charity. Some age differences in information sources emerged however: those aged 18-34 were the most likely to use websites and email to find out about charities, whereas older donors tended to rely more on traditional forms of media like TV, radio and newspapers.

Table 2.9: Donors' sources of information about charities

	All	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Friend/relative	43	47	44	49	41	45	35
News (TV/radio)	18	17	19	18	17	21	17
Newspaper / magazines	15	15	14	12	10	17	24
Advertisement	14	19	13	12	14	16	13
Online	13	22	20	13	10	10	7
Employer	13	18	22	16	12	9	1
Email	9	11	15	8	7	7	6
Canvasser	8	16	11	8	6	5	3
Other	27	12	18	23	29	27	45

Source: Mintel US (2009) Charities of choice, Mintel: Chicago.

Data from the UK on sources of information for volunteering (Figure 2.7) suggests that half of all the current volunteers surveyed had not used any of the listed sources of information. National and local organisations/charities were seen to be the most frequently used source of information across gender, age and ethnic groups (Low et al. 2007).

Table 2.10: Sources of information on volunteering by age and sex

	Current Volunteers								
	Age						Sex		All
	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	M	F	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
National organisation	18	16	21	22	18	17	20	18	19
Local organisation	20	15	16	17	25	16	16	19	18
Local council	3	3	4	7	7	6	7	4	5
Library	5	2	3	4	*	3	3	3	3
Charity Shop	3	2	2	1	3	2	1	3	2
Community centre	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	2
Doctor's surgery	0	0	3	2	4	3	1	2	2
Citizens Advice Bureau	2	3	0	*	2	1	*	1	1
Volunteer Centre/Bureau	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
www.do-it.org.uk	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	*	1
Other	18	8	10	12	15	10	14	10	12
None of these	40	59	54	48	40	54	49	51	50
Base (unweighted)	64	161	316	257	286	267	565	786	1,351

Source: Low et al. (2007), *Helping Out*: Office for the Third Sector, p.43

Perhaps a more fundamental issue is whether or not potential donors and volunteers seek out information about a charity before they give. In general young adults and the affluent are more likely to report researching a charity before making a donation (Mintel 2009). Thus it seems that potential donors and volunteers will seek out information regarding a charity's annual reports, financial statements, service provision, marketing methods and other donors/volunteers before making the final decision to give. Friends and family, and charities' own websites, emerged as the most common ways of researching a charity, with each of these methods referred to by 37% of respondents. Calling a charity with queries was much less common, with 15% reporting this as a source of information. The 'sources of information' seemed to vary by age however, as younger volunteers were more inclined to have used word-of-mouth and websites to find out about volunteering.

Again this data points to the importance of friends and family in decisions to give. As indicated in various preceding sections on donor behaviour, social aspects of giving can further our understanding of the act of giving. Giving often takes place in a social arena and influenced by social and familial networks. There is little research on these social influences on giving despite contributions from the social psychology and sociology disciplines. A broader critique of extant research on donor behaviour is presented next.

2.12 CONCLUSION

Academic and sector research in the nonprofit sector tends to be based on data from the USA (and to a lesser extent, from Australia and Britain). Research has also tended to be predominantly quantitative, with many surveys seeking to profile donors and describe patterns of behaviour.

The heavy reliance on research generated by national giving surveys has also been highlighted. The three main surveys in the UK are the *Expenditure and Food Survey* (EFS), *UK Giving Survey* (UGS) and the *Civil Society Almanac* (CSA). Methodological differences between these three contribute to a number of problems (Bekkers & Wiepking 2006; Brooks 2004; O'Neill 2001; Saxton & Baker 2009; Wilhelm 2007). Firstly, different definitions of charities are used. The CSA uses a General Charities definition which excludes faith groups, for example. This is a narrower definition than many members of the public may use, leading to differences in giving estimates; in fact estimates of giving from these surveys range from £3.4 billion to £9.5 billion each year. As yet there is no standardised classification of charities, which hinders comparisons between giving surveys in general. Variations between surveys – or between respondents – concerning what counts as a charity or how to classify causes can cause problems. Similarly, the validity of data from the Citizenship Survey has been questioned by Saxton & Baker (2009) because of fundamental problems in the conceptualisation of formal/informal volunteering and civic participation. These authors claim that the current definitions are too broad and overestimate levels of volunteering.

Units of analysis also differ between giving surveys: the EFS measures household giving, while the UGS focuses on individual giving and the CSA uses account information submitted by charities to the Charity Commission. Different reference periods between the surveys are thought to have affected the proportion of donors and the average size of donations reported. Furthermore, short reference periods may distort giving patterns; a respondent who makes a one-off donation of £10 in the last month to a collection tin in the street is reported as giving more than a person who gives £5 each month by direct debit. Similarly, as noted above, donors who make one large donation per year may by viewed as a non-giver if this occurs outwith the reference period.

The lack of methodological standardisation is also evident on an international level, making cross-cultural comparisons extremely difficult and unreliable (CAF 2006), although CAF/NCVO (2010) notes that surveys with a consistent methodology over time can yield data on trends in giving.

A more fundamental issue is the definition of charitable giving itself. Focusing on *the UK Giving* survey, respondents are asked about charitable giving but do not refer to the legal definition of charity, leaving this open to interpretation by respondents. For example, some may count money given to beggars in the street as donations while others may not. Moreover, when considering levels of giving by cause, the survey expects the respondent to allocate their donations to particular categories of causes, but some charities may straddle two different categories. For example, the Red Cross could be classified as either a health or an overseas charity, and Christian Aid may be classified as a religious organisation or an overseas development charity. Categorisation ambiguities may also cause problems in data cleaning. Typically raw data for the *UK Giving survey* are cleaned before analysis to remove obvious reporting/recording errors, such as including money raised through events being reported as individual gifts, and other anomalies. These are open to interpretation by both the respondents and researchers.

The reference period of giving also greatly affects the levels of giving reported. The *UK Giving* survey only asks about giving in the previous four weeks. Both non-donors and high-level donors are categories created by researchers, based on this four week reference period. Piper and Schnepf (2007) suggest that there may be considerable overlap between the two groups, with some people preferring to give a large donation once each year rather than smaller more regular donations. However, changing the reference period would distort trend data, and in any case, four weeks acts as a proxy for one month, making it easier to relate findings to government studies such as the *Citizenship Survey*.

One of the biggest causes of fluctuations in reported giving levels is seasonality. Although the *UK Giving* survey is administered evenly across the year in supposedly typical months, there may be problems with the seasonality of giving and any unforeseen events (such as the 2004 Tsunami or Hurricane Katrina in 2005). In particular, major campaigns such as Comic Relief and increased levels of giving around Christmas might reduce the accuracy of surveys. The unit of analysis can also greatly affect giving levels. The *UK Giving* survey is based on individuals, but there may be response bias with people reporting household donations instead. Issues of recall bias may also be relevant depending on the individual chosen to complete the survey.

Further survey problems include the use and non-adjustment of "don't know" responses. Davis et al. (1999) claims that typically 15% or more of a sample will use such options when asked about their giving patterns. Brooks (2004) argues that these responses tend to distort giving levels among certain demographic groups, thus compromising the accuracy of charity measures. It is claimed that "don't know" answers may vary systematically with respect to true responses, creating a selection bias problem which leads to the mis-stating of giving levels.

The length of questionnaires has also been found to impact on giving data. Bekkers and Wiepking (2006) found that a short questionnaire led to an underestimation of amounts donated which then overestimated probability and participation rates of charitable giving. Moreover, longer questionnaires with a higher number of survey prompts lead to increases in the incidence of giving and volunteering reported, and in the amount of time and money claimed to be donated as well (O'Neill 2001; Rooney et al. 2001, 2004; Steinberg et al. 2002).

As with all surveys, biases may affect data but particularly in the case of giving surveys, social desirability bias and recall bias are serious concerns.

Social desirable responding is generally accepted as a bias which affects data validity in giving surveys. Lee and Woodliffe (2010) comment that people will generally want to appear more altruistic and socially orientated than they truly are. This may not only affect giving estimates but also questions related to attitudes, motivations and barriers to giving (Lee et al. 1995). Hall (2001) claims however that recall bias is the more serious problem because charitable donations are not often salient events. Since many surveys ask about donations made during a calendar year, this often leads to inaccuracies in reporting behaviour (Wilhelm 2007).

On a more conceptual level, general donor behaviour literature tends to describe donors rather than understand them. Research also tends to focus on one activity in isolation; there is a dearth of research considering how an individual interweaves various forms of giving or cause preferences into their lives. Hence there is little research on charitable activities that do not involve time or money, people who give both (or neither) time and money, people who give with different frequencies, or people who donate using multiple methods to name but a few.

Current donor behaviour research has also tended to be cross-sectional rather than longitudinal, and there is scope for research on how people's giving or cause preferences change as they age and enter different life stages. Key transition phases such as leaving school, starting work, moving out of the parental home, getting married, and retiring, are times where attitudes to giving and patterns of donating may change. Given the emergence of life course theories, analysing the life course of donors and how and why they donate over time can deepen understandings of donor behaviour (Passy & Guigni 2000; Rochester 2006). Research can not only help in documenting these changes but also in understanding why and how they happen; this could provide a broader and deeper understanding of the motivations and barriers to giving.

A more holistic approach to researching charitable giving calls for a wider range of methods as well as additional research questions. The quantitative, survey-based nature of much research in this area may be useful in tracking giving trends, or identifying the characteristics of potential donors for a cause, but it has largely neglected richer, nuanced and contextual dimensions of giving. For example, the literature has not really concerned itself with the experiences and encounters which encouraged donors to form a relationship with one charity rather than another, their feelings about taking part in events to raise awareness or funds for it, or relationships between donors and beneficiaries.

Another obvious gap in the donor behaviour literature is the lack of conceptualisation of giving in terms of consumption experience, an area of study that has gained pace in recent years within the broader field of consumer research. At a theoretical level, a number of models have been proposed of 'customer experience' (O'Loughlin et al. 2004) while at a practitioner level, there has been a trend towards appointing 'customer experience managers'. There has been increasing recognition that simply developing a relationship with a customer may be inadequate, especially where this is database driven. It has even been suggested that such a relationship may actually undermine the experience of consumption (O'Malley & Prothero 2004). With the nonprofit sector, discussion of customer experience has been slow to evolve. Research has not yet considered the experience of individuals giving to a charitable organisation. "Consumption" in this context can refer to a diverse bundle of benefits - individual and collective - that donors experience when they give to a charity. The focus is on understanding the broader experience of giving, incorporating decision-making processes, situational factors, social influences, emotions and personal attitudes and motivations. This perspective seems equally applicable for non-donors, as non-giving or non-consumption still incorporates a mix of decision-making processes, situational factors, social influences, emotions and so forth. An exploration of people's personal donor

histories and experiences within the wider context of their lives has the potential to offer valuable insights into donor behaviour and people's relationships with charities.

One particular group which has been neglected in extant research is children and young people. National sector giving surveys include only those aged 18 and over. It may be that children and young people are viewed as disinterested in giving, or more difficult to access or research. Whatever the reason, their importance as current and future donors, and potential influences on the donations of others, means that their contributions to charities and engagement with them merits further research attention. These issues are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: NONPROFIT MARKETING TO CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

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3.7   Conclusion

CHAPTER THREE:
NONPROFIT MARKETING TO CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Children and young people are generally considered to be persons aged
0-24, which covers a broad range of sub-segments including toddlers,
tweens, teenagers, and young adults. As the most affluent youth of all time
(Lindstrom 2003; Schor 2004), with unprecedented amounts of disposable
income, they have become a viable market in themselves for marketers in
both the commercial and nonprofit sectors. Applying the work of James
McNeal (1992) to the charity sector, children and young people can be
categorised as a multidimensional donor market. They can be seen as a
primary market, in that they may be current donors or volunteers. They may
also be an important influence market, having an impact on family donations
for example, and lastly they constitute a future market of donors or
volunteers. A fourth category can also be considered in this context, since
children and young people could be categorised in some cases as
beneficiaries of a charity's services.

This chapter begins by noting how British charities have begun to target
children and young people in their campaigns. Since this suggests the
importance of understanding their behaviour and motivations, the chapter
then reviews what is known about children and young people's current
contributions to the nonprofit sector. Most of this is drawn from national
sector and government surveys, which tend to describe the behaviour and
attitudes of 16-24 year-olds (both *Helping Out* and *UK Giving* surveys include
this age group). Giving data on those under 16 are extremely sparse,
perhaps reflecting beliefs that they have little to contribute to nonprofit
organisations, or to ethical concerns about extracting money from, or even
researching, this 'vulnerable' population.

Academic research seems to have a different conceptualisation of what constitutes a young person which hinders comparisons between studies. For example, studies of "young people's" giving or volunteering has focused on those aged 16-24 (Davis-Smith 1999; Walker & Fisher 2002), 18-41 (Bennett & Ali-Choudhury 2009), 24-31 (Marta et al. 2006), and 22-40 (Kottasz 2004). Such variation makes it difficult to build a picture of donor behaviour among children and young people.

In the following sections, the focus is on 0-24 year olds, but given the limited data on children, there is more discussion of those at the older end of this age range. There is also typically little research on children and young people as donors rather than as volunteers, or on their roles as influencers or beneficiaries (research on beneficiaries is generally rare in any case). Research also tends to ask children and young people about their future engagement with charities rather than their current behaviour as donors or volunteers. Studies on the donor behaviour of children and young people may be sparse but have largely been conducted by sector researchers. Where academic research has proceeded with children, studies are predominantly in the UK, North America and Australia.

Since children and young people are targeted by charities as potential donors and received little research attention as a target market, this chapter then examines the literature on children and young people as consumers in order to identify insights that may be transferable to the nonprofit context. The final part of this chapter considers issues of consumer socialisation, expanding the disciplinary focus in order to consider how children and young people may learn to become donors.

3.2 CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE AS TARGETS OF CHARITY MARKETING

In an increasingly competitive environment, charities have learnt that they need to respond quickly to changes in the marketplace, and to seek out new segments to target. Some charities have worked hard to engage with children and young people, aided by technological developments such as social media and mobile donations, and by socio-cultural trends towards civic engagement and global activism (Baker 2010; Brodie et al. 2009).

Examples of campaigns targeting children and young people in this way include the Generation Why website[7], the iHobo iPhone application[8], and the proliferation of charity wristbands[9]. More sector-wide developments to engage with a younger generation can be seen through the increasing prevalence of volunteer tourism or volutourism, use of social media and online networking sites, and links with the fashion, music and sports industries.

Voluntourism involves voluntary work in another country, and is typically undertaken by students on gap years and other young adults. They may spend some time building a school or water well, undertaking conservation work, or teach, and combine this with travelling around the country. It should be noted that the growth of voluntourism is situated in both commercial and nonprofit sectors in that the volunteering experience has been commercialised to the extent that it is sold as a 'product' (Evans & Saxton 2005). Participation rates are hard to ascertain, but the growth of this specific

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[7] Generation Why is a website created by Oxfam specifically to engage with young people (www.oxfam.org.uk/generationwhy).
[8] The iHobo is an application for the iPhone developed by Depaul UK, a charity whose aim to help young people who are homeless, vulnerable and disadvantaged. The application required the user to look after their 'homeless' person for three days.
[9] Originally created in 2004 in collaborative effort by the Lance Armstrong Foundation and Nike, wristbands were bands worn to raise awareness and show support for certain charities and causes.

type of volunteering work for young people is well accepted within the nonprofit sector (Ellis 2005).

The use of social media and online networking sites to engage with young people is part of a wider move to engage with this age group through 'virtual' means. For example, Save the Children used a text-messaging based campaign to mobilise a mass protest against the bombing of Gaza, while Shelter has used mobile communication since 2004 for campaigning and fundraising, and sees texting as a retention tool to thank and update donors. According to Pearson et al. (2009), 78% of British charities had yet to incorporate mobile phones into their campaigns, while 20% had used them "to reach and engage with a younger generation of donors". The National Trust for Scotland was the first UK charity to use Twitter as part of its campaign to raise funds for a new Robert Burns museum (Pearson et al. 2009). Although this was intended primarily to further awareness and fundraising, a secondary aim was to reach a younger audience. Many other charities have set up Facebook groups/pages, Twitter accounts, MyFlickr pages and most notably their own YouTube channel as they seek cost-effective ways of reaching previously neglected audiences as well as maintaining relationships with existing supporters. Networking sites are most used by the younger generation, rewarding those charities wishing to target this age group (Pearson et al. 2009). Table 3.1 presents the recent social networking activities of leading charities in Britain. It seems that these have a far bigger presence on social networking sites than the top commercial brands: a recent study of the top ten commercial brands found that while nine had a Facebook page, only four had twitter accounts and only one had a dedicated YouTube channel (Marketing Magazine 2010).

Table 3.1: Top 10 UK Charity Brands (2009) from Charity Brand Index

BRAND	Facebook 'friends'	Twitter followers	Other
Macmillan Cancer Support	30,423	5,586	• On MyFlickr • Has own You Tube channel
Cancer Research UK	24,729 (race for life 69,840)	7,483	• Has a blog • On MyFlickr • Has own You Tube channel
NSPCC	42,829	3,237	• On MyFlickr
RSPCA	243,933	10,702	• On MyFlickr • Has own You Tube channel
BBC Children in Need	8,550	45	
British Heart Foundation	33,044	3,347	• On MyFlickr • Has own You Tube channel
Comic Relief	(RND 2009 190,512)	n/a	
Marie Curie Cancer Care	34,489	2,227	• On MyFlickr
RNLI	22,559	RNLI news 4,149 Events 248 Job updates 230	• On MyFlickr • Has own You Tube channel
British Red Cross	6,781	7,029	• On MyFlickr • Has own You Tube channel

Source: online activity captured by author on 11.07.2010, at 12pm

The third area of development has been the emerging relationships between charities and the fashion, music and sports industries. Links with the fashion industry are particularly strong amongst cancer charities, with initiatives here including Fashion Targets Breast Cancer clothing lines and a wide range of pink ribbon products (see for example, the respective websites for Pink Ribbon and Fashion Targets Breast Cancer). Turning to the music industry,

Oxjam is a month-long music festival run by Oxfam to raise awareness and funds. Building on Live Aid and Make Poverty History events, it benefits from the use of music celebrities to promote certain causes (Oxjam Website 2010). Finally, the use of sport as a marketing tool for charities dates back to the 1950s when churches used sport as part of their recruitment campaigns (Lee 2010). This "basketballisation of the churches", as Paige (1952) called it, has made a recent resurgence as charities increasingly use sports and sports teams to reach young people. One example is the Peace Cup which is essentially an international football tournament, endorsed and sanctioned by FIFA, and run by the Unification Church (commonly known as Moonies). In the UK context, many sports teams support local and national charities informally through their community schemes. Recently, however, there have been more systemic or organised efforts to use sports teams and stars to further the work of charities, particularly in the case of football clubs. One of the most high profile partnerships in this area is between FCB Barcelona and UNICEF which has led to the charity's logo appearing on the team's kit, and thus on millions of replica strips worn around the world (TimesOnline 2006).

3.3 CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE AS DONORS

In keeping with the structure of Chapter Two, the following sections detail the donor behaviour of children and young people in terms of giving time, money and other charitable activities.

3.3.1 *Giving money*

Giving statistics for young people consistently state that they are the age group least likely to give (Bennett 2003; CAF/NCVO 2009; Hodgkinson & Weitzman 1990; Rajan et al. 2009). Low et al. (2007) found that only 74% of the 16-24 year-olds asked had donated money in the last four weeks. This is below the population average of 81% and the lowest proportion of all age

groups. This age group also gave the least on average – £16.93 in the last four weeks, compared with £30.94 for all respondents. An earlier study found that 31% of young people (590 16-24 year-olds in the UK) had given less than £5 in the last month, while 23% gave nothing (Walker & Fisher 2002). This may suggest a lack of engagement with charities among young people, or it may reflect the many other demands on limited funds on this age group.

Breeze & Thornton (2005) studied a younger cohort and found that 80% of the 11-16 year-olds surveyed said that they had made a donation the last time they were asked (with 64% stating that the donation was in the last 6 months). The reference periods are different for these studies but it does provide us with an insight into the relative generosity of children.

In contrast to studies among older age groups, there has been little attempt to profile young donors in terms of income, ethnic origin or age. Some gender differences have been identified however, and these are similar to those discussed for their older counterparts. Amongst 11-16 year-olds, girls were more likely to give than boys (87% of girls versus 74% of boys had donated the last time they were asked) (Breeze & Thornton 2005).

The causes to which children and young people support seem to be similar to the cause preferences of older donors. The most important causes for young people seem to be people-based; the top three charities supported by 16-24 year-olds were medical research, overseas aid and disaster relief, and religious organisations (Low et al. 2007). The least popular type of cause was recreational, and relatively little support was reported for environment and arts/heritage charities (Low et al. 2007). Data from Walker & Fisher (2002) for the same age group, based on how important they considered the causes to be (as opposed to actual donations), found that the three causes ranked most important were medical research/care, children or young people and thirdly world/overseas aid. At least for the top two causes, they are consistent across actual donation and the levels of importance attached to them.

Looking at a younger subset, Breeze and Thornton (2005) confirmed that medical research was the most popular cause amongst 11-16 year-olds in terms of actual donations in the last 6 months but in a small departure, children and animals were the next most popular causes (with Children in Need, RSPCA and the NSPCC mentioned). This might however, reflect the opportunities for these children to give in schools rather than actual cause preference. Personal involvement in the cause and life experience may also account for these preferences but research to date offers little explanation for them.

The young people taking part in the study by Walker and Fisher (2002) talked enthusiastically about taking part in charity events such as *Comic Relief* and *Children In Need*, and they showed a general preference for conventional marketing methods such as events, advertisements, and sponsored activities and negative feelings towards confrontational, face-to-face fundraising. Furthermore, Breeze & Thornton (2005) found that older children and girls were more likely to look at charity websites, showing a willingness to find out information about charities.

Turning to motivations and triggers for donating, the most important reasons reported were the work of the charity, followed by being asked by a charity representative (Low et al. 2007). Young people were the most likely of all age groups (up to 65+) to respond positively to a request by a charity representative (Low et al. 2007), perhaps reflecting a lack of self-confidence, a heightened sense of peer pressure, or a greater sense of guilt at saying no. Indeed, two-thirds found face-to-face fundraising intrusive and guilt-inducing (Walker & Fisher 2002). Similar findings were reported by Breeze & Thornton (2005) in that 62% of the 11-16 year-olds stated that would feel guilty if they did not donate when asked. The same sample also stated that giving money to charity was a good thing (81%) and that they felt good when they had given (74%).

In terms of future donations, young people rated confidence in the charity (91%) and receiving information on how their donation has been spent (88%) as particularly important in encouraging them to give more (Low et al. 2007). For the older age groups, these factors were less of a motivator in encouraging donations (averages were 72% and 60% respectively). This interest in trust and accountability suggests that young people are demanding not only as consumers, but also as potential donors. These concerns were also raised in the focus groups conducted by Walker & Fisher (2002). Concerns about trust and confidence in charities were not shared by 11-16 year-olds as 68% of them stated that they were "pretty sure the charities I give to know what they are doing" (Breeze & Thornton 2005). Although simplified, the statement still indicates either relatively little exposure to charity scandals or relatively low scepticism towards institutions, including charities.

3.3.2 Giving time

A study of 14-16 year-olds found that over half were involved in some form of volunteering (Roker et al. 1999). National youth volunteering levels, and the number of hours volunteered, appear to have been declining over a number of years (Davis-Smith 1999). A study by Brunwin (2002) with 14-25 year-olds found participation rates of around 43%, while Saxton (2008) found participation rates to be only 18% among 11-25 year-olds, with girls more likely than boys to volunteer. In terms of age, 17-19 year-olds were the most likely and 14-16 year-olds the least likely to donate their time. This may reflect 17-19 year-olds engaging in extra-curricular activities to boost their CVs, or having left school, found wider opportunities to volunteer at school or college.

Other reports paint a more positive picture of volunteering rates among young people. Research undertaken for the Russell Commission found that "young people volunteer at similar, or higher rate, when compared to older

people" (Ellis 2005:iii). Low et al. (2007) found that 57% of the 16-24 year-olds surveyed were formal volunteers. Although this figure was slightly lower than the 59% reported for all respondents to the survey, 43% of young people (compared with 39% overall) volunteered at least once a month.

Low et al. (2007) also asked about where young people volunteered. The most popular causes were educational institutions (43%), children and young people (30%), sports and exercise (26%) and religious organisations (25%). These preferences may be related to where and how young people spend their time, and also reflect the importance of social and familial networks and being able to empathise with the beneficiaries.

The most popular motivation for volunteering was to improve things and help people (56%), but 46% also wanted to learn new skills; this motivation was stronger amongst young people than for any other age group in the study. Other reasons for starting to volunteer were the cause (39%), the chance to meet people and make friends (35%) and having spare time (33%) (Low et al. 2007). Similar motivations were found amongst the young people asked by Ellis (2004); their reasons were categorised in terms of personal feelings, personal needs, personal inducements, experience, and altruism (Ellis 2004). Asked about the potential benefits of volunteering, young people rated recognition of their work as more important than all other age groups (Low et al. 2007). This suggests that young people need reassurance, but it also points to the social and psychological benefits of volunteering in terms of building confidence and enhancing self-esteem.

One important motivation for volunteering for young people is the opportunity to build existing skills and enhance their career prospects. Handy et al. (2010) found, using data from young people in 12 countries that students who volunteered for utilitarian reasons did not volunteer more than students with other motives. Furthermore, Paik & Navarre-Jackson (2010) examined how social networks and social capital are key factors for the recruitment of

young people into volunteering. They found that the diversity and number of social ties that a young person has is an important predictor of volunteering. Wang and Graddy (2008) similarly found the importance of social networks and social capital in volunteering particularly amongst religious charities.

Turning to the particular volunteering activities that young people undertook, these seemed to fit the skill-set that young people are likely to have. Thus, the most common responsibilities found by Low et al. (2007) were raising or handing money (61%), organising or helping to run an event (54%), and educating others (52%). Not surprisingly, transportation or administrative work did not feature heavily as part of their volunteering duties.

Barriers to volunteering amongst young people have been found to include a lack of awareness of opportunities and of how it could benefit them; perceptions of volunteering as boring, badly organised, expensive and time consuming; poor resources, training and support for young volunteers; and a view that volunteers are mainly white, middle class, middle aged women (Barker et al. 1992; Brunwin 2002; Niyazi 1996; Roker et al. 1999). These concerns are not unique to young people, but several appear to be particularly strong amongst this age group. Volunteering has a reputation for being boring, old fashioned, and for "wimps" or "goody-goodies", but concerns about stereotypes and stigma seem particularly pronounced among young people. Smith (1998) found that 40% of young people did not think it to be cool to get involved with volunteering, and it has been argued that volunteering needs "to overcome the stigma of worthiness" and "to accommodate the preferences and imperatives of young people" (Gaskin 1999). Hankinson and Rochester (2005) argue for more positive images of volunteering through promoting the benefits of and various forms of volunteering.

More recently, Ellis (2005) argues that the image or brand of volunteering made it more likely for young people to be 'closet volunteers', given concerns

about negative peer pressure, a lack of confidence and fear of rejection. Perceptions of volunteers are often related to negative stereotypes hence aspects of symbolic consumption are considered to be important in decisions to volunteer. Furthermore, the organisation of volunteering is important especially in the retention of young volunteers. When young people did volunteer, they often felt 'unappreciated' or 'unwelcome' by organisations and given unappealing tasks that failed to satisfy or engage them (Smith 1998). These are important issues to consider in examining the barriers to volunteering for children and young people.

Relating to future engagement, young people expressed a willingness to volunteer more in the future, and were keener than other age groups to be aware of employer-supported volunteering schemes (Low et al. 2007). There has been explicit government interest in promoting volunteering among young people; Hill and Russell (2009) summarise a range of initiatives in this area, such as Millennium Volunteers, Young Volunteer Challenge, Active Citizens in Schools, and Volunteering For All.

Rochester (2006) and others have discussed "new volunteerism", which espouses volunteer individualisation and the selection of charities/ organisations based on personal interest and weak ties or loose social networks. A shift from habitual and dedicated involvement toward more episodic, noncommittal, and self-oriented types of volunteering has been well documented (Anheier & Salamon 1998; Cnaan & Handy 2005; Hustinx 2001, 2008). It has implications for the future of volunteering, not least because young people seek flexibility in volunteering experiences and prioritise its social benefits; they also see relationships with beneficiaries and the charity as reciprocal rather than unilateral or altruistic (Rochester 2006).

This view is supported by Brooks's (2009) wider argument that the consumerist society has led to the development of the self-actualising individual. She claims that this "better represents many young people today:

he or she is motivated by a sense of individual purpose rather than obligation to government, perceived voting as less meaningful than other political acts, and favours loose networks of community action (often facilitated by new technologies)" (p.23). Brodie et al. (2009) suggest that the self-actualising individual has multiple and fluid identities, facilitating engagement in a variety of different behaviours and activities. This seems relevant to "new volunteerism" but research to date has not explored the implications for young people's relationships with nonprofit organisations.

3.3.3 Other charitable activities

There is very little research on children and young people's donations beyond money and time (and in the case of blood donation, British donors need to be at least 17 years-old in any case). Nonetheless, Walker and Fisher (2002) found that young people's perceptions of charity are much broader, including activities such as recycling, buying Fairtrade products, giving to beggars, protesting and campaigning. It may be that relatively low levels of disposable income make them more inclined to engage in other forms of charitable behaviours. This suggests that children and young people's idea of what charitable behaviours are relate well to the idea of participation. Therefore children and young people are more inclined to regard activities aimed at societal ideals (like recycling or helping neighbours) as charitable activities, which may affect their attitudes and how they directly behave with charities. Far from perceptions of young people being disengaged with society or even as armchair activists, it may be that they engage with charities and societal issues in more varied ways than conventional donations of time and money (as recorded in giving surveys). Particularly with regards to donating goods, little is known about children's willingness to do this and how they are introduced to this form of giving within the family context.

3.4 CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE NONPROFIT SECTOR

Much of what we know about how children and young people relate to charities more generally draws on work by Walker and Fisher (2002). Their focus group data found that young people (16-24 year-olds) thought that everyone has a duty to care and a basic responsibility to give to charities. However, some young people expressed views that certain groups, such as wealthy people, government and companies, may be more capable of giving and should perhaps give more to charities.

Moreover, young people wanted more active involvement with charities but felt that a lack of information or not knowing what giving opportunities were available to them hindered them from participating. Since Walker and Fisher's (2002) study was undertaken, various technological developments have made it much easier to establish channels of communication between charities and young people. Reviewing the literature on participation, Brodie et al. (2009) found that young people are more inclined to participate in online forms of engagement. Charities' growing use of social networking sites and mobile technology may lead to more meaningful relationships with children and young people in the future. Pearson et al. (2009) argue that charities should be using mobile telephony more in building awareness and fundraising, especially as 95% of 16-25 year-olds own a mobile phone. Furthermore, 31% of young people have given by mobile phone, compared with 18% of the general population. This study also found that young people were the most likely to be interested in receiving charity information or updates by mobile phone.

Overall, it seems that children and young people contribute to and perceive charities in ways that may be quite distinct from their older counterparts. It is clear from this review that the donor behaviour of adults has received considerable attention, but the dearth of research on children and young

people inhibits comparisons between these groups and the development of strategies for targeting younger people effectively. More research is required on what charitable activities children and young people undertake, how they give to charity, what causes they prefer, and their general attitudes, perceptions and experiences in relation to charities. There is also a need to understand how children learn to be donors, and how giving behaviour might change through the different stages of childhood, adolescence and adulthood.

It is surprising that so little is known about children and young people's behaviour in the nonprofit sector given the wealth of literature about children and young people in the commercial marketing arena. How children behave as consumers, and the various ways in which marketers communicate with children are well documented. Prior research on children and young people's behaviour as consumers, and how they learn to be consumers, can contribute to our understanding of children and young people as donors. These are now considered in turn, along with research beyond the marketing discipline that may contribute to our understanding of how they learn to be (or not to be) donors.

3.5 THE CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

In the following sections, the spending power and purchasing influence of children and young people are considered, followed by research on children and young people as consumers.

3.5.1 Spending power and purchasing influence

Those aged 0-24 represent 31% of the UK population (ONS 2009). These 18.88 million young individuals represent a lucrative market for businesses, since children and young people nowadays are considered the most affluent children of all time (Lindstrom 2003; Schor 2004). In Britain, 82% of children

receive regular pocket money (Halifax 2009), and this gives them considerable spending power in their own right; 5-16 year-olds earned £7.2 billion a year in pocket money (Frean 2006), while 5-18 year-olds received an average of £4,144, or £6.13 per week (Liverpool Victoria 2009). This amounted to £1.7 billion of pocket money being paid out in 2008, representing a 419% increase over the past 21 years[10]. This is despite recent drops in pocket money levels due to the economic downturn (Halifax 2009; Mintel 2008) and forecasts of decreasing numbers of children and young people (Mintel 2006, 2007, 2008).

Pocket money is not the only source of income for children and young people. Table 3.2 outlines the sources of income for different age groups.

Table 3.2: Sources of income for British children and young people

Age	Sources of income	Data source
7-10 year-olds	72% received pocket money or an allowance from parents 41% received pocket money or an allowance from grandparents 31% received pocket money or an allowance from parents and grandparents; 20% earned money regularly by doing chores or odd jobs.	Mintel 2006
11-14 year-olds	13% received money from a regular part-time job 77% received pocket money or an allowance from parents 24% received pocket money or an allowance from grandparents 24% earned money regularly by doing chores or odd jobs; 11% received money from somewhere else; 5% did not receive any money at all.	Mintel 2007
15-19 year-olds	16% received money from a regular full-time job; 40% received money from a regular part-time job; 42% received pocket money or an allowance from parents 12% received pocket money or an allowance from grandparents 9% received money from a grant 3% received money from social security or the dole 4% did not get any money at all.	Mintel 2007

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[10] Other estimates claim the amount that British parents collectively give is £2.1 billion.

Table 3.2 shows that older children are likely to have more cash as they tend to work more, but these statistics do not include gifts of money from parents and other family members for birthdays or Christmas, which form a significant part of children and young people's disposable income.

Childwise (2008) reported on children's spending in terms of average annual self-spend. In the UK, 5-16 year-olds spent £310m on crisps and snacks, £290m on soft drinks, £260m on sweets and chocolate, £1090 on clothing, £440 on music and CDs, and £340m on computer software. The function of pocket money appears to be changing however. Two-thirds of the 1,300 parents of 11-18 year-olds surveyed by NatWest (2009) believed that pocket money should help to cover daily expenses, including essential items such as school clothing, books, stationery, travel fares (NatWest 2009).

It is clear that children can be considered a current market for charities, but it is unclear how their wealth may translate into donations, since previous studies have not examined how much of children's disposable income goes towards helping charities and causes or even whether children see charities as a destination for their pocket money.

In the past, young adults have been seen to be suffering financial hardship as they balance early career jobs with foraging in the property market. This may be changing, because young people are staying in their parental homes longer; Children's Mutual (2009) estimated that almost 60% of British men and 40% of women aged 20-24 still live in the parental home, while Keynote (2007) reports that 65% of 16-27 year-olds are living with their parents (Keynote 2007). This trend, coupled with delays in marrying and starting families, has given young adults more disposable income to spend on expensive luxuries, going out and maintaining a higher standard of living. The issue of financial independence is pertinent here as most 18-25 year-olds feel relatively or totally financially independent while a quarter perceive

themselves as being at a halfway stage towards independence (Mutual Trust 2009). Those feeling most financially independent tend to be middle class, aged 21-25, in full time work and slightly more likely to be female (*ibid*). Such delays in achieving what many view as hallmarks of adulthood (like leaving home, getting married and buying a first home) have been gradually increasing over the past three decades, and this longer period of financial dependence on parents seems likely to continue in the short term at least. Levels of financial hardship or affluence are likely to influence charitable donations.

Children and young people are not only important for businesses as consumers in their own right, they have also become conduits from the consumer marketplace into the household, linking advertisers and the family purse and making up to 3,000 requests for products and services each year (Schor 2004). In the UK, parents typically spend £193,773[11] on each child from birth to the age of 21 (Liverpool Victoria 2010). Children are often seen as repositories of consumer knowledge and awareness who have a dual role to play in family purchase decisions and in educating family members about products and brands (Thomson et al. 2007). For charities, this may highlight the importance of children as ambassadors within the home, modelling donor behaviour for parents, and even using pester power to encourage family members to give more as a result of encountering charities at school or elsewhere. This suggests the importance of children and young people as both mediators and influencers in family decision making about giving. It is unclear however whether this affects either the levels of giving or the cause preferences within the family.

Children and young people are also trend setters for the rest of the consuming population (Lindstrom 2003). Recent research by Mintel (2007) has estimated that 10-19 year-olds exert a spending power of £12 billion in

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[11] The £193,772 cost of raising a child in the UK from birth to 21 years represents a 38% increase from the equivalent cost in 2003.

the UK, and teen spending is now so influential that it affects mainstream trends in a number of industries (Mintel 2008). They are knowledgeable and brand aware and the first adopters for many new products and fashions. Particularly with regards to entertainment, digital media and new technologies, teenagers are setting trends for the rest of the population: 21% of 11-12 year-olds and 29% of 14-16 year-olds claim that they own the latest gadgets (Mintel 2008). Similarly, the charity wristband craze of 2004/5 was led by young people wearing these wristbands, although it is not clear whether this was for fashion or for charitable reasons. This trendsetting and willingness to engage in fads and crazes may point towards their donor behaviour being more fickle and temporary than older age groups.

3.5.2 Children and young people as consumers

Children and young people's passion for consuming can be seen through their adoption and enthusiasm for brands to the extent that brands are a normalised part of their lives. They are not however simply sponges for marketing messages, they are sophisticated and discerning consumers who interpret and use advertising in a variety of ways (Bartholomew & O'Donohoe 2003). Like all consumers, they want to purchase things to satisfy various needs but more than with other age groups, satisfaction may be gained from the act of purchase itself. McNeal (1969) contends that the inherent value of consumption act declines with age, with satisfaction increasingly obtained through owning and using certain possessions. This suggests that amongst children and young people satisfaction may also be derived from the act of giving in itself.

Understanding the relationships that children and young people have with brands can help us to understand how they might relate to charities or perceive charity brands. Childhood has been shown to be a time of fluctuation and thus, children's consumption patterns may also be very fluid (Lindstrom 2003). The consumption of certain brands and products appears

to be mediated by peers, parents and a wider web of social relations including role models – predominantly in the form of celebrities for young people (Mintel 2002). Biskup and Pfister (1999) moreover posits that celebrities can affect how children and young people understand themselves and their perceptions of the world through the social construction of gender and body identities. Particularly for males, sports stars and athletes are key role models. For females, popstars and other actresses are more likely to be idolised (Lindstrom 2003).

The tween years, between 8 and 12, are considered to be years of rules and roles (Gunter & Furnham 1998). Tweens are forming their views of the world (rules) and defining where they fit in (roles). They are looking for role models to help guide them and these aspirational reference groups are often celebrity figures (Mayo & Nairn 2009). Tweens also want to conform in order to fit in with their desired peer group and may be especially susceptible to marketing messages given their search for an identity and acceptance (Lindstrom 2003). Although peer pressure - or rather, one's desire to conform - changes as children age, it can undermine children's loyalty to particular products and brands, since they may follow the herd rather than own instincts and preferences. This herd or group mentality leads children and young people to form tribes or (brand) communities as membership in a group gives them the security and social identity they need. This may help to understand the fad or craze nature of children and young people's consumption behaviour. Lindstrom (2003) contends that tweens define their worth, their role in the social hierarchy, their popularity, and their success by the brands they wear, eat and live with and hence conformity to tribal brands/products is key to continual acceptance.

Dholakia et al. (2004) makes the point that these communities do not have to be physical, and that young people can gain the same benefits through virtual communities. Children and young people are frequently dubbed the online or electronic generation as they have grown up with technology.

Rushkoff (2006) coined the term 'screenagers' for youngsters who are most comfortable in front of a screen, spending up to ten hours a day glued to TVs, computers, mobile phones and video games. The globalisation of mass and online media has facilitated the development of global brands and trends (Lindstrom 2003) and this fits in well with today's young adults (18-34 year-olds) who are more racially and ethnically diverse than previous generations (Mintel 2008) and find it easy to seek out information on international issues and trends.

More than other groups, children and young people live in a wired world where they are always on and always available: 94% of British 11-19 year-olds have a mobile phone (Mintel 2007), while 80% of 16-19 year-olds and 82% of 20-24 year olds have broadband access at home (Keynote 2007). This reflects their need for instant communications and interactivity as they see traditional information and communication channels as cumbersome (Lindstrom 2003; Tufte 2006). Far from being mere escapism, living online provides young people with security, social networking and the ability to create different personas living in branded virtual worlds (Lindstrom 2003). This translates into their dealings with charities; as discussed above, they are more likely to engage with charities online and through social medial and virtual platforms, but they may also have expectations about how charities should engage with them through these media.

As tweens develop into teenagers, social networks become broader, offering them more opportunities to communicate the self through conspicuous consumption activities (Braun-LaTour et al. 2007). As Belk et al. (1982:10) note, "this may suggest that age and sociability inferences based on consumption cues are strongest during adolescence." If brands are worn as badges of identity and helps adolescents belong to certain groups, this can aid ingroup/outgroup discrimination (that is inclusion or exclusion from a certain social group) (Tajfel 1982), and this may also have implications for how they consume or display allegiance to charity brands. Furthermore,

issues of self concept and self-social identities are important for adolescents in their use of brands and products. Self-verification (Swann 1983) and self-presentation strategies (Goffman 1959) can utilise product and brands and moreover the act of consumption itself to convey messages about the self to others. Furthermore, self-monitoring, the tendency to notice cues for socially appropriate behaviour leads one to monitor the self. In doing so, the individual may modify their behaviour accordingly (Snyder 1974) (which can relate to consumption practices or indeed charitable giving).

As teenagers move out of adolescence and into adulthood, they are generally less brand conscious (Wooten 2006) and more experimental (Larson 2001). The development of identity formation and self-projection is most profound (Moschis and Churchill 1979) but also the most fluid as young people adopt new fashions and move constantly between social circles. Consumption is used to mark and mask difference (Deutsch & Theodorou 2009). As young people mature, however, personal circumstances and life experiences are seen to be a more influential driver for consumption decisions. Life experience in particular has been cited as a key driver to giving and can contribute heavily to a donor's choice of activity (Brodie et al. 2009). An individual is more likely to participate with a particular cause if they have been affected by it during their life course. This is supported by some of the 'new social movement' literature. Searle-Chatterjee (1999) argues that the propensity to participate is established early on in the life course, and emerges from the intersection of socialisation within the family and personal life experience. This indicates that adult donor behaviour may be rooted in experiences and donor socialisation processes in childhood.

In terms of shopping experiences, Mintel (2000) reports that 18-24 year-olds tend to shop more and have more distinct attitudes towards shopping than younger children and older adults. They are more likely to be impulsive shoppers and generally shop in groups as they view shopping as a social activity. These social aspects may have implications for charity shopping

amongst children and young people, and also suggest broader issues related to what might be seen as the symbolic consumption of charities.

The trend of children "getting older younger" has been documented by many academics and practitioners (e.g. Keynote 2007; Lindstrom 2003; Linn 2004; Mintel 2006, 2007, 2009; Schor 2004). This acceleration of children's entry into adulthood has been related to changes in demographic and family structure and human biology (Giddens 1993; Linn 2004). It has been suggested that it makes children become consumers at an earlier age, and encourages them to value possessions and be more materialistic than previous generations (Schor 2004). Children's earliest experiences of consumer activity occur in the first years of life as they accompany parents on shopping trips. Introduced to the economic value of money through pocket money and allowances, they have already begun to make independent purchases by the age or four or five (McNeal 1992). By the age of ten, tweens have been found in the US to make over 250 purchase visits a year, to a variety of stores (McNeal 1992). On the other hand, sociologists have documented that young people are experiencing longer and more complex transitions into adulthood. Kay Hymowitz (2008) calls this trend postadolescence, noting that children may be getting older younger but they do not necessarily move through all life stages faster, and may even try to extend their adolescence for as long as they can.

Generations Y and Z, like other generations, are shaped by the events, leaders and developments of its time. They have grown up in an "age of marketing" (Kline 1993) and with the rise of instant communication technologies through the internet, mobile phones and other new media. They are viewed as angry, disengaged youths, but in contrast to this they appear to be sceptical, well-educated, computer-literate, and cultured individuals (Mintel UK 2009). Generation Z have been dubbed the Boomerang or Peter Pan generation because of the previously stated tendency to prolong adolescence and delay the rites of passage into adulthood longer than most

generations before them. Generation Z has also witnessed many natural disasters and other noteworthy world events (such as September 11th, Tsunami, Live Aid) which will affect the way they view institutions in general and charities in particular. It is unclear whether this cohort is more aware and embracing of charities because of such events or whether their desire to prolong their youth means they are more likely to resist "adult" responsibilities such as charitable giving.

Such trends have implications for both commercial and nonprofit marketers, but little research attention has been paid to the consumption practices and experiences of this postadolescent group. It is also unclear when children start to make independent decisions about giving or when they start to develop cause/charity preferences. The trend of getting older younger may indicate however that children are willing to take responsibility for making charitable donations at an earlier age, and as discussed above they are likely to have the means to do this.

Overall then, children and young people now grow up faster, are more connected, and have the potential to be more informed than older consumers. They have more personal power, more money, influence and attention than any other generation before them. This poses many challenges for marketers wishing to target them, and also for researchers seeking to understand this polymorphous group. Their access to and use of material possessions has raised many concerns about materialism, however, and this issue is the focus of the following section.

3.5.3 Materialism and values

Commenting on British children and young people more than twenty years ago, Simpson (1986) noted that "this generation seems less inclined to believe in philanthropy… [and] are much more consumption driven and concerned with buying things for themselves". He also referred to the

resurgence of materialistic values among younger US consumers (Belk 1985; Belk & Pollay 1985) and their preoccupation with buying possessions. Such attitudes are still evident among British children with Mintel (2006) reporting that 61% of British 7-10 year-olds wanted to be rich.

The links between materialism, consumer behaviour and psychological effects on children are well established (Linn 2004; Mayo & Nairn 2009; Nairn et al. 2007; Schor 2004) but little is known about how materialism affects donor behaviour. This gap for research on the relationship between childhood materialism and giving is especially interesting as Bennett (2003) measured materialism found, in his study of 250 adults in London, that levels of donation increased with materialistic inclination.

Materialism is generally viewed as the value placed on the acquisition of material objects (Burroughs & Rindfleisch 2002). Materialism in consumer research has been defined as "the importance a consumer attaches to worldly possessions" (Belk 1985:265), or as "an orientation which views material goods and money as important for personal happiness and social progress" (Ward & Wackman 1971:422). The two main schools of thought on materialism view materialism either as a set of personality traits (Belk 1985) or as a set of personal values (Richins 1994). The former school of thought contends that personality traits such as envy, non-geneorsity and possessiveness constitute materialism (Belk 1985). On the other hand, materialism as a set of values views materialism to be related to measures of happiness, success and centrality (Richins & Dawson 1992). The suggestion is that people with strong material values place acquiring possessions as a means of achieving happiness and that possessions can be used as an indicator of success (*ibid*). Amongst the general public, materialism is equated with conspicuous consumption, in which product satisfaction is derived from audience reaction rather than utility in use (Wong 1997). Materialists are seen as "driven" to consume more, and to focus on the consumption of status goods (Fournier & Richins 1991; Mason 1981). This

relates to Veblen's (1912) notion of conspicuous consumption. West (2004) used this notion to criticise the growing trend for people to publicly parade their charitable nature, typically by wearing charity ribbons, stickers or badges. He called this "conspicuous compassion" and places blame particularly on young people and celebrities for turning the traditionally private act of philanthropy into an overt expression of self-presentation or pseudo-altruism.

Materialist values are typically measured by asking people about money, possessions, and consumption (as related to the two prevailing views of materialism). For example, Kasser and Ryan (1993) collected data on financial aspirations (having a high paying job, being financially successful, buying things just because you want them), social goals (being famous, admired) and appearance (keeping up with fashions, achieving the right look). Other measures such as Richins and Dawson's (1992) widely cited materialism scale, focus on desires for success, how central consumption is to people and happiness. Belk's (1985) scale rates envy, possessiveness, and nongenerosity as personality traits related to materialism. Previous research shows that high levels of material values are negatively associated with subjective wellbeing. Extant research agree that individuals who focus on the acquisition of material objects exhibit reduced life satisfaction (Richins & Dawson 1992), diminished levels of happiness (Belk 1985) and higher levels of depression (Kasser & Ryan 1993). Kasser and Ryan (1993) and Linn (2004), amongst others found that materialism is correlated with lower self-esteem and with higher rates of depression and anxiety. The overall consensus from research on materialism is that the more strongly a person subscribes to materialist values, the poorer is his or her quality of life.

Children and young people seem particularly prone to psychological distress derived from materialism. Schor (2004:166) found that "the children who are more involved in consumer culture are more depressed, more anxious, have lower self-esteem, and suffer from psychosomatic complaints". There is

compelling evidence to show that materialism poses a serious threat to children and young people's psychological wellbeing (Mayo & Nairn 2009; Schor 2004; Schroeder & Dugal 2005). This is especially pertinent as Chaplin and Roedder John (2007) claim that materialism changes over childhood and adolescence, rising through middle childhood and declining from early to late adolescence. This may be related to peer influence, dispositional factors such as neuroticism, and economic socialisation at home (Flouri 1999).

At an individual level several explanations of materialism have been proposed although the empirical research is fragmented. The notion that material possessions often serve as surrogates for inadequate or unsatisfying interpersonal relationships (Belk 1985; Richins 1994) or as compensation for personal shortcomings has generally received support. For example Braun and Wicklund (1989) introduced the theory of self-completion, which suggests that people tend to compensate for their shortcomings through the adoption of consumer symbols. More recently, Claxton and Murray (1994) reintroduced Braun and Wicklund's (1989) theory from a symbolic interactionist perspective. They claimed that where functional human relationships were lacking, people may turn to the symbolism of objects for elements of self-definition. Given the 'turmoil' or uncertainty that characterises this lifestage, this may be the case particularly for adolescents.

The link between self-conception and consumption is particularly important for this age group. Authors such as Willis (1990) suggest that adulthood is now perceived as much by consumption patterns as issues of marital or educational status. Gabriel and Lang (2006) support this idea that consumption is the key to entering adulthood. Consumption therefore plays its part in the transition from children to adolescents to young adults and in the construction of their self-identities. As Levy (1959) argued, products are often not purchased for their functionality but as symbols which indicate one's status and self-esteem. There is however little commentary or even

speculation within the literature about how the consumption of charities relates to the construction of self-identities for both children and adults.

Furthermore, exploration of social identity theory in the donor behaviour of children and young people have rarely been considered. The central tenet of social identity theory posits that individual's identities are based in part on their membership and inclusion in certain social groups. There is little commentary on how children and young people's social identities may be related to their identity as a donor or a volunteer or as a donor for specific causes. Issues of social capital and social networks would also help illuminate the social issues around charitable giving for children and young people. Particularly as peer groups are an important socialisation agent during childhood and adolescence, the quality of children's social relationships and related concepts of reciprocity, trust and cooperation (Putnam 1994) may provide an insight into the motivations for giving. Friends and peers can provide children with their sense of self which can be reinforced through social networks (Pahl 2000).

Thus far this chapter has considered the behaviour of children and young people as donors and as consumers. Although this discussion has touched on developmental issues, the focus in the following sections is on how they become consumers or donors in the first place.

3.6 LEARNING TO CONSUME

As childhood is characterised by rapid cognitive and physical development, it is important to understand what these changes mean for how children learn to become consumers. Consumer socialisation describes "the process by which children acquire the skills, knowledge and attitudes relevant to their functioning as consumers in the marketplace" (Ward 1974:2). Although rooted in developmental psychology, consumer socialisation research is

interdisciplinary and approaches human learning through cognitive development and social learning models.

The cognitive development model, based on work by psychologist Jean Piaget (1960), posits the progressive acquisition of knowledge. It emphasises the interaction between the child's naturally maturing abilities and his/her interactions with the environment. Children are considered to be active participants in this process and development is considered to be the formation of increasingly complex cognitions and behaviours as they move through a series of age-based stages. These stages are defined in terms of cognitive structures that a child can use in perceiving and dealing with the environment at different ages (Kohlberg 1969). The social learning model, however, explains socialisation as a function of the environmental influences applied to the child. Learning is assumed to take place during an individual's interaction with socialisation agents (such as parents or siblings) in various settings. Both of these theories are considered briefly below.

At its most fundamental level, Piaget's cognitive developmental model is based on the development of schemata, the mental structures by which children try to organise and understand experiences. New schemata are formed and existing schema are developed through assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation is the process by which children take in new information from the environment and understand it in terms of a pre-existing schema, whereas the accommodation process involves changing existing schemata in light of a new object or information (Piaget & Inhelder 1969). The mechanism through which these two processes are balanced is called equilibration. The resulting model proposes four stages of cognitive development, summarised by Roland-Levy (2010) as follows:

Sensori-motor stage (0-2 years) – at this stage the child is egocentric (self-centred), unable for a while to distinguish between him/herself and the rest of

the world. The child gradually learns to act on the objects in his/her environment and starts to judge them by their features.

Pre-operational stage (2-7 years) – during this stage, symbolic thinking and language continue to develop but the child thinks that the world is just as it appears. Piaget claimed that at this phase, the child is still egocentric and thinks that their viewpoint is the same as everyone else's (Piaget 1950a). Until the child is able to de-centre, he/she is unable to classify objects in any logical way.

Concrete operational stage (7-11 years) – at this stage, the child can think and reason systematically about the world of objects or concrete reality, mastering concepts such as object permanence and conservation. Operational thinking is consolidated but mainly if the object is concrete and physically present.

Formal operational stage (11 years and older) – at this stage the child can reason in purely symbolic or abstract terms, using this to solve problems. He/she can use full adult reasoning and is capable of all forms of abstract thought. Furthermore, deductive reasoning allows for mastery of complex systems.

Piaget claimed that all children pass through these four stages in sequence but at different speeds. The notion of stages assumes that the child has reached a certain degree of maturation in order to allow these processes to occur and therefore to enter the next stage of cognitive development. Although he revolutionised the way we think about children's cognitive development, his theory has been subject to a number of criticisms. Some argue that Piaget underestimated children's abilities, especially regarding the stages in which object permanence and conservation is acquired (de la Ville & Tartas 2010). Neo-Piagetians argue that cognitive development should be seen as the acquisition of several separate information-processing skills. This

approach stems from criticisms that Piaget's theory does not explain why development occurs from stage to stage, and that it overlooks individual differences in cognitive development. This information-processing approach, most notably advanced by Case (1985), claims that while cognitive development proceeds through a series of stages, this relates to cumulative experience of problem-solving tasks in information-processing terms, rather than the child's thinking and reasoning.

Social learning theories offers an alternative to cognitive developmental models by emphasising the social and cultural environment in which children develop. Even though Piaget acknowledges the influence of the environment, he focused on the immediate physical environment rather than the socio-cultural environment in which children learn social roles, rules and norms. Within this environment, socialisation agents are imperative for the child's development: family members (parents, siblings, and other relatives), peers, teachers, and the media (including advertising), help shape children's attitudes and behaviours. In this sense, social learning theories posit a more passive role for children than cognitive developmental models. The modelling of consumer behaviours by socialisation agents, particularly family members, is imperative in promoting consumer learning. The key processes are observation and imitation by children (Bandura 1977); children learn to be consumers through observing the consumer behaviour of others, interacting with socialisation agents, watching television advertisements, accompanying parents on shopping trips, or noticing peers' use of products for example. Imitation of consumer behaviours also works through children learning from the consequences that ensue from certain actions. Reinforcement and feedback provided by the environment is therefore essential for learning (Moschis et al. 1983).

Some social learning theories emphasise modelling further. Social role model theory proposes that a child learns to play different roles in society such as sibling, student, grandchild, as well as consumer (Eagly 1987). Information is

gained through parents and family habits, peers, advertising and the products themselves. The emphasis is on how objects (or products) allow the child to fulfil certain social roles. Bandura (1977) and Mischel (1970) also highlight how children learn gender-specific roles through 'direct socialisation' (Maccoby 2000), whereby parents and other socialisation agents reward sex-appropriate behaviour and discourage other less appropriate behaviours which may impact on consumption.

Social learning theories can be related to work by Lev Vygotsky (1978, 1981) who also challenges Piagetian theory. Vygotsky also emphasised the intricate and reciprocal relationship between children and their social context. He believed that children acquired knowledge and skills through what might be described as an apprenticeship. That is, children are guided by more knowledgeable individuals who help them to understand more about their environment and develop new skills. Learning is achieved first through cooperation with others in a variety of social settings – with peers, teachers, parents and others who are significant to the child, and also through the 'symbolic representatives' of the child's culture (its art, language, play, etc). In this two-way process, the child's development as a learner reflects his/her cultural experience; in turn, significant cultural experiences become internalised into the structure of the child's intellect. Another key tenet of Vygotsky's theory is the zone of proximal development, which provides an explanation for how children learn through the help of others. The zone of proximal development is the distance between the child's actual developmental level and his/her potential level of development under the guidance of more expert adults/peers. Unlike Piaget, Vygotsky contends that children do not have to wait until they are 'ready' to move onto the next stages; instead, the process is less rigid as children learn from knowledgeable people as they interact with them. The process of collaborating with other people who are more knowledgeable not only gives the child new information about a topic but also confirms those aspects of the issue which the child does understand. This cooperation between the child

and more expert others helps the child to move on intellectually (Vygotsky 1978; Wood 1998). This suggests that the child is an apprentice consumer, learning to trade through interactions with others in consumption situations.

These perspectives on child development have spawned many studies into consumer socialisation. Roedder John's (1999) review of such studies accumulated over a 25-year period has been particularly influential within marketing and consumer research. Synthesising the consumer socialisation literature, and influenced by Piaget, she formed a model of three stages which explains how children learn to become consumers (Table 3.3). She argued that children move from the perceptual stage (3-7 years-old) to the analytical stage (8-11 years-old), and then on to the more adult-like reflective stage (12-16 years-old).

Table 3.3: Roedder John's consumer socialisation stages framework

Consumer Socialisation Stages			
Characteristics	Perceptual stage, 3-7 years	Analytical stage, 7-11 years	Reflective stage, 11-16 years
Knowledge structures:			
Orientation	Concrete	Abstract	Abstract
Focus	Perceptual features	Functional/underlying features	Functional/underlying features
Complexity	Unidimensional	Two or more dimensions	Multidimensional
Perspective	Egocentric (own perspective)	Dual perspectives (own + others)	Dual perspectives in social context
Decision-making and influence strategies:			
Orientation	Expedient	Thoughtful	Strategic
Focus	Perceptual features	Functional/underlying features	Functional/underlying features
	Salient features	Relevant features	Relevant features
Complexity	Single attributes	Two or more attributes	Multiple attributes
	Limited repertoire of strategies	Expanded repertoire of strategies	Complete repertoire strategies
Adaptivity	Emerging	Moderate	Fully developed
Perspective	Egocentric	Dual perspectives	Dual perspective in social context

Source: Roedder John, D. (1999) "Consumer socialisation of children: A retrospective look at twenty-five years of research", *Journal of Consumer Research* Vol. 26, pp.183-213.

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Although her stages begin at three rather than at birth, Roedder John's framework is similar to Piaget's theory in that children start off as egocentric, seeing the world in single dimensions and thinking about products and brands in a concrete way based on key features or characteristics. Through the analytical stage, the child proceeds to being more allocentric or other-directed, more abstract in thinking and reasoning and to seeing the commercial world in dual features or dimensions. The reflective stage signals that children are now able to engage in logical thinking and can reason and relate to the commercial world in symbolic or abstract terms – seeing the viewpoints of others and analysing products using multiple dimensions. Building on this framework, Roedder John presents research on several areas which she considers to be affected by the consumer socialisation process. These relate to advertising and persuasion knowledge, transaction knowledge, shopping knowledge and skills, decision-making skills and abilities, purchase influence and negotiation strategies, and consumption motives and values. Table 3.4 considers in further detail children's cognitive development and likely consumption experiences in each of the three stages.

Table 3.4: Summary of findings by consumer socialisation stage

Topic	Perceptual stage, 3-7 years	Analytical stage, 7-11 years	Reflective stage, 11-16 years
Advertising knowledge	Can distinguish ads from programs based on perceptual features. Believe ads are truthful, funny, and interesting. Positive attitudes toward ads.	Can distinguish ads from programs based on persuasive intent. Believe ads lie and contain bias and deception – but do not use these "cognitive defences". Negative attitudes toward ads.	Understand persuasive intent of ads as well as specific ad tactics and appeals. Believe ads lie and know how to spot specific instances of bias or deception in ads. Sceptical attitudes towards ads.
Transaction knowledge:			
Product and brand knowledge	Can recognise brand names and beginning to associate them with product categories. Perceptual cues used to identify product categories. Beginning to understand symbolic aspects of consumption based on perceptual features. Egocentric view of retail stores as a source of desired items.	Increasing brand awareness, especially for child-relevant product categories. Underlying or functional cues used to define product categories. Increased understanding of symbolic aspects of consumption.	Substantial brand awareness for adult-oriented as well as child-relevant product categories. Underlying or functional cues used to define product categories. Sophisticated understanding of consumption symbolism for product categories and brand names. Understanding and enthusiasm for retail stores.
Shopping knowledge and skills	Understand sequence of events in the basic shopping script. Value of products and prices based on perceptual features	Shopping scripts more complex, abstract, and with contingencies. Prices based on theories of value	Complex and contingent shopping scripts. Prices based on abstract reasoning, such as input variations and buyer preferences

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Table 3.4 (continued): Summary of findings by consumer socialisation stage

Topic	Perceptual stage, 3-7 years	Analytical stage, 7-11 years	Reflective stage, 11-16 years
Decision-making skills and abilities:			
Information search	Limited awareness of information sources. Focus on perceptual attributes. Emerging ability to adapt to cost-benefit trade-offs.	Increased awareness of personal and mass media sources. Gather information on functional as well as perceptual attributes. Able to adapt to cost-benefit trade offs.	Contingent use of different information sources depending on product or situation. Gather information on functional, perceptual, and social aspects. Able to adapt to cost-benefit trade-offs.
Product evaluation	Use of perceptually salient attribute information. Use of single attributes.	Focus on important attribute information – functional and perceptual attributes.	Focus on important attribute information – functional, perceptual, and social aspects.
Decision strategies	Limited repertoire of strategies. Emerging ability to adapt strategies to tasks – usually need cues to adapt.	Increased repertoire of strategies, especially noncompensatory ones. Capable of adapting strategies to tasks.	Full repertoire of strategies. Capable of adapting strategies to tasks in adult-like manner.
Purchase influence and negotiation strategies	Use direct requests and emotional appeals. Limited ability to adapt strategy to person or situation.	Expanded repertoire of strategies, with bargaining and persuasion emerging. Developing abilities to adapt strategy to persons and situations.	Full repertoire of strategies, with bargaining and persuasion as favourites. Capable of adapting strategies based on perceived effectiveness for persons or situations.
Consumption motives and values:			
Materialism	Value of possessions based on surface features, such as "having more" of something.	Emerging understanding of value based on social meaning and significance.	Fully developed understanding of value based on social meaning, significance, and scarcity.

Source: Roedder John, D. (1999) "Consumer socialisation of children: A retrospective look at twenty-five years of research", *Journal of Consumer Research* Vol. 26, pp.183-213.

Although comprehensive, Roedder John's framework has come under criticism. As a mainly marketing-based model using literature from the field of marketing, broader discussions of children's economic socialisation have

been discounted. Concepts such as banking, budgeting, money, prices and profits may help to better understand the research areas within the framework (Lunt & Furnham 1996). Furthermore the model is more rigid in its application of age-based stages than Piaget who saw the stages more in qualitative terms. In relation to this, there seems to be an assumption that consumer socialisation is predominantly based on cognitive functions, largely disregarding the importance of social interactions with agents and the wider environment.

An earlier model of consumer socialisation, developed by Moschis and Churchill (1978), incorporates more aspects of social skills and the influences of socialisation agents. This model encompasses social structural variables (such as sex, race, and social class) as antecedents of the socialisation process. Socialisation itself proceeds through the learning processes of observation, imitation and reinforcement facilitated by the socialisation agents of parents, peers, school and the media. The behavioural outcomes of the process are learned consumer knowledge and behaviours which involve critical attitudes and practices.

In discussing consumer socialisation from childhood to adulthood, it is important to bear in mind the vast physical and psychological changes that are integral to this phase of life. In particular, the onset of puberty and growing awareness of self and social identities means that consumption plays an important role for adolescents (Moschis & Churchill 1978). The psychoanalytic work of Erik Erikson (1968) on identity development in adolescents offers further insight into how this may affect socialisation in this transitional phase. Erikson's process of self-definition involves adolescents experimenting with various behaviours, interests, beliefs, and roles, and modifying or discarding them in an attempt to shape an integrated concept of the self, taking cues from socialisation agents. Ideally adolescents will have formed a clear identity by adulthood but this is not always the case. In any case, a person's identity is subject to change through various stages of the

lifecycle. Erikson (1968) considers a wider age range for development than previous researchers and although he accepted many of Freud's ideas, he regarded children as active explorers but also placed less emphasis on sexual desires. His eight stage model is outlined in table 3.5 below:

Table 3.5: Erikson's stages of psychosocial development

Infancy (0-1 years)	trust vs mistrust
Early childhood (1-3 years)	autonomy vs shame and doubt
Preschool (3-6 years)	initiative vs guilt
School age (6-12 years)	industry vs inferiority
Adolescence (12-18 years)	identity vs role confusion
Early adulthood (18-40 years)	intimacy vs isolation
Middle age (40-65 years)	generativity vs stagnation
Old age (65 to death)	integrity vs despair

Source: Erikson, E.H. (1968). Identity: Youth and Crisis. New York: Norton.

Each of Erikson's eight stages is characterised by a critical period of conflict. In entering each stage, the person enters a crisis, arising from a new dimension of social interaction for the individual. For children and young people, the middle and old age stages are less relevant, and so only the first five stages are considered below.

In infancy, the important event for the child is feeding which necessitates trust in the caregivers and other adults, hence the conflict is over whether or not to trust. The primary caregiver is taken as the key social agent in this stage.

In early childhood, there is increased autonomy or independence in speech and movement, but failure to act independently or look after oneself may lead to shame and doubt.

As children enter school, this stage is characterised by exploration and involves the child using their initiative and beginning to assert control and power over the environment. However, children must learn not to impinge on the rights and privileges of others as this can lead to guilt.

The last childhood stage is when children are fully enrolled at school and they interact on a daily basis with peers. This brings with it the potential for feeling inferior or inadequate to others, but children need to develop social and academic skills which can develop a sense of industry. The key socialisation agents shift from family members to teachers and peers.

Adolescence, for Erikson, is characterised by an identity crisis. The onset of developing social relationships necessitates that adolescents develop a sense of self and personal identity but failure to do this leads to confusion over roles and a weak sense of the self. This stage is the crossroad between childhood and maturity and peers act as key socialisation agents throughout this stage.

Lastly for emerging adults, relationships are crucial at this stage in that young adults are seeking intimacy but run the risk of isolation. The primary task within this stage is to make strong friendships and achieve a sense of love and companionship.

Erikson's model and the six stages pertaining to children and young people provide valuable insights into the crisis or conflicts that can preoccupy children within each of these stages. Particularly in the context of consumer behaviour, the model can help to explain how school-aged children are more

susceptible to peer influence and how they place trust in brands and consumption as they seek to develop a sense of self identity. Although Erikson's psychosocial development model can be criticised for being vague about the causes of development, it provides a useful overview of the stages that children go through in their development through to early adulthood and later life.

Interest in late adolescence has blossomed in recent years with the development of youth studies and theories of emerging adulthood (Arnett 2000, 2004; Bynner 2008). Of particular interest in this review are studies which examine consumption during this transitional phase. Within childhood studies, there has been much discussion of children as both "human beings" and "human becomings". Children are not simply incomplete adults; anticipation of growing up is a fundamental part of being a child, and children play an active role in their own development as well as engaging with the here and now (Qvortrup 2005).

Progression from childhood to adulthood has traditionally been based on age, but young adults refer to adulthood in terms of both individual qualities and transition markers (Molgat 2007). Youth transitions are typically categorised as residential transitions (moving out of the parental home), professional transitions (leaving school and entering employment) and relationship transitions (getting married and having children) (Galland 1984, 1991), but consumption transitions (in the form of financial independence and increased consumer autonomy) may also be a marker of adulthood. The relationship between identity construction and consumption is especially heightened during adolescence as the emerging adults individuate from their parents and identify themselves within social peer groups (Erikson 1968; Harter 1999). Therefore it is not surprising that young people use consumption to define and construct self and social identities (Deutsch & Theodorou 2009; Elliott & Wattanasuwan 1998). Research linking consumption and emerging adulthoods is at an embryonic stage, although it

is a very promising area for extending current understandings of primary and secondary socialisation.

Most theories of consumer socialisation describe the acquisition of consumer knowledge and skills from birth to adulthood, but increasingly research has argued that socialisation is a lifelong process (Ekstrom 2006). Socialisation theories have been used to understand behaviour at later stages in the life cycle (e.g. Ahammer 1969; Kuypers & Bengston 1973), including the development of values, attitudes and skills in the socialisation of occupational roles in adults (Brim 1968). From a lifelong socialisation perspective, consumers are constantly learning, and this relates to Berger and Luckmann's (1967) distinction between primary and secondary socialisation. Primary socialisation, "the first socialisation an individual undergoes in childhood, through which he becomes a member of society" (p.150), has been the focus of this review thus far. Berger and Luckman argue that a second type of socialisation exists: secondary socialisation is "any subsequent process that inducts an already socialised individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society". Berger and Luckmann (1967) and more recently (Ekstrom 2006; Ward 1974) have argued that socialisation continues through adulthood and involves adults integrating different bodies of knowledge required to engage in new consumption experiences. Bjurstrom (2002) argues that socialisation has no end. He acknowledges that socialisation is more intense in childhood but he claims that adults also go through periods of learning and adjusting to new situations. He calls these periods of re-socialisation and argues that they apply in the consumption sphere. Research on lifelong (consumer) socialisation is relatively underdeveloped; little is known about the role of socialisation agents for older age groups, for example, or the development of cognitive abilities in assimilating or accommodating new schemata.

In considering how children learn to be consumers, aspects of advertising, transaction, shopping and consumption knowledge have been presented as

key areas of development. An understanding of consumer socialisation - of how children learn to engage with the commercial world - can only offer partial insights into how children learn to be donors. To conceptualise donor socialisation more fully, it is necessary to supplement this with literature from the fields of prosocial development and economic/political socialisation. These areas are addressed in the following sections of this chapter.

3.6.1 *Prosocial development*

Prosocial development is a field within psychology which describes the development of prosocial behaviour in children. It incorporates influences from cognitive developmental theory, social learning theories and psychoanalysis. Prosocial behaviour can be defined as actions intended to benefit one or more people other than oneself (Eisenberg & Fabes 1998). Prosocial behaviour is distinguished from altruistic behaviour as this implies that helping comes at a cost, whereas prosocial behaviour accepts the notion that one may receive benefits from the act of helping. Altruism theoretically is considered to be a subgroup within prosocial behaviour, as is donation behaviour. Prosocial development literature is clearly relevant to an understanding of the donor socialisation process.

Acts of helping another person, comforting someone in distress or sharing seem to be early antecedents of donor behaviour. Prosocial behaviour in children is mostly manifested in helping, comforting and sharing behaviours, typically comforting another child in distress, sharing toys or helping parents. Children as young as twenty months are capable of demonstrating prosocial behaviour (Zahn-Waxler & Radka-Yarrow 1982). Young children may share toys or snacks but as they grow older, acting prosocially may entail the sharing of pocket money or other goods, which are closer to conventional understandings of charitable activities. Thus understanding how children learn to act prosocially can greatly help us understand how children learn to be donors.

Cognitive developmental theories of prosocial behaviour builds on work by Piaget (1932, 1965) and Kohlberg (1969, 1984) on the development of moral reasoning in children. Piaget examined the development of moral reasoning, or how children judge right and wrong actions. Moral reasoning often leads to moral behaviour but this is not always the case. For example a person may reason that it is right to give money for disaster relief but not actually donate any money. Piaget's theory of moral judgement relates to his later work in that development proceeds as a process of adaptation through the assimilation and accommodation of schema. His research was based on watching children play and posing them moral dilemmas. He distinguished three stages in the development of children's moral behaviour, linked to their awareness of 'rules'. Piaget argued that as the child's conception of rules changes, from being absolutely fixed to being mutually agreed, a unilateral respect for adult or higher authority changes towards equality with peers. This signals a decline in egocentrism and the growth of operational thought. The shift to allocentrism is important for understanding donor behaviour as it requires children to comprehend and acknowledge the viewpoint of others – in this case, potential victims who are in need. Understanding others' needs and feelings would seem like an obvious precursor to the development of empathy and sympathy, and seems an important element of donor socialisation.

At the *premoral judgement* stage (ages 4-5), rules are not understood, and although a child may act prosocially, it is argued that they do not understand why this is the case.

The *moral realism* stage (ages 5-9) is characterised by children believing that rules come from a higher authority, learned through interaction with the environment. Children will typically believe that these rules cannot be changed and that actions are evaluated by outcomes. In the case of donor behaviour, children may believe, without clear reasoning, that everyone

should give to charity and that donations can be judged by improvements to the lives of beneficiaries.

The final stage, *moral subjectivism* (age 9 and older), takes into account subjective intent and the idea that rules are mutually agreed by players of a game and thus are open to change if all players agreed. At this stage, children may be expected to consider whether people are deserving of their help and start to adjust the previously accepted rules.

Building on Piaget's model, Kohlberg (1969) proposed a hierarchical sequence of moral reasoning stages which can be applied to both children and adults. At the *preconventional* stage, judgements are based on the immediate consequences for oneself, whereas by the *conventional* stage, judgements are based on social norms, rules and laws. Finally, at the *postconventional or principled* stage, judgements are based on universal moral principles that at once transcend and underpin the moral conventions of society.

Even though such work on moral reasoning relates to moral judgement and behaviour, its contribution to donor socialisation is through outlining age-based stages of judgements of what is right and wrong in the world, which is a prerequisite to developing a sense of moral responsibility. Kohlberg in particular emphasises the cognitive ability of perspective-taking, which is important for determining prosocial behaviour – whether that is donating to charities, helping someone in distress or acting responsibly within the law. However, these two cognitive developmental models have largely overlooked the role of emotions in the socialisation process. Eisenberg et al. (1991, 1995) recognised this and developed a more inclusive notion of prosocial moral reasoning to include environmental and emotional factors.

Social learning theories of prosocial development relies heavily on behaviourism. Early behaviourists argued that children learn primarily

through conditioning with reinforcement of behaviours which promotes prosocial development (Gefland et al. 1975; Hartmann et al. 1976). Bandura (1986) allows a greater role for internal cognitive processes in moral development, stating that "moral rules or standards of behaviour are fashioned from information from a variety of social sources, including tuition, others' evaluative social reactions, and models. Based on experience, people learn what factors are morally relevant and how much value to attach to them" (in Eisenberg & Fabes 1998:704). Research within this field has proceeded through observation and experiments. Gefland et al. (1975), for example, found that reinforcement (in the form of social or material rewards) and modelling of prosocial behaviours (Grusec et al. 1978) can increase the likelihood of children acting prosocially. However, it is hard to ascertain whether seeing an altruistic act increases helpfulness or whether the child simply conforms due to the unfamiliar circumstances of the experiment. This is part of a broader criticism of the use of an experimental methodology for investigating prosocial behaviour, as children's behaviour may be motivated by a desire to conform in this setting.

Finally, psychoanalytical theory may also provide us with insight into prosocial development. Freud (1933/1968) posits that children are born with innate, irrational sexual and aggressive impulses directed at self-gratification (the id). They develop a conscience or superego at about 4-6 years-old as a means of resolving conflict between their own hostile and sexual impulses and fears of parental hostility or loss of parental love. The superego is the outcome of the process of identification by which children 'internalise' their parents and 'introject' their values. Once children develop the superego they begin to behave prosocially, because they have internalised prosocial values and feel guilty if they do not act in this way. From this perspective, guilt, self-destructive tendencies and sexual desires underlie altruistic acts, since acting prosocially is a defense mechanism used by the ego to deal with the superego (Fenichel 1945; Glover 1968).

Turning to research findings from the multidisciplinary field of prosocial development, Zahn-Waxler and Radke-Yarrow (1982) identified differences between younger infants (up to 20 months) and older infants (20-30 months). Through observation and parents' accounts, they found that younger infants seldom acted prosocially, but cried or whimpered when exposed to someone else in distress. Older infants were more likely to act prosocially by offering reassurance, combative altruism (which is hitting the aggressor) giving objects such as toys to the victim, or getting help from a third party (Smith et al. 2003).

Grusec et al. (2002) point out that children engage in prosocial behaviours for a variety of reasons but within the literature, two motivations have been studied. First, feelings of empathy or sympathy generated in response to seeing someone in need or distress are thought to motivate the child to act prosocially. The second motivation is adherence to a social or cultural norm, with socialisation agents playing a key role. The influence of socialisation agents, namely parents can affect the prosocial development of a child as children observe and sometimes imitate their behaviour as well as learn from their cues.

Parental disciplinary practices, particularly parental inductions (how adults justify requiring the child to change his/her behaviour) are likely to promote moral development because they induce an optimal level of arousal for learning (Hoffman 1970). Over time, these inductive messages are internalised by children as they learn about actions and their consequences.

Parental warmth and the quality of the parent-child relationship is also thought to affect prosocial development but there is little consensus within the field. Some studies have found that warm, supportive socialisation agents produced prosocial children (e.g. Bar-Tal et al. 1980; Bryant and Crockenberg 1980; Robinson et al. 1994) but others have found no evidence that parental warmth affects children's prosocial behaviour (Iannotti et al.

1992; Koestner et al. 1990). Similarly, research findings into the links between parental empathy and children's empathy have been mixed (Barnett et al. 1980; Strayer and Roberts 1989; Trommsdorff 1991).

Social learning theorists argue that modelling by socialisation agents is important for children learning about prosocial behaviour. Research in this field is mainly laboratory-based and finds children who observe a generous or helpful model are more generous or helpful than those children who were under control conditions (Elliott & Vasta 1970; Gray & Pirot 1983; Grusec 1972; Harris 1970, 1971; Rushton & Teachman 1978). Children also tended to donate more when they see a generous model rather than a selfish model (e.g. Bryan & Walbek 1970; Dressel & Midlarsky 1978; Lipscomb et al. 1982). It is argued that children imitate models because they see them receiving rewards for prosocial behaviour. Some researchers have found that children imitate reinforced models more than models who have not been reinforced (Franco 1978; Israely & Guttmann 1983). It also seems that praise rather than a tangible reward encourages imitation (Elliott & Vasta 1970). Similarly, children were found to be more generous when they were exposed to a model who seemed to derive happiness from acting prosocially (Bryan 1972; Midlarsky & Bryan 1972).

As with general socialisation studies, prosocial development literature is influenced by cognitive developmental, social learning and psychoanalytic theories. Taken together, they have provided insights into how children learn to act prosocially. A major limitation of research in prosocial development, however, is that it tends to rely on parental reports of children's behaviour and brief observations of children, which may affect the generalisability of data. Many of these studies also use correlational analysis, which limits discussions about the causes of behaviour. There is also a lack of research on non-Westernised cultures and ethnic minorities, despite potential differences in socialisation between cultures.

3.6.2 Economic and political socialisation

Consumer socialisation and prosocial development offer only partial insights into the process of donor socialisation. This is because becoming a donor requires not only an understanding of charity messages and the ability to make moral judgements about giving, but also a wider understanding of the economic and political world. This necessitates consideration of economic and political socialisation.

Although consumer socialisation requires an understanding of the economic world, donor socialisation entails developing further knowledge of economic exchanges. This is particularly important for donors as exchanges the nonprofit sector are not always reciprocal. Straus (1952) was among the first writers to examine the development of money-related concepts, which forms the basis of understanding the economic world. Economic socialisation can be defined as "the process by which individuals develop their competence in dealing with the economic world" (Roland-Levy 2010). This is gained through understanding the idea of exchange and in particular using money to buy goods. Many economic socialisation models have been proposed (Berti and Bombi 1988). Burris (1983) notes that most of this literature agrees with the Piagetian view that knowledge develops through a sequence of stages. Lea et al. (1987:326) support this, observing that all the models offer:

> *"…a first stage in which the child does not understand the role of money in transactions; the child knows that money must be used for the transaction to be possible, but sees this necessity simply as a right or moral imperative, there is no concept of exchange. At an intermediate stage, the child understands immediate exchanges but neither the network of exchanges which constitute the economic system nor the divisibility of money… the final stage all authors agree, involves understanding of all types of exchanges with money, including the concepts of profit, investments and so on".*

Economic socialisation involves increasing understanding of concepts such as money, prices and profit, banking, possessions and ownership, poverty and wealth, budgeting, saving, negotiating, and bargaining (Gunter & Furnham 1998; Lunt & Furnham 1996). This requires in turn that children develop some knowledge about the distribution of wealth, social class, economic participation, and public/private ownership. These concepts emphasise slightly different areas of development than consumer socialisation, and seem particularly relevant to donor socialisation.

Another area that seems relevant here is distributive justice, that is the system of moral rules which govern the distribution of resources (Dickinson & Emler 1996). Typically when sweets or gifts are given to a group of children, they are shared equally amongst them – an equality rule is adopted. Following a broader line of thought, wages for paid work follow an equity rule when wages are paid relative to the effort expended by each worker. These rules are crucial to the understanding of the economic world and hence must be learned as part of the process of economic socialisation. Distributive justice builds on Piaget's (1965) seminal work on moral judgement (considered above) and in particular the judgements that children make in allocating rewards and punishments. Damon (1975) extended Piaget's three-stage model by considering the notion of positive justice. This is relevant to donor socialisation in that positive justice is reasoning about justice, which involves prosocial interaction such as sharing or helping. Damon proposed a number of distinct phases in the development of this concept. In the earliest phase, the child believes that rewards should be distributed to whomever deserves them most (usually based on external characteristics such as age or size). The next phase emphasises, somewhat rigidly, the equality rule in allocation. This forms the basis for a gradual recognition of reciprocity, multiple justifications and situational demands which lead to a belief in equity, based on merit and at later stages of development, competing claims of need (Damon 1975). Various studies within the economic socialisation literature

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have supported this model (Damon 1980; Enright et al. 1980; Sigelman & Waitzman 1991).

Economic knowledge can be considered political, and this necessitates exploration of political socialisation as well. Concepts such as the distribution of wealth are considered to be political because wealth carries power in terms of buying and in economic relationships. Apart from the links to economic socialisation, political socialisation is necessary for donor socialisation as it entails children developing knowledge of political systems, citizenship, the role of governments and provision of third sector services; and the skills required to become a fully fledged member of society. This relates to wider notions of charitable giving as participation in society and hence is required for children to be fully socialised into donors. Much of the research about political socialisation is derived from research conducted in the 1960s (Easton & Dennis 1969; Greenstein 1969; Hess & Torny 1967). Hyman (1959) defines political socialisation as an individual's "learning of social patterns corresponding to his societal positions as mediated through various agencies of society". Political socialisation draws upon cognitive developmental theories to detail the stages that children go through to acquire political knowledge. Studies in this area indicate that children generally have little interest in politics (Walter 1990), which may be due to the lack of interaction that they have with the political system. The development of political learning is necessary for the understanding of political systems worldwide and of the need for the third sector to provide services. It also relates to questions of whether governments should be supporting charities financially. Socialisation agents such as teachers and parents are key to the political socialisation process but the mass media is also considered to be particularly informative in exposing children to political issues and parties.

3.6.3 Towards a theory of donor socialisation

Taken together, cognitive development and social learning theories of socialisation, research on consumer socialisation, prosocial development, and economic and political socialisation can contribute to our understanding of donor socialisation. Table 3.5 synthesises research across these areas to offer a more detailed and comprehensive view of how children learn to be donors over time.

Table 3.6: Elements of donor socialisation by age

0-2 year-olds

Socialisation	Consumer socialisation	Prosocial development	Economic / political socialisation
9-12 month-old infants are able to recognise the 'self' *(Lewis & Brooks-Gunn 1979).* 15-18 months – can distinguish between themselves and others and can attach names *(Lewis & Brooks-Gunn 1979).* 12-18 months – true empathy seems to emerge *(Hay 1999).* Girl infants are more inclined to be responsive to people than boy infants *(Lewis and Brooks-Gunn 1979).* Primary caregivers and parents are the key socialisation agents *(Kohlberg 1969).* Reciprocity principles were evident in 2 year-olds *(Hay 1994).*		0-2 year-olds – do not consistently imitate maternal sharing or helping a distressed person *(Hay & Murray 1982).* 2-3 month-old babies can recognise emotions in others *(Haviland & Lelwica 1987).* Infants up to 20 months when presented with someone else's distress cried, fretted and whimpered but did not act prosocially. Those aged 20-30 months were much more likely to engage in prosocial behaviour *(Zahn-Waxler & Radke-Yarrrow 1982).* For moral and prosocial development, parents are the key socialisation agents *(Kohlberg 1969).*	

Table 3.6 (continued): Elements of donor socialisation by age

2-7 year-olds

Socialisation	Consumer socialisation	Prosocial development	Economic / political socialisation
(Unless stated, reference is made to Piaget 1965) Pre-operational stage children are characterised by 'centration', the tendency to focus on a single dimension. Characterised by concrete representations, often single representations. Generally egocentric – 3-6 year-olds are generally unaware of any perspective other than their own. 6-8 year-olds enter the Social informational role taking stage which entails becoming aware that others may have different opinions or motives *(Selman 1980).* Among 6-11 year-olds judgements begin to reflect approval-oriented considerations and desire to behave in stereotypically good ways.	(Unless stated, reference is made to Roedder John 1999) Perceptual stage means that children can distinguish adverts from programmes but only by perceptual features. Positive attitudes towards adverts. 4-6 year olds could not recognise brands unless there was repeated exposure. Brand recognition only emerging as related to product categories. 6 year olds can generally recall an average of 20 products. By age 5 children are able to distinguish between commercials and programmes. 6-7 year olds often compare the possessions they have to others in terms of quantity. *(Chaplin & Roedder John 2005)* Can distinguish adverts from programmes, can recognise brand names. Use of single attributes and has limited decision strategies. Value of possessions based on surface features (that is having more). Materialistic values emerge.	(Unless stated, reference is made to Eisenberg & Fabes 1998) By the age of 3 or 4 , children can understand other people's emotions based on self-awareness (developed by 8-20 months) and the capacity for pretence (by 2 or3) Prosocial behaviour was observed to be prevalent among 4-5 year-olds. Prosocial acts were often used as social contact among 4-5 year-olds *(Eisenberg-berg & Hand 1979).* 4-6 year-olds start to use authority- and punishment-oriented reasoning to justify moral decisions, and could verbalise hedonistic and needs oriented reasoning *(Eisenberg et al. 1991).* Among 5-6 year-olds, prompts and verbal praise were effective in increasing donation rates *(Gefland et al. 1975).*	(Unless stated, reference is made to Lunt & Furnham 1996) Children generally have a low interest in politics and most children have few direct interactions with the political system which limits their knowledge and awareness *(Walter 1990).* Children begin thinking about economic ideas from 5 years0old *(Schug 1987).* Awareness of social differences and inequalities in wealth – 6 year olds explained this in terms of jobs *(Jahoda 1979).*

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Table 3.6 (continued): Elements of donor socialisation by age

7-11 year-olds

Socialisation	Consumer socialisation	Prosocial development	Economic / political socialisation
(Unless stated, reference is made to Piaget 1965) At the concrete operational stage, children can consider several dimensions and start to relate to them in an abstract way. They begin to see connections between single representations but do not integrate these into a higher order construct. Also begin to see beyond single attributes. Start to consider dual perspectives. 9-11 year-olds begin to take more ownership and thus praise/credit for what they do. 8-10 year-olds enter self-reflective role taking stage which is the ability to understand that others may have different opinions or motives. 10-12 year-olds – mutual role-taking develops, that is when children can consider another person's viewpoint at the same time as their own *(Selman 1980).*	(Unless stated, reference is made to Roedder John 1999) Analytical stage involves the ability to distinguish adverts from programmes. 8-10 year-olds can discern persuasive intent. 7-8 year-olds can name multiple brands – increasing brand awareness. 7-8 year-olds – can understand advertising intent and start to recognise bias and deception. 7-8 year-olds begin to incorporate possessions into their self-definitions. Negative attitudes towards adverts. 9-11 year-olds display brand preferences. Emerging understandings of value based on social meaning and significance. Materialistic values tend to crystallise by 10-12 years.	(Unless stated, reference is made to Eisenberg & Fabes 1998) 7-12 year-olds tend to engage in prosocial acts of sharing/donating rather than helping/comforting. Children aged 7-17 years are more likely to help family than non-family members; friends rather than non-friends; people they knew rather than people they did not know; people more similar to themselves in race or religion; and non-criminals rather than criminals *(Eisenberg 1982).* For 8-10 year-olds, modelling increases the likelihood of altruism in a child who is watching *(Grusec et al. 1978).* 9-12 year-olds – hedonistic reasoning for prosocial behaviour decreased meaning that moral judgements increased with age *(Eisenberg et al. 1987).*	(Unless stated, reference is made to Lunt & Furnham 1996) 7-8 year-olds move from believing there is fair allocation for all to equality in terms of outcomes *(Dickinson & Emler 1996).* 8 year-olds have awareness of the relationships between social differences and income *(Jahoda 1979).* 7-11 year-olds have a peripheral level where they described wealth and poverty purely in terms of possessions and external attributes and tended to explain inequality by definition *(Leahy 1981, 1983).* Concept of profit only understood by age 11 *(Schug 1987).*

Table 3.6 (continued): Elements of donor socialisation by age

11-16 year-olds

Socialisation	Consumer socialisation	Prosocial development	Economic / political socialisation
(Unless stated, reference is made to Piaget 1965) The formal operational stage involves complex thought, hypothetical situations. Adolescents perception levels move to a more conceptual level and thinking is more abstract and multi-dimensional. Multiple attributes of objects are considered. Dual perspectives can be considered in a social context. 12-15 year-olds – engaged in Social and conventional system role taking which is the ability to understand another person's perspective as it related to the social group that one belongs to *(Selman 1980).*	(Unless stated, reference is made to Roedder John 1999) The reflective stage entails an understanding of the intent of advertising as well as specific tactics. Sceptical attitudes to advertising emerge and complex shopping scripts are formed and rehearsed. Greater understanding of consumption symbolism for products; thinking involves more abstract brand associations like personality traits, user stereotypes and reference group usage. In middle to late adolescence, self-concepts become more complex and multidimensional and possessions become more important. Adolescents have more experience with brands and marketing campaigns, and can interpret cues about a brand's personality and users. Brand images begin to be related to social status, prestige and group affiliation around the age of 12.	(Unless stated, reference is made to Eisenberg & Fabes 1998) Social skills in areas such as impression formation and perspective taking are developed. Amongst 13-14 year-olds empathy is positively related to prosocial behaviour. Amongst 15-16 year-olds perspective-taking and sympathy are positively related to prosocial behaviour. 14-18 year-olds verbalise prosocial reasoning in terms of abstract principles and internalised affective reactions. For adolescents, social cognitive skills such as sympathy and empathy, and perspective taking, moral reasoning tendencies affects prosocial behaviour *(Eisenberg et al. 2001; Barry et al. 2007).*	(Unless stated, reference is made to Lunt & Furnham 1996) Amongst 11-13 year-olds political orientation is not significantly different to adults. They may have less political knowledge but adolescents have a fully-formed construct *(Walter 1990).* 11-12 year-olds develop the concept of equality and equitable solutions to problems of distribution *(Dickinson & Emler 1996).* 12-14 year-olds' political knowledge appeared to function in the say way as for adults *(Meirick & Wackman 2004).* Evidence for some sociocentric responses such as reference to political power, social structure and life chances to explain wealth and poverty *(Leahy 1981, 1983).*

Table 3.6 (continued): Elements of donor socialisation by age

17 years and over

Socialisation	Consumer socialisation	Prosocial development	Economic / political socialisation
Relationships and intimacy are the main aims in psychosocial development at this stage (*Erikson 1968).*	(Unless stated, reference is made to Roedder John 1999) Social motivations for consumption are evident, with emphasis on conspicuous consumption, social expression and peer approval. Lifelong socialisation process may advance further consumer socialisation throughout adulthood (*Ekstrom 2006*).	(Unless stated, reference is made to Eisenberg & Fabes 1998) Amongst 16-17 year-olds, prosocial behaviour is still increasing despite changing personal circumstances. 18-29 year-olds become less self-oriented and develop greater consideration for others. This emotional maturity is a marker of adulthood. There is also greater consideration of social norms and rules regarding prosocial behaviour. In late adolescence, the self is defined in social and psychological terms *(Kohlberg 1969).* Internalisation of values from parents completed. Emerging adulthood is a time for exploration of positive behaviours such as acting prosocially. Involves developing greater consideration for others *(Barry et al. 2007).*	Incremental changes expected at this stage

Donor socialisation may be defined as the process by which children acquire the skills, knowledge and attitudes relevant to their functioning as donors and volunteers in the nonprofit marketplace. This involves learning in cognitive, emotional and behavioural terms; children come to understand and form judgements about charities, develop emotions such as empathy and sympathy, and learn how to be kind and to share their time, talents and money with others.

Socialisation agents are as important here as in other socialisation processes. Various studies point towards the potential influences of parents on children, particularly in modelling donor behaviour. Shure (1998) found that young people were more likely to volunteer if their parents had also volunteered, while Breeze and Thornton (2005) note that 62% of children had seen their mother give to charity, while only 42% had seen their father give. This may be because these children had spent more time with their mothers, but more importantly, mothers were found to influence the child's giving behaviour while fathers had no impact. Parental styles and inductions about charitable giving, and relationships with parents, siblings, and peers may also be expected to affect donor behaviour. In particular for children, learning about social norms is important particularly for the 'norm' for charitable giving within their families.

Wymer and Samu (2002) attribute gender differences in giving to the role played by mothers and fathers in teaching their children about caring. In this vein, children learn gendered giving roles and possibly norms through socialisation agents. Female caring is associated with voluntary altruistic acts while male caring is demonstrated with formal duties and work. Thus, adolescent boys who volunteer in caring roles are teased by their peers while girl volunteers are supported, indicating that volunteering is more socially acceptable for females than males. Female volunteers are also more likely to surround themselves with their friends while male volunteers are more likely

to volunteer alone (Wuthnow 1996). This 'gendered norm' may be internalised and affect future volunteering choices. On a more general level, girls show higher inclinations towards prosocial behaviours than boys, reinforcing established gender differences in empathy (Bierhoff 2002).

Drawing on the various studies presented above, we might expect donor socialisation to occur in the following phases, bearing in mind however that individual children may develop at different rates. Key areas of development centre around charity knowledge, charity marketing knowledge, donor skills, motives and values, and socialisation influences.

0 - 2 year-olds

This age-group is far too young to engage in or understand charitable activities, but may engage in some simple prosocial acts such as sharing toys and responding to the distress of others. Parents and primary caregivers play a crucial socialisation role in introducing infants to charities but there is likely to be little imitation of modelled charitable behaviour.

2 - 7 year-olds

Between the ages of 2 and 7, children grow substantially in cognitive and physical terms. With regards to building knowledge about charities, children aged 2-7 years start to understand, at a simple level, what charities are and why they exist. These may be based on experience – as children see family members donate to (or perhaps benefit from) particular charities and the participation in charity events in nursery/schools. They are likely to see charitable giving as a one-dimensional, one-way exchange without appreciating the possible reciprocal benefits. Since the children still rely on single and concrete representations, they may find it hard to consider more abstract notions of charities. This is also partly based on children's tendency towards egocentrism and their relatively unsophisticated perspective-taking abilities. This would limit children's abilities to see the perspective of

beneficiaries which is important in motivating donor behaviour and in understanding the various charities and causes.

In terms of charity marketing knowledge, it is expected that between the ages of 2 and 7, children develop the ability to distinguish between advertisements and programmes but also advertisements for charities. They may be exposed to charity advertising but may not understand their persuasive intent or what is received in exchange for a donation. We may expect children from 4 or 5 years of age to start recognising brands or logos of charities and to distinguish between some charities or causes, based on first-hand interactions with them through family, nursery and schools, faith communities and/or media campaigns such as *Children in Need*. Their knowledge of charities will be heavily influenced by such socialisation agents, with parental modelling and inductions particularly influential.

Children are also likely to be involved in specific nursery or school-based events and see modelled charitable behaviour of family members and teachers which accumulatively builds donor skills. It is expected that children engage in prosocial behaviour and charitable activities but may not be able to label them or necessarily differentiate between various charitable activities or modes of giving. In making decisions about giving, children's information searches are likely to be limited to questioning of immediate socialisation agents (that is, parents, siblings and teachers) and there to be relatively unsophisticated evaluation amongst alternative charities and causes. As in consumer socialisation, shopping scripts may develop in terms of learning about shopping in charity shops, engaging in sponsored activities and perhaps collecting items to be donated to a charity shop/event.

Regarding motivations towards giving, the development of moral values is still at a relatively early stage amongst 2-5 year-olds but we may except 6-7 year-olds to be able to articulate some motives for engaging in charitable behaviours. Children will typically behave in stereotypically good or charitable

ways, imitating modelled charitable behaviours and using learned scripts as justifications for giving. This is largely based on the desire to gain approval from teachers and parents but also the development of empathic concern for this age group. The reliance on learned scripts is based on the children's relatively unsophisticated moral reasoning. 5-7 year-olds, as considered by Piaget (1965) are in the moral realism stage which contends that actions such as giving are based on rules from a higher authority. This is supported by Eisenberg et al.'s (1991) finding that 4-6 year-olds used authority-based reasoning for justifying giving. That is, children will articulate learned responses for reasons for giving as informed by parents and teachers that 'everyone' should give.

Furthermore, the emotional development of children is important in determining donor behaviour since 2-7 year-olds are prone to adopt an egocentric perspective. They may find it hard to see the viewpoint of others, which inhibits reasoned feelings of empathy and sympathy and understandings of beneficiaries' needs.

Parents and teachers are the main socialisation agents for 2-7 year-olds but increasingly as children mature, peers and the media become more influential in exposing children to charities and causes.

7 - 11 year-olds

Given their more abstract thinking and moral reasoning abilities, we could expect this age group to understand charities as institutions and charitable giving as a virtue. Although children at this stage may be able to consider issues from multiple dimensions, they may still have an uncritical appreciation of charities. They are also more capable of taking an allocentric perspective, making it easier for them to experience feelings of empathy and sympathy for others in need. Further encounters with charities and modelling behaviour at home, school or after-school activities, and further exposure to charity advertising and brands, is likely to make their classifications of

charities and causes more sophisticated. This will also lead to more complex scripts about charities being acquired. They are also likely to have a greater appreciation of the multiple forms of charitable work and the many ways that one can give to charity.

As well as acquiring better understandings of charities, between the ages of 7 and 11, tweens are likely to be more discerning in terms of recognising the intent of advertisements. This group should be able to distinguish between programmes and advertising about charities, and to understand the informational and persuasive intent of charity communications. They should be able to consider charities they have encountered through advertisements and retrieve charity brands and logos from memory. This increased charity marketing knowledge is also facilitated by greater exposure to the mass media, namely through newspapers and magazines but also through television and the internet. Tweens will also have greater repertoires of charity brands and causes and be able to differentiate between them. This is based on accumulated engagement with charities and the development of cognitive abilities in memory and categorisation.

Donor behaviour is likely to rely on giving activities in school or at home, or perhaps within faith communities. At this point however children may become agents of socialisation themselves, encouraging parents to donate to a cause they have heard about at school or through the media for example. They will be about to search for relevant information about charities and causes as well as practising charitable behaviours. In accordance with tween's growing sophistication in considering dual perspectives and multidimensional thinking, they will also be able to evaluate between alternative activities, charities and causes. Tweens are likely to be able to differentiate between the relative needs of different beneficiaries and the types of help offered to them.

Children at this stage should be able to articulate their motives for giving. These may involve prosocial emotions such as empathy but also more

egocentric motives such as wanting to feel good or happy by giving. Reasons for giving may also follow 'learned reasons' or cues picked up from socialisation agents, and social approval and rewards are likely to reinforce giving behaviour. Social norms about when and how much to give may also start to develop during this stage. This is facilitated by the development of moral subjectivism (Piaget 1965) and early understandings of economic and political systems.

Peers and the media emerge as the main socialisation agents for 7-11 year-olds with parents and teachers playing more secondary roles in teaching tweens about charities. But it is important to note that tweens will more actively seek out and subconsciously take in information about charities.

11 - 16 year-olds

By age 11, adolescents should be able to understand and articulate what charities are and do. The depth of their understanding is likely to depend on the extent of their experience of or interactions with particular charities however. Understandings of charities grow in complexity and begin to crystallise during adolescence. Through direct and mediated experiences of charities, they may be aware of many charity brands and able to distinguish between different charities working towards the same cause. They are likely to have developed multidimensional attitudes to charities and particular preferences, and some ambivalence may be evident in their attitudes at this point. They may start to talk about negative emotions such as shame or guilt at non-giving, and their understanding of charity advertising's intent and may lead to some scepticism towards such advertising. This may relate to their more sophisticated understandings of the socio-economic and political systems in society.

In terms of charity marketing knowledge, teenagers will have gained experience in dealing with charities but also have an acknowledgement of the various marketing methods in which charities can communicate with them.

They are likely to have a broad repertoire and recognition of charity brands but also begin to link giving to charities with symbolic consumption and more abstract notions such as associations and stereotypes.

Due to their abilities to take other people's perspectives and consider social roles, teenagers are able to make considered decisions about the charitable activities they wish to engage in. They can seek out information from a variety of sources and charities and can evaluate between charities in a more sophisticated manner than the tweens. Coupled with the increasing knowledge about the institution of charity, of particular causes and beneficiaries, their decisions begin to resemble that of adults by considering their self-concepts and social identities.

Moreover, teenagers should be able to articulate motivations for giving or non-giving. This is stimulated by greater reflection of charities and their work, particularly in response to personal experiences of charities (e.g. either as a donor/volunteer but also instances of significant others engaging with or benefiting from charities' work). It is also expected that values begin to be internalised as teenagers' prosocial moral reasoning becomes more advanced, prompting the formation of cause preferences.

Peers are likely to be particularly important socialisation agents, and since impression management, self-presentation and self identities are important for this age group, they may consider symbolic dimensions of charities and link cause preferences to how they want to be portrayed. The rewards from giving may be more internalised but given the importance of peer groups at this stage, gaining praise from others and social benefits may also be very important. This also suggests that within their peer groups, 11-16 year-olds may be agents of socialisation themselves. In the latter part of adolescence, emotions such as empathy, sympathy and guilt are more apparent in increasingly complex motives for giving.

We might expect 11-16 year-olds to engage in more prosocial behaviour due to their increased exposure to charities and opportunities to give, but this is heavily influenced by social influences and growth in their role-taking abilities.

Peer groups are the predominant socialisation agent for teenagers but the influences of the media and in particular charity marketing campaigns will also contribute to increasing knowledge about charities.

17 - 24 year-olds
There is little research on this age group but they are likely to have a more sophisticated and abstract understanding of charities as well as pragmatic and philosophical conceptions of the role of charities' in society. Feelings of empathy and sympathy, and concerns about social justice, should be well developed as their economic and political socialisation is assumed to be stable at this age.

This group should have high levels of awareness of charity brands, and be able to classify charities/causes with ease. They are also likely to have a sophisticated understanding of the symbolic dimensions of charity brands as well as donor stereotypes. Given previous discussions of lifelong socialisation, we would expect young adults to consolidate their knowledge but also to continue learning about charities through family, educational, religious, occupational and social networks.

In the area of donor skills, incremental growth is expected as donor behaviour crystallises into habitual or heuristic-based decisions. The decision-making process may be further automaticised with reference to information searches and evaluation of alternatives.

Young adults are also able to verbalise their motives for giving and non-giving, the social influences and the decision processes involved. Their decisions may incorporate elements of cost-benefit analysis and moral

principles such as the duty to care facilitated by adult economic and moral reasoning abilities. Materialistic values may be less strong or influential at this point as adolescents mature. Lifestage and personal circumstances may be important influences, especially if they or others close to them have been beneficiaries of a charity. The attitudes and behaviour of peer groups in relation to donating time and money are likely to remain important influences at this stage, as well as hedonistic motives such as social rewards and benefits related to career development.

Socialisation agents may be less prominent and pronounced for young adults but peers and spouses are still likely to exert influence on giving decisions. In addition, ongoing socialisation through the mass media will also take place in exposing young adults to new methods of giving or knowledge about charities and causes.

This literature review has considered research on general donor behaviour, and the contribution of children and young people to the nonprofit sector. It has also drawn on socialisation studies from different disciplines in order to propose a donor socialisation process.

The donor behaviour literature pertaining to children and young people is limited and mainly descriptive, in stark contrast to the wealth of multidisciplinary research on children as consumers (Marshall 2010). The literature on marketing to children contains few studies focusing on the nonprofit sector, but given the increasing emphasis on children's perspectives on consumption experiences, insights from consumer behaviour may offer insights into the behaviour of children as donors. Particularly for the socialisation of children into donors, previous research on consumer socialisation can aid understandings of how children may engage with charities and charity marketing campaigns.

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has noted the limited research on children and young people as donors, and in particular the lack of data on the donor behaviour of those under the age of 16. On the other hand, research on children and young people as consumers suggests that they constitute a substantial current, influence and future donor market for charities. Many studies have explored how consumption patterns at different stages of their lives relate to their cognitive development as well as their personal and social identities and relationships. This suggests that their consumption experiences in relation to charities may also be rich, complex and dynamic.

Furthermore, this chapter has noted the lack of research examining how children and young people learn to become (or not to become) donors. Drawing on socialisation literature from a range of social sciences, it proposes a framework for considering the process of donor socialisation. In light of the limited research on how children and young people donate and relate to charities, and on how they come to learn about charities or become donors, the following chapter presents methodological details of the study designed to fill these research gaps.

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CHAPTER FOUR:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

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4.1 INTRODUCTION

From the literature reviewed, it is clear that much research on donor behaviour is descriptive and quantitative, and that it has neglected children and young people, particularly those under 16. There has been scant attention paid to understanding what charitable activities children and young people engage in and moreover how, where, and to what causes they give. In addition, academic studies on donor behaviour have primarily focused on profiling likely donors and examining motivations for giving, to the detriment of knowledge about the context of giving and the personal and social influences on giving.

It is also clear that research on children and young people as consumers has largely overlooked the nonprofit sector. Given the wealth of knowledge on the characteristics, behaviours and attitudes of children as consumers, there is little understanding of children and young people's charity consumption experiences. Moreover, the literature review found that how children learn to be donors has not been considered. Conceptions of children as human beings and becomings (Johansson 2004) have been considered in many contexts but not in relation to charities. Therefore there is a need to examine children and young people's *being* and *becoming* donors. Just as children learn to consume, they must also learn to donate. Thus an exploration of how children and young people learn to be donors, and of the donor socialisation process, is required in order to understand how they have come to be donors and how they may behave as the future giving public.

The present study aims to address these research gaps, and this chapter explains its aims and objectives and the research approach taken. It offers an

overview of the multi-method research design, discusses and justifies the choices made within each element of the study, and considers the ethical issues and research limitations of the study.

4.2 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This study is intended to contribute to knowledge and understanding of donor behaviour by exploring the experiences and behaviour of children and young people as consumers in a nonprofit context. More specifically, this study aims to explore how children and young people donate and relate to charities – by examining what they do and how they think and feel about charities, and by comparing how such activities, thoughts, and feelings differ between those at different stages of development.

Thus, the study's objectives are to:

- Understand children and young people's charity consumption experiences from their perspective and in their own terms
- Explore their understandings of and attitudes towards charities
- Describe the different ways in which they currently give to charities and consider their future engagement with the nonprofit sector
- Examine their personal and social reasons for giving to charities
- Compare and contrast the activities, thoughts and feelings of children and young people in relation to charities across the different stages of childhood, adolescence and young adulthood.

In achieving these aims, a key feature of this study is that the research is conducted *with* rather than *on* children and young people, giving children and young people a voice in the literature on donor behaviour. This is especially important given the adultism (Hendrick 2000) of much donor behaviour research with young people. By asking children and young people about their

experiences of charities, this study examined their donor behaviour through their eyes, in their terms and using their language. The next section provides further justification for this approach and presents the child-centred principles which guided this research.

4.3 RESEARCH APPROACH

This section begins by explaining the child-centred, participatory research approach adopted in this study, and then considers the interpretive research paradigm which guided the study overall.

4.3.1. Child-centred research

As discussed in Chapter Three, children and young people have largely been overlooked in giving surveys, and where they have been included in research, parents and teachers are often used to obtain proxy information about them. Their absence from the donor behaviour literature has limited our understandings of donor behaviour and neglected important aspects of the lives of children and young people. There is therefore a need to conduct research with children and young people. In order to give them a voice, however, research must proceed with child-friendly research methods which are appropriate to their understanding and their ability to answer research questions, and which are based on sound ethical principles.

Some researchers have expressed concern over the reliability of data gathered from children in light of their limited abilities in understanding and answering questions (Greig & Taylor 1999; Scott 2000). The common view that children are human 'becomings' (or adults-in-progress) as opposed to human 'beings' (Johansson 2004; Qvortrup et al. 1994), has led to the marginalisation of children in research, since "children [are] often denied the right to speak for themselves either because they are held incompetent in

making judgements or because they are thought of as unreliable witnesses about their own lives" (Qvortrup et al. 1994:2). In contrast, the 1989 *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child* drew attention to children as active social actors who "participate in economic, civil and social life" (Boulding 1979, in Saporiti 2000:192), and Article 12 of the Convention states that children's views should be listened to and taken into account in matters concerning them (Sinclair-Taylor 2000).

The current research aims to listen to children by conducting research with children and young people, whilst acknowledging the development of cognitive and other abilities through the different stages of childhood, adolescence and young adulthood. Therefore, taking a lifelong socialisation approach (Ekstrom 2006), children and young people are viewed as both becomings and beings, and the study has investigated how they *become* donors as well as how they are currently *being* donors.

The participatory research approach seeks to involve children as active participants in the research process. It arose out of an acknowledgement that almost all researchers are adults and concerns that this may lead to a lack of connection with children and problems in communicating with them on their level. Participatory techniques have flourished in addressing these concerns by involving children as co-researchers or advisors and developing child-centred data collection methods (Alderson 1995; Alderson & Morrow 2004; Cree et al. 2002; O'Kane 2000; Thomas & O'Kane 1998;). Children are increasingly involved in determining research topics, developing data collection instruments and evaluating transcripts to combat traditional objectifications of children in research and adultcentric bias.

The role of the researcher as an adult researching children and other young adults was borne in mind during the research process. As Christensen and James (2005:5) contend, reflexivity is "now widely regarded as a methodological necessity in research". This necessitated consideration of

specific reflexivity issues in researching children and young people (Christensen & James 2000; Davis 1998; Gaskin 2005; Jenks 2000; O'Kane 2000) and in particular the use of interviews as a data collection instrument (Alvesson & Skoldberg 2000; Ellis 2005; MacBeth 2001; Mason 2002; Mauthner & Doucet 2003; Nairn et al. 2005; Ritchie & Lewis 2003).

Intertwined with much of the reflexivity literature is the issue of power (Finlay 2003; Maynard 1998; Oakley 1981; Robinson & Kellet 2004; Thomas & O'Kane 1998). In research with children, there is clearly a power imbalance between adults and children. Due to the unequal relationship between children and adults, participatory techniques are particularly helpful as they can act as a form of empowerment for children (Jones 2004; Robinson & Kellett 2004). Participatory techniques put children on a more equal footing as they are given decision-making responsibilities in the research process. Thus, reflecting on their own research, Thomas and O'Kane (1998:343) argued that:

> *"The use of participatory techniques greatly assisted in breaking down imbalances of power, not only by giving children greater control over the agenda and more time and space to talk about the issues that concern them, but also by creating an atmosphere in which they were no right or wrong answers and even some opportunities to interpret and explain their own data".*

Moreover, many commentators have argued that how researchers view children strongly influences the way that research is undertaken (Davis 1998; Fraser 2004; Jenks 2000; Kellet et al. 2004; Lloyd-Smith & Tarr 2000; Punch 2004). The current study was based on the view that children are autonomous beings and capable of engaging in research about how they may donate and relate to charities. This is reinforced by Everitt and Hardiker (1996) in that children and young people are accepted as "active agents in constructing and making sense of the realities they encounter" and "the importance of understanding situations from the perspective of the

participant" (cited in Gaskin 2005:42). In this sense, they are considered to be active participants/social actors and experts in their own lives.

Moving away from reflexivity issues, there are practical methodological concerns to consider in conducting research with children. Participatory techniques helps in this as children are asked to develop and test materials before launching surveys or carrying out focus groups. Pretty et al. (1995, in O'Kane 2000:138) emphasises however that "participation does not simply imply the mechanical application of a technique or method, but is instead part of a process of dialogue, action, analysis and change".

Another benefit to be gained from a participatory research approach is a heightened appreciation of ethical issues. Involving children in the research process can help to resolve ethical problems through the transparency of decisions (Fraser 2004; Thomas & O'Kane 1999). In the current study, participatory principles guided the relationship between the researcher and the researched. Their views were sought on the data collection instruments used and they were invited to reflect on their research experiences. Over and above the ethical principles of voluntary participation, children were allowed to choose how research proceeded with them. As discussed below, children were offered some choice in relation to qualitative research tasks. They were also invited to choose their own pseudonym, which was important in providing them with a sense of ownership of their views, stories and experiences.

In sum, this study has taken a child-centred approach to research design borne out of concerns about adultism and the need to recognise children and young people as both beings and becomings. Participatory research techniques have been used to guide a research design that is appropriate for children and which allows them a voice through the research. It should be noted here that the study's participants ranged in age from four to twenty four, making concerns about child-centredness less urgent amongst older

participants. The principles of participatory research guided the whole study, however, since it aimed to involve all age groups as active participants in the research process. The adoption of a child-centred, participative approach is indicative of the wider interpretive paradigm guiding this study, and this is discussed in the next section.

4.3.2 Interpretive research paradigm

The overriding paradigm steering this research is interpretivism, with its ontological assumption that reality is subjective, multiple and socially constructed and its emphasis on understanding phenomena through participants' perceptions and frames of reference (Collis & Hussey 2003). Furthermore, it is acknowledged that researchers interact with and build relationships with the researched, challenging the notion of the detached observer and claims to objectivity propagated by positivism (Mason 2002). Research is considered to be value-laden but this does not mean that it is any less rigorous than research guided by positivism (Snape & Spencer 2003). Through "active reflexivity" (Mason 2002:7) aided by a research log, and an explicit acknowledgement of values and relationships throughout the research process, interpretive researchers seek to be sensitive to their "cultural, political and social context" (Bryman 2004:500).

Given interpretivism's emphasis on participants' interpretations of the social world, the principal research strategy for this research project is abduction (Blaikie 1993, 2000). An abductive strategy aims "to describe and understand social life in terms of social actors' motives and accounts … deriving technical concepts and theories from lay concepts and interpretations of social life" (Blaikie 2000:101). This is particularly relevant when considering the differing attitudes and perceptions of charities and causes from the perspectives of children and young people; it is the exploration of these individual and shared common meanings and interpretations that makes

abduction the most appropriate strategy for researching how they donate and relate to charities.

Although interpretivism is commonly equated with qualitative research, the distinction between quantitative and qualitative research is not clear-cut and they may interact usefully in different ways (Jick 1979; Bryman 1988). Brannen (2005), for example discusses how data collected from multi-method research may be used to corroborate each other's account of phenomena, to elaborate on or complement findings from each part, or even to offer a more nuanced account by examining how they contradict each other.

For these reasons, this study uses a multi-method research design[12], seeking to draw on both qualitative and quantitative data to investigate the social phenomenon of charitable giving from different vantage points (Denzin 1970). Although qualitative and quantitative research methods are connected with distinctive epistemological and ontological assumptions, these connections may be more fluid than fixed (Bryman 2009). Furthermore, some research questions are more appropriately answered by qualitative or quantitative research methods so that advantages and disadvantages of each method can be offset against each other. The intention here was to combine qualitative and quantitative research methods to provide a fuller account of children and young people's donor behaviour. Just as Clifford Geertz (1973) articulated in *Interpretation of Cultures*, this research aimed for thick descriptions of children and young people's donor behaviour. It sought to provide a rich account of how they understand, donate and relate to charities by combining survey research with qualitative methods such as interviews, focus groups.

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[12] Research designs utilising both qualitative and quantitative research has been termed as multi-methods (Brannen 1992), multi-strategy (Bryman 2004), mixed methods (Cresswell 2003) or mixed methodology (Tashakkoir & Teddlie 1998) within the literature.

This means that triangulation of data is a key feature of this research design. The process of triangulation involves using multiple reference points as a navigational aid (Flick 1992). Writers such as Denzin (1978) have elaborated on this by describing triangulation in terms of data, investigators, theories, and methodologies. This research has used methodological triangulation, both within-method and between-method. That is, triangulation of data is sought through use of different qualitative and quantitative research methods (between-method) and in the actual data collected (within-method), such as the use of open-ended questions in questionnaires to capture qualitative data and the use of mind maps and drawings within focus groups. Particularly when researching children, Greig and Taylor (1999:75) contend that triangulation "enables researchers to capture, to some extent, the shifting realities of their participants".

Studying a phenomenon through a variety of methods has been seen to improve the validity and overall quality of research (Jick 1979), not least because weaknesses of particular methods can be counterbalanced by the strengths of others. Opponents of triangulation, however, suggest that using different methods "can actually increase the chance of error" (Fielding and Fielding 1986:31). More fundamentally, the underlying principles of triangulation have been challenged, such as the assumption of a single objective, external reality that can be 'known' through the use of multiple methods (Flick 1992; Blaikie 2000). Moreover, the use of triangulation is considered to be incompatible with an abductive research strategy because of the belief that there are multiple realities (Schutz 1945 in Blaikie 2000). Therefore, alternative notions of 'triangulation' have guided this study.

The choir metaphor has been particularly useful here, since a choir creates something greater than the sum of the parts and also allows for experiences of empathy between the members. As Price and Arnould (1998:341) note,

… the voices may sing in harmony, may sing partially overlapping melodic lines, may sing in different octaves, and may carry entirely different themes. It makes no sense to speak of one part being better or worse than another … Different voices plays different roles."

The metaphor of a choir offers greater insight into relations between different methods and can be reconciled with an overriding interpretive approach. By highlighting the notion of multiple realities, Richardson's (1994:522) crystal metaphor is also helpful. The crystal,

"… combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities and angles of approach. Crystals grow, change and alter but are not amorphous."

Chambers (2000:873) develops this further by stating that "crystals are prisms that reflect and refract, creating ever changing images and pictures of reality". Furthermore in overcoming the deficiencies of the triangle metaphor, "crystallisation deconstructs the traditional idea of validity, for now there can be no single, or triangulated truth" (p.874).

In sum, multiple methods in this research are used to consider the multiple realities constructed by participants and to create synergy between the methods. The next sections of this chapter outline the overall research design and justify the specific data collection methods used.

4.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

An overview of this study's multi-method research design is provided in Figure 4.1. It is worth highlighting again that children and young people were consulted in the development of data collection instruments to ensure that they were appropriate. This was particularly important given the vast range of competencies across the research population of 4-24 year-olds. Since the study included young children, tweens, teenagers, and young adults, it was

crucial that questions and data collection methods were suited to each age group's cognitive abilities and levels of understanding. Further detail on the decisions taken for Parts 1 and 2 of the study is provided in the remaining sections of this chapter.

Figure 4.1: Overview of research design

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PART 1:
Interviews and focus groups with children & young people

Individual / paired / group interviews

4-6 yr-olds   2 focus groups

9-11 yr-olds   6 focus groups

16-18 yr-olds   5 focus groups
                  2 paired interviews
                  1 individual interview
(with 3 follow-up interviews)

22-24 yr-olds   2 focus groups
                  2 paired interviews
                  4 interviews
(with 9 follow-up interviews)

Sampling Strategy:
stratified purposeful sampling

mainly through schools for 4-6, 9-11, 16-18 year-olds;

through personal contacts, known organisations and snowball sampling for some 16-18 year-olds and 22-24 year-olds

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PART 2:
Survey of children & young people in Scotland

Survey with representative sample of 9-11 year-olds in Scotland.

Sample Size: 272
Sampling Frames:
Primary Education Directory 2008
Sampling Strategy:
cluster sampling – using schools as clusters.
Method of administration:
paper, self-completion

Survey with representative sample of 12-16 year-olds in Scotland.

Sample Size: 103
Sampling Frames:
Education Authorities Directory & Annual 2008
Sampling Strategy:
cluster sampling – using schools as clusters.
Method of administration:
online, self-completion

Survey with convenience sample of 17-24 year-olds in Scotland.

Sample Size: 231
Sampling Strategy:
Snowball and cluster sampling

Method of administration:
online, self-completion

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4.4.1 PART 1: Interviews and focus groups with children and young people

Research objectives

- To explore children and young people's understandings of charity and their perceptions of charities in general
- To describe the range of their charitable engagement and donor behaviour
- To explore their giving preferences in terms of method and cause
- To explore their motivations for engaging or not engaging with charities
- To describe their charity consumption experiences
- To explore how they learn about charities and charitable behaviour, and how they become donors or non-donors
- To explore how particular developmental and life stages shape the understandings, attitudes and behaviour of children and young people in relation to charities

Data collection – focus groups and interviews with 4-24 year-olds

Part 1 involved the use of focus groups and interviews to explore many of the personal and social issues involved in how children and young people understood the concept of charity, donated and related to charities. These methods were selected as face-to-face interaction allows a greater degree of intimacy relative to other methods. Russell and Scott (2005), in particular point towards a general underdevelopment of qualitative research in the nonprpfit sector and hence the use of interviews in this study will contribute towards further understanding of the use of qualitative research methods and issues involved in the nonprofit sector. Interviews (in the form of individual, paired and focus groups) were chosen as the most appropriate method to

elicit responses from children and young people on their behaviours, attitudes and opinions. As Patton (1990, in Ereaut 2002:3) states:

"…whatever an interview's form, its purpose is to get inside someone's head and enter into their perspective to find out things like feelings, memories, and interpretations that we cannot observe or discover in other ways".

The semi-structured nature of interviews allowed children and young people to engage in free-flowing dialogue and the use of vignettes or projective techniques. Collecting qualitative data through the use of interviews as 'conversations' is advantageous for children and young people because it allows them to talk about their understandings of charities in their own terms. Interviews also allow for more insightful probing into answers and are especially suitable for an exploratory research design such as this.

Three forms of interviews – individual in-depth interview, paired interview and focus groups were utilised in this study to provide the ability to capture both individual and group discussions on charity. Charitable giving is an inherently personal act but one that is played out on a social stage, hence the need to collect data on an individual and group basis.

The research design contained a degree of flexibility in allowing children and young people to choose who they would be interviewed with. It is imperative that children and young people feel comfortable in interviewing situations (Christensen & James 2000; Gaskin 2005) and following the principles of participatory research, this was the case for this part of the study. Group interviews are considered to be a particularly effective method for younger children (Adler & Adler 1998; Epstein 1998) as meanings may be generated through social interaction. Focus groups allow the researcher to observe, capture and explore these interactions (Krueger 1998a, 1998b, 1998c) and what Kitzinger (1994) has termed 'collective remembering' by children in their re-telling of stories about charitable giving. Furthermore, Connolly (1997)

suggests that focus groups may have the tendency to reduce the salience of the researcher's presence.

The social interaction between participants in focus groups was seen to be empowering for children and young people as it gave them more control over the discussion (Morgan et al. 2002). Furthermore, as participants compared views and experiences, they elaborated on their contributions to discussion and explored further dimensions of topics (Finch & Lewis 2003). Finally, the social context of group discussions is useful for explorations of socially situated phenomena, and this was relevant to how children and young people engaged with charities (Marshall & Rossman 2006). Focus groups were primarily used for the younger children and teenagers for reasons that they were more comfortable in group settings. This was guided by the children and young people consulted, reinforcing the child-centred nature of this research.

Paired and individual interviews were conducted with teenagers and young adults, where the adult-child power relationship was thought to be less of an issue. For young people, paired interviews bridged the gap between being the relative 'vulnerability' of being interviewed on their own and being involved in a larger group discussion where their voices may not be heard. Young people were given the choice to participate in focus groups or paired interviews, again reinforcing participatory research principles by allowing children and young people control over how research would proceed with them. Some young people preferred to be interviewed on their own but others felt 'safer' with others present in talking about their charitable behaviours. This supports general notions in methodological literature that young people "may feel more comfortable with their peers in a focus group interview, whereas others may prefer the intimacy of the one-to-one interviews" (Marshall & Rossman 2004:107). The research design allowed for this. Although individual interviews sacrificed the benefits of social interaction, they complemented the focus groups by allowing personal

experiences and perspectives to be explored in more depth, and they offer insights into how individuals negotiate the social context foregrounded in focus groups (Green & Hart 1999). Both methods allow relationships and rapport to be built between researcher and participants, which is especially important with research with children and young people (Cree et al. 2002). This process was aided by including follow-up interviews into the research design, as discussed below.

Given the large range of ages within the category of children and young people, Part 1 of the study focused on four age groups:

- 4-6 year-olds
- 9-11 year-olds
- 16-18 year-olds
- 22-24 year-olds.

This categorisation allowed the study to draw on the experiences of children and young people at different stages of development and transition, and in different realms of life (primary school, secondary school, further/higher education, and the world of work).

Prior research has identified transition phases as key periods in children's development. For 4-6 year-olds, the transition from home into a structured school environment populated by peers and adult authority figures is compounded by vast physical and cognitive development (Appleyard 1991).

For 9-11 year-olds, there is the transition from primary to secondary school and entry into adolescence, a phase characterised by the diminishing influence of parents and the increasing influence of peers on attitudes and behaviours. Building on the work of Erikson (1968) and Marcia's (1980) theory of identity formation in adolescence, various writers have noted adolescent concerns about developing a self-identity in the light of physical

changes; gaining a degree of independence from parents; accepting or rejecting adult values; preparing for an occupational role; and developing and extending friendships (Hendry & Kloep 2002). All of these have the potential to affect attitudes and behaviours towards charities.

At the end of adolescence, we may expect emerging adults - 16-18 year-olds - to leave secondary school and enter further or higher education, vocational training, or (un)employment. In addition to the intense demands of studying that they face, issues of sexual identity and sexual and/or romantic relationships may also preoccupy teenagers at this age. With their eighteenth birthday, British teenagers can register to vote, offering new roles and responsibilities. All these transitions involve changing identities and relationships, which may influence their engagement with charities.

For 22-24 year-olds, further markers of adulthood are evident as they become more integrated into society through political participation and employment. This transition phase may also be characterised by moving out of the parental home and early stages of family formation (Jones 2000). The process of individualisation is very important in the transition to adulthood and resonates with Giddens' (1991) concept of the 'reflexive project of the self', suggesting that young adults continue to work on their 'identity projects', personal values and aspirations, and try to shape lives that fit with these.

Focus groups and interviews are most appropriate for exploring donor behaviour of children and young people in these four transition phases. Due to the likelihood of change within these phases, it was intended to employ a loosely longitudinal research design in that children and young people were interviewed twice over the period of 6 months. However, follow up interviews were subject to scheduling of the school year and access issues which meant that only one round of focus groups was conducted with 4-6 and 9-11 year-olds, and with most of the 16-18 year-olds. This limited the opportunities for children and young people to reflect upon their experiences of charity and

their engagement with the research process, and it also reduced the opportunities for building deeper rapport with these participants. The researcher was also conscious that students in particular had many other demands on their time, not least in terms of homework and examinations, and this set practical limits on the extent to which they could participate in the study. Follow up interviews were conducted with all 22-24 year-old participants, however.

The size of focus groups was intended to be between 3 and 8, with larger groups for younger children in case individuals had less to say. Younger children in particular, as guided by discussions with their teacher, were more comfortable in larger groups, hence the decision to allow larger focus groups for 4-6 year-olds. However, the actual numbers taking part depended very much on availability according to school timetables and teachers' lesson plans. Most groups were mixed sex. Single-sex groups that were conducted were mainly as a result of young people's preference to be interviewed in their friendship groups. Regarding the focus group composition, diversity in the children and young people aided discussion (Finch & Lewis 2003).

School schedules also dictated the length of time available for many of the focus groups, with most taking no more than 30 minutes for 9-11 year-olds and 45 minutes for 16-18 year-olds. There was scope for longer interviews with older participants who had left school, and these tended to last between 60 and 120 minutes. Figure 4.2 shows the focus groups and interviews conducted with each age group, with Table 4.1 providing more detail about the participants.

Figure 4.2: Focus groups, paired and individual interviews by age group

4-6 year-olds

Falkirk

focus group · focus group

Projective techniques undertaken:
- Charity drawing

9-11 year-olds

Falkirk

focus group · focus group · focus group

Projective techniques undertaken:
- Concept map
- Charity drawing

Falkirk

focus group · focus group · focus group

Projective techniques undertaken:
- Concept map
- Charity drawing

16-18 year-olds

Fife

focus group · focus group · focus group

Projective techniques undertaken:
- Concept map
- Volunteer drawing

Borders

focus group · focus group

Projective techniques undertaken:
- Concept map

Various

paired interview · paired interview · interview

Projective techniques undertaken:
- Concept map
- Charity drawing

22-24 year-olds

Various

focus group · paired interview · paired interview · interview · interview · interview · interview

Projective techniques undertaken:
- Concept map
- Charity drawing
- Volunteer drawing

○ male respondent

● female respondent

⊘ hatched circles indicate where a follow up interview was carried out

Table 4.1: Schedule of focus groups and interviews

4-6 year-olds	
Focus group 1	**10 participants, Falkirk primary school** 4 year-olds: Abby, Ben, Claire, Craig, Daniel 5 year-olds: Graeme, Jenny, Molly, Nick, Tim,
Focus group 2	**9 participants, Falkirk primary school** 4 year-olds: Andy, Chris, Edward 5 year-olds: Betty, Fred, Oliver 6 year-olds: Diana, Grant, Jack
9-11 year-olds	
Focus group 3	**7 participants, Falkirk primary school** 9 year-olds: Luke, Mick, Zayba 10 year-olds: Kyle, Sarah, Iona, Katie
Focus group 4	**7 participants, Falkirk primary school** 9 year-olds: Emma, Bruce, Simon, Robert, 10 year-olds: Jason, Ruth, Sam
Focus group 5	**7 participants, Falkirk primary school** 9 year-olds: Harry, Yasmin, Zack 10 year-olds: Holly, Kevin, Nicola, William
Focus group 6	**3 participants, Falkirk primary school** 10 year-olds: Sally, Tom 11 year-olds: Catherine
Focus group 7	**5 participants, Falkirk secondary school** 10 year-olds: Kim, Tony 11 year-olds: Adam, Donna, Philip
Focus group 8	**4 participants, Falkirk secondary school** 10 year-olds: Ian, Izzy 11 year-olds: Russell, Zoe

Table 4.1 (continued): Schedule of focus groups and interviews

16-18 year-olds	
Focus group 9	**4 participants, Fife secondary school** 16 year-olds: Alice, David, Lizzie, Tina
Focus group 10	**4 participants, Fife secondary school** 16 year-olds: Kirsty, Linda 17 year-olds: Lucy, Rosie
Focus group 11	**4 participants, Fife secondary school** 17 year-olds: Dominic, Christine 18 year-olds: Rosheen, Greg
Focus group 12	**6 participants, Borders secondary school** 16 year-olds: Alison, Emily, Jo 17 year-olds: Ellie, Jonathan, Sophie
Focus group 13	**5 participants, Borders secondary school** 16 year-olds: Jacob, Matthew 17 year-olds: Chloe, Hannah, Ryan
Paired interview 1	Alan, 17, student, Borders secondary school Jane, 18, student, Borders secondary school
Paired interview 2	Teri, 18, social work student, Dundee Michelle, 18, biology student, Dundee
Individual interview 1a and b	Michael, 18, politics student, Stirling
22-24 year-olds	
Paired interview 3a and b	Colin, 22, law student, Edinburgh Alex, 22, law student, Edinburgh
Paired interview 4a and b	Euan, 24, teaching assistant, Edinburgh Lynne, 24, journalist, Edinburgh
Individual interview 2a and b	Louise, 22, nursery nurse, East Lothian
Individual interview 3a and b	Vivienne, 22, speech language therapist, Musselburgh
Individual interview 4a and b	Josie, 23, learning assistant, Glasgow
Individual interview 5a and b	Paul, 23, civil servant, Edinburgh
Focus group 14	James, 24 year-old, accountant, Edinburgh Peter, 24 year-old, accountant, Edinburgh Stephen, 24 year-old, accountant, Edinburgh
Individual interview 14a	Follow up with James from focus group 14
Individual interview 14b	Follow up with Peter from focus group 14
Individual interview 14c	Follow up with Stephen from focus group 14

N.B.: ages are presented for participants at age of focus group/interview (and in the case of those with follow ups, age is stated at time of first interview).

Interview guides

Topic guides for the interviews and focus groups are provided in Appendix 1. The individual and paired interviews and the focus groups followed a semi-structured line of questioning that covered children and young people's understanding of the concept of charity, their past and present donor behaviour, motivations for and barriers to giving, cause preference, and general attitudes and perceptions regarding charities and the nonprofit sector.

It was important especially for the younger children that the language used by the researcher was appropriate, and in order to ensure this the researcher consulted teachers and parents informally as she drafted questions. Where appropriate, language and wording used for questions were considered for each age group and used accordingly in the focus groups/interviews. For example, the use of the word charity was limited in the 4-6 year-old focus groups due to their lack of understanding of the word. Also for 9-11 year-olds, terms like 'charity adverts' were used as opposed to charity marketing methods.

The general format for the interviews and focus groups was that they commenced with the concept mapping exercise, before discussions about charities, and they ended with drawings about charities. Generally this was the case for all focus groups and interviews but especially with the 16-18 year-olds, the drawing task could not be conducted due to time constraints. The use of concept mapping and drawings are now considered.

Projective techniques

Especially for children, being interviewed for prolonged periods can seem tedious (Morgan et al. 2002) and this was one reason for including some

projective techniques into the focus groups and interviews. Gaskin (2005:38) advocated the use of projective techniques with young people, as:

> *"not only did they focus the discussion, they meant the time was broken up by movement and activity, so participants' attention was more or less held for the duration. In addition, the less confident and vocal ones were obliged to join in, but in a non-exposed way, and having broken the barrier of silence, found themselves offering opinions and taking part in the general discussion".*

Projective techniques are not only versatile and potentially involving and fun for participants, but they also help participants to tap into feelings, perceptions, and attitudes that might be difficult to access by more direct questioning (Catterall & Ibbotson 2000; Gordon & Langmaid 1988). They allow children to express themselves and communicate freely, especially children with low literacy skills (Young & Barrett 2001).

Studies using children's drawings have become commonplace within childhood studies (Kearney & Hyle 2004; Mauthner 1997) and more recently consumer research (Chan 2006; Hussey & Duncombe 1999; McNeal & Ji 2003). This is because of the appropriateness of drawing as an activity for children and to a lesser extent young people. Drawing is a natural, comfortable activity for many 4-6 and 9-11 year-olds, and including a nonverbal task may help them to articulate ideas that they may find difficult to express in words (Kress 1997). Although many teenagers and young adults may have lost the habit of drawing, it still provides them with an opportunity to express themselves creatively and perhaps access ideas that they might not otherwise have articulated.

Concept mapping (or mind mapping or cognitive mapping) is more often used to explore a concept and its meanings to individuals (Hines 2000). It can allow for the interpretation of a concept and how it relates to others. For example, the concept mapping of charities might involve participants writing about specific charity brands, marketing methods, charitable activities, their

feelings or attitudes about charities and so on. By analysing the immediate thoughts that preoccupy a child's mind in undertaking the concept map, the intention was to consider how charity is defined.

Therefore, this study used concept mapping and psychodrawing to offer participants opportunities and channels to express their attitudes and experiences in different ways. The youngest children were simply asked to draw what being kind meant to them due to potential difficulties in understanding what the term charity meant, but older participants were invited to complete a charity "concept map", draw a picture which portrayed what charity meant to them and to draw pictures of "the typical volunteer".

As Greig and Taylor (1999) claim, children's drawings "are believed to reveal the child's inner mind" (p.79). Care must be taken when interpreting the output from projective techniques, however, due to the idiosyncrasy and subjectivity involved (Barraza 1999; Catterall & Ibbotson 2000; Jenkins et al. 2010). This was addressed here by asking the participants to discuss their drawings. Barker and Weller (2003) contend that discussing the drawing with the child is necessary for interpretation and ensures that the drawing represents the child's meaning and interpretation, rather than those of the researchers (Hart 1992). Accounts of what they had drawn provided further insight into their understanding and attitudes and in some cases led to further discussion between participants.

Sampling and recruitment of participants

Participants were recruited using stratified purposeful sampling (Miles & Huberman 1994:28; Patton 2002 in Ritchie & Lewis 2003:79), and with the intention of including a broader sample than those living in one of Scotland's main cities. The age band of 4-24 year-olds included children at primary and secondary schools and for post-16 groups, some secondary school students, college students, university students, those on gap years, and those in

employment or unemployment. Recruitment proceeded by requesting access informally through schools where the researcher had personal contacts with teachers and headteachers. Schools in varying rural/urban catchments and varying socio-economic factors were contacted. Formal access procedures were then followed and approval was gained from local authorities before coming into schools and talking with the relevant teachers. For 22-24 year-olds, purposive sampling was undertaken, with young adults from a range of backgrounds and in different situations invited to take part. Initial participants in this group were recruited through the researcher's social network, and then an element of snowball sampling allowed her to recruit other young adults.

As discussed above, one of the principles of participatory research is to involve children in the research process and build relationships and rapport with them. This was attempted by making several visits to the participating schools. Particularly for the younger children, the researcher felt that it was imperative that the children were comfortable in her presence. Hence the researcher participated in lesson activities and play sessions with the children before the focus groups commenced. This was less appropriate for the 16-18 year-olds since the primary concern there was to respect their school commitments and restrict time spent in focus groups and associated activities. Bearing reflexivity issues in mind, attempts were made by the researcher to dress appropriately for the school setting whilst not alienating children by appearing too 'formal' (Christensen & James 2000). Furthermore Greig and Taylor (1999) state that researchers should "present themselves in a friendly and reassuring manner and the child should be allowed time to become familiar with a strange environment".

The complexities of research with children are also compounded by issues relating to access. Gatekeepers in the form of parents, teachers, schools, local authorities can facilitate or hinder access to children and their opportunities to be included in research. Individual and parental consent

forms were issued to all participants under the age of 18 and these were completed before research began.

Data transcription and analysis

All interviews and focus groups were recorded and transcribed verbatim (an exemplar transcript is shown in Appendix 2), with preliminary analysis taking place from the first group discussion onwards, and recorded in the researcher's diary and in analytical notes. Each transcript was subjected to open and axial coding (Marshall & Rossman 1999; Blaikie 2000; Strauss & Corbin 2000; Mason 2002; Ritchie & Lewis 2003), with initial categories informed by key themes from the literature and questions concerning how children and young people understood, donated and related to charities. Careful attention was also paid to the stories told by participants however, as this study was based on a belief that there may be more to their experiences of charity than reported in previous literature. Lofland's (1971) call for a coding scheme that graduates from micro to macro levels, also guided this stage of the analysis, and codes were informed by the following considerations:

1. Acts – action in a situation that is temporarily brief, consuming only a few seconds, minutes, or hours.
2. Activities – actions in a setting of more major duration – days, weeks, months – constituting significant elements of people's involvements.
3. Meanings – verbal productions of participants that define and direct action
4. Participation – people's holistic involvement or adaptation to a situation or setting under study.
5. Relationships – interrelationships among several persons considered simultaneously
6. Settings – entire setting under study conceived as the unit of analysis.

In particular, the first five levels were most applicable in this study in considering the different levels of charitable acts amongst children and young people. Through close reading of the transcripts and concept maps, careful examination of the drawings, and a process of constant comparative analysis, themes were identified and refined. Summaries were also written of each interview and focus group, aiding the process of whole group and participant based group analysis (Ritchie & Lewis 2003). Memos also aided the generation of concepts and categories throughout the data analysis stage. They help to link analytical interpretation with empirical reality (Charmaz 2003). Transcripts, concept maps and pictures for each age-group were analysed separately, building up to comparisons between the young children, tweens, teenagers and young adults. Principles of the constant comparative method (Charmaz 1983, 1995; Glaser 1978, 1992) were used, in that data was compared on five levels:

a. Comparing different people
b. Comparing data form same individuals with themselves at different points in time
c. Comparing incident with incident
d. Comparing data with category
e. Comparing a category with other categories

In this study, all levels were considered although comparing data from individuals at different points in time was limited to those young people where follow up interviews had been carried out. This allowed for the exploration of how motivations to give, charitable activities or attitudes may have changed over time.

By utilising analysis on five levels, this allowed for the development of patterns and key themes (such as barriers to giving or peer pressure) whilst allowing the individual stories told by children and young people to remain intact. In general, it was important for this study of children and young people

that analysis still maintained a "first person description of lived experiences" of charitable giving (Thompson et al. 1989).

Ethical considerations

With any research involving human participants, especially children and young people, how the research is conducted is of paramount importance and many issues need to be considered in order to ensure that they give informed consent to taking part, that their participation does not undermine their dignity, or place them at risk of physical, psychological or other kinds of harm. For this study, the researcher adopted the protectionist stance that is required by law and generally accepted practice in research with children, whilst allowing for a child-centred approach.

In designing the study, she consulted a wide range of existing research ethics guidelines and codes of practice, including the Nuremburg Code (1947), the Declaration of Helsinki (1964), the Belmont Report (1979), the British Sociological Association Statement of Ethical Practice (1993), the Social Research Association Ethical Guidelines (2003), RESPECT (2004), the ESRC Research Ethics Framework (2005), Barnardo's Statement of Ethical Research Practice (2005), and National Children's Bureau Guidelines for Research (2006). In addition to these guidelines, choices were informed by many research papers and cases of good practice relating to research with children (Alderson 2004; Cree et al. 2002; Fraser 2004; Greig & Taylor 2000; Lindsay 2000; Masson 2000; Masson 2004; Roberts 2000; Thomas & O'Kane 1998).

As Nairn et al. (2005) note, there are many complexities with research conducted in schools. Informed consent and voluntary participation were key principles in guiding decisions about recruitment. Information leaflets and an informal talk by the researcher helped to explain to the children (and their parents) exactly what their participation would entail. Both written and oral

information included details of the research aims, methods, issues of confidentiality and anonymity, and the researcher's contact details. These initial approaches aimed to be simple and age-appropriate, and to find a good balance between providing too little and too much information (Crow et al. 2006). Parental permission was sought for each child to participate, with parents asked to opt in, rather than opt out, of the study.

All participants (except 4-6 year-olds) were required to sign a written consent form themselves although oral consent was also sought before and after each interview/focus group. It has been argued that gaining consent can hinder rapport-building and researcher-participant relationships (Crow et al. 2006; Pitts & Miller-Day 2007; RESPECT 2004; Wiles et al. 2006) but seeking written and oral consent emphasised to participants that they could remove themselves from the research process at any time. It also provided an opportunity to test whether participants understood what taking part in the research entailed and what may happen to the data obtained. As Hornsby-Smith (1993) notes, consent should be regarded "not as a once-for-all prior event, but as a process, subject to negotiation over time", which is particularly pertinent for the follow-up interviews. Intertwined with the notion of informed consent is the concept of voluntary participation. Within the information pack and verbal discussions, it was emphasised that participation was voluntary and that they had the right to refuse to answer any questions and to withdraw from the research project altogether for any reason and at any stage.

Given the lack of financial resources, the researcher was not be able to offer financial incentives to participants although a small gift (an item of stationery) was given to children, since Golde (in Skeggs 1994) argues that all fieldwork should involve some form of reciprocity, and that "researchers should offer some favour in return for the disruption of other people's lives".

Other important ethical issues are anonymity and confidentiality. According to RESPECT (2004:71), "anonymity means that respondents cannot be identified (including by the researcher). Confidentiality means that participants can be identified by the researcher but access to this will not go beyond this research and names will not be revealed in any context". In this part of the research, anonymity was guaranteed through the use of pseudonyms, with children invited to choose their own although it should be noted however that not all participants wanted to do this. It was important to bear in mind issues of ownership of data and the responsibility of the researcher to represent participants in the 'correct' way (Corden & Sainsbury 2006). Corden and Sainsbury's (2006) study of participants' perspectives on verbatim quotations found that many young people did not like the idea of pseudonyms because it seemed 'false' thus confusing ownership of the data. Grinyer (2002) has challenged orthodox assumptions regarding the use of pseudonyms, claiming that concerns about anonymity and confidentiality have led to a "culturally embedded assumption that anonymity is an ethical prerequisite". Participants' preferences regarding this issue were obtained after the interviews/focus groups through the use of a self-completed form, so as to avoid any potential embarrassment or peer pressure. This provided participants with control and ownership over their data and how it is presented. To protect the identity of those involved, however, only first names were used and the particular schools taking part have not been named. The final undisclosed mix of pseudonyms and real first names further protects the identity of particular participants. The researcher assured participants that information disclosed in interviews would be kept strictly confidential and that the storage of data would remove personal identifiers and be kept in a secure place.

Another overriding theme in ethics is that of protection from physical, emotional, psychological, or other forms of harm. The researcher had undergone an Enhanced Disclosure check through Disclosure Scotland. Focus groups with school students took place on school grounds and within

school hours, as agreed with the respective teachers and headteachers. For the 4-6 year-olds, a teacher was present at all times and for the 9-11 year-olds, discussions took place in one area of the classroom while the teacher and the rest of the class were involved in other tasks. For older schoolchildren, doors to the rooms where the discussions took place were left open at all times. As the ESRC Research Ethics Framework (2005) points out, the psychological and emotional dangers are difficult to anticipate. The questions asked here were not intended to elicit particularly sensitive information, but some young people did talk about relatives who had passed away as motivations for giving to certain charities such as cancer research or hospices. On the whole, these participants seemed comfortable in disclosing this information as no signs of discomfort or hesitation were detected. The researcher did not probe such accounts but let the participants decide how much or how little to elaborate.

To conclude this discussion of the Part 1 methodology, when researching potentially vulnerable populations such as children and young people, where there are differences in age and power between researchers and participants, participatory techniques helps to overcome certain methodological and ethical challenges (Coad & Evans 2007; Thomas & O'Kane 1998; Wiles et al. 2006). The ways in which participatory research principles have guided this study have been discussed above, but it is important to stress that one of the main reasons for doing this is to avoid what some have called 'hit and run' research where interviews are conducted with little consideration of the impact of research on participants (Crow et al. 2006). In giving children a voice and recruiting them as participants, the researcher acknowledges that a degree of accountability is involved when one enters a child's life.

4.4.2 Part 2: Surveys of children and young people

Part 2 of this study involved a nationwide survey of children and young people living in Scotland, based on an age-adapted questionnaire for three age groups: 9-11 year-olds, 16-18 year-olds, 22-24 year-olds. Due to the limited cognitive and literacy skills, 4-6 year-olds were not included in this part of the research.

Research objectives

- To document the charitable activities undertaken by children and young people
- To describe and understand how, what, why, how much, to what cause, children and young people prefer to donate to charities
- To examine how personal values and materialistic values may affect their donor behaviour
- To facilitate comparisons between the behaviour and attitudes of different age groups

Data collection – survey

Owing to the descriptive nature of the research objectives, Part 2 entailed a survey of children and young people in Scotland. Due to problems of access and sampling frames in surveying young people aged 17-24, a representative sample was sought for 9-16 year-olds. Participants were accessed through Scottish primary and secondary schools using (random) cluster sampling.

Questionnaires were also distributed to young people aged 17-24 but here convenience sampling was used to capture subsets of groups such as college students, university students, those on gap years, those in employment and unemployment. The aim here was not to obtain a

representative sample and generalise but to obtain enough data to compare findings with those aged 9-16.

Therefore the survey design proceeded with three age-adapted questionnaires. It was important to ensure that the language used was appropriate for each age group and that the method of administration was well suited to the age group.

The use of a survey design and questionnaire to gather data on children and young people's donor behaviour was deemed advantageous in this study as it allowed the descriptive documentation of donor behaviour and the exploration of factors such as values and materialism. Furthermore it allowed for an overview to be gleaned from a larger sample of children and young people than Part 1 and the measurement of attitudes and opinions in a more standardised way.

The questionnaire allowed for a geographically dispersed population to be reached but also it is deemed most suitable for fulfilling the research objectives for Part 2. The ability to quantify data on donor behaviour can reveal more general patterns of giving that were alluded to in the focus groups and interviews. Furthermore, it can allow for the consideration of whether emerging findings from the qualitative research was supported by quantitative findings.

Questionnaire design

The three questionnaires are presented in Appendix 3. As mentioned above, they were adapted for each age group, with changes made to the language used, the length of the questionnaire and in some cases the response format. For example, Likert scales typically include "strongly agree" and "slightly agree" categories, but in accordance with other child-friendly questionnaires, "agree a lot" and "agree a little" were used. Similarly, while it was appropriate

to ask children about their weekly pocket money, older respondents were asked about their personal annual income. Examples of charities within causes were also provided for younger respondents as their recognition or categorisation of causes may not be as developed as young adults.

The questions asked flowed from the research objectives and concerned several key areas:

a. Participation in general charitable activities
b. Giving money – how much and through which methods
c. Cause preference and actual giving behaviour towards certain charities/causes
d. Giving time – including volunteer activities and number of hours volunteered
e. Motivations or reasons for giving/not giving
f. Charity marketing/advertising questions – attitudes towards charity marketing/advertising – relates to sources of information
g. General attitudes towards charities, and more specific attitudes like the role of the government, the use of celebrities by charities
h. Future engagement with charities
i. Personal values
j. Materialistic values
k. Socio-demographic factors.

The majority of questions were quantitative, closed questions but the questionnaire did contain some open ended qualitative questions which allowed children and young people to elaborate for example on their volunteering experiences and 'other' categories so not as to bind responses to the list of responses provided by the researcher. In addition other giving questionnaires were considered in the design stage to provide a comparison with donor behaviour of adults and children and young people.

The questions regarding personal and materialistic values deserve particular attention here, since preparing these sections of the questionnaire required an extensive search of existing values scales.

Personal values have been defined as "organised sets of preferential standards used in making selections of objects and actions, resolving conflicts, and defending choices made or proposed" (Rokeach 1979 in Bennett 2003:15). As discussed in the literature review, the relationship between values and donor behaviour has rarely been investigated in giving surveys. Bennett (2003), however, used Banet's (1976) inventory of self-actualising characteristics to conclude that personal values exerted a substantial influence on giving behaviour. Given the lack of similar research on children and young people, there was no clear values scale to use for the current study. Many value scales were considered, including:

- Banet's (1976) inventory of self-actualising characteristics
- Rokeach's (1968) value survey
- Schwartz's (1992) value survey
- Stern et al.'s (1998) inventory of values
- Kahle's (1983) list of values

Kahle's list of values was chosen as a scale of personal values as it includes both internal and external values. Moreover it notes the importance of interpersonal relations in value fulfilment, as well as personal factors such as self-respect and self-fulfilment. In addition, it incorporates the influence of factors such as fun, security, excitement, which is neglected by some other scales. The appropriateness of the scale for children and young people was borne in mind. Although the majority of value scales are intended for an adult population, they can be appropriately used for children if language is adapted. The relative benefit of using Kahle was that no change in language would be required which ensures the validity and reliability of the scale being

used. Furthermore, practical features such as the length of scales (Rokeach's value survey consisting of 36 values; Banet's Inventory of self-actualising characteristics consisting of 75 items; Schwartz's value survey containing 56 items) were deemed too long and potentially onerous for children and young people to complete.

Kahle's (1983) list of values essentially presents respondents with a list of things that some people look for or want out of life. Respondents then rate on a 1-9 scale how important they think each value is. The values are:

- Sense of belonging
- Excitement
- Warm relationships with others
- Self-fulfilment
- Being well respected
- Fun and enjoyment of life
- Security
- Self-respect
- A sense of accomplishment

Respondents then choose the one value that is most important to them in their daily life. Kahle's list of values has been used to assess amongst other things the predictive validity in relation to consumer behaviour (Kahle et al. 1986). A scale of 1-9 was also deemed to be too long for children and young people to use thus a scale of 1-5 was used. This was supported by the children in the pilot study.

Within the broad category of values, materialist values are particularly pertinent in this research on children and young people. As discussed in Chapter Three, materialist values may have a strong effect on the consumer behaviour of children and young people, but the literature is silent on how materialism may affect donor behaviour. Again, this called for a range of materialism scales to be considered for the purposes of this study, including:

- Tashchian et al.'s (1984) belief in material growth scale
- Richins' (1987) materialism measure
- Inglehart's (1981) materialism-post materialism scale
- Moschis and Churchill's (1978) materialistic attitudes scale
- Belk's (1984, 1985) materialism scales
- Richins and Dawson's (1992) material values scales

Materialist values are typically measured by asking people about money, possessions and consumption. For example, Kasser and Ryan (1993) collected data on financial aspirations (having a high paying job, being financially successful, buying things just because you want them), social goals (being famous, admired) and appearance (keeping up with fashions, achieving the right look). Other measures such as Richins and Dawson's (1992) widely cited materialism scale, focus on desires for success, how central consumption is to people and happiness. Belk's (1984, 1985) scale rates envy, possessiveness and non-generosity as these are considered to be the personality components to materialism.

Given the focus on using child-friendly questions, the search for materialism scales focused on those specifically adapted for children and young people. More recently, Bottomley et al. (2010) have stressed the importance of adapted scales of materialism for children and young people. Therefore, particular attention was paid to Schor's (2004) consumer involvement scale and Goldberg et al.'s (2003) youth materialism scale. Ultimately, Schor's (2004) materialism scale was selected and adapted slightly for the 9-11 year-olds' questionnaire. Schor's original scale contained 16 items but this was deemed too long for the 9-11 year-olds to maintain concentration on given the context and length of the overall questionnaire. Hence within the three components of her scale (dissatisfaction, consumer orientation, brand awareness), three items were taken from each to compose a 9-item scale. Children had to rate how much they agreed or disagreed with the statements on a 5-point Likert scale. This scale was the basis of Schor's (2004) study

which found a negative relationship between materialism and psychological well-being. The items comprising Schor's scale are listed below, with those selected for this study presented in red[13].

Dissatisfaction

- I feel like other kids have more stuff than I do.
- I wish my family could afford to buy me more of what I want.
- I have pretty much everything I need in terms of possessions.
- I wish my parents gave me more money to spend.
- When I decide who to be friends with, I don't care what toys or stuff the person has.
- I wish my parents earned more money.

Consumer orientation

- I usually have something in mind that I want to buy or get.
- I want to make a lot of money when I grow up.
- I care a lot about my games, toys and other possessions.
- When I go somewhere special, I usually like to buy something.
- I like shopping and going to stores.

Brand awareness

- I don't care too much about what I wear.
- Brand names matter to me.
- I like clothes with popular labels.
- Being cool is important to me.
- It doesn't matter to me what kind of car my family has.

For the 12-24 year-olds, however, it seemed more appropriate to use a more sophisticated materialism scale. Hence, Goldberg et al.'s (2003) youth materialism scale was adopted as it was better suited to adolescents and their understandings of consumer culture which may affect materialistic values. This scale consists of 10 items and was designed for children and young people, in contrast to adult which used more complex wording.

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[13] An abbreviated Schor scale was used following personal communication between Dr Agnes Nairn and Dr Stephanie O'Donohoe, April 2008.

Goldberg et al. (2003) anticipated the use of this scale for 9-14 year-olds. It was deemed appropriate for use with children and young people for this study based on discussions with participants who helped pilot the questionnaire. They expressed a preference for Goldberg et al.'s (2003) scale over Schor's (2004), because they felt it was better at capturing their views and attitudes towards buying things and shopping. Support for using Goldberg et al.'s (2003) scale also comes from its use by other consumer researchers exploring the lives of children and young people (Nairn et al. 2007).

Piloting the questionnaires

The three questionnaires were piloted with 10 children and young people within each age group, using a convenience sample. Discussions with individuals and groups of children and young people allowed issues and other issues to be highlighted. The pilot study provided valuable insight before the dissemination of the actual questionnaire to respondents. Having analysed the results of the pilot, and more importantly, how children and young people completed the questionnaires, several changes were made.

The 9-11 year-olds felt that the original questionnaire was too long and they found parts of it quite tedious. As a result, the length of the questionnaire was shortened to four A4 pages and questions about actual donation behaviour by cause and various attitude statements were omitted. Minor changes of wording were made to some of the attitude statements to ensure better comprehension of the statements.

For the 12-16 and 17-24 year-olds, no major issues arose, although the 12-16 year-olds found the first question about charitable activities a little confusing to complete. It asked respondents whether they had ever engaged in a range of charitable activities and then asked if they had done so in the last 6 months. Therefore, this question was split into two separate questions

for 12-16 year-olds. Given the relative success of the pilot in confirming the child-friendliness of the questionnaire, further development of the questionnaire and data collection proceeded.

Survey administration methods

Just as the survey instrument was tailored to each age-group, the methods of administration were not the same for all respondents. A paper based, self-completion questionnaire was used with 9-11 year-olds but older respondents filled in the surveys online. The advantages and disadvantages of online methods of administration are discussed below before discussing the rationale for using different methods of administration for the survey.

Online surveys offer several benefits for researchers. They are appropriate when wide geographic coverage or large samples are required, and they have been found to be useful for accessing young people and professionals (Selm & Janowski 2006). They may also be useful for addressing personal, sensitive issues or vulnerable populations, since anonymity and confidentiality issues seem to be less of an issue with this method of administration (Fox et al. 2003). Online surveys offer significant financial savings over postal surveys, which typically require funds to cover outward and return postage, photocopying, clerical support and data entry (Saunders et al. 2003). They also have many design advantages, since questionnaires may be more visual, flexible and interactive, and they can facilitate complex branching, consistency checks, and randomisation of questions (De Vaus 2002). They offer more control over the order in which questions are presented and have the potential to reduce non-item response, since the survey packages can check valid responses to questions and respondents can be prompted to answer certain questions.

Online surveys also benefit respondents, who can fill them in at their convenience and even partially complete and return to them later.

Furthermore, respondents can reply in a number of ways, such as completing it online or receiving and emailed version, printing it out, filling it in manually and mailing or faxing it back to the researcher.

Several problems have also been identified for online surveys however. For example, it is often not possible to identify a clear sampling frame, and this prevents researchers from calculating response rates. There are also concerns about the representativeness of online samples, since internet users tend to be younger, well-educated, more affluent and living in urban areas. It has also been suggested that online survey respondents tend to be more politically aware, to travel and eat out more often, and to be earlier adopters of technology, but research profiling online survey respondents is thin and inconclusive (Couper 2000; Evans & Mathur 2005). Mode effects may also exist; for example it has been suggested that respondents filling in questionnaires online tend to choose more extreme values on scales than those completing questionnaires in other modes. Finally, online surveys may be vulnerable to technical problems: servers can crash, and software availability can also be an issue for researchers or respondents. For example with email surveys which require an attachment, the respondent may not have the software capabilities to download the file and complete the questionnaire.

For this study, it was decided that 12-16 and 17-24 year-olds would be invited to participate through an online survey, with separate URLS for each age-group (www.survey.ed.ac.uk/mad-under16 and www.survey.ed.ac.uk/mad-over17 respectively). This was because all secondary school pupils have access to a computer and email address in Scottish schools, making concerns about representative samples redundant in this case and making it easier for them to complete the survey at their leisure. Discussion with teachers suggested that 12-16 year-olds would be capable of filling in the questionnaire online, and due to the cost of distributing paper questionnaires to this age group, an online format was also considered more feasible. For

the 17-24 year-olds, the online channel facilitated the use of convenience and snowball sampling in recruiting respondents.

The decision to use a paper version for the 9-11 year-olds was guided by discussions with teachers of this age group, and based on concerns about their ability to complete the questionnaire online and their relatively restricted access to the internet in school.

Sampling and recruitment

For 9-11 and 12-16 year-olds, access was negotiated with headteachers before contact was made with the young people. 42 primary schools and 42 secondary schools (3 in each of the 14 regions in Scotland) were contacted about the distribution of the questionnaire. For 9-11 year-olds, paper questionnaires were sent to the schools for completion by children under the supervision of teachers. This was to ensure that any questions that the children did not understand or other issues could be clarified. Feedback from the teachers indicated that requests for clarification were minimal. For 12-16 year-olds, an email invitation was sent to every student within the school. The email contained the link to the actual questionnaire. The use of random cluster sampling for 9-16 year-olds was deemed appropriate for recruiting a representative sample of children and young people in this age group. It allowed a geographically dispersed population to be reached. Cluster sampling benefits from more general advantages of random sampling methods in that data is less prone to bias the use of statistical tests for significance and generalisation is permitted. Schools were randomly chosen from the Education Directory. All students within the school were then emailed (usually via the school administrators) to invite them to participate in the study. This helped to secure a representative sample in terms of a mix of males and females, ethnicities, those residing in rural-urban and suburban locations.

Questionnaires were also distributed to young people aged 17-24 using a similar procedure to cluster sampling for 9-16 year-olds but the choice of 'clusters' was less random. Email invitations were sent but here convenience sampling was used in the selection of clusters. Universities, colleges, youth networks, and workplaces were contacted about the distribution of the email invitation to their respective populations of 17-24 year-olds. It should be noted that the email invitation contained a general introduction to the study, ethical reassurances of confidentiality and anonymity but also a small statement encouraging respondents to send the questionnaire link onto other respondents who might want to participate. In this sense, an element of snowball sampling was utilised which helped to reach 'socially excluded' groups such as unemployed young people, and those unable to work due to disability or illness.

The use of convenience sampling helped to capture subsets of groups such as S6 school students, college students, university students, those on gap years, those in employment and unemployment. As 17-24 year-olds were sampled using non-probability methods, it cannot be claimed that the sample is random but in analysing the sample, this age group is shown to be comparable to and broadly representative of the general population of 17-24 year-olds. However, the sample is not taken as representative sample in the statistical sense. This should be borne in mind when examining the findings of this study for this age group. The intention of surveying this age group was to gain enough data to compare findings with those aged 9-16.

It is hard to ascertain exact response rates for online surveys (Couper 2000) or the number of 9-11 year-olds exposed to the questionnaire through schools. However, the following responses were collected, as shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Number of responses to the questionnaires

9 -11 year-olds	received 297, 272 usable
12-16 year-olds	responses online 114, 103 usable
17-24 year-olds	responses online 258, 231 usable

For the 9-11 and 12-16 year-olds, questionnaires which were largely incomplete were discarded. For 17-24 year-olds, the majority of responses that were discarded was due to respondents falling outside the age range. With an online questionnaire, there is always the potential that uninvited people will fill it in, and although the introduction emphasised that the questionnaire was for 17-24 year-olds, others still completed it. It should be noted that the sample sizes are relatively small compared to conventional giving surveys where thousands of respondents are common. Although the samples for 9-16 year-olds are considered random and therefore representative, the limited sample size was borne in mind in the analysis of the data.

Table 4.3: Sample characteristics by age group

Demographic	9-11 year-olds	12-16 year-olds	17-24 year-olds
Age	9 year-olds: 5% 10 year-olds: 36% 11 year-olds: 59%	12 year-olds: 37% 13 year-olds: 13% 14 year-olds: 21% 15 year-olds: 15% 16 year-olds: 14%	17 year-olds: 8% 18 year-olds: 8% 19 year-olds: 7% 20 year-olds: 12% 21 year-olds: 8% 22 year-olds: 17% 23 year-olds: 14% 24 year-olds: 26%
	Mean age: 10.56	Mean age: 13.55	Mean age: 21.50
Gender	Male: 49% Female: 51%	Male: 52% Female: 48%	Male: 34% Female: 66%
Religion	None: 65% Christian: 31% Buddhist: 1% Jewish: 1% Muslim: 1% Sikh: 1%	None: 46% Christian: 52% Buddhist: 0% Jewish: 0% Muslim: 1% Sikh: 1%	None: 46% Christian: 49% Buddhist: <1% Jewish: <1% Muslim: 2% Sikh: 0%
Ethnicity	White: 98% Asian: 1% Black: 0% Other: 1%	White: 97% Asian: 1% Black: 0% Other: 2%	White: 88% Asian: 9% Black: 1% Other: 2%
Location	Rural: 30% Suburban: 38% Urban: 32%	Rural: 36% Suburban: 38% Urban: 26%	Rural: 11% Suburban: 27% Urban: 62%

Table 4.3 (continued): Sample characteristics by age group

Demographic	9-11 year-olds	12-16 year-olds	17-24 year-olds
No. of people in household	2: 5% 3: 15% 4: 43% 5: 27% 6+: 10%	1: <1% 2: 2% 3: 16% 4: 40% 5: 25% 6+ 16%	1: 10% 2: 23% 3: 25% 4: 25% 5: 14% 6+: 3%
	Mean no.: 4.23	Mean no.: 4.38	Mean no.: 3.20
Employment status	n/a	n/a	Unemployed: <1% Self-employed: <1% Full-time employment: 28% Part-time employment: 4% On a gap year: 1% Student: 61% Other: 4%
Marital status	n/a	n/a	Single: 57% In a relationship and not living together: 11% In a relationship and living together: 25% Married: 7%

Data Analysis

For the majority of the questions, a codebook was created with pre-coded categories, which allowed for data entry into PASW (formerly SPSS). Data analysis was carried out using mainly descriptive and frequency statistics to document the participation rates in charitable activities, how much young people gave and other facets of donor behaviour. Bivariate analysis in the form of correlations were carried out for the personal and materialistic values and the level of monetary donations. It should be noted that only bivariate relationships between variables were considered as opposed to multivariate analysis. It was the intention of Part 2 to document the donor behaviour of children and young people and explore the patterns within different age groups. General descriptive statistics and crosstabulations (and where appropriate independent samples t-test and one way ANOVAs were used to compare mean scores) were examined for other sociodemographic variables but the focus was on age differences and how donor behaviour developed as children matured. Analysis of data was guided by prescriptive texts including De Vaus (2002), Kinnear and Gray (2010) and Pallant (2005). It should be noted that statistical analysis was undertaken on the data from the 17-24 year-olds to provide comparisons with the younger age groups, but this should be considered indicative due to the nonprobability sample involved.

Furthermore, the data and variables created were not amenable to more sophisticated statistical techniques. Particularly with factor analyses and ordinal regression, the limited size of the sample and the large number of categorical variables meant that these tests would not prove fruitful. Given the study's interpretive paradigm and emphasis on thick description, analytical depth was sought by combining qualitative and quantitative findings, rather than by extensive, sophisticated statistical analysis.

Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are also important in surveys as voluntary participation, informed consent, issues of confidentiality and anonymity are pertinent. Particularly for surveys which involve children, ethical decisions are as important here as for data collection methods which involve face-to-face interaction (Reeves et al. 2007). For the online survey especially, participants could withdraw from the questionnaire at any time they wished without any adverse consequences. Anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed as no personal identifiers were used in the online survey, and data have been stored securely.

4.5. EVALUATION OF THE STUDY AND RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

4.5.1 *Evaluating the multi-method research design and triangulation*

The multi-method design of the study allowed for findings to be corroborated and explored further for inconsistencies. The aim to provide a thick description of children and young people's donor behaviour was achieved through using the multiple lenses of questionnaires, focus groups, paired and individual interviews, and projective techniques such as concept mapping and drawings. Data on behaviours, attitudes and stories were able to be gathered with a variety of children and young people within the overarching interpretive paradigm.

The two elements of the study may be subjected to different criteria for analysis. For qualitative data, issues of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability were considered in evaluating the use of focus groups and interviews (Lincoln & Guba 2002). Child-centred, participatory research methods were used to gain insights into the perspectives and experiences of children and young people with respect to

charities, and they were encouraged to express their thoughts, feelings and experiences both verbally and nonverbally. Multiple methods and techniques were used to create a rich and nuanced account, allowing findings from different parts of the study to be compared and contrasted, and the researcher has sought to show how her analysis has been derived from participants' contributions. It may be that some of the findings presented can transfer to other contexts or settings (Marshall & Rossman 1999; Mason 2002; Ritchie & Lewis 2003) but interpretive research emphasises the context-bound nature of data, and the qualitative findings in this study are derived from particular participants located in a particular socio-cultural context. Furthermore, the lives of children and young people are constantly in change, as are societal trends, and so dependability should be considered in the context of a changing reality.

Quantitative data is typically assessed in terms of internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity (Marshall & Rossman 1999). Given that many questions were included to provide comparison with existing giving surveys, they have been taken to be valid and reliable. Similarly, the personal values and materialism scales have been subjected to rigorous scrutiny in the literature (Bottomley et al. 2010) and hence these are considered to offer reassurance over the validity and reliability of measures. It should be acknowledged here however that a shorter version of Schor's (2004) materialism scale was used for this study and that this may have implications for its validity and reliability.

Throughout the research design, theoretical and empirical generalisation (Hammersley 2003) has been sought through the use of probability sampling for samples of 9-16 year-olds but also in the dispersed locations and socio-economic demographics of the interview participants.

The generalisability of quantitative data has been considered with reference to work including Oppenheim (1992), de Vaus (2001, 2002) and Punch

(2003). The samples obtained were broadly representative of the overall population for 9-16 year-olds in terms of population characteristics including age and gender mix. However, certain groups were underrepresented such as ethnic minorities and religious people other than Christians (deemed inevitable by Low et al. 2007 in large surveys). The sample size also limits the reliance we can place on the findings. Random sampling methods allowed statistical analysis to be carried out under certain statistical assumptions, but care must be taken in generalising data from this study to the overall population. As discussed above, convenience sampling of 17-24 year-olds means that the statistical analysis provided indicative findings.

4.5.2. Reflections on child-centred, participative research

The use of participatory research and including children and young people in the research process was considered to be extremely fruitful in terms of ensuring that data collection methods were appropriate and accessible to children and young people. Particularly in the pilot study, the children were extremely helpful in ensuring that instruments were child-friendly.

Children and young people were also asked how they felt about their participation in the study at the end of all the focus groups and interviews. Particularly in the follow-up interviews, where there was potential for reflection in between the two meetings, participants mentioned that they had enjoyed being interviewed and having the opportunity to talk about their charity experiences. Many commented that the interview had been educational or even that it "stimulated my thinking about these issues".

Specific data collection techniques were also evaluated (as discussed below) but overall children and young people seemed to value being listened to. Many of the 9-11 year-olds especially, said that the experience made them "feel special" and that the research process was not tedious or onerous but instead enjoyable through doing activities they enjoyed like drawing.

However, the involvement of children in the research process is not without its problems. Engaging in participatory research requires commitment on the part of the researcher and the researched. Trade-offs needed to be made to ensure that children and young people were included, without taking up too much of their time. Particularly for 16-18 year-olds, the academic year leaves little room for 'spare' time to be more involved. Hence the researcher did not place too many demands on them given their timetable of coursework and examinations throughout the year. Apart from being time-consuming, participatory research requires the relinquishment of some control over the research design to be given to children and young people. Some researchers claim to use participatory research and then deem children to be unable to contribute to the research process. This study was guided by the children and young people's views of their participation in research. Those who had encountered research before had notions of the 'hit and run' researcher which runs counter to the idea of placing children's needs at the heart of the research.

Turning to power relations between the researcher and the researched, these did not seem to have a major effect on the focus groups and interviews as dynamics between the researcher and children were considered normal and appropriate. The researcher for example dressed appropriately and used language that was less formal, and she spent most of her time at the schools in the classroom with the children rather than with the teacher.

Particularly for the 4-6 year-olds, it is important to be on their own level, thus the researcher sat on the floor with them during the focus groups and beside them while they were drawing. With participants but especially with children, there is a need for the researcher to be engaged in listening. The occasional approval of the advancing of opinions but not of the opinions themselves (Christensen & James 2000) helps to reinforce people's confidence. This

involved a lot of nodding, encouraging comments on the part of the researcher.

Part of the joys of research with children is to experience things with them and to observe them in their natural environments. Consideration must be given to their levels of understanding and cognitive abilities. This was particularly apparent in one of the focus groups with 4-6 year-olds. Research with children is inherently unpredictable and thus this particular focus group was interrupted by two thirds of the group going to use the bathroom in sequence. Attention spans of young children also do not make it easy to maintain conversation on a particular topic so discussions were mixed with other activities such as playing or singing nursery rhymes. The researcher did not guide these activities but followed the guidance of the children. Similarly in the Falkirk secondary school where focus groups took place, ensuring rapport was built meant participating in class activities and exercises for several days over several weeks prior to the focus groups to ensure that the children were familiar and comfortable with the researcher. The English teacher allowed a whole unit about charity to be used for the class and hence the children were allowed to dictate what activities they could engage in. The children suggested writing poems and short stories about charities and furthermore posters encouraging other people to donate. This not only showed the children's interest in the research topic but an overall willingness to express themselves in the ways they wanted. Some chose to draw whilst others chose to write or indeed talk about charities with the researcher. Research with children is endlessly fascinating as the researcher is able to observe them as beings in their own right but also their development as becomings. The use of a child-centred and participatory research approach in this study has yielded further insight into the roles children can play in the research process but also in their experiences of being researched.

4.5.3 Reflections on the focus groups and interviews

As O'Kane (2000:152) notes, "in any exploratory study concerned with listening to children's experiences or views, the researcher cannot predict the content of the discussions". This was particularly evident in all focus groups and interviews as children and young people offered reasoned articulations of their donor behaviour. It is only through focus groups and interviews that the researcher is allowed to see how children and young people view the world and their perceptions and understandings of charities.

One of the limitations of part 1 of the study was the number of focus groups carried out. The limited access of children meant that more focus groups could not be conducted which may affect generalisability of results. Comparability between age groups was also limited due to the difficulties in finding 22-24 year-old participants.

Furthermore the practicalities of conducting research within schools limited time with children and young people which affected length of discussions and the number of projective techniques that could be used. In addition, the longitudinal aspect was only really apparent for the 22-24 year-olds as it was not possible to do follow-ups with all participants.

However, the interviews and focus groups were deemed to be an appropriate data collection tool for eliciting responses from children and young people about charities. In the debriefing after the interviews, participants remarked that the interview was thought-provoking and enjoyable especially as it allowed them the opportunity to talk about their own personal experiences.

In the remainder of this section, specific reflections on the focus groups and interviews conducted with each age group are presented.

4 - 6 year-olds

Only two focus groups were conducted because of access issues. Power differentials were most apparent for this age group given the inability of the researcher to conceal her size and age. Effort was made to speak to children on their level and to emphasise that the researcher was not an adult authority figure.

One major issue was the limited cognitive abilities with this age group. The children had heard of the word charity but did not really understand what it meant. Therefore discussions and drawings were of prosocial behaviours such as helping others or being kind as opposed to giving per se. In addition the relatively short attention spans meant that much of the transcripts were on discussions of toys, siblings, pets, classroom occurrences, playground tussles as well as charitable giving.

9 - 11 year-olds

There was very limited time with children of this age group in the actual focus groups time, but data were also collected from children in other ways through charity-based lessons – where children were able to do free-style activities about charities – like writing poems, drawing pictures/posters, writing short stories and other worksheets. Since this was not conducted with all age groups, these have not been included in the presentation of findings but these supplementary activities and outputs offered useful additional perspectives in interpreting the focus group data.

16 - 18 year-olds

Again, time was very limited with students in schools which meant that some of the projective techniques were not conducted with this age group. More focus groups had been planned than conducted but on the day of the focus groups, a fire alarm meant that this was not possible. Rescheduling was not possible as it would mean taking the students out of more classes. The

researcher felt this would not be in the best interests of the students as they had exams approaching.

Although follow-ups were not possible with most focus groups, some of the 16-18 year-olds were interviewed outside the school environment hence this allowed follow-up interviews to be carried out.

22 - 24 year-olds

The degree to which the participants represented the overall population of 22-24 year-olds is the biggest potential limitation in that only one focus group was conducted. This was based on a friendship group and hence was single-sex which is a slight departure from all other groups which were mainly gender-mixed. Each focus group member was then interviewed individually. This however proved extremely fruitful in terms of analysing data pertaining to individual/social aspects of giving.

For the paired interviews, this involved a pair of male friends and a co-habiting couple. This was intended to show variety in views by comparing like for like groups but it was not possible to organise a paired interview with two female friends to provide a comparison.

The paired interview with the co-habiting couple provided valuable insight into household giving and the negotiation of giving between two people with shared finances. It was not possible however to interview this couple individually, which could have offered further insights into how their personal and individual donor behaviour related to those of their partner.

Regarding the individual interviews, three females and one male were interviewed. There were difficulties in finding more male participants for individual interviews, perhaps because the researcher was female. Despite this, the individuals interviewed came from a range of backgrounds so that similarities and differences could be identified.

4.5.4 Reflections on the use of projective techniques

Feedback was obtained from participants of all ages on their experiences of the interviews, focus groups and projective techniques. The younger participants found drawing an easy activity and found it easy to relate to. However, one of the 17 year-old participants exercised her right not to draw due to embarrassment. This did not seem to affect the interview situation as she was still forthcoming in speaking; she just expressed her desire not to be embarrassed by her inability to draw.

Many of the 22-24 year-olds talked about the novelty of drawing, an activity that some had not done since school. Most enjoyed the use of concept maps and drawings, and these helped the researcher to understand their spoken words better and possibly helped participants to access less conscious ideas and attitudes concerning charities.

The concept maps which were always done at the beginning of each focus group/interview provided a useful starting point for participants to talk about charities and allowed them an easy route into the interview.

4.5.5 Reflections on the survey research

For any survey, data cleaning is an important precursor to analysis, and some issues arising from this process are helpful in evaluating the questionnaires. One of the major issues is the number of questionnaires that were incomplete or had to be discarded because of apparent misunderstandings in the two younger age-groups, particularly among the 9-11 year-olds. 63 responses were discarded from all surveys. Given that the sample size was 606, attrition is expected.

The process of piloting the survey attempted to eradicate any potential misunderstandings and the 9-11 year-olds participating in the pilot survey felt that the questionnaire was understandable and appropriate, but inevitably as in any survey research, questions are open to interpretation.

One question in particular yielded a high number of erroneous answers for 9-11 year-olds.

Figure 4.3: Question 20

Question 20: For each person in your house, please write their relationship to you (for example, father, mother, two brothers or mother, sister)

A substantial number of children counted pets (dogs, cats, hamsters), and sometimes toys as members of their household. This required the researcher to go through each individual response to check that pets and other toys were not included in the question of number of people in the household.

In addition, three respondents wrote "very special to me" as the relationship of the people in their household. Although this interpretation is understandable with hindsight, it was not identified as a possibility by anyone involved in the pilot study. On reflection, answers like these convey the joy of research with children and their naivety (or cheekiness) in responding to questions.

For this age group, a number of missing answers were apparent which may be due to children not answering questions that they did not understand. Some children used the Don't Know response but it is hard to ascertain in a self-completion questionnaire whether missing answers were due to lack of understanding or boredom. For all the 9-11 year-olds, teachers and learning

assistants were present when children filled out the questionnaire so children could seek clarification of questions but this was seldom used.

Particularly regarding the question to choose the most important value from the list of 9, many children overlooked this question or found it hard to decide which meant that there was a high number of missing values. Some 9-11 year-olds found it hard to complete the personal values scale due to the number of missing responses. This may be a cognitive issue as at that age, children's personal values and inclinations may not have developed enough for them to articulate their 'values'.

A final issue regarding data cleaning was that 11-16 year-olds (particularly 11-14 year-olds) often used the 'other' box to write reasons or responses that were already listed. Again this required some variables to be recoded.

The online method of administration was advantageous in the ease in which potential respondents could be contacted but due to the increase junk emails young people get, the email was sometimes lost. A further more practical issue was that some schools had agreed to email the invitation around students but the restrictive internet functions on school computers would not allow students to complete the survey. It would rely on students completing the survey at home. This only affected two secondary schools but given the inability to change the URL for the questionnaire, this was taken as an unfortunate gatekeeper access issue. This may have limited the response rate for this group.

The paper format for 9-11 year yielded relatively high response rates and the kindness of teachers to allow time in class to complete them. It may be that children felt obliged to fill it in given the classroom setting but it was emphasised to teachers that participation and completion of the survey was optional.

4.5.5 Reflections on the ethical considerations

The thorough ethical considerations were deemed to be appropriate for this study and no problematic issues arose. Principles of informed consent were adhered to and all participants knew about what participation in the study meant. Assurances that no special knowledge was required to take part reassured the 9-11 year-olds especially. In line with Reeves et al. (2007) and Corden and Sainsbury (2006), the participants felt special at being 'chosen' to take part and hence were willing to speak about charities. Moreover the children like the ownership of their words and drawings to be honoured. They were given the chance to choose their own pseudonyms and these requests have been honoured.

The information leaflets and consent forms used, particularly for the 4-6 and 9-11 year-olds in Part 1 of the study were deemed to be suitable and ensured that parents and teachers were reassured over the purpose of the research and how the children could contribute towards the study.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the research methodology undertaken in this thesis. It has provided the rationale for used child-centred, participatory research in a wider interpretive research design aimed at providing a thick description of the donor behaviour of children and young people. The multi-method research design was outlined where Part 1 utilised focus groups and interviews with children and young people and Part 2 was used to survey 9-24 year-olds.

CHAPTER FIVE: HOW CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE UNDERSTAND CHARITIES

CHAPTER FIVE:

HOW CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE UNDERSTAND CHARITIES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Drawing on observations and analysis from Part 1 of the study, this chapter considers how children and young people understand the concept of charity and their perceptions of charities. Although most of the study concerns 9-24 year-olds, this phase of the research also included younger children in order to explore early understandings and perceptions. The discussion below therefore concerns four age groups, with 4-6 year-olds referred to as "young children", 9-11 year-olds as "tweens", 16-18 year-olds as "teens" and 22-24 year-olds as "young adults".

It is not surprising that different levels of the knowledge and skills required to be a donor were evident amongst these age groups. Consistent with the literature reviewed in Chapter Three, their donor socialisation appeared related to their consumer, economic, and political socialisation as well as their prosocial and moral development. In particular, perceptions and conceptions of charities grew increasingly complex with each age group, with more abstract thinking and reasoning about charities evident in the older groups. It was also evident from the mind maps, pictures and discussions about charities that knowledge of charity brands, adverts and causes were more multifaceted and considered for the teens and young adults than for the tweens and young children. The following sections discuss these issues in more detail.

5.2 PERCEPTIONS OF CHARITY

Rather than presenting the children and young people with a fixed definition of charity, the early questions in the qualitative phase of the study were left

open so that they could express their understanding in their own words. As outlined in Chapter Two, charity may be understood in terms of judgement, institution, and virtue. In the qualitative part of this study, the last two perspectives were most commonly adopted by participants, but young children and tweens seemed to define the concept of charity more broadly than their older counterparts, including charitable activities beyond the giving of time and money. They were more inclined to see recycling, buying fair-trade products and donation of blood/body parts as charitable behaviour, whereas older groups tended to exclude such prosocial behaviour from their definitions.

All participants, including the youngest, had taken part in some form of charitable activity in the past and most were able to talk about their experiences of having given or supported charities as well as their awareness of charity marketing campaigns. As might be expected from the literature reviewed in Chapter Three, attitudes and perceptions were closely related to prior experience of and exposure to charities. The young children found it hard to articulate their views of charities as their understanding of the notion of charity was somewhat lacking. The tweens and teens had positive perceptions of charities whereas the young adults were generally more cynical and critical. These different concepts of charity are discussed next.

5.2.1 What 4 - 6 year-olds understand by charity

The 4-6 year-olds did not seem to know, or struggled to articulate, what the word charity meant, although they had heard of it. Many talked about recent events such as *Children in Need*, but they showed little awareness of different charities, types of causes or charity campaigns. They did not seem to be able to generalise from particular experiences of charitable activity, and could not remember other charitable activities that they had engaged in. This is consistent with the framework of donor socialisation proposed in Chapter Three, since young children are likely to have had limited contact with

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charities, and at the perceptual or preoperational stage of development are less able to deal with abstract representations than simple, concrete ones (Roedder John 1999; Piaget 1960). However, they had an implicit understanding of charity as a virtue or as prosocial behaviour through conversations about being kind to people in need or helping others.

All their knowledge of charity seemed to have come from parents and teachers, suggesting that peers and the media were less effective as socialisation agents for this age group. As might be expected at this age, they did not question what teachers and parents had told them about charities and so did not think of charity or charities critically; charity was simply considered a good thing.

Many of the pictures the young children drew (children were asked to draw themselves being kind or helping someone else) were of helping peers or parents. Although young children were expected to see charitable behaviour as one-directional, this age group had some understanding of the reciprocity involved, talking about themselves as beneficiaries of help as well as donors/helpers. With regards to helping peers, many young children told stories of how they had helped or been helped by other children when they had fallen or been hurt. Children also told stories of being ill and having others comfort them, as well as of helping siblings who were ill. With regards to adults, children told stories of being asked to help around the house, whether that be tidying their room or setting the table for dinner. By carrying out these tasks, they saw themselves as being kind and helpful. These understandings were communicated in their drawings, such as those in Figures 5.1 and 5.2.

Figure 5.1:
Helping (Molly, 5, Focus group 1)
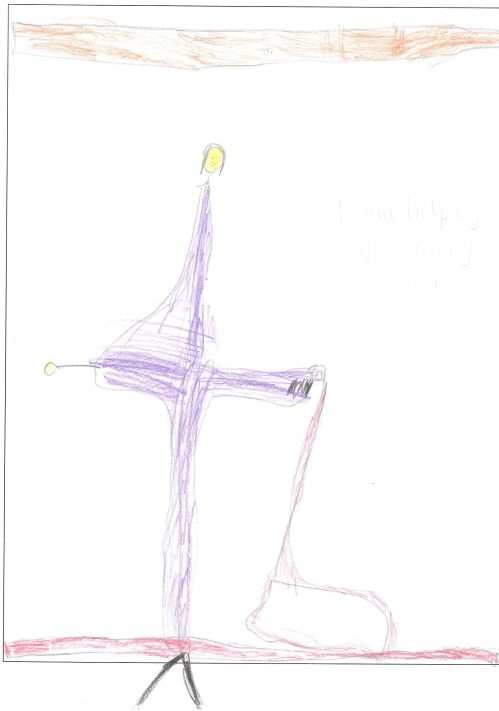
Figure 5.2: Being kind to someone
(Edward, 4, Focus group 2)

In Figure 5.2, the idea of charity being portrayed is of one child helping another who has fallen over. There are signs of personal distress on both the children as both children have their mouths wide open. Edward confirmed this "that's me helping someone who's fallen over. I'm shouting for help, to get a teacher… they're crying 'cause they're hurt, it's not very nice". In Figure 5.1, Molly has drawn herself with a vacuum cleaner, helping her parents do household chores. Being charitable for Molly was time spent contributing to housework and helping her parents.

It was evident that young children's notions of being in need were limited to being ill or hurt and that they had been taught to always help those in need using specified procedures or scripts (such as "if a child is hurt, go and find an adult"). Thus, being charitable meant complying with rules or instructions set by adults and was less about being kind for its own sake. Many of the young children repeated that "it's good to be kind" almost as a mantra.

"It's good to help people if they've fallen over so they don't hurt themselves. You have to get them help. You shouldn't push other people."

(Ben, 4, Focus group 1, Falkirk primary school)

"It's nice to do what mummy and daddy says, like when my brother was poorly, I had to get him a pillow. Mummy said that was nice so it's good."

(Diana, 6, Focus group 2, Falkirk primary school)

This suggests that children lack deeper understanding and feelings concerning what it means to help others and are merely absorbing social norms about helping those in need. This is consistent with the moral reasoning stage that Piaget (1932, 1965) associated with 5-9 year-olds; rules are learned through interaction and are seen to come from a higher authority. It seems that these young children consider charity or being charitable as dispositional; that is, requiring little effort or agency in decision-making. For example children often brought money into school that their parents had given them for particular charity collections, and thus one could argue that they are acting as a vehicle for giving by their parents rather than acting as donors in their own right. Such activities however could be considered as the beginnings of an apprenticeship in charitable behaviour (Vygotsky 1978, 1981).

Amongst this age group, there were few mentions of emotions surrounding engaging in or even receiving charitable help, perhaps because they saw it simply in terms of rules they had to follow. The apparent lack of emotional response may also relate to the egocentric nature of this stage, with young children limited in their ability to feel empathy or take the perspective of others (Piaget 1932; 1965; Roedder John 1999).

For 4-6 year-olds, being kind and helping others was a way for them to start or develop peer relationships. Hence the role that charitable activities (and acting prosocially) plays for children of this age is as a facilitator to building a

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support group. This involves building relationships with adults as well as peers.

5.2.2 What 9 – 11 year-olds understand by charity

Children in this age group may be seen as having reached the analytical (Roedder John 1999) or concrete operational (Piaget 1965) stage, and therefore able to think in more abstract and systematic ways and to categorise objects on more than one dimension. Although the tweens' understanding of the concept of charity was more developed than the young children's idea of helping others, this still tended to be quite undifferentiated or fixed and not always accurate.

**Figure 5.3:
Concept Map of
Charity**

**(Luke, 9, Focus
group 3)**
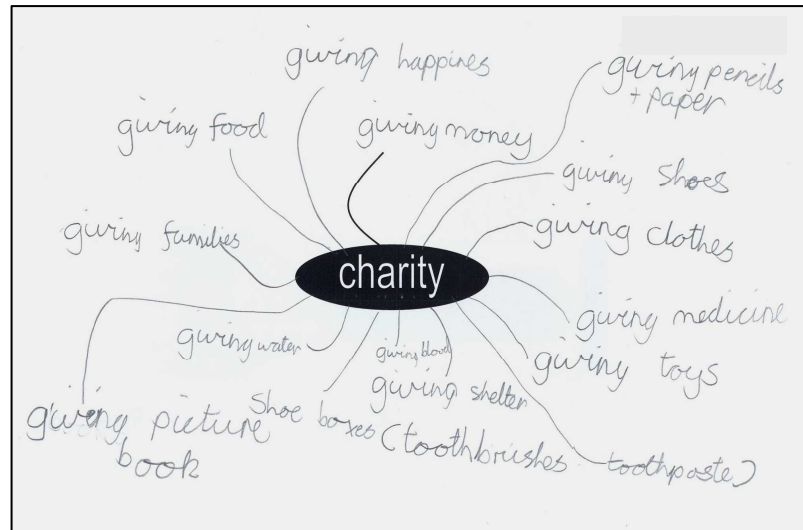
**Figure 5.4:
Concept Map
of Charity**

**(Holly, 10,
Focus
group 3)**

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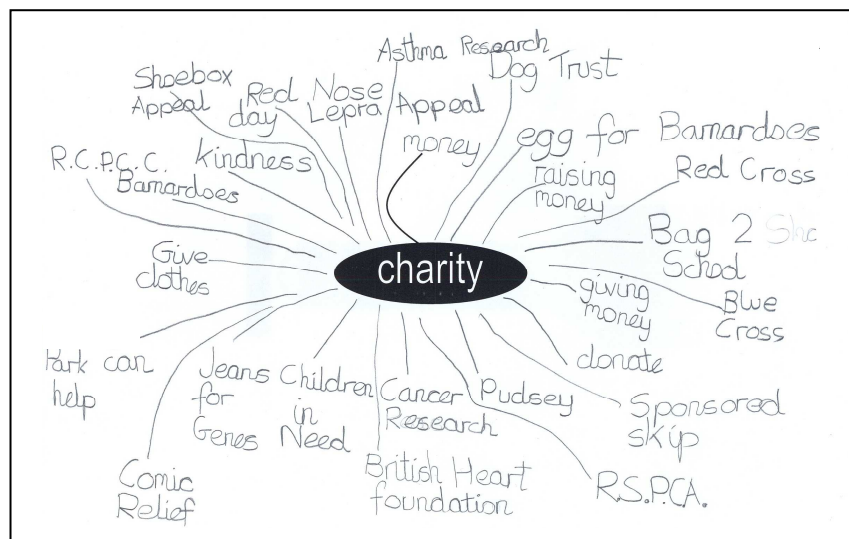
Many of the 9 year-olds were aware of the word 'charity' and associated it with giving money and material items. This is exemplified by the concept map presented in Figure 5.3, which places "giving" in front of all but one of the items listed. It is worth noting here that no mention was made of specific charity names or causes, but merely things that could be given. This points towards the one-dimensional thinking about charities evident amongst many of this age group.

Consistent with Roedder John's (1999) analytical stage, however, tweens demonstrated considerable brand awareness, as many listed all the charities they knew and had been exposed to through marketing campaigns. They were keen to show their awareness of different charities and giving methods in the focus groups, in drawings, and in the many concept maps which contained exhaustive lists of the charities they knew and what methods they had used to give to charities (Figure 5.4).

Brand awareness of charities was also demonstrated in many of their pictures, as they were able to recall and reproduce a range of different charity names and logos accurately and without any prompting (Figures 5.5 and 5.6).

Figure 5.5: Charity drawing (Sally, 10, Focus group 6)
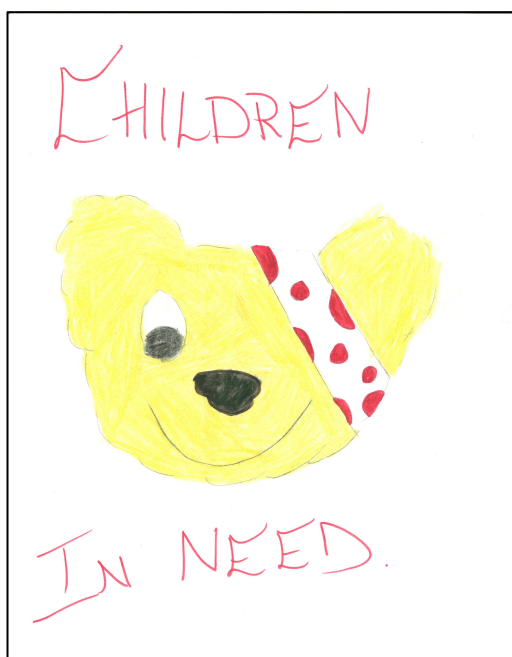
Figure 5.6: Charity drawing (William, 10, Focus group 5)
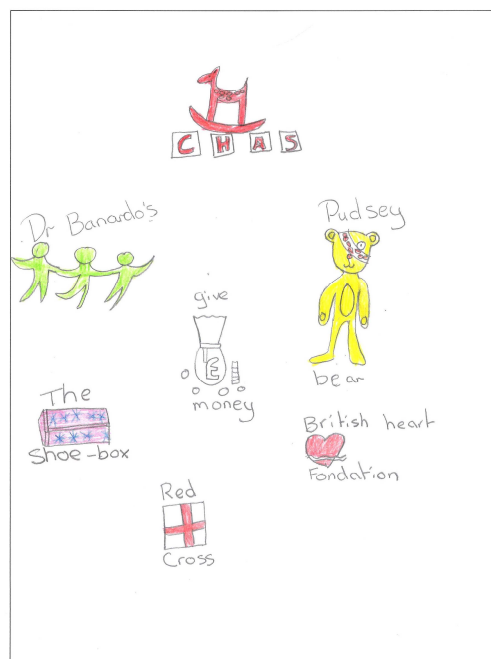
**Figure 5.7: Charity drawing
(Emma, 9, Focus group 4)**

**Figure 5.8: Charity drawing
(Simon, 9, Focus group 4)**

Even though tweens were aware of different types of charities and causes, this did not necessarily equate to an understanding of their work. This was shown most vividly through the pictures. For example, Emma who drew the picture in Figure 5.7 could recall different types of causes and name specific charities but as her picture shows, she did not understand much about cancer charities; her picture of Cancer Research shows one person dialling emergency services because someone has collapsed and is in need of help. Although cancer research does help people who are ill and in need of help, this picture shows little understanding of what cancer or cancer research charities are.

Such misunderstandings were evident in other discussions and pictures from this age group. Figure 5.8 was drawn by Simon whose concept of charity was of one big institution which distributes all donations. The building is named 'the helpful building' with pleas to 'give money to all charities' and 'please donate money'. The idea here is that all donations are channelled through one organisation or governing body. This participant showed awareness of different charities/causes but seemed to lack understanding of the system of

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charity. There was very little articulation of the role and purpose of charity in a wider societal context, suggesting limited economic and political socialisation (Lunt & Furnham 1996), but as with the younger children, being charitable meant more than giving as it included being kind and considerate to others. Furthermore, Simon seems typical of the moral development stage for 9-11 year-olds as they are adjusting to a more allocentric perspective of the world and in terms of developing moral reasoning (Piaget 1965) which leads onto the adoption of a wider interpretation of what charities are.

By the age of 11, tweens were more aware of charitable campaigns and specific charity brands and events, due to undertaking more activities in school and increasing exposure to advertising in the media and through school/home. This links again to Vgotsky's (1978, 1981) concept of apprenticeships and the socialisation process as tweens 'practice' being a donor. Their charitable acts and thinking seemed to be shaped very much by parents and teachers. For example,

> *"I think children charities are the most important because my mum and dad say that children are more important than adults because they haven't been here long."*

> (Russell, 11, Falkirk secondary school, Focus group 8)

Although the tweens expressed preference for certain causes, this did not always translate into direct action, as they engaged in predetermined activities at school. This apparent lack of choice links to their view that charity was something that everyone had to do. They seemed to think that there was a right answer when talking about charities, and that the concept maps and discussions were tests of their knowledge. Deviations from the party line that all charities were good were extremely rare. In fact, this age group held the most idealistic and least critical views of charities, suggesting for example that "charity's a good thing because it makes people's lives better." Similarly,

> *"it's good to do stuff for charity because it's fun. It makes me feel good because I am giving peace… and helping others, because I am saving lives."*
>
> (Yasmin, 9, Falkirk primary school, Focus group 5)

Tweens expressed a high level of trust and confidence in charities and had no critical comments to make about charities, beneficiaries, or marketing messages. Even when they had heard about scandals or instances of misuse of funds, they seemed confused rather than angry or cynical. Kyle (9, Falkirk primary school, Focus group 3) remarked: "I don't understand why they would use it for something else. What would they use it for?" This may be because of a reluctance to pass judgement on charities which they saw as an unremittingly good thing or because of a lack of understanding of the 'system' of charity or how it could be abused.

Amongst the 9-10 year-olds, there was little reference to the emotions associated with charities or giving. Again, talk about how "giving made you happy" seemed to be rehearsing scripts that had been learned through modelling behaviour from socialisation agents such as teachers or parents, and at this age children did not seem to have or be able to articulate many feelings about giving. The concept map in Figure 5.9 was unusual as it states levels of sadness relative to the different charities/ways of giving, suggesting a degree of allocentrism, perspective-taking skills and empathy or sympathy (Eisenberg et al. 1991, 1995; Kohlberg 1969). When asked about this, however, Adam could not express why he had written down emotions associated with each cause.

Amongst the 11 year-olds, the emergence of emotions and feelings was noticeable, not only in the concept map's reference to 'kindness' (Figure 5.4) but also in the focus groups where participants talked about feeling guilt or sadness from watching certain charity advertisements or feeling good after having done something for charity. There were also elements of hedonic consumption (Holbrook & Hirschman 1982) in the sense that "charity was fun", as an 11 year-old girl put it. They might not necessarily choose to spend

their leisure time on it, but doing things for charity was viewed as an enjoyable extra-curricular subject that enhanced the school experience. Furthermore, 9-11 year-olds tended to see charitable giving as an activity. The idea is that you 'do' charity and so for this age group, their understanding of charity is still somewhat limited.

Figure 5.9: Concept map of Charity (Adam, 11, Focus group 7)
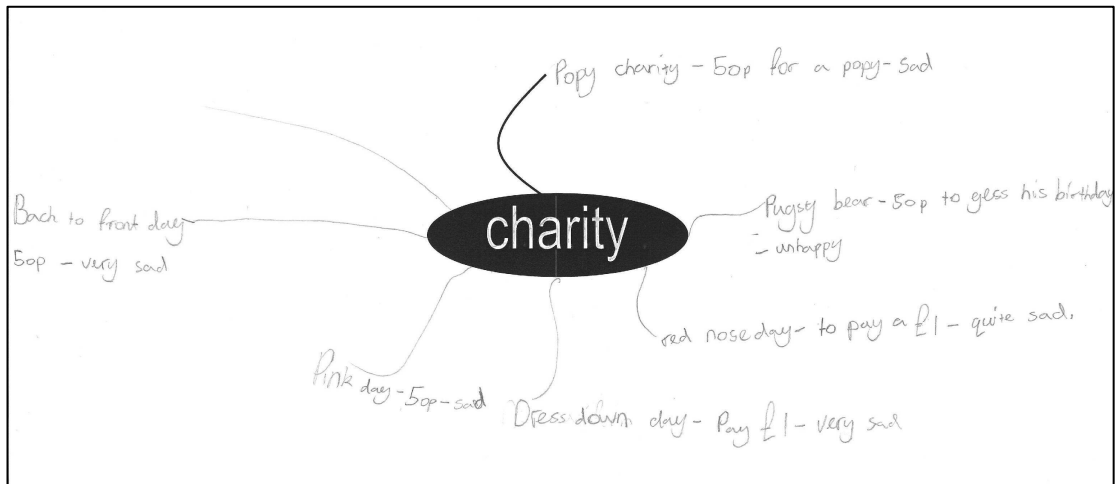
Figure 5.10: Concept map of Charity (Zoe, 11, Focus group 8)

From Figure 5.10, it is evident that Zoe is able to start categorising her thinking about charities into ways to raise money, specific charities and

shops but the classification of causes, marketing methods and methods of giving is not quite correct. But it is important to note the strand that concerns feelings supports the emergence of emotions and allocentric perspective taking. Concern and empathy is shown towards people and animals. For Adam, relative emotions and judgements of relative sadness is provided perhaps point towards the idea that some causes may be more worthy than others in causing sadness for him.

Tweens did not like the idea of giving to just one or two charities, preferring to give to a range of charities or indeed as many as possible. The more charities one gave to seemed to measure how charitable one was, rather than the amount donated to charity. This view was not shared by older participants and shows the predominantly uni-dimensional thinking of this age group. The 9 year-olds in particular seemed unable to think about giving to charities in a multi-dimensional way – considering the different methods of giving, variety of charities and causes and relative worthiness of beneficiaries. This is partly due to the relatively unsophisticated economic socialisation of tweens. Despite having awareness of money and receiving pocket money, they had naïve notions of budgeting and saving and the scarcity of money as a resource.

In addition, in terms of motivations for giving, tweens seemed to be enjoy the positive reinforcement or praise received from parents, teachers and peers from engagement with charities. They enjoyed the activities but also the social rewards or self-esteem enhancement that it seemed to bring.

5.2.3 What 16-18 year-olds understand by charity

In contrast to the younger groups, teens offered more sophisticated explanations of charity, as would be expected for those well established in the reflective or formal operational stage of development (Roedder John 1999; Piaget 1932, 1965). Overall, their notions of charity were more

complex and indicated a deeper understanding of the institution of charity than those of younger groups. As one participant noted,

> *"Charity is a difficult concept to try and explain as there are many different aspects of charity. The purpose of charity, I believe is to provide the necessary help and support needed for people or animals, etc, to improve their life and overall well being whether it is a small gesture or a great effort in order to help. It is about doing something to help someone else."*

(Teri, 18, social work student, Dundee, Paired interview 1)

Perceptions about the roles which charities play in society began to emerge within this age group. This may be related to their increased exposure to political and economic knowledge and to their progress through the reflective stage of the consumer socialisation process (Roedder John 1999). Awareness of charities' roles and their relationship to the Government is explored further in Chapter Seven.

Many concept maps showed categorical or systematic thinking about charities, as shown in Figures 5.11 and 5.12 below. Ryan whose mind map is reproduced in Figure 5.12 was the only one to include "random acts of kindness" under the umbrella of charitable activities; all other participants in this age group defined charity only in terms of formalised charitable activities such as volunteering and donating. Like the younger groups, teens' concepts of charity included notions of helping, but their thinking about beneficiaries was more complex, demonstrating moral subjectivism (Piaget 1932, 1965).

Figure 5.11: Concept map of Charity (Alison, 16, Focus group 12)
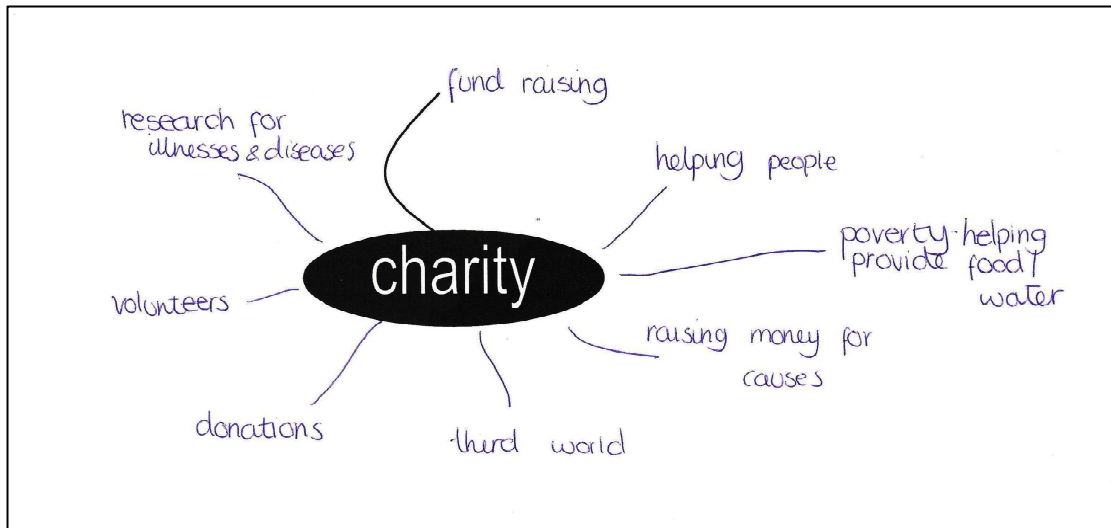
Figure 5.12: Concept map of Charity (Ryan, 17, Paired interview 1)
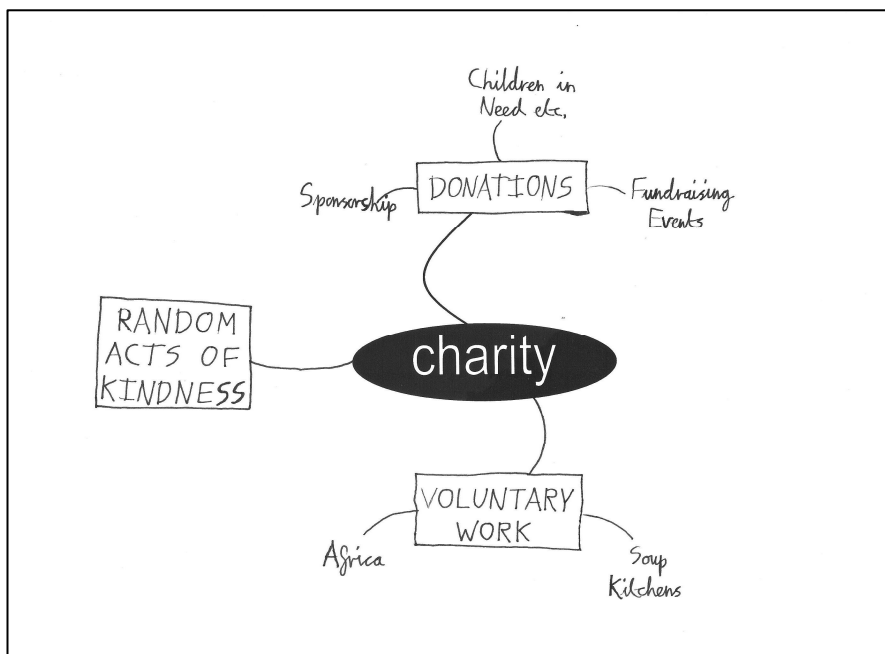
Thus not everyone could or should be helped, only those in need or less fortunate in some way. They considered carefully what it meant to be in need or deserving of help, as evident in their discussions of preferences for certain causes and distinctions between different groups in need. This relates to Damon's (1990) notion of positive justice that is developed in the moral reasoning of charitable giving. This general positive attitude towards hardship is important in rationalising the giving decision. Relating this to Kohlberg's

(1969) moral development stages, 16-18 year-olds began to exhibit thinking relating to stage 3 of interpersonal relationships where social expectations of giving are present. This was considered in the majority of focus groups and showed that their moral development had progressed to more sophisticated thinking and reasoning.

Perhaps reflecting increasing exposure to charities and participation in fundraising activities, the teens were able to name a wide range of charities and methods of giving. Reflecting the wider range of socialisation agents for this age-group, including the mass media and charity communications, teens were able to talk about charitable activities which they have not personally been involved in, and demonstrated greater understanding of the work that charities undertake. For example, they were able to talk about people who give blood or people to engage in gap years to undertake volunteer work but also were able to talk about charities work in building awareness, providing care for certain segments of the population and furthermore global issues like poverty in the Third World.

Although many teens described charity as an essential part of society and talked about charities in positive ways, their greater critical abilities and economic and political understanding meant that less positive aspects also emerged in their discussions. For example,

> *"Charities are good for raising awareness of issues but some charities like Oxfam are quite negative. A lot of money goes back into their infrastructure…It's less of an issue for smaller charities since they engage with people more."*

> (Michael, 18, politics student, Stirling, Individual interview 1a)

Some cynicism or scepticism was expressed about charities and their marketing campaigns, and some doubts were cast over their accountability.

In general, the teens seemed to be relatively passive in their relationships with charities. They saw the need to donate to charity but this seemed less important to them than other concerns during the teenage years. There were some discussions of the other demands on their time and money such as socialising with friends and the desire to consume. Unless there were explicit family connections with (usually local) charities, most of the 16-18 year olds undertook charitable giving as part of their school activities or occasionally in response to street collections. Unlike other age-groups, they expressed some resistance in relation to school charity events, although this did not seem to translate into actual non-participation. Perhaps reflecting the importance of self- and social identities at this stage (Erikson 1968), there was some discussion of the stigma associated with dedicated, committed charity workers. The 16 year-olds in particular were quick to distance themselves from these 'crazy people', and some defensiveness was apparent in the way that those who had engaged in charitable activities outside school justified this.

For 18 year-olds, this stigma lessened and there was greater appreciation of the benefits to be gained from engaging in charitable activities, such as meeting new people or gaining experience to use in CVs or personal statements for university applications. Volunteering or fundraising could be seen more as a leisure activity or hobby and seemed to be more acceptable. This was related to the idea of personal choice, and unlike the younger groups, older teens felt that they had control over the decision to engage with charities, and they talked more about choosing not to participate in charity events, either in or outside school. This relative independence in thought requires some degree of reflective thinking and more advanced notions of moral reasoning.

Finally, as might be expected of this age-group, teens were very explicit in discussing their emotions around the idea of charity. They were more able to articulate their feelings of guilt and sadness as a result of watching charity

appeals and feeling good or even indifferent after giving. There were also more reference to materialism or materialistic values in considering how they might spend their pocket money or earned income. There was greater reflection on how their disposable income may be spent and the temptations to buy clothes and snacks as opposed to donating this money to charity.

5.2.4 What 22-24 year-olds understand by charity

Young adults' concepts of charities were generally well articulated, showing forethought and consideration. Their explanations were often concise, distilled into one line or several words, and showing a crystallisation of views compared with the other groups. Examples of their charity concepts included "giving whatever you can to others", "giving something to somebody less fortunate or some cause that needs it", and "a selfless act of giving and helping others... without the thought of reward." Some wondered about the altruistic dimensions of charity however. For example, one participant described it as:

> "... doing nice things for other people. Giving things away, also giving time to do things for other people. In theory not for your own gain but it does make you feel good so you do get a bit of gain – but on the whole, not for yourself."
>
> (Vivienne, 22, speech language therapist, Musselburgh, Individual interview 3a)

Through their pictures, mind maps and discussion, the young adults demonstrated that their understanding of charity and charities was based on an appreciation of wider societal issues and the broader system in which charities were embedded. This is expected for young adults whose political and economic awareness is more or less developed (Lunt & Furnham 1996) allowing for the development of attitudes around how charities may be situated within society. The system of charity is conveyed in Figure 5.13. Here, the participant shows a person going to work and earning money which is then donated to charity and used to provide play areas for children, safe housing for the homeless and day centre improvements. For this participant,

it was important to see the results that his donations provided towards and the various societal benefits. There is also reference to how he acquires resources to donate and how his efforts lead to improved living conditions for others.

Figure 5.13: Charity drawing (Paul, 23, Individual interview 5a)
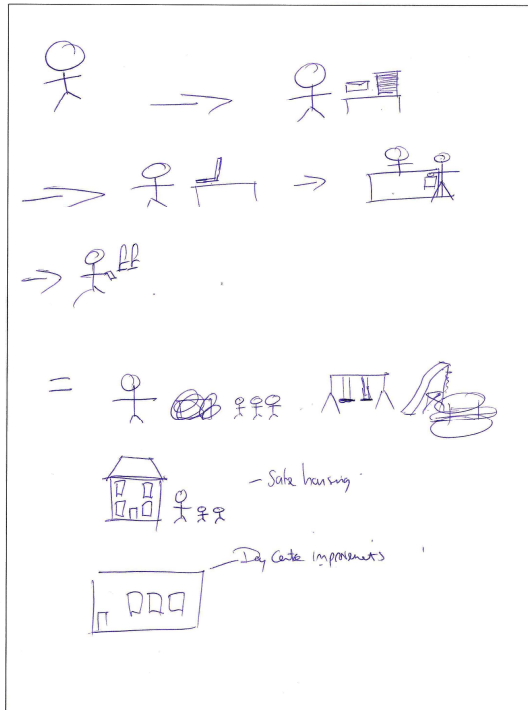
Figure 5.14: Charity drawing (Euan, 24, Paired interview 4b)

Another portrayal of the system of charity is shown in Figure 5.14, which refers to a wider social context. This picture uses the metaphor of a whirlwind to depict people in need whose circumstances can descend out of control in a downward spiral. Fortunately, there are charities (donors and volunteers) there to catch these people and help them back up. Although this participant concedes that some people inevitably fall through the net, he suggested that the majority of those in need did receive help.

The young adults also cited a sense of responsibility and the duty to give as very important in their concepts of charity. Further discussions over what they envisaged charity to be contained notions of reciprocity, civic engagement and social inclusion. This included 22-24 year-olds talking about how they

viewed giving as their personal contribution to society (and is related to ideas of participation and Barry's (2005) discussion on social exclusion of young people.

Figure 5.15: Concept map of charity
(Vivienne, 22, Individual interview 3a)
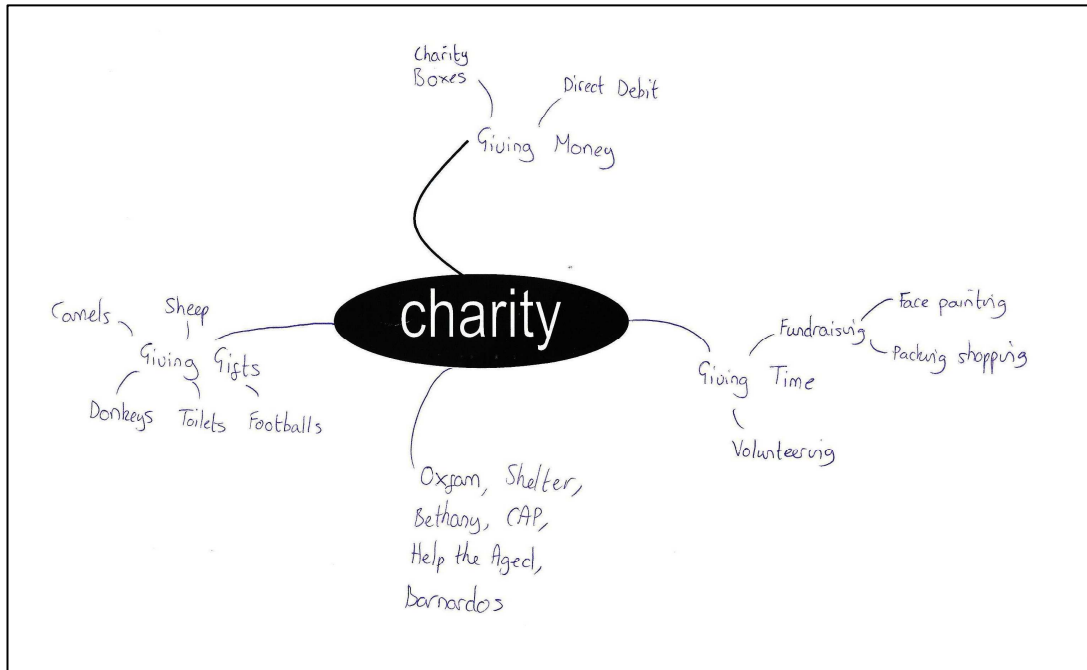
Figure 5.16: Concept map of Charity (Stephen, 24, Individual interview 14c)
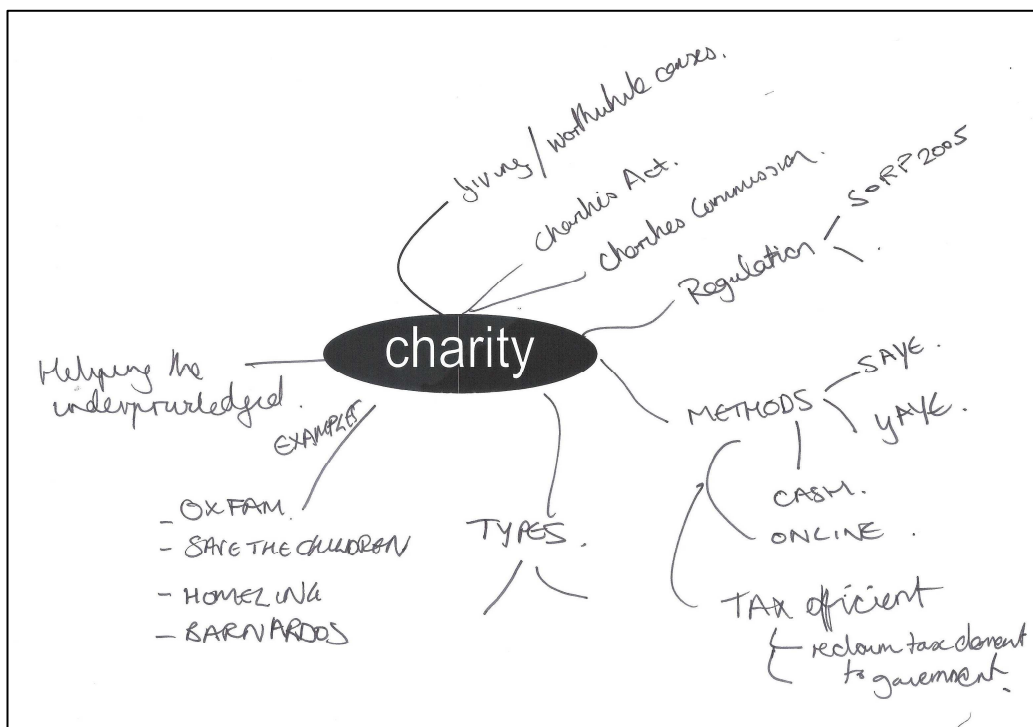
Like the teens, the young adults' discussion and mind maps indicated knowledge of a wide range of charities, charity brands, and methods of giving, as indicated in Figure 5.15. There was a greater variety of explanations of the concept of charities and in the pictures than with the other age groups. Reflecting the lifelong nature of socialisation processes (Bjurstrom 2002), the young adults' increased repertoire of life experiences meant that they were aware of - and forged more connections with - charities through collections at work or amongst social groups, and through knowing beneficiaries, such as friends or family members being helped by a charity. As indicated in Figure 5.16, the concept of charity offered in the focus group of three accountants was coloured by their professional expertise. Issues of accountability and management of funds were discussed at length in this group, along with business perspectives on charitable organisations.

There was also greater variety in the drawings, reflecting their more personal interpretations of and interactions with charities. Several examples are provided here. Figure 5.17 shows an interpretation of charity as giving money to a variety of causes, all of which had close personal links to the participant currently and in the past. Giving money was the predominant method in which this participant supported charities and hence these aspects were reflected in her depiction of charities.
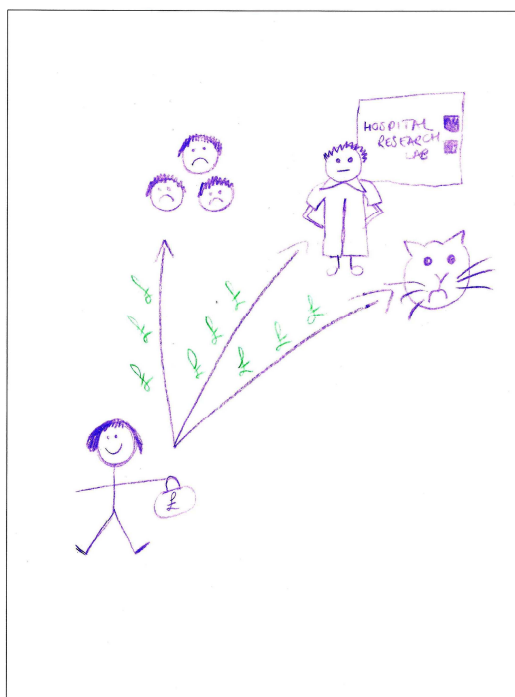
Figure 5.17: Charity drawing (Lynne, 24, Paired interview 4b)

Most descriptions of charities were positive in that they "make the business of living easier for everyone." As one participant put it,

> *"Charities have a good image. No one's going to say that they don't do a good job or that they're not worthwhile. They are raising awareness and collecting money and using that money to change the lives of a few people."*

> (James, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14b).

Despite this, young adults highlighted negative aspects of charities more than any other group and raised organisational issues such as trust, accountability and efficiency:

> *"they're a good thing but there's probably too many charities… a ridiculous amount… not that that's a bad thing but in terms of being efficient… a lot of charities are raising money for exactly the same cause – they could potentially join up and use their muscle and use more efficiently."*

> (Peter, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14b)

Other criticisms of charities concerned the misuse of funds and use of celebrities.

Figure 5.18: Charity drawing (Colin, 22, Paired interview 3b)
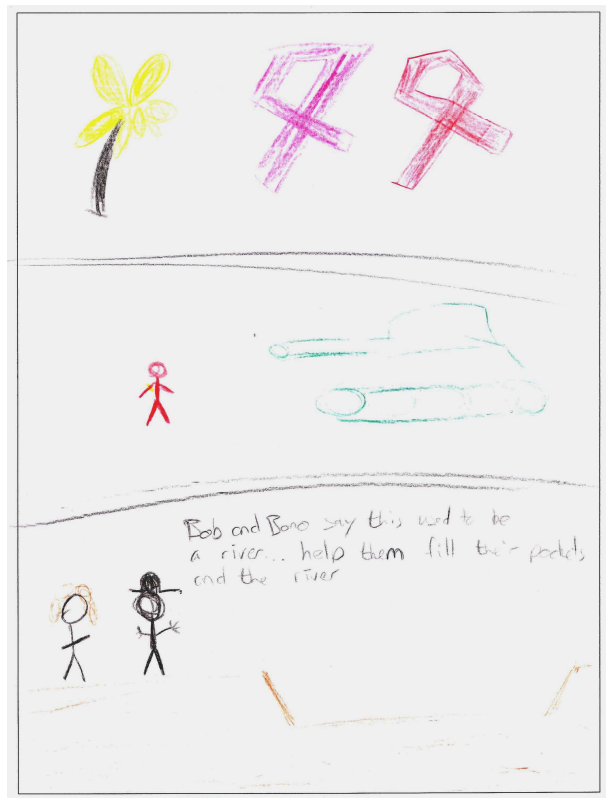
For example, in Figure 5.18, Colin's conception of charity includes symbols of specific charities, that is, the Marie Curie daffodil, the breast cancer ribbon and the AIDS ribbon. In addition, there is a picture of a tank and the plight of those caught up in war. Finally, there is a picture of two men, and the caption: 'Bob and Bono say this used to be a river... help them fill their pockets and the river'. Colin expressed great cynicism towards the use of celebrities and in particular of Bob Geldof and Bono and their charity work with Live Aid; he remarked that "Bob and Bono think they're so great but they're the ones making money, it's helping to line their pockets not those who actually need it". Scepticism over the use of celebrities was shared by most young adults, in contrast to the tweens and teens who overwhelmingly approved of celebrities promoting charities since they saw this as increasing awareness and encouraging young people to engage with charities. Many young people viewed celebrities as engaging with charities for self-publicity and egoistical reasons rather than for the cause of the charity.

In general, young adults' attitudes towards charities were largely based on their experiences of charitable activities and fundraising campaigns throughout the donor socialisation process in their childhood and adolescence. But as the 22-24 year-olds enter further or higher education and employment, they undergo ongoing socialisation and adjust to new surroundings but also new ways of engaging or relating to charities. This is facilitated by exposure to charities or marketing through the mass media but also through socialisation agents such as peers within their social and familial networks, and spouses.

5.3 CONCLUSION

Children and young people appear to have a generally positive image of charities and to support the roles they play in society. There are marked differences in how the different age groups perceive charities however. Their

awareness and understanding of charities become increasingly complex with age, reflecting their cognitive and emotional development and greater life experience. As children mature and learn more about the world, they consider more negative aspects of charities and express concerns over how they are managed. Their moral development also matures as they age to allow more abstract and sophisticated moral reasoning and better awareness of the emotions surrounding giving. From adolescence, glimpses of scepticism emerge about charities' work but also the use of celebrities in charity communications. This would signal the emergence of a more discerning consumer of charities as young people enter adulthood.

CHAPTER SIX: HOW CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE DONATE TO CHARITIES

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6.1 INTRODUCTION

Having considered children and young people's understandings of charity, this thesis now reports on their behaviour as donors. From the literature review, it was clear that they have often been neglected in studies of donor behaviour, with under 16 year-olds not included in many studies. 16-24 year-olds are also considered less likely to give than older people. Low et al. (2007) reported that 81% of the adult population, but only 74% of 16-24 year-olds, had given to charity in the last 4 weeks. Lower levels of giving have been attributed to young people's lack of interest in and disengagement from the nonprofit sector, fuelling public policy debates surrounding social exclusion, citizenship and civic engagement (Barry 2005; Brodie et al. 2009; Walker & Fisher 2002).

The current study presents a more positive view of children and young people's charitable engagement. It suggests that participation rates of children and young people are comparable with those of adults reported by Low et al. (2007), and it also shows that children and young people engaged in a range of charitable activities including, but not limited to, donating money or volunteering.

The remainder of this chapter documents the development of donor behaviour of children and young people across three age groups (9-11, 12-16 and 17-24). Using data from both qualitative and quantitative elements of the study, it seeks to describe and offer insights into what, how and why children and young people donate to charities, at different stages of life. Some comparisons are made with the literature on adult donor behaviour, but the data on adult donors is not always available or comparable.

The chapter begins by outlining the participation rates for the different age groups, before examining what they give, how much they give, to what cause they give, how and where they give. It then presents profiles of givers, and explores the decision-making process surrounding donations. The chapter then moves on to consider the causes that children and young people prefer, and why people give.

6.2 PARTICIPATION RATES FOR CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

In order to draw comparisons with previous research, 9-24 year-olds were asked whether they had donated money to charity within the past four weeks.

Table 6.1: Participation rates for monetary donations in the last 4 weeks by age group

	9-11 year-olds	12-16 year-olds	17-24 year-olds
Nothing	20%	12%	12%
Gave money in the last 4 weeks	80%	75%	85%
Don't know	N/A*	13%	3%

* 9-11 year-olds were not provided with a 'Don't Know' option.

Eight in ten children aged 9-11 had donated money in the past four weeks, perhaps reflecting school-based giving (with money from parents channelled through the children). Children may also have reported 'household' or parental donations, given that around 11% of children said that they did not receive any pocket money at all.

Amongst the older groups, the proportion of young people who had given nothing were the same (12%) for both 12-16 and 17-24 year-olds. This may

point towards the existence of a core group of young people who do not engage with charities.

As Table 6.1 indicates, 85% of 17-24 year-olds claimed to have given to charity in the past four weeks, compared with Low et al.'s (2007) figure of 74% amongst 16-24 year-olds. Even bearing in mind methodological differences between the two surveys, this suggests that previous studies may have underestimated young people's contributions to charities. Giving rates appear lowest amongst 12-16 year-olds in this study. This would support the Eisenberg & Fabes' (1998) finding that prosocial behaviour declines in adolescence, particularly in naturalistic/correlational studies but other factors may also explain this pattern of giving. The period from childhood to adolescence and adulthood is besieged by a host of physical, cognitive and emotional changes, interacting with numerous social and cultural influences (Erikson 1968). It may be that charity is of little interest to 12-16 year-olds, and that competing demands on their income win out. Or it may be the case that peer influences inhibit donations at this stage as teens may gain social approval from non-giving. Such issues are discussed later in this chapter, but first it is important to establish the range of charitable behaviours engaged in by children and young people in general.

6.3 WHAT DO CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE GIVE?

It is clear from Parts 1 and 2 of this study that children and young people engage in a wide variety of charitable activities. As discussed previously, children and young people's conception of giving is relatively broad, incorporating activities such as buying fair-trade products, campaigning, and recycling as well as conventional notions of giving time and money.

Figure 6.1 shows the respective participation rates in the last 6 months for various charitable activities. It is hard to compare these participation rates with those from other studies of older donors, as there are no equivalent

statistics for the adult population; as discussed in Chapter Two, surveys have used various reference periods and measured different charitable activities, typically including far fewer activities than were included here.

Figure 6.1: Participation in charitable activities by age group
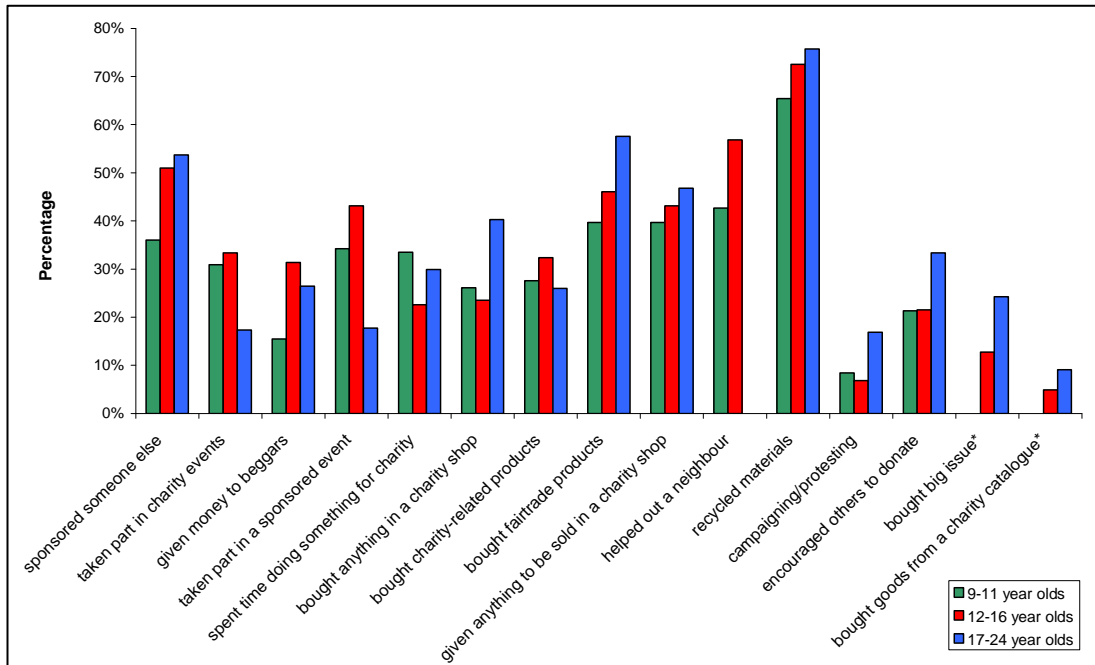
* 9-11 year-olds were not asked if they had participated in these activities.

Recycling was the activity with the highest participation rates amongst all age groups (65%, 73% and 76% respectively), followed by buying fair-trade products and helping neighbours. These all relate to broader notions of charitable activities within the community and may be incorporated into the wider umbrella term of participation. Despite claims that the youth of today are disinterested in society and detract from local communities, Figures 6.1 - 6.4 highlight that children and young people engage in various socially beneficial activities such as recycling, ethical consumption and helping others.

Many of the charitable activities listed for 9-11 year-olds are outwith the school realm and thus parents are likely to play a gatekeeping role, with their

actions influencing children's contact with recycling centres or charity shops, or even beggars in the street. This younger group may still go shopping with parents, while older groups are likely to be more independent and have more direct contact with people looking for money from them.

Buying from charity shops also seemed to increase with age, apart from the slight dip in adolescence. The focus group indicated that this may be due to a social stigma associated with shopping in charity shops amongst teenagers:

> *Rosheen: I like charity shops, you can get good CDs and stuff there but you wouldn't want to be seen in there. Oh no. I know it's stupid but…*
> *Christine: I would never go shopping in the charity shop. There's only two in Inverkeithing and so folk will see you going in.*
> *Greg: You don't want folk thinking that you buy your clothes in there.*
> *Rosheen: I only go in if I'm with my gran or something.*

(17-18 year-olds, Fife secondary school, Focus group 11)

This group was the most likely to buy charity-related products, such as ribbons, wristbands, badges, and clothing, however. Such products have clear display value and suggest that conspicuous consumption of charity products may be important to adolescents and teenagers, who feel under pressure to fit in with their peers (Braun-LaTour et al. 2007).

Participation rates for sponsored events were higher for the younger groups (34% for 9-11 year-olds and 43% for 12-16 year-olds), compared to 18% for 17-24 year-olds. This may be because 9-16 year-olds typically engage in sponsored events in school, while 17-24 year-olds have fewer opportunities and less time to take part in sponsored events. On the other hand, the likelihood of giving money by sponsoring someone else increases with age. This may suggest that children take part in school-wide sponsored events and rely on older siblings or parents rather than peers to sponsor them, while 17-24 year-olds participate in more ad-hoc, specialised or idiosyncratic events. Many young people talked about taking part in sponsored walks or

runs, and about being asked to sponsor their friends or family. For example, two co-workers, James and Stephen, talked about "always getting emails at work to sponsor folk like for the three peaks or running 10K's or whatever".

Moving beyond sponsored events, 9-11 year-olds and 17-24 year-olds were most likely to have spent time doing something for charity in the last 6 months (33% and 30% respectively), whereas for 12-16 year-olds, just under a quarter had given time (23%). On further inspection, 17-24 year-olds are the age group most likely to be current volunteers; 32% of this age group said that they currently volunteered on a regular basis, compared with 16% of 9-11 year-olds and 13% of 12-16 year-olds. This is unsurprising given the literature on young people's economic motivations for volunteering (i.e. gaining and developing skills and enhancing career prospects) (Cnaan & Goldberg-Glen 1991; Handy et al. 2009). In the focus groups and interviews, young adults tended to talk about volunteering for organisations which were linked in some way to their social or familial networks, education institutions or workplaces. This suggests that these places may act as arenas for giving but also that the social networks within it can help the individual to build and maintain social capital through engaging in volunteering (Wang & Graddy 2008). In contrast, 9-16 year-olds talked about more occasional or episodic volunteering, typically through youth groups such as Scouts or Girl Guides, or school-based volunteering activities such as the Duke of Edinburgh Award. Some 9-11 year-olds also discussed volunteering in terms of helping in church groups or their local communities, reflecting their broader conceptions of volunteering. Their descriptions seem consistent with the "new volunteerism" discussed by Rochester (2006) and Hustinx (2001, 2008).

Turning to the more detailed data for each age group, Figure 6.2 shows that 9-11 year-olds engage in a wide variety of charitable activities. The charitable activity that this group was most exposed to was recycling. Only 4% of 9-11 year-olds reported that they had never recycled and 65% reported that they had recycled in the last 6 months. Campaigning/protesting and giving to

beggars were conversely the activities with the highest non-participation rates among this age group (64% and 53% respectively). This may reflect the lack of encounters with these types of charitable activity. In contrast to the emphasis on pester power in the commercial literature (McNeal 1992; McDermott et al. 2006), 42% claimed never to have encouraged others to donate.

Figure 6.2: Participation in charitable activities for 9-11 year-olds
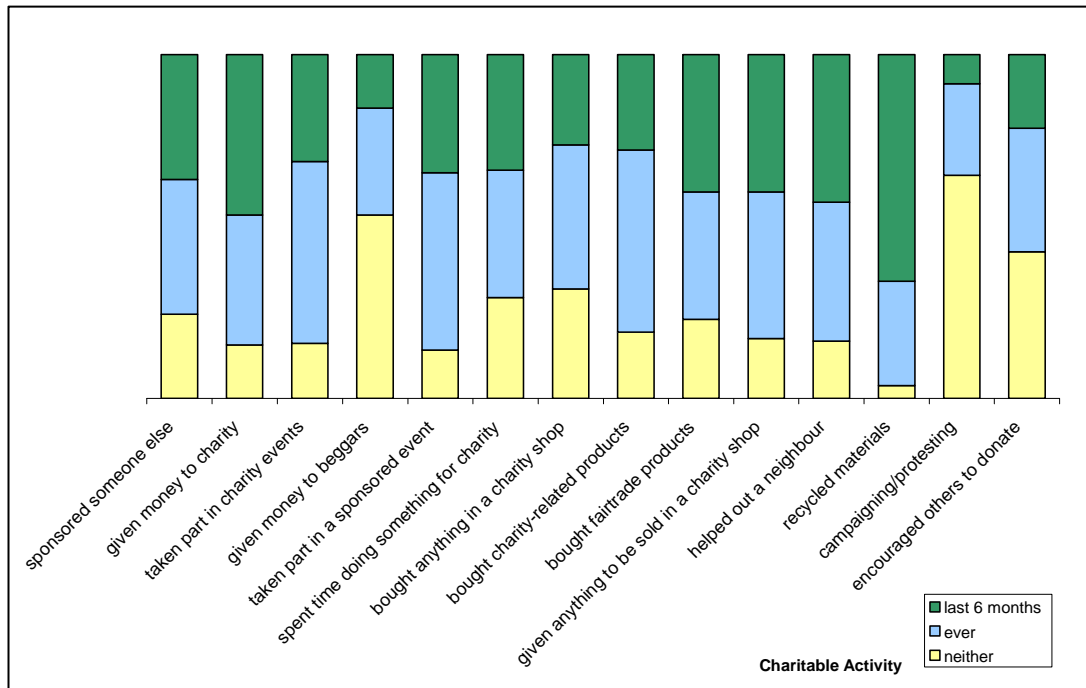
Tweens' avid engagement was evident in focus group discussions and may reflect the increased opportunities for them to give through school and home channels. Within the focus groups, 9-11 year-olds were generally enthusiastic about engaging with charities in various ways. Moreover, for this age group, it seemed that the more charitable activities they engaged in (rather than the more money they gave), the more charitable they were. One boy, for example professed that he liked:

> *"…doing charity stuff like the shoebox appeal, looking after the egg for Barnardos, and the sponsored silence, that was hard. I did all those things, I do lots of charity. I'm good."*

> (Bruce, 9, Falkirk Primary School, Focus group 4)

Furthermore, the concept maps for this age group (discussed in the previous chapter) were populated by lists of the ways people can give to charity.

For 12-16 year-olds, there seems to be general dip in charitable engagement, which goes against predictions that donating behaviours may increase during adolescence (Fabes et al. 1999; Eisenberg & Fabes 1998). Distinct patterns of engagement were evident amongst this group (Figure 6.3), with widespread experience of sponsoring others and taking part in sponsored or charity events reflecting the likely exposure to these charitable activities at school. They reported little involvement with campaigning or protesting, buying *The Big Issue* or things from charity catalogues, or regular financial donations, and they were less likely than the 9-11 year-olds to encourage others to donate. Some of the more popular activities that 12-16 year-olds engaged in, such as recycling materials, helping neighbours or giving goods to charity shops (72%, 56% and 43% in the last 6 months) tended to occur without the presence of peer groups, but as discussed above their purchase of charity products could be related to badges of membership within social networks.

Figure 6.3: Participation in charitable activities for 12-16 year-olds
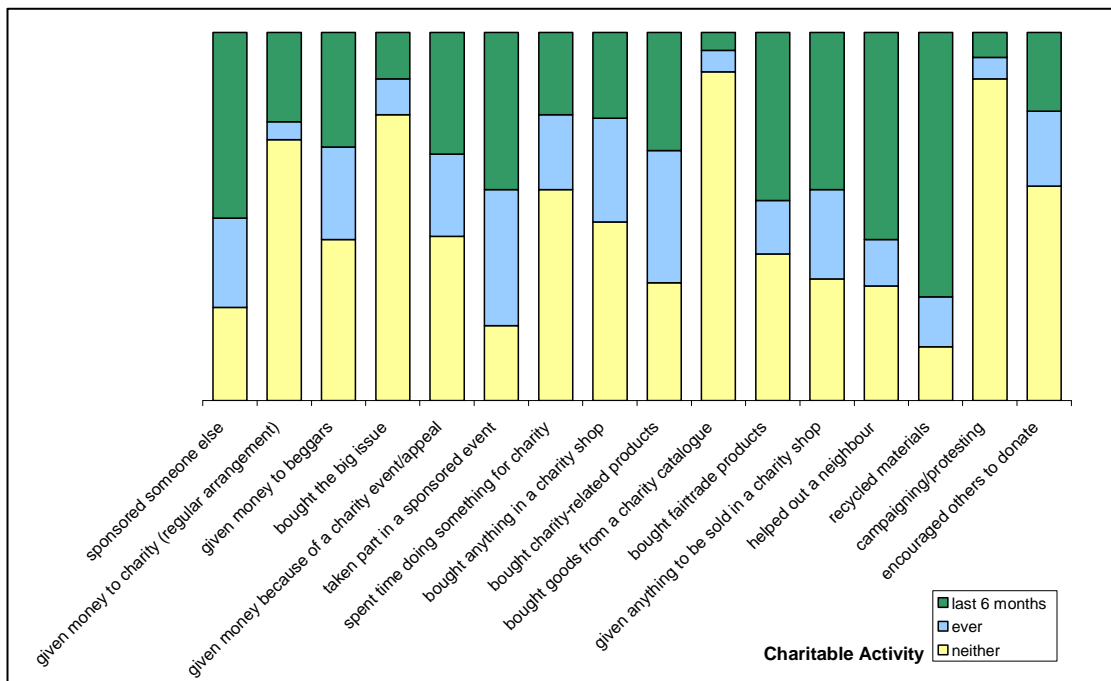
One important point to highlight is the relatively high 'neither' or never bars in Figure 6.3. Given the exposure to a range of charitable activities, as shown by the 9-11 year-olds it is a little surprising that so many 12-16 year-olds had reported that they had never engaged in these activities. In particular 45% stated that they had never given money because of a charity event/appeal. Given the likelihood of at least some charitable activities within schools, this may point towards a misunderstanding of the question wording as opposed to actual non-engagement. It may be that respondents interpreted "never" as "never these days".

Figure 6.4 and the interview data suggest that young adults tend not to engage in a variety of activities, but to be more selective, channelling their giving into fewer areas. This is reflected by the relatively small 'ever' percentages across the various activities. Again there may be a recall or interpretation issue, as the neither (i.e. "never") bars are fairly high. It would be expected that "ever" would cover young people's cumulative behaviours as children and adolescents.

Figure 6.4: Participation in charitable activities for 17-24 year-olds
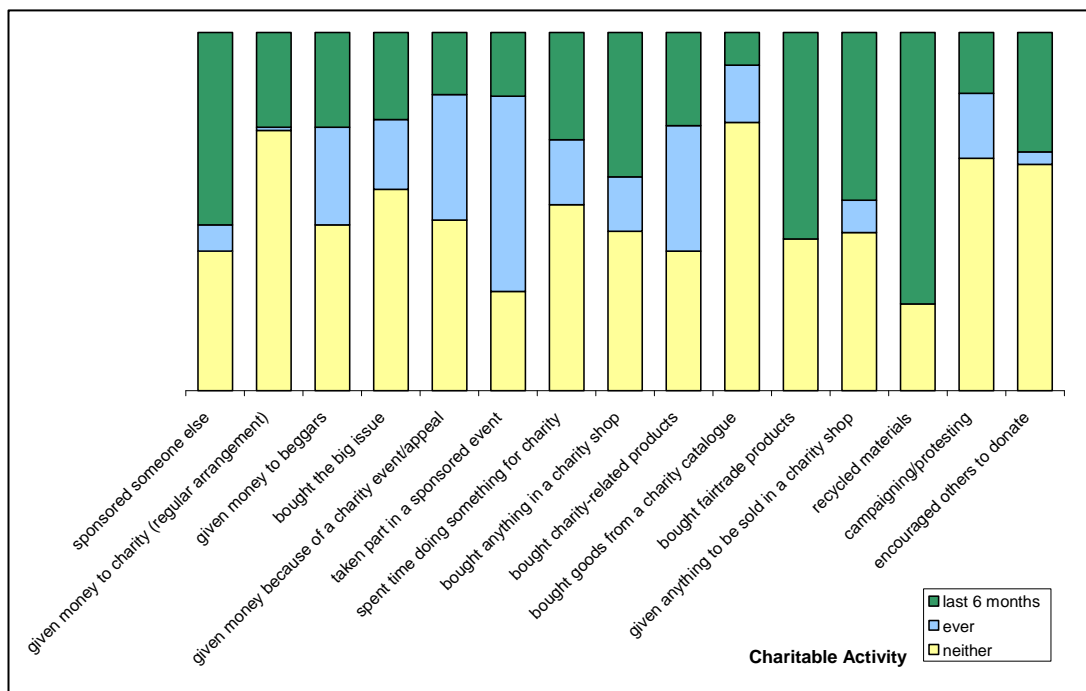
Apart from recycling and buying fair-trade products, the other most popular activities for 17-24 year-olds over the last 6 months were sponsoring someone else and donating goods to a charity shop (54% and 47% respectively). These are more indirect as the young people are not entering into a giving 'relationship' with charities. This may reflect personal preference as about a quarter of this group were committed to regular giving.

Regarding gifts of time, 17-24 year-olds were less likely to have taken part in sponsored events or spent time doing things for charity. There were clearly more demands on their time as their studying intensified or as they entered the workplace, but in the discussions, many young adults also spoke of their increased autonomy and freedom to choose how they engage with charities, and they were more critical in evaluating particular charitable activities and methods of giving. Michael for example preferred to engage with causes through avid campaigning and protesting. For others this meant engaging in charitable activities that were suited to their attitudes and preferences:

> *"I like the fact that I can choose how I give to charities and what charities I give to. I quite like chopping and changing. At school we always did the same things like no uniform day for Comic Relief or Children in Need … we bought poppies too but now I like going into charity shops and seeing what there is and I always buy like a ribbon or a badge".*
> (Louise, 22, nursery nurse, East Lothian, Individual interview 2a)

> *"Oh yeah, I'm very shrewd with my money. Well I kinda have to be. I only want to give through like direct debit, like a standing order type thing … want to receive newsletters telling me how they've spent my money. When I give, I want to know what they're going to do with it".*
> (Paul, 23, civil servant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 5a)

These quotes show a more sophisticated and enhanced engagement with giving to charities. Louise now exercises her freedom to choose how and to whom she donates, contrasting this with the lack of choice she had at school. For Paul, his preference for regular giving has been put into practice, making him less likely to engage in other charitable activities. There are also added

considerations of accountability and the kind of relationship he would like to have with the charities he donates to.

Having more crystallised views about charity and charitable activities also meant that young adults seemed more willing to seek to influence others. This was reflected in their greater engagement with campaigning and protesting than younger groups, and also with their greater tendency to encourage others to make donations. This alludes to social dimensions of giving and reinforces the idea that peers can act as socialisation agents in the ongoing donor socialisation process in adulthood.

6.4 HOW MUCH DO CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE GIVE?

Figure 6.5: Amount donated in the past four weeks by age

Amount donated to charity in the last 4 weeks by 9-11 year olds

More than £5, 22.5%	
£2.51-£5.00, 11.8%	
£1.01-£2.50, 24.0%	
£0-£1, 21.8%	
Nothing , 19.8%	

Amount donated to charity in the last 4 weeks by 12-16 year olds

More than £30, 11.8%	
£20.01-£30.00, 1.1%	
£10.01-£20.00, 17.2%	
£5.01-£10.00, 19.4%	
£2.51-£5.00, 8.6%	
£1.01-£2.50, 9.7%	
£0-£1, 7.5%	
Nothing , 11.8%	
Don't know, 12.9%	

Amount given to charity in the last 4 weeks by 17-24 year olds

More than £40, 7.1%	
£30.01-£40.00, 2.7%	
£20.01-£30.00, 8.0%	
£10.01-£20.00, 13.7%	
£5.01-£10.00, 16.4%	
£2.51-£5.00, 17.7%	
£1.01-£2.50, 12.8%	
£0-£1, 7.1%	
Nothing , 11.9%	
Don't know, 2.7%	

Predictably, the money given to charities by children and young people increased with age due to greater financial independence and disposable

incomes. Just under one in five 9-11 year-olds reported giving nothing to charity in the four weeks prior to questioning, compared to just over one in ten of the older groups. More than half (57.6%) of the younger respondents reported giving up to £5 in the past four weeks, and 22.5% claiming to have given more than £5.

Among the 12-16 year-olds, 12.9% were unsure how much they had given in the previous four weeks, but 25.8% claimed to have given up to £5, 19.4% between £5.01 and £10 and 30.1% more than £10; indeed, more than a tenth of this age group claimed to have given over £30. Since most of this age group received £5-£20 in pocket money, this suggests considerable generosity (or exaggeration) on their part. Alternatively it may reflect the role of children as channels for donations from parents for school-based activities.

Turning to the 17-24 year-olds, 31.5% claimed to have given more than £10 in the previous four weeks, with 16.4% reporting donations between £5.01 and £10 and 37.6% claiming to have given up to £5. While greater differences in the proportion of young adults and teenagers giving more than £5 or £10 might have been expected, the older age group is more likely to use regular giving methods such as payroll giving or direct debit, (2% and 13%). These are typically smaller amounts but they will add up over a year, whereas the money given by younger respondents may have represented one-off donations.

Analysing median scores, amounts donated increased with age (9-11 year-olds: £1.01-£2.50; 12-16 year-olds: £2.51-£5; 17-24 year-olds: £5.01-£10). Although these figures are not directly comparable with prior research on adult donors, children and young people are likely to give less than the average of £18 for UK adults (Low et al. 2007). In comparison to data on 16-24 year olds, Walker and Fisher (2002) found that 31% gave between £1 and £4.99. This research found that the same proportion (30.5%) of 17-24 year olds gave between £1 and £5; even the median suggests an average higher

donation. However, bearing in mind the limited disposable incomes of many children and young people, it seems that they do part with their money to help others and thus represent a significant current market for charities. Further statistical analysis could not be carried out to test the statistical significance of age differences with this data due to the disparate scales used for measuring the level of donation for each of the age groups.

In terms of giving time, some data was gathered on the number of hours volunteered, but this was often incomplete and no discernable pattern could be deduced. It was evident through the focus group and interview discussions that 9-11 year-olds spent time doing things for charities (such as taking part in sponsored walks, or helping at charity events) but did not engage in formal volunteering; this is understandable, not least since they may lack the skills or be ready for the responsibilities that volunteering entails. For the 16-18 year-olds, volunteering was seen as work experience or a way of building skills for university or job applications, and they tended to engage in episodic volunteering. For 22-24 year-olds, volunteering was on a regular basis, with time commitments ranging from one to eight hours per week, but this was often spread over two or three organisations.

One important issue arising from the discussions concerned the trade-offs made between giving money and giving time, particularly in terms of volunteering. There is little literature on this subject, but from the focus groups and interviews it was evident that this was an issue for the young adults in particular. Since 9-11 year-olds were typically not involved in volunteering, and undertook many activities as part of their day in school, this did not matter to them. Teenagers were more aware of volunteering and donating opportunities and equated giving more of their resource (whether that be time or money) as being more charitable. For them however, decisions to give time and decisions to give money were made independently of each other, and decisions to give time were discussed in terms of motivations for volunteering rather than the amount of time they gave.

Young adults are likely to experience greater demands on their time and money from work, home and social spheres. In their discussions, there was a sense that giving money could be substituted for giving time, and many described a form of cost benefit analysis as they talked about what and why they gave. For example,

> *"I'm not really interested in volunteering. I'm just too busy with my job anyway. Instead of giving time, I prefer to give money. It's so much easier and there's less hassle. I have a direct debit anyway with a charity. Once it's set up there's minimal effort or hassle for me. I really couldn't see myself getting stuck in and having to clean weeds or pick up rubbish or something like that. For the cost of an hour of my time, I'd rather keep that hour and go out with friends or something and give money instead."*

> (Stephen, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14c)

A similar reasoning process led another participant to make a different decision:

> *"I can't afford to give money. I don't make that much as a learning assistant but I do have a fair bit of time in the evenings so that's why I volunteer for Radio Lollipop and helping out with the children's art groups. I believe strongly about helping but just at this point in my life I don't have the finances to give lots of money, but I think that giving time is just as good as giving money. It's probably better because you get to build relationships with the children…. Doing a half-marathon takes my time and my effort but I can afford time. By doing it, I get other people to sponsor me and ultimately that money goes to cancer research. So even if I don't give money myself, I can still support charities, it's just in a roundabout way."*

> (Josie, 23, learning assistant, Glasgow, Individual interview 4a)

In addition to showing how these young adults decided whether they could afford to give time or money, these comments indicate that they used what they *did* give to compensate for or justify what they *did not* give; they seem to have learnt to balance the potential conflict in their minds. This would suggest some form of mental accounting in that young people considered

costs and benefits of giving and the substitutability between giving time and money.

6.5 WHO GIVES TO CHARITY?

Much of the previous literature on donor behaviour concentrates on profiling donors with reference to socio-demographic variables. This study provides a broader look at who gives to charity amongst children and young people. This involved examining patterns of giving from the survey data according to variables such as gender, pocket money/income and living arrangements, and it also considers participants' perceptions of who gives to charity.

As noted in Chapter 4, the research methodology allowed for the use of a range of univariate analysis, but the relatively small sample size (and the convenience sample of 17-24 year-olds) limited use of more sophisticated bivariate and multivariate analysis. Where possible, statistical techniques to explore relationships (correlations and chi-square test for independence) and compare groups (independent samples t-tests and analysis of variances) were carried out but it was not the intention of the study to build regression models of giving. Moreover, the questionnaire incorporated a large range of categorical variables which limits multivariate analysis. In the section that follows, the emphasis is on findings that were found to be statistically significant are presented. Other tests were carried out in the investigation of who gives to charity but these are not generally reported due to their lack of statistical significance.

6.5.1 Gender

It is well established within the donor behaviour literature that women are more likely to give, although men generally give more (CAF/NCVO 2009; Low et al. 2007). As Figure 6.6 shows however, 9-11 and 17-24 year-olds

girls generally gave more than boys, but this was not the case for the 12-16 year-olds where the pattern was more obscured. This analysis is based on the amounts given by children and young people in the month prior to questioning, a reference period comparable with that used in national surveys of adult giving.

Figure 6.6: Donation levels in the last month by age group and gender
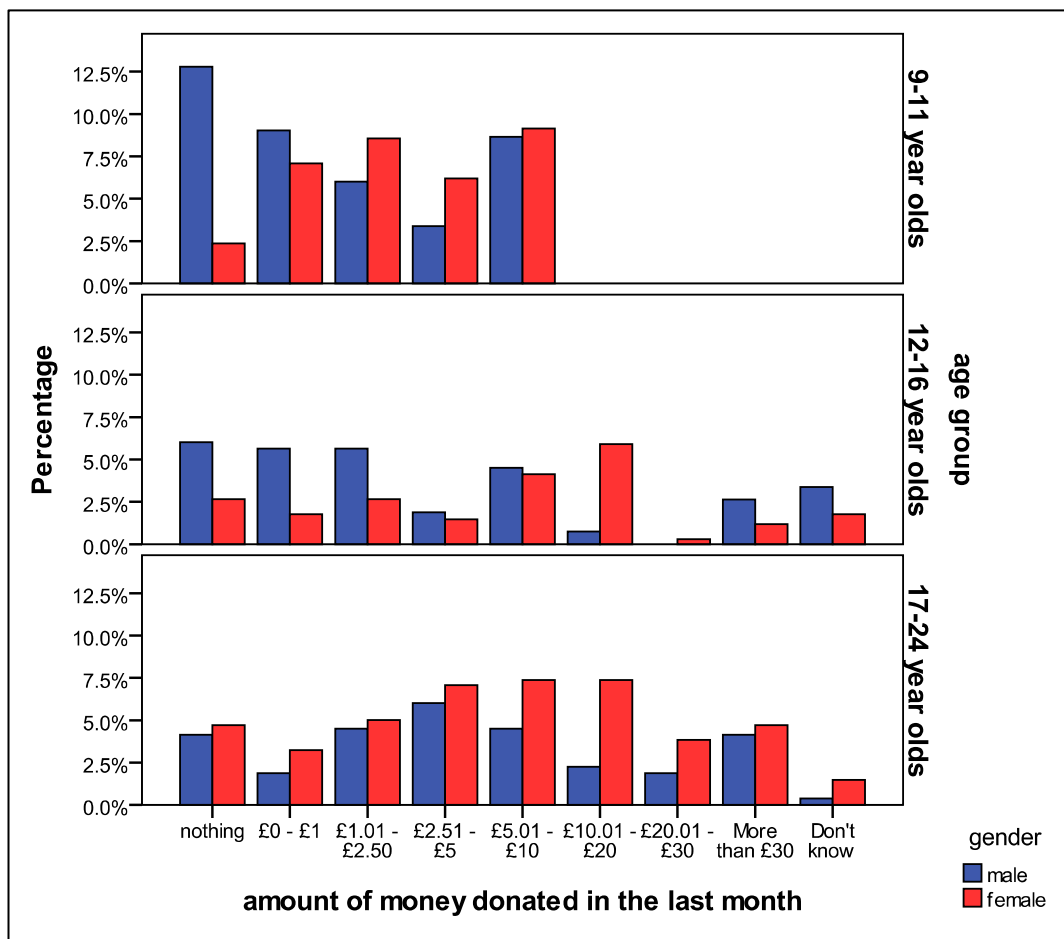
A crosstabulation and Chi-square test of independence was performed for 9-11 and 12-16 year-olds (these age groups were surveyed using random samples). It is evident from Figure 6.6 and the crosstabulations for 9-11 year-olds (shown in Appendix 4) that boys were more inclined to have donated nothing to charity and tended to report giving smaller amounts (donations under £1). For donations over £1, girls were more likely to give (that is, more

girls gave more than was expected). A chi-square test of independence was conducted and the results show there is a statistically significant (p<.000) association between gender and the level of donation for 9-11 year-olds. Therefore we can conclude that for 9-11 year-olds, gender and the level of donation is associated with girls being more likely to give and giving more than boys.

On further inspection, the gender differences in giving seems to be related to preferred types of charitable activities. From the focus groups with 9-11 year-olds and data from participation rates of various charitable activities, boys were more likely to engage in other charitable activities beyond the donation of money, such as donating goods to charities, volunteering and taking part in sponsored events.

For 12-16 year-olds, it seems that males were again more likely to give nothing or smaller donations than females, although they were more likely to report donations over £30. The crosstabulation confirms the gender differences in giving nothing. Generally fewer girls gave donations up to £2.50 than expected but more donated £2.51 to £20 than expected; the opposite was true for boys. A chi-square test of independence confirms this association and that it is statistically significant (p<.001). Taken together, associations between gender and level of donation were found to be statistically significant for 9-16 year-olds. Boys were more likely to give nothing and smaller amounts whereas girls were more likely to give larger donations.

Within the 17-24 age group, females were marginally more likely to give nothing and there was a more even spread of donation levels amongst this age group (except for donations between £5 and £20). We might expect the relative generosity of women to be related to other factors such as giving method, income, marital status and other socio-economic factors. From the interview data, it is apparent that women are viewed as being more generous

than men "because women are more caring, they care about things like poverty or cruelty to children more than men" (Colin, 22, law student). Despite Colin's view that women were more inclined to give, Stephen (24, accountant) drew on his own practice to suggest that men were more likely to give and to give more because "…men don't want any hassle. Men just like write a cheque and send it off, so you get bigger donations from men. You're not going to send a cheque for £10".

Perceptions of women as charitable, caring and kind individuals were more commonly expressed amongst 22-24 year-olds than in the younger age groups, and not just in terms of monetary donations. Women were largely perceived to be more likely to volunteer for charities. For example, James believed that "women donate time and men donate money". He based this on his personal experiences and social network:

> *"when I walk past charity shops, it's always just women in there. Lots of charity shops are run by women, you rarely see a guy working there."*
> *"…at work, it's usually the women who do charity stuff. It's probably why there are so many bake sales. You don't really see guys volunteering for stuff. They do the mundane type things that are necessary but they do things that boys wouldn't do or keen on like soup kitchens or volunteering in Oxfam shops. But maybe it's different types of things, guys do cycle or climb things, or marathons or whatever. Boys are more inclined to do things for the experience, like if someone was doing a climb, it's for the experience and the charity is like secondary to this".*

> (James, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14a)

Thus, for James, gender differences in giving behaviour were at least partly based on motivations for giving and the charitable activities undertaken. Euan and Lynne, a co-habiting couple, held a similar view:

> *"**Lynne**: I think men do more things like direct debits and women do more active things, like get involved in events and stuff like that.*
> ***Euan**: Yeah, I'll agree with that. I'm more inclined to do that but I'm not sure if that's because I'm a man.*

> *Lynne: Well, I do like runs and that with my mum but that's cause my mum's friend was diagnosed with cancer.*
> *Euan: Yeah, I'll just sponsor her. Men just want to give money. I mean, I'm not interested in dressing up in pink and running around."*

(Euan, 24, teaching assistant; Lynne, 24, journalist, paired interview 4a)

Here, it seems that perceptions about gender differences were rooted in personal experiences of charities and more general socialised gender roles. This may also relate to differences in the social norms adhered to by males and females (Croson et al. 2010) with males guided more by descriptive social norms (in this case, social norms that specify what most people do in regarding giving situations) rather than injunctive social norms (which is what people ought to do) (Ciadlini et al. 1990). This may affect motivations to give and in turn the propensity to give and amounts donated. Another factor that may affect giving for men and women, as alluded to by Euan and Lynne, concerns the maintenance of social relationships or desire to build social capital (Rochester 2006; Wang & Graddy 2008). Engaging in charitable activities, particularly those related to giving time or taking part in sponsored events, involves forming or developing relationships within social networks. The social network theory literature is largely silent on gender differences, but it may be that men and women have different perspectives on building social capital through engaging with charities. It may be that there are gender differences in the importance placed on forming or maintaining social capital through engagement with charities, an area which deserves more research attention.

6.5.2 Income and pocket money

In general, those with higher incomes are more likely to give, but people with lower incomes generally give a larger proportion of what they have (CAF/NCVO 2009). With children and young people, few consistent patterns were found, suggesting that relationships between income (or pocket money)

and giving are subject to a range of intravening variables and/or situational factors.

In general, 9-11 year-olds seem quite generous donors given their limited financial resources. Not surprisingly, those who received between £0-£1 per week in pocket money tended to give less than those who received more.

Figure 6.7: Donation levels for 9-11 year-olds by pocket money received each week
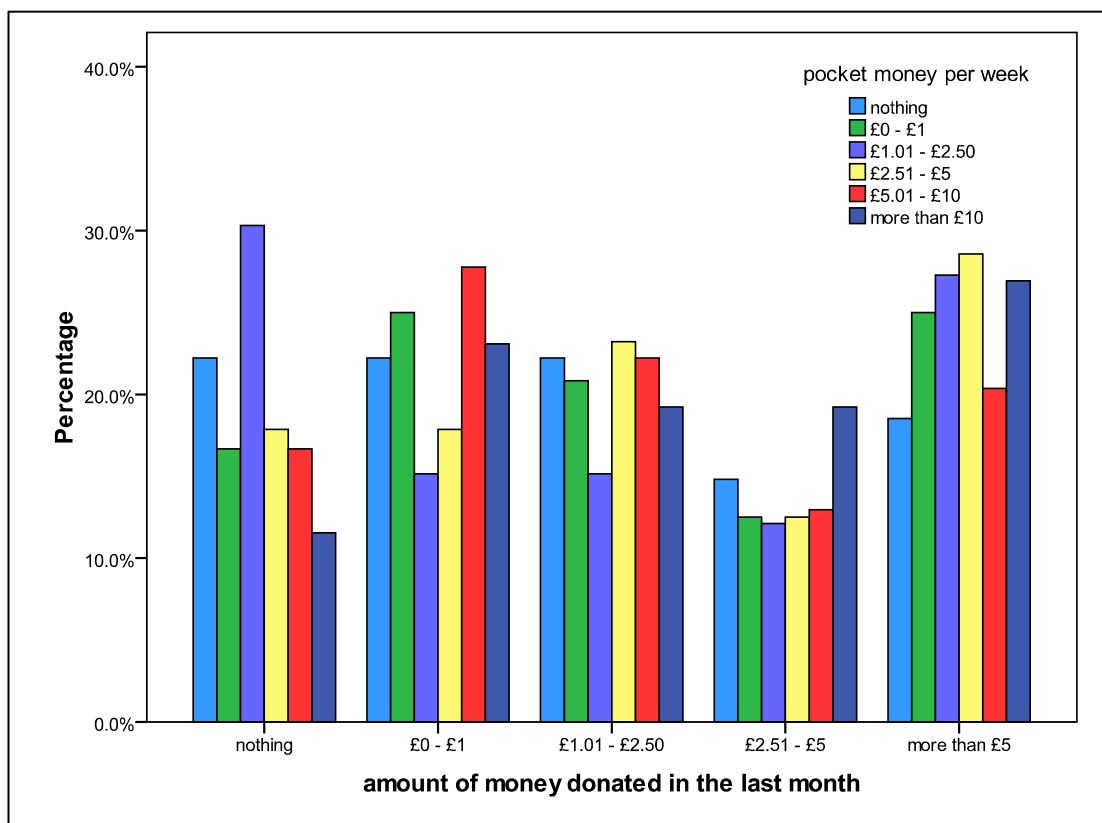
However, 19% of those who reported receiving no pocket money stated that they gave between £5.01-£10 in the past month, while a quarter of children who reported getting £0-£4 per month gave amounts over £5. It may be that some children simply exaggerated their giving levels, but it is also possible that donations were supplemented by parents or others, or that children were reporting household donations or donations by parents through children; for example, relatives may have sponsored children, or children may have asked

a parent for money to give to a street collector, and the children may have reported those sums as their donation. Technically these two instances can be viewed as personal donations by the child but the statistics hide the context of giving situations and the potential of pester power. If, as accepted by commercial marketers, children exert a strong influence on family purchases (McNeal 1992; McDermott et al. 2006), we might expect this to apply to family donations as well.

As children age, the amount donated seems to increase, no doubt reflecting higher levels of pocket money and earnings from part-time jobs or household chores. Figure 6.8 indicates levels of giving by pocket money (including any money earned from doing chores or odd jobs) for 12-16 year-olds.

Figure 6.8: Donation levels for 12-16 year-olds by pocket money received each week
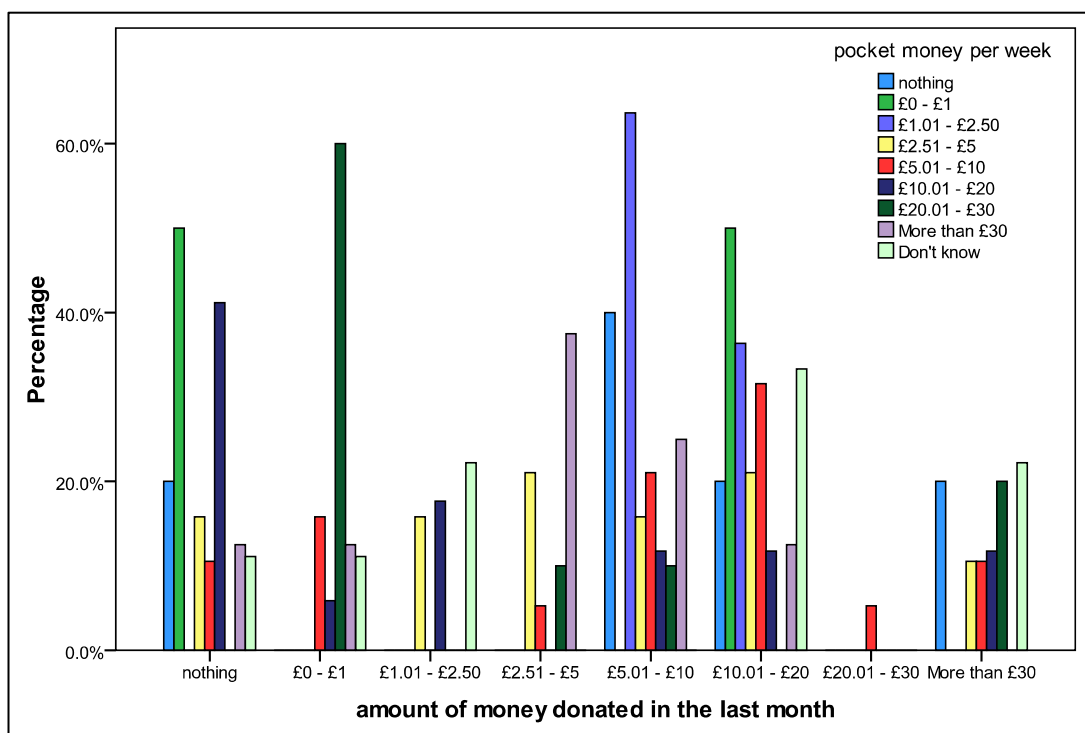
Turning to the teenagers, no clear pattern is evident, perhaps reflecting the sporadic or occasional nature of giving amongst this group. This may also

reflect greater opportunities for 12-16 year-olds to engage in charitable activities other than giving money. Nonetheless most 12-16 year-olds (66%) gave less than £10 in the last month (with 50% giving between £0-£10 and 16% giving nothing). Adolescents are considered to have greater autonomy over their purchases than 9-11 year-olds (McNeal 1992; Schor 2004) so it might be expected that 12-16 year-olds are subject to greater commercial influences in spending their disposable income. For example, the ChildWise Report (2008) found that 5-16 year-olds in the UK had a substantial annual self-spend on sweets, snacks, soft drinks and clothing. Increased income for adolescents is therefore associated with increased spending (Marshall 2010; Mayo & Nairn 2009). This was reflected in the focus groups for 16-18 year-olds as they spoke of the temptation to buy clothes or CDs rather than giving money to charities, exemplified by Ellie: "when I get my pocket money, I don't immediately think of giving it to charity" (17, Borders secondary school). She goes onto discuss the guilt felt especially when watching charity adverts but still felt the need to consume was stronger: "I know it's bad but I want to spend my money on myself". Amidst the many marketing messages that adolescents are exposed to, it seems that charities' messages and teenagers' motivations to give are counterbalanced by a desire to spend and consume.

As adolescents enter adulthood, demands on their income increase as they move out of the parental home and/or enter further and higher education. However, this stage is also associated with increased income from entering employment and other sources such as grants or bursaries for university.

Figure 6.9: Donation levels for 17-24 year-olds by annual income (before tax)
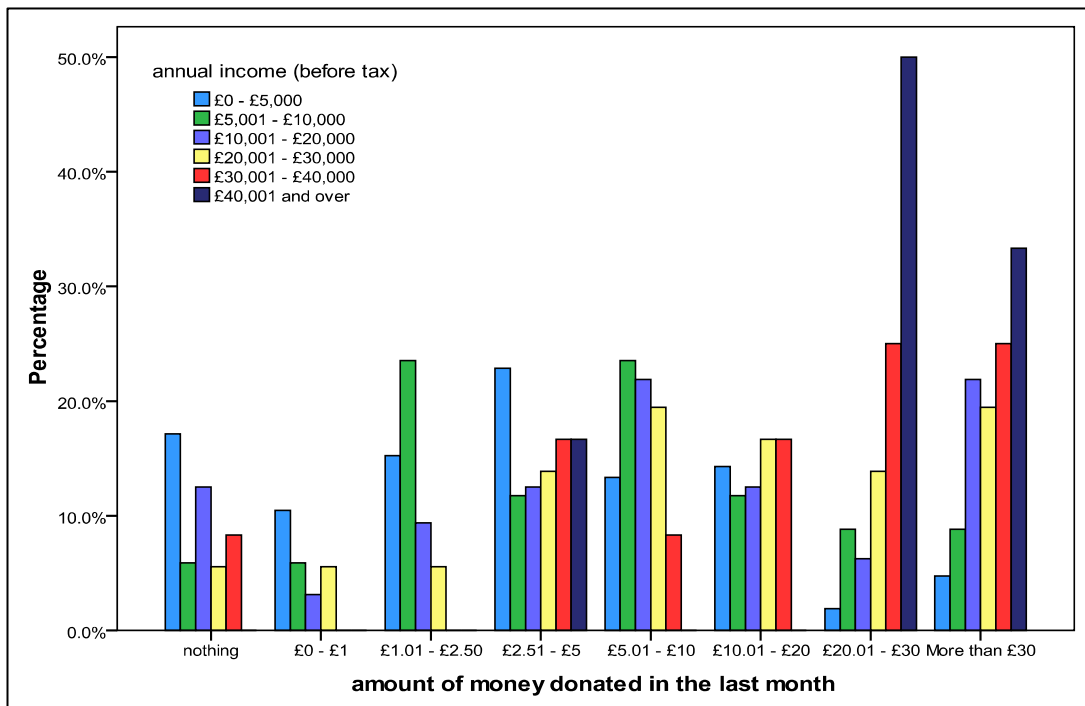
The findings for 17-24 year-olds (Figure 6.9) would seem to support the literature in that (young) people with higher incomes generally give more than those on lower incomes (CAF/NCVO 2008; Sargeant 1999). However, caution is needed in examining the influence of income on donation levels for this age group given the variety of forms that income can take among 17-24 year-olds. Furthermore, disposable income levels may not follow the same pattern, as different living arrangements may mean that there are very different demands on young adults with similar income levels. The young people surveyed included those still in school, young people on gap years, students in colleges and universities, those in part-time, full-time and self-employment, and those who were homemakers or parents. We might except that many 17-18 year-olds are still at school (where participation in charitable activities is commonplace) and have relatively low incomes hence are more likely to give nothing and smaller amounts. Generally young people with higher incomes were found to be more likely to give larger donations,

especially those with a regular income or those residing in the parental home. The increase in donations for 22-24 year-olds may be as a result of stability in employment and increased income levels. Sector research includes 16-24 year-olds but generally do not consider such factors when reporting lower donation levels (CAF/NCVO 2009; Low et al. 2007) among young people.

There is a limit on the reliance one should put on the findings for 17-24 year olds give the non-probability sample that was used, but they provide some indication of the effects of income on charitable giving within this age group.

6.5.3 Education

Education levels are often associated with giving in that those with higher and professional qualifications generally give more than those with only school or further education qualifications (Bennett 2003; Pharoah & Tanner 1997). As many children and young people are still in the education system, it is less meaningful to examine their giving in relation to their qualifications. In this study, only the data on young adults were examined, and even here it should be noted that some of the young people may not have completed their formal education or are part way through a further/higher education qualification. It is interesting to note however that in contrast to previous findings from adult research, those with only school-based qualifications were slightly more likely to give amounts over £2.51 (as shown in figure 6.10). It may be that at this point in their lives, young adults without a university education had greater disposable income than those who had continued with their education. With increasing numbers of young adults staying in the parental home after school/university (ONS 2009), this may affect disposable incomes and hence the propensity to give. Moreover, it may reflect the opportunities to give presented by schools, colleges/universities and workplaces. Once again, this highlights the importance of understanding the contextual factors shaping giving among children and young people.

Figure 6.10: Levels of giving by level of qualifications attained by 17-24 year-olds
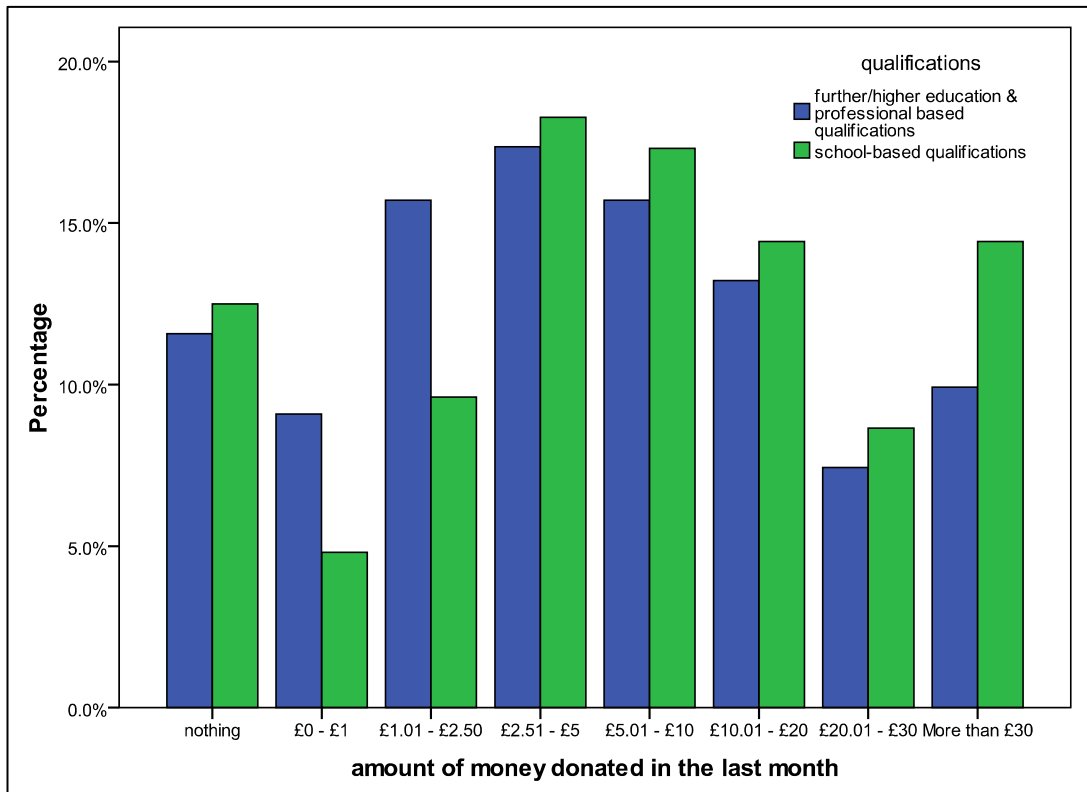
6.5.4 Living arrangements

Living arrangements may involve many factors, such as the number of people within a household, household composition and marital/relationship status, and these were most appropriately examined for 17-24 year-olds. Within this age-group, the majority (73%) of young people resided in households containing 2-4 people. 2-4-person households were generally found to be less likely to give than single-person households or households with 5 members or more, but they were more likely to have given larger amounts (over £30) in the past month. In fact, 88% of those who reported giving more than £30 in the last month resided in households with 2-4 people.

Respondents in 2-4-person households typically lived in shared flats or family homes, and it was found that 48% of young people living with flatmates and 30% who live in the parental home had not given any money to charity in the last month, compared with 7% of those on their own and 15% cohabiting. This seems to contradict Brennan and Saxton's (1997) findings that households with multiple adults were more likely to give than other household types. We might expect that for older adults, levels of income may be higher, providing more opportunities to give.

Amongst those who had donated money in the past four weeks, however, young adults living on their own or co-habiting tended to be less generous; 7% of those on their own and 7% of those cohabiting gave over £30, compared with 41% of those in the parental home and 44% of those with flatmates. Since young adults still living in the parental home are unlikely to pay for accommodation, this increases their disposable income, and those sharing flats may also spend less on accommodation than those on their own, married or cohabiting. It might also be the case that young people living with flatmates or parents reported household rather than individual donations, however, inflating giving levels. In either case it seems that living arrangements may have an impact on levels of donations amongst young adults. Amongst the qualitative data, it would seem that living arrangements is more of a situational factor in affecting giving than being a determining factor in the propensity to give. Josie, for example stated she generally gave more because her flatmates generally did more for charities. This included taking part in sponsored events together, and hence sponsoring each other and others within their social network. Euan and Lynne, a co-habiting couple stated that giving money to charity was a little more constraining as they had to pay for their accommodation and living expenses which meant that they generally gave in smaller amounts and preferred to support charities in other ways. This provides further support for the need to consider the context of giving for individuals and in particular young people where living arrangements can be particularly variable.

As indicated above, marital or relationship status is related to household composition. Married and cohabiting adults are generally found to be more likely to give (Hall et al. 1998, 2001) and to give larger donations than single people (Mesch et al. 2006; Piper & Schnepf 2008). These findings were supported by the survey data for 17-24 year-olds. Married people were more likely to give – in fact, no married people stated that they had not given (however, married people constituted only 7% of the sample). Despite the small sample of married people (amongst 17-24 year-olds) the suggestion is that they are generally more likely to give and give more. Young people who were cohabiting were slightly more likely to give donations over £10 than couples who were not living together, with the latter group more likely to give smaller amounts. Figure 6.11 shows the amount donated in the last month according to marital or relationship status. It is evident from the graph that percentages across martial/relationship status are relatively stable with the exception of married young people where there is a slight skew towards giving larger donations.

Figure 6.11: Levels of giving by marital/relationship status, 17-24 year-olds
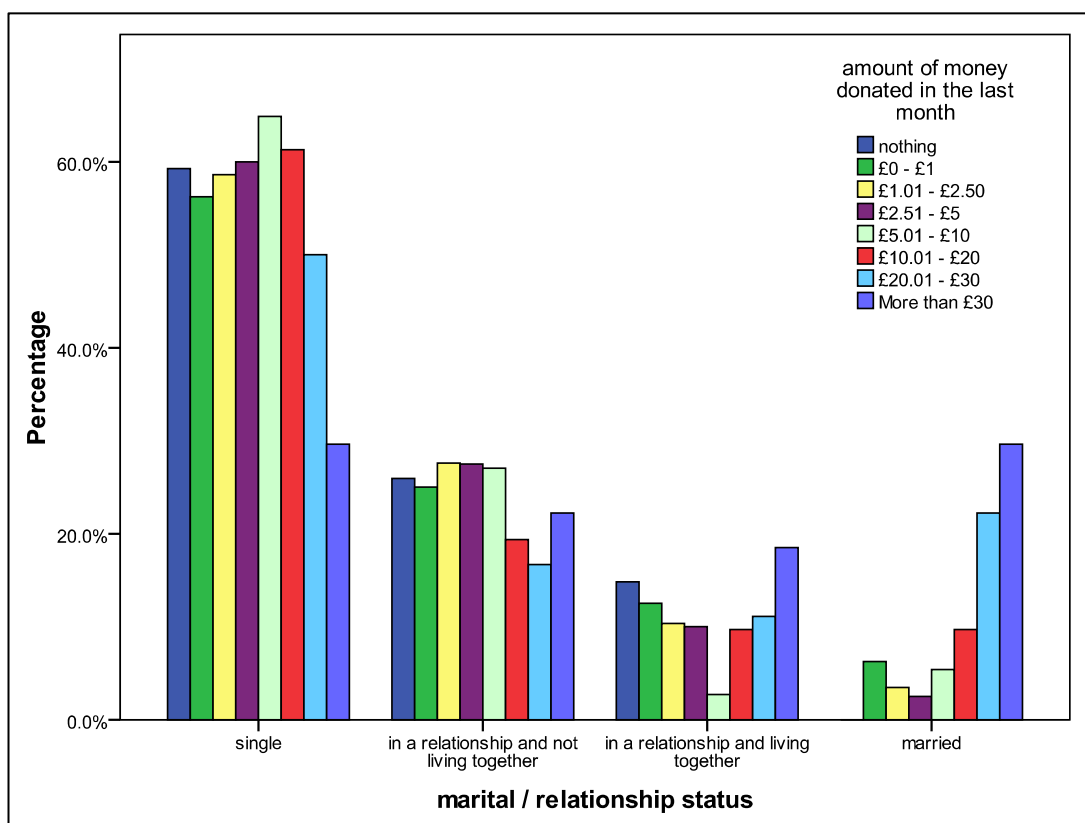
It may be interesting to investigate further the idea of individual versus household/couple giving for young people and the extent to which giving is negotiated between partners. Euan and Lynne, the cohabiting couple considered above, seemed to retain their own individual identities as donors, seeking personal rather than joint charity consumption experiences. Interviews with other 22-24 year-olds suggested that relationship status mattered in other ways. James, for example, had started a relationship between the initial and follow-up interviews. James had a traditional view of gender roles, so for him, having a girlfriend was one of the biggest strains on his finances, and this in turn had an impact on his charitable giving:

> *"the last time I was interviewed I was single but since then I've starting going out with Emma and I tell you, women are money eaters. They just sap money from you. You have to take them out to dinner, buy them things … I just don't have as much money to give since it all goes to Emma. I can't exactly say, I'd rather give this money to charity."*
>
> (James, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14a)

James's comment shows how changes in personal circumstances can greatly affect giving behaviour. It also demonstrates that investigating giving over a period of time can offer useful insights into factors that affect and motivate giving.

In general then, this study has indicated that living arrangements and marital or relationship status, which are likely to change in the transition to adulthood, can affect the giving behaviour of young people. Although there are limits to the generalisability of findings from the 17-24 year-olds due to the non-random sample used, these indicative findings shed some light on the factors that might affect giving amongst young people.

6.5.5. Other factors

Relationships between other factors, such as ethnicity and religion, and giving behaviour were also examined and in common with general adults

surveys of giving, those with strong religious beliefs and those in ethnic minorities were under-represented here (Low et al. 2007). This does limit the generalisability of the analysis for religion and ethnicity.

An one-way ANOVA were conducted to examine whether mean scores in levels of donation were different for both religion and ethnic origin, for each age group. For 9-11 and 17-24 year-olds, neither religion nor ethnic origin produced statistically significant results (see Appendix 4).

For 12-16 year-olds, the ANOVA results (shown in Appendix 4) suggest that mean scores for levels of donation were not different for different ethnic origins. However, the ANOVA for religion shows a statistically significant difference in the levels given by religion (p<.000). The mean scores showed that those who stated their faith as Muslim or Sikh gave more than Christians (but it should be noted that the sample size was very low for both of these religions). Christians gave more than those who stated no religion (mean scores 3.53 compared with 1.75). This suggests that those who have religious inclinations give more than those without. Similarly a chi-square test for independence showed that religion and level of giving were associated to a statistically significant level (p<.000).

The influence of religion on giving patterns was discussed by many young people in the interviews and focus groups, with no consensus on the role it might play. Stephen, for example, was a practising Muslim and since charitable giving is a feature of Islamic teaching, he believed that religious beliefs had a significant impact on a person's propensity to give. Euan and Lynne both felt that Christians were more inclined to give to Christian or religious charities. Euan attributed this to the greater likelihood of being exposed to charities such as Christian Aid. Lynne, however, argued that religious organisations did not only target religious people, and that she would still give to Christian Aid even though she was 'not religious'. Another

young adult drew on his own experience to suggest that religion had little influence on giving:

> *"I don't think people are doing a charity event because they are religious – based on my experiences and other factors can't really conclude that religious people are more willing to give than non-religious people."*

(Peter, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14c)

Overall then, the survey data have provided an idea of those most likely to give, but sociodemographic profiles neglect important contextual factors that seem to influence giving.

This analysis has also indicated the importance of donor socialisation processes in shaping giving patterns. Childhood, adolescence and young adulthood are periods of constant transition, each bringing a particular set of personal and social circumstances and influences, and each having particular implications for charitable giving.

6.6 TO WHAT CAUSES DO CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE GIVE?

Perhaps surprisingly, cause preference tended to be relatively consistent across the three age groups. Children and young people were asked to rate the level of importance attached to a range of causes. With the exception of sports charities, the importance attributed to causes were fairly stable across age groups. Table 6.2 shows the median scores for cause preference for fifteen causes by the three age groups. The consistency in cause preference may be related to exposure or awareness of certain causes. Particularly for charities that help other children and young people, the children and young people in this study felt more able to empathise or relate to them hence attaching a high level of importance in helping them.

Further inspection of median scores (median scores were used as they are most suited to ordinal variables and in measuring the central tendency) indicated that apart from five causes (children and young people, disabled people, medical research and care, rescue services), there were distinct gender differences. Women rated all the remaining causes as more important than men, apart from sports charities which men saw as more important than women. Females are generally considered to have more prosocial tendencies than males (Batson 1998) but it is unclear how this might translate into cause preference. Literature on gender differences in cause preference is sparse but it may be that women are disposed to (and perhaps socialised to) care more and hence rate charities as being more important in general. This was not something discussed in focus groups or interviews but merits further research.

Table 6.2: Median values for cause preference by age group

Median values	9-11 year-olds	12-16 year-olds	17-24 year-olds
Disabled people	Very important	Very important	Very important
Elderly people	Very important	Very important	Slightly important
Disabled people	Very important	Very important	Very important
Homeless people	Very important	Slightly important	Slightly important
Human rights	Slightly important	Slightly important	Very important
Medical research	Very important	Very important	Very important
Third world/ overseas aid & development	Very important	Very important	Very important
Medical care	Very important	Very important	Very important
Religious organisations	Slightly important	Slightly unimportant	Slightly unimportant
Rescue services	Very important	Very important	Very important
Education	Slightly important	Slightly important	Slightly important
Arts, music, culture	Slightly important	Slightly important	Slightly important
Animals	Very important	Very important	Slightly important
Environment	Very important	Slightly important	Slightly important
Sports	Very important	Slightly important	Slightly unimportant

Analysing the data further, mean scores were examined (the mean scores were used here because the median scores were largely similar for age groups which would have limited the comparisons made) to identify the top three and bottom three causes for each age group (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Most preferred and least preferred causes according to age group

	9-11 year-olds	12-16 year-olds	17-24 year-olds
Most preferred causes	• Children & young people • Medical research • Animals	• Children & young people • Medical care • Rescue services	• Children & young people • Third world • Disabled people
Least preferred causes	• Sports • Arts, music, culture • Religious organisations	• Religious organisations • Arts, music, culture • Sports	• Religious organisations • Sports • Arts, music, culture

Charities that help children and young people appear to be the most important category for participants across all three age groups. Medical-and disability-related charities also featured prominently but with some differences across the age groups. Such cause preferences are broadly consistent with surveys of adult populations (CAF/NCVO 2009; Low et al. 2007). However, they are a slight departure from Walker and Fisher's (2002) study of 16-24 year-olds, which found that medical research/care charities were the most preferred, followed by children and young people and world causes in third place. It may be that the younger children in particular preferred children and young people charities because they felt more able to relate to them and sympathise with their needs (and may point towards the further development required to fully understand charities and causes in the donor socialisation process).

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The three least preferred causes were consistent across all age groups (albeit in a different order) and with other research on young people; for example, Walker and Fisher (2002) found that less than 1% of their sample rated these causes as important.

It seems clear from these data that children and young people preferred to donate to people charities first. Although many participants in the focus groups and interviews talked positively about a range of charities, quite a few 16-18 and 22-24 year-olds expressed a dislike or disregard for animal charities, and argued that helping people was more important. However, 9-11 year-olds felt that people and animal charities were equally deserving of money from the public. This may be related to socialisation processes, as evaluating relative worthiness of causes requires more abstract and logical reasoning (Roedder John 1999) that some 9-11 year-olds may lack. Particularly concerning knowledge and awareness about charities, this age group may be less well-informed and may also lack the perspective-taking skills required to identify, understand and sympathise with different groups of people and moreover causes (Batson 1991; Hoffman 1982). Perhaps reflecting their familiarity with other children and with various animals, the 9-11 year-olds seemed more able to empathise with them. They could relate more easily to people like themselves and to people they knew rather than strangers, and they expressed a desire to help those in their immediate social and familial networks before giving to strangers. They showed little awareness and offered limited discussions of certain causes such as disability-related or homeless charities, perhaps reflecting their lack of exposure to them. This may in turn be influenced by the type of causes introduced to them in school, as teachers might select particular charities in the belief that children would relate to them more easily.

Further insight into cause preferences may be gained by considering respondents' agreement with a series of statements about their criteria for

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choosing charities to support, and also by considering some of the qualitative data about the charities participants supported. Organisational values are increasingly considered to be important for potential donors (Bennett 2003) particularly as many charities have developed value statements, similar to those of commercial organisations. The six organisational values were taken from a larger list used by Bennett (2003) which asks respondents to consider the values of the charities and causes and their attitudes towards the purpose of the charities they prefer.

Table 6.4: Attitudes towards the purpose of preferred charities

I would prefer to give to a charity that believes the most important thing to be...	Percentage of 12-16 year-olds who agreed*	Percentage of 17-24 year-olds who agreed*
Changing society as we know it	38.9%	57.3%
Making people independent and self-sufficient	58.2%	88.1%
Looking after every aspect of a person's life	57.5%	53.5%
Making the people they help feel good about themselves	75.0%	59.6%
Empowering the people the charity is seeking to help	58.6%	81.2%
Making the public think hard about issues	65.6%	75.7%

* based on 5 point Likert scales, percentages combine "strongly agree" and "slightly agree"

Three quarters of 12-16 year-olds felt that making beneficiaries feel good about themselves was an important factor in their choice of charity, whereas more than eight in ten 17-24 year-olds were concerned about making people independent, self-sufficient, and empowered. This may reflect a more sophisticated understanding of social problems and notions of charities by 17-24 year-olds as concerns about beneficiaries shift from helping them in an emotional way (making them feel good) for 12-16 year-olds to ensuring that they can be self-sufficient. This may be expected due to the more advanced

understanding of moral reasoning that is presumed in young adults (Kolhberg 1969; Piaget 1965).

In the focus groups and interviews, many participants told stories about how their preferred causes related to their personal experiences, such as the death of relatives from cancer or encountering homelessness. Cause preference also seemed to be used by some participants to enhance their self and social identities, indicating that there may be symbolic aspects of charity consumption. By donating to certain charities, young people were able to portray a particular image of themselves. Aspects of self-monitoring and self-presentation (Goffman 1959) were evident in the analysis of transcripts for some young people in their cause of choice. For example, Stephen, a 24 year-old accountant, supported children's charities as he wanted to be seen as a caring person who valued children and family life. Similarly, Colin, a 22 year-old law student, supported Amnesty International to reinforce his identity as someone who stood up for human rights and his own values. Such issues are considered further below in relation to motivations for giving.

One important observation from the focus groups and interviews concerned inconsistencies between the preferences participants expressed and their actual giving behaviour. Peter, a 24 year-old accountant, for example expressed a strong preference to give to children and young people charities but he had only given money to overseas aid charities in the months prior to interview, reflecting the opportunities to give through his workplace or encounters with charity marketing stimuli. Stephen and James (also 24 year-old accountants) similarly expressed preferences for causes but felt 'bound' to give to different charities which their employer had adopted or endorsed that year. That is they felt obliged to give to collections at work for a charity which the company had adopted for the year, even though they believed other causes were more deserving of their money. It seemed that strong social influences at work over-rode their personal views on the merits of

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different charities. This was similarly the case in many school settings as children were usually not consulted in the charity events that schools engaged in.

The survey data on actual donations made to charities in the last month suggests that such inconsistencies may be quite common. Actual donations for causes are presented in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Actual causes donated to in the last month, by age group

	12-16 year-olds	17-24 year-olds
children and young people	52%	44%
elderly people	17%	14%
disabled people	21%	20%
homeless people	36%	33%
human rights	26%	15%
medical research	38%	24%
third world/overseas aid	46%	40%
medical care	25%	23%
religious organisations	17%	18%
rescue services	25%	6%
education	22%	10%
arts, music, culture	9%	5%
animals	37%	12%
environment	15%	10%
sports	15%	4%

The causes which 12-16 and 17-24 year-olds gave to in the last month are generally similar, with a few exceptions. This may be largely due to the opportunities to give or encounters with external charity marketing stimuli.

Comparing the actual donations with the preferences which these age groups stated, there was greater variability in terms of causes actually supported with the exception of children and young people charities. Third world charities especially seemed to have received more financial support than would be expected from the preferences expressed for this cause. Table 6.6 shows the most and least supported causes. These are quite different from

the most and least preferred causes, as presented above in Table 6.3. Taken together, these data suggest some inconsistencies between preferred causes and actual donations. This in turn suggests the strong influence of external marketing stimuli, giving situations and other social factors on the decision to give.

Table 6.6: The top three and bottom three causes supported

	12-16 year-olds	**17-24 year-olds**
Most supported causes	• Children & young people • Third world • Medical research	• Children & young people • Third world • Homeless people
Least supported causes	• Arts, music, culture • Sports • Environment	• Sports • Animals • Rescue services

It might be expected that high profile charity events such as *Comic Relief*, *Children in Need* or disaster relief appeals may have affected giving behaviour in the months before data collection[14], but it seems that giving is affected by other factors beyond cause preference. Similarly, the propensity for 17-24 year-olds to give to homeless people despite rating this cause as less important, may be due to actual encounters with beggars on the street. Previous studies of donor behaviour have neglected such inconsistencies between cause preference and actual donor behaviour. Opportunistic or casual brand switching is well documented within the commercial consumer research literature but may also apply to charities and causes.

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[14] Children in Need did fall within the month prior to data collection for some respondents. The questionnaires were live online for a period of 5 months within which Children in Need had occurred.

6.7 HOW AND WHERE DO CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE GIVE?

Children and young people can give money to charity in many different ways. These include regular giving arrangements such as payroll giving, direct debit or church collections, and occasional giving through collections at school or work, in the street or door to door.

Figure 6.12: Giving preferences by age group
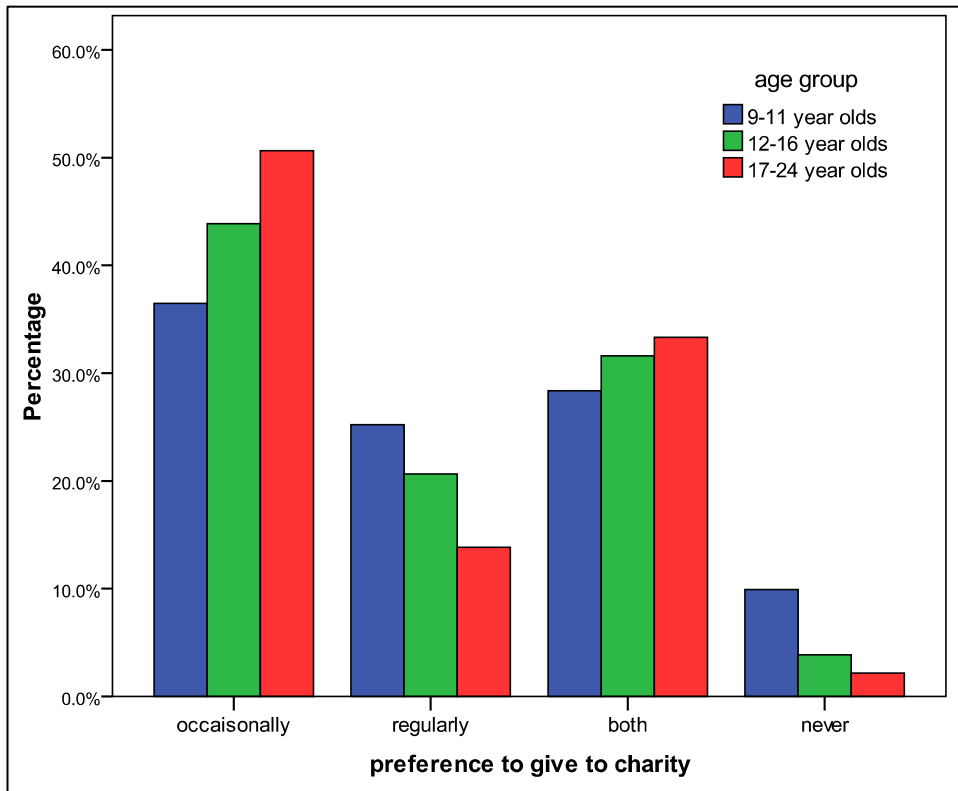
Some clear patterns emerged in the preferences of the different age groups. As Figure 6.12 shows, older respondents preferred giving more occasionally, although they seem better placed than others to give regularly. One explanation for this may be that 17-24 year-olds are typically in a period of transition, either from school to university or entering the workplace. This may leave them with unpredictable incomes and less inclined to commit to a regular giving arrangement. This was exemplified by Louise, a 22 year-old nursery nurse in East Lothian. When she was unemployed, she gave to

charity through donations on the street and volunteering, but did not want the burden of "worrying about money being taken out of my account when I wasn't making any". The inclination to not give also seems to decline with age.

Figure 6.13: Giving preferences by gender
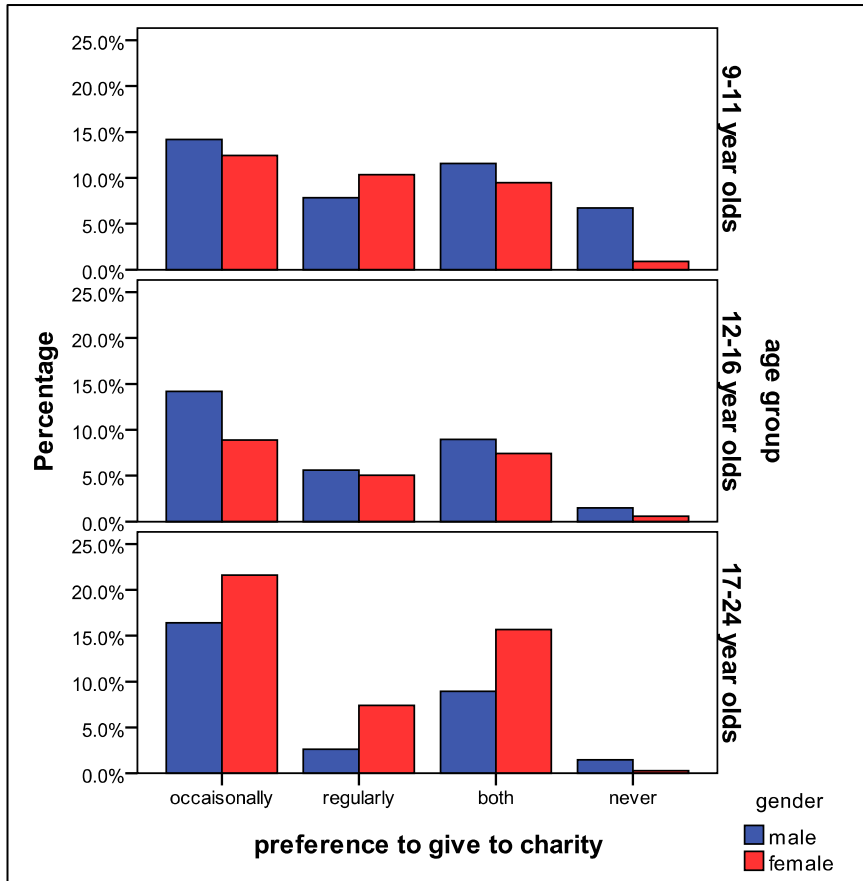
Turning to gender differences, the preferences to give for 9-11 year-olds were generally similar between genders. For 12-16 year-olds, boys generally preferred to give more occasionally higher proportions of males than females were found for all preferences. For 17-24 year-olds, the gender preference is more evident. More men preferred to give nothing (1.5% compared with 0.3%) whereas more women preferred to give both occasionally (21.6% vs 16.4%) and regularly (7.4% vs 2.6%). So it would seem that men are less enthusiastic about regular giving than women, and more likely to prefer not to give at all.

Although the limited preference for regular giving might be disappointing for charities, they should be reassured by the third of children and young people who preferred to give both occasionally and regularly, and by the decline in preferring not to give with age (shown in Figure 6.12).

Having considered their preferences, this section now turns to the actual methods by which children and young people give. Some clear patterns of giving were evident amongst the different age groups, as indicated in Figures 6.14 – 6.16.

Figure 6.14: Methods of giving money for 9-11 year-olds
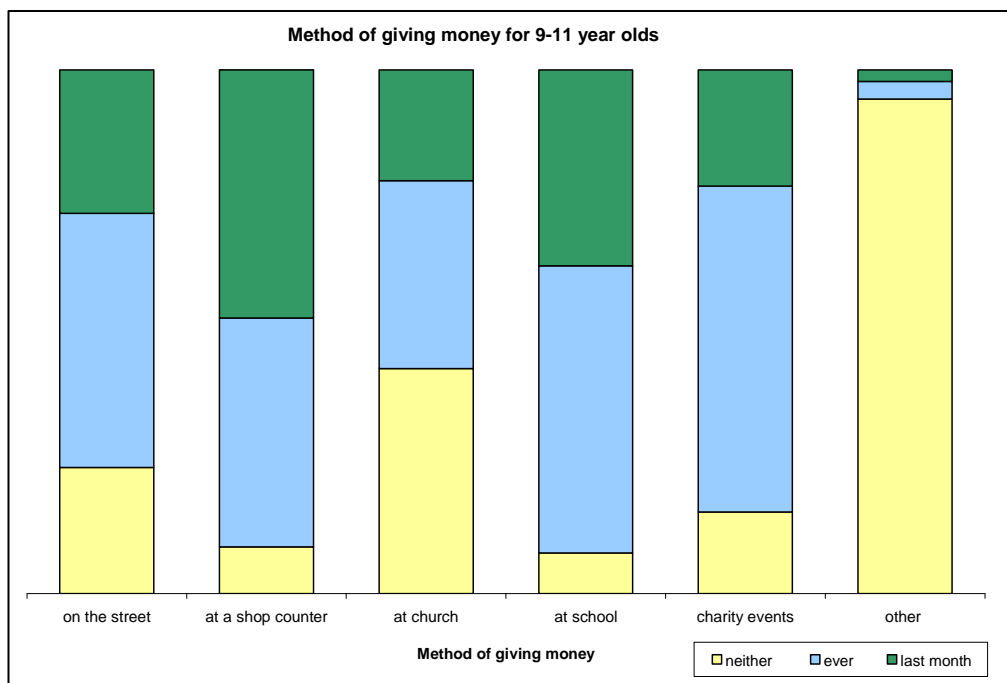
The most popular methods of giving for 9-11 year-olds are in shops and at school (Figure 6.14). Particularly in the previous month, a high proportion of this age group gave through these occasional and convenient methods. This is similar to preferences in adult populations as cash donated on the street, in shops are still the most commonly used method to give (Low et al. 2009). It is not expected that 9-11 year-olds would use a variety of methods of giving due to the lack of exposure and opportunities to give using other methods.

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Among 12-16 year-olds, giving in schools was the most common method, followed by charity events, churches and shops (Figure 6.15). As 12-16 year-olds are exposed to more opportunities to give and in more varied methods, there is a greater spread in the ways they chose to give.

Figure 6.15: Methods of giving for 12-16 year-olds
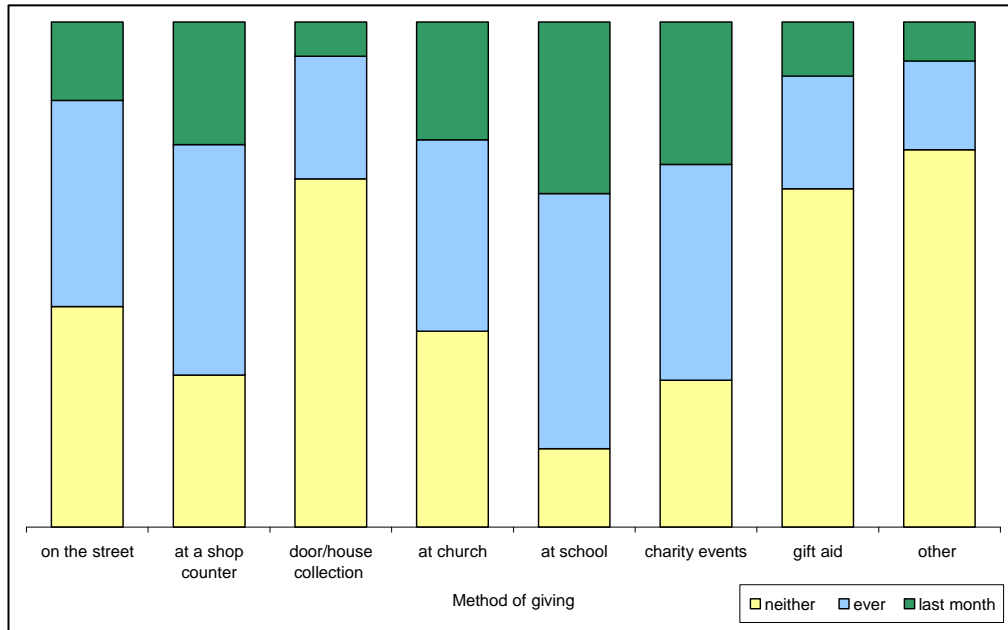
Giving in schools is the most common method used to donate money for 12-16 year-olds with 23% citing that they had donated in schools in the last month, followed by charity events (19%). The importance of giving in schools is highlighted in that only one in ten respondents stated that they had never donated in schools. This shows the importance of schools both as a vehicle or channel for charitable giving but alludes to the school as a site for educating children about charities and encouraging charitable behaviours.

The 17-24 year-olds had a wider range of methods to choose from, but consistent with their preference for occasional giving, shops and street donations were still the most common, with 30% having given in shops the previous month and 28% on the street (Figure 6.16). Regular giving

arrangements did feature to some extent, with reported donations over the previous month involving methods such as direct debits (13%) and payroll giving (2%).

Figure 6.16: Methods of giving for 17-24 year-olds
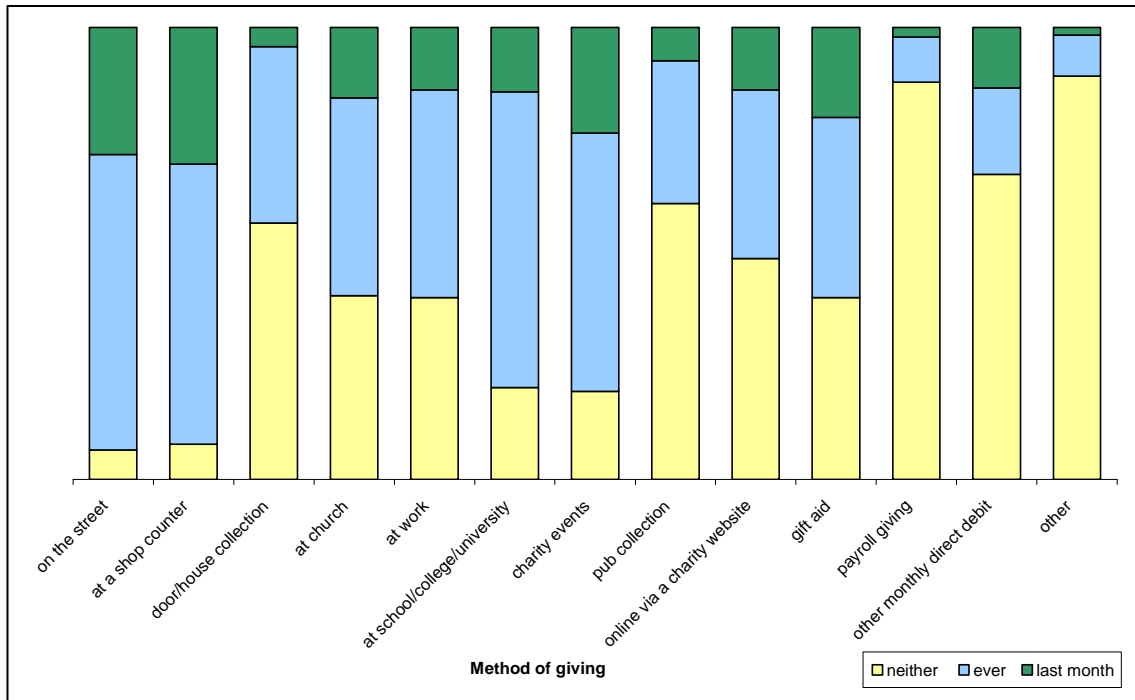
Looking across all age groups, one of the constants was giving via street/shop collections. Giving also tended to take place in education establishments and workplaces, where they spent the majority of their time. Building on the work of Ahava and Palojoki (2004) on children's border crossings between the consumption realms of home, school, and peers, these settings may be considered to be charity consumption arenas, and present opportunities for charities wishing to target this age group because they provide access to captive audiences. Schools, universities and workplaces may also be viewed as channels for giving or settings in which donor socialisation can be undertaken or harnessed and giving behaviour rewarded. For example, young adults talked about receiving information about charities that their employer had adopted, or particular companies' corporate social responsibility policies, which usually included some link to a

charity or cause. Likewise, schoolchildren were taught about charities and their work on an informal basis but also formally through the Curriculum for Excellence[15]. Such charity consumption arenas do not just play a role in educating, they also provide children and young people with the opportunity to give, through school- or work-based fundraising events or volunteering opportunities. For example,

> *"We give money like for Pudsey and Red Nose Day... we bring in cans of food and old toys and they go to other folk who don't have that sort of stuff... that's kind of like the shoebox thing, I just find stuff around the house to put in my shoebox and bring it into school... we also had messy hair day, that was funny and another time we had to dress up as things we'd like to be when we grow up. I was a popstar... and we had to look after a hard-boiled egg for a week for Barnardo's, that was really hard."*

> (Yasmin, 9, Falkirk primary school, Focus group 5)

> *"I mean at work we always get involved in Comic Relief or Children in Need cause the kids love it. It's something fun for them... We've all just signed up for the Moonwalk too, about five of us. It sounds alright but some of us are less fit than others! ... I don't have a lot of money at the moment and I don't have much time either outside of work but I used to do a bit more when I used to be at uni, I was part of the charities society and we used to organise fundraising events and that just around campus, like dressing up and collecting outside lectures and organising quizzes and fashion shows and things like that."*

> (Louise, nursery nurse, 22, East Lothian, Individual interview 2b)

> *"I don't really do much for charity, it's just at work, it's cause I'm there all the time... I'd say that most of the things I do for charity are work-related but that's just plainly because of the people I interact with and it's where I spend most of my life... But this was the same at school when I was younger, I did most of the charity stuff at school... at work, there's someone who's designated job is to organise charities stuff so she's always asking for volunteers to pick up litter or clean hedges or something... we can also be seconded to work in a charity, and offer our services as an accountant, I haven't personally done it but I know others who have. I think I would like to do it in the future but I've just*

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[15] Part of the curriculum for 3-18 year-olds in Scotland whereby it aims to develop children into responsible citizens and effective contributors to society (see www.ltscotland.org.uk/curriculumforexcellence/ for more information).

never had the time, just with the clients I have ... There's usually something on once a month, like a bake sale or raffle, I usually throw a couple of quid in that and it's good because the company matches whatever we raise."

(Peter, accountant, 24, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14b)

These quotes show the different ways that children and young people may encounter charities through work or education, and the range of charitable activities that they undertake in such settings. Consumption arenas can act as facilitators or indeed a channel for charities to initiate or maintain relationships with its consumers - children and young people. Although the three participants above mainly gave in one main consumption arena, some talked about border crossings in ways that echoed Ahava and Palojoki's (2004) findings that young people could manage the transitions between different consumption arenas relatively easily and smoothly:

"At home, we always give away old stuff to the charity shop like DVDs and furniture and old clothes, and you know some people are less fortunate than others, and if someone else can find a use for it then great... I'm also doing the race for life, I did it with my mum for the first time last year cause one of my mum's friends was diagnosed with cancer and it was my way of helping... At school, I just give a little, like 50p, and it's always money, you just give money for no school uniform day... You just did it at school cause everybody does it. But I suppose that's the point because then it raises lots of money. But you don't get to choose what charity it goes to. The school decides it, I mean I suppose it's all going to a good cause but sometimes they're really random and I'd prefer to give to a cause I really believe in. But that's the thing, out of school, I can choose where the money goes, like we always take the stuff to the Oxfam shop I believe in the work that they do ... it's just more personal, like I wouldn't do the race for life if it didn't mean anything to me, the motivation's just higher to do something you believe in".

(Alison, 16, Borders secondary school, Focus group 12)

It is evident from this participant that she values control and choice. At home, where she can choose the charities she gives to, she is more proactive, gives in the ways she sees as most appropriate, and is generally more motivated and satisfied. At school, where the choice of charity and method of giving is

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made for her, she is relatively passive however. It is important to note therefore that charity consumption arenas can both encourage and discourage giving. Schools and workplaces often nominate a charity for the year, but if their captive audience do not have a say in where their money or gifts go, they may feel disengaged or disempowered. One of the schools researched invited pupils to vote for their preferred charity, and the focus group participants in that school were generally positive about the project, even if their preferred charity was not picked. In some schools or workplaces, opportunities to participate in charitable activities were sparse, for reasons of company policy or organisational culture. Social influences on giving also exist within charity consumption arenas to encourage or discourage giving especially in social reinforcement of giving or non-giving (Batson 1998). The adoption of social norms within particular organisational cultures or sub-groups can also affect decisions to give (Croson et al. 2010).

Due to the smaller numbers of survey respondents who were current volunteers, there was less data on how children and young people chose where to give their time. For younger participants, volunteering took place within schools. This mainly involved organising fundraising events or taking part in befriending or mentoring schemes. Many 16-18 year-olds volunteered for work experience in places such as local hospitals or hospices and youth groups. Others took part in school-based volunteering schemes such as community service or the Duke of Edinburgh award, which meant greater variety in the places and activities undertaken (for example, helping out at homeless shelters or conservation reserves). For the older participants, the workplace appeared to be important in providing opportunities to volunteer. There was little evidence of employer-supported volunteering schemes on offer, however, supporting the claims by Low et al. (2007) that demand for employer-supported giving/volunteering schemes are not being met by workplaces. For one participant, Josie, 23, a learning assistant, working in a school introduced her to many child-related charities and although she did

not volunteer through school-based schemes, she actively sought out charities that the school had helped.

The concept of charity consumption arenas is helpful in illuminating the differences in charitable engagement according to the context or setting in which children and young people encounter them. Issues of information, opportunity, socialisation, and control all seem to have some bearing on the giving behaviour and experiences of children and young people.

6.8 SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT CHARITIES

Figure 6.17 shows where 9-24 year-olds reported having noticed advertising for charities and causes. Television appeared to be the source noticed most (88% of 9-11 year-olds; 82% of 12-16 year-olds; 87% of 17-24 year-olds) but advertising in charity shops themselves also seemed to be noticed by many respondents (79% of 9-11 year-olds; 66% of 12-16 year-olds; 79% of 17-24 year-olds). Print and outdoor media also seemed to play a role; indeed, more respondents identified these as places where they noticed charity advertising than the internet, suggesting that traditional media can still reach children and young people. Respondents selecting the 'other' category typically referred to notices in schools and workplaces, supporting the idea that these charity consumption arenas act as important channels of information.

Figure 6.17: Where children and young people have noticed charity advertising
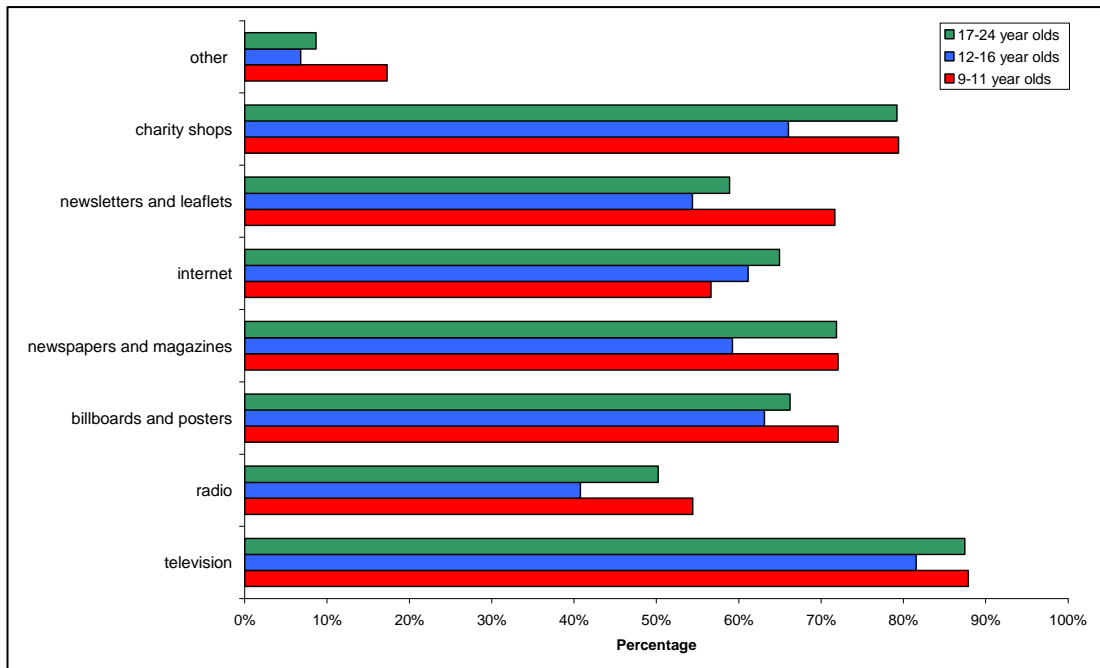
Respondents across all age groups tended to notice advertising in fairly similar places. Exposure to advertising on the internet increased with age, perhaps reflecting greater internet access among teenagers and young adults. All age groups were aware of charities advertising on television. One surprisingly effective advertising medium that is largely overlooked in charity marketing literature seems to be charity shops themselves. A relatively high proportion of children and young people stated that they had noticed advertising about charity appeals and campaigns through charity shops.

6.9 THE DECISION TO GIVE

Thus far, children and young people's donations have been considered in terms of their actual behaviour. How people decide to give, and overall donor decision-making processes, have received scant attention in the donor

behaviour literature (Hibbert & Horne 1996), which is surprising given the wealth of studies into consumer decision-making processes.

In the focus groups and interviews, participants were asked to articulate how they made their decisions to give. The 9-11 year-olds had difficulty articulating how they decide to give. Typical answers were "I don't know, I just give" and "cause it's good to give", which meant that discussions veered towards why they gave. The 9-11 year-olds' inability to verbalise their decision making processes may reflect the abstract thinking and reasoning required to reflect upon one's decision to give, which are not usually well developed by this stage (Roedder John 1999). Such problems were not evident in the discussion with older participants, particularly the 16-18 and 22-24 year-olds. Three main types of donor decision were apparent, and these mapped on to the conventional consumer decision making frameworks of extended problem solving, limited problem solving and habitual decision-making (Solomon 2009).

Aligned with cognitive decision-making models, extended problem solving involves consumers, or in this case potential donors, gathering information about charities and methods of giving, and comparing and evaluating a set of alternatives before making the actual donation. This decision-making process seems appropriate for larger donations because potential donors may feel highly involved in the decision and wish to reduce perceived risks such as the affordability of long-term commitments like payroll giving or concerns about the proportion of donations going towards administrative expenses. One clear example of the extended problem solving process at work was in Vivienne's decision to set up a direct debit. Starting work as a speech therapist assistant gave her the regular income she had lacked before. Now that she had the resources to give, she engaged in a lengthy process of information search, which took several weeks and involved:

> *"… looking through websites of charities that I was thinking about giving to. I looked at Christian aid, Oxfam, Barnardo's, and Quarriers 'cause someone at work mentioned it …. I knew about the sort of work they do but I wanted to find out about how much I would have to give if I set up a direct debit… and how the money was going to be used."*

(Vivienne, 22, speech therapist assistant, Musselburgh, Individual interview 3b)

For her, the information search phase involved finding out about the various donation schemes available and also seeking more general information about the charities. Vivienne clearly had a set of charities in mind at the outset, and in evaluating the alternatives she compared the worthiness of the respective beneficiaries, reputation of the charity, previous experience of the charity and the amount to be donated. Eventually she decided to give to Quarriers, and was satisfied with her choice given the time and effort she had put into it. Vivienne is one example of a potential donor actively and purposefully engaging in extended problem solving and demonstrating high involvement in this donor decision. After all, she wanted to "think about it a bit because it is my money and it's going to come out of my account every month". Similarly, Euan described his careful decision-making process concerning a regular donation to Amnesty International:

> *"I started giving to Amnesty International about two years ago, I started when I received stuff in the post and it was good. Why not, eh?... I knew a bit about their work and they do important stuff and they don't get as much money as cancer research, it's more up my street…I read through the leaflets and stuff they sent me and spoke to my pal who I knew gave to them too. He said that they keep in touch with you like sending magazines and that… The hardest thing was deciding how much to give them. I had to think about how much I could afford to give after my rent and everything… I think £5's enough. I want to give to other folk too so I think it's fair."*

(Euan, 24, teaching assistant, Edinburgh, paired interview 4a)

In Euan's decision-making process, information search focused on finding out about Amnesty International, and the evaluation of alternatives was not undertaken by comparing different charities. A key part of the decision for

him was the amount to give, however, and here other charities featured as he wanted to leave himself free to donate to them on other occasions. Risk was alleviated mainly through speaking to his friend – an existing Amnesty International donor – and discovering that he would receive regular communications about how his money would be spent.

Examples such as these suggest that for decisions about regular giving arrangements, potential donors are likely to be highly involved in the decision and undertake an internal and external information search before making the final decision to give. Extended decision-making processes were also evident in choices such as a gap year involving charity work in India or the purchase of a goat for a family in Africa (discussed by participants).

Not all potential donors engaged in such a thorough process however, and there were cases where participants described a more straightforward and less rigorous process that resembled limited problem-solving decisions in conventional consumer behaviour. Limited problem-solving involved a shorter process characterised by low involvement and low perceived risk, and was typified by giving situations where the potential donor had little time to carry out an information search or think through alternatives. Rather than seeking out charities to benefit from their funds, potential donors in this situation tended to be approached by pleas to give by people in the street, workplaces and schools. Potential donors may rely more on their own experiences, knowledge and decision rules (cognitive shortcuts) to help make their decisions. Numerous examples of these situations were offered by participants, including the exchange below:

> *Stephen*: *When there's a collection at work for like NSPCC or something, you just give whatever change you have.*
>
> *James*: *Yeah, me too. It's always embarrassing though if you don't have any spare change.*
>
> *Stephen*: *You don't really think about it. I don't really sit and think about where the money goes or …*

James: It's going to a good cause so you just give. You just do it.

(James, Peter, Stephen, 24, accountants, Edinburgh, Focus group 14)

In such cases, the limited discussion of process did not seem to be based on limited cognitive development as with the 9-11 year-olds, but supports the view of Rados (1981) and Hibbert and Horne (1996) that donors may not be able to articulate how or why they make giving decisions because conscious information processing often plays a minor role in such decisions.

Less considered decision-making was also evident among donors who gave from habit. The habitual decision-making process involves little or no conscious effort. There is little consideration of risk or involvement since giving is routinised and characterised by automaticity. Examples of routine decisions included weekly giving at church ("I don't even think about it, I do it every week"), weekly purchase of *The Big Issue* ("I've been buying it for ages…usually from the same guy"), and even the refusal to give by particular methods, such as pub collections ("I never give. I just don't. Doesn't matter who it is, I never give to them").

In sum, we can see that the decision to give can be characterised according to the levels of involvement, perceived risk and conscious information processing. These cognitive perspectives on the decision-making process have been criticised for neglecting the social dimension of giving, since environmental factors can influence purchase or donor decisions (Belk 1975; Troye 1985). There is little evidence in the literature on how these situational influences may impact on giving, but it may be that for the accountants and auditors above, social norms learned from previous giving situations were important influences on their giving behaviour; they may have learned that in their places of work, giving is rewarded and reinforced and non-giving is punished through social stigma. Such issues are discussed later in this chapter in relation to social influences on giving.

6.10 WHY DO CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE GIVE?

6.18: Reasons for giving by age group
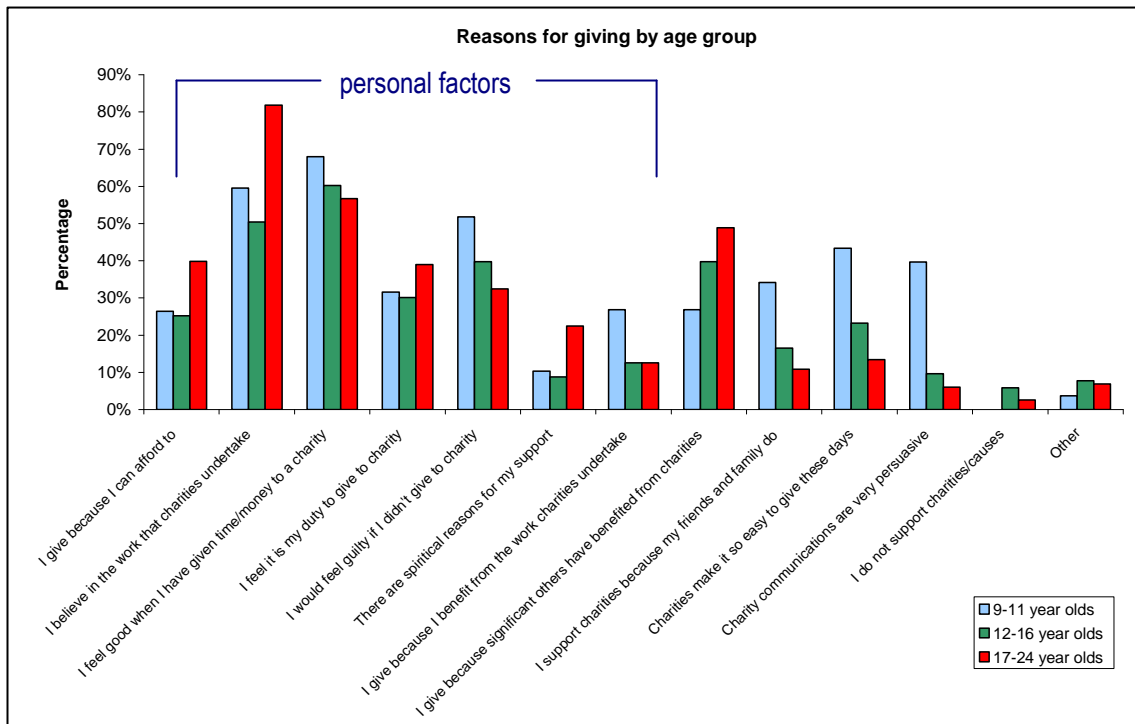
The survey presented children and young people with a list of potential reasons for giving to charity. As indicated in Figure 6.18, multiple reasons for giving were common across all ages, with between four and six reasons particularly common for each age group. Factors that might be seen as more personal seemed particularly important for many respondents, with feeling good and believing in the work of charities the two most common reasons cited by each age group. These concur with the two most common reasons cited for adult populations (Saxon-Harold et al. 1987; Foster et al. 2000) showing a consistency in the reasons people cite for giving across age groups.

The 9-11 year-olds were more inclined than their older counterparts to cite social influences such as giving by friends and families and contextual factors such as persuasive charity communications. This points towards 9-11 year-

olds' susceptibility to influence by socialisation agents and environmental cues (Batson 1998; Eisenberg & Fabes 1998). This may be expected here, as tweens are still learning about the world and 'becoming' donors. Personal reasons for giving centred around wanting to "feel good" and avoiding feelings of guilt or embarrassment. The emphasis placed on feeling good may be related to their use of scripts in Chapter Five, and to acknowledgement of more negative emotions by 11 year-olds in the focus groups. It is interesting to see a sense of duty (discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven) cited by just under a third of 9-11 year-olds, and also some recognition of reciprocity; approximately one in four mentioned themselves as benefiting from the work of charities, and a similar proportion referred to people close to them as beneficiaries.

The pattern of reasons was very similar among the 12-16 year-olds, although the reasons tended to be selected by fewer respondents in this age group. There were two notable exceptions to this however. Perhaps reflecting cumulative life experience, more 12-16 year-olds cited people close to them who had benefited from charity. Consistent with some studies which reported declining levels of prosocial behaviour among adolescents (Eisenberg & Fabes 1998), respondents in this age-group were more likely to claim that they did not support charities or causes although this was still at a very low level (5%).

The 17-24 year-olds seemed less influenced by situational and social factors, as fewer cited charity communications and giving by friends and family. For this age group, belief in the work of charities was the most common reason for giving, rather than feeling good which was the top reason for younger groups. Although feeling good still mattered to many 17-24 year-olds, they seemed less influenced by emotions associated with giving or not giving, suggesting a level of emotional maturation. This age group was also the most likely to cite being able to afford to give, and having the duty to give, reflecting the emergence of adult resources and responsibilities. Young

adults were less likely than the tweens to see themselves as beneficiaries of charity, but perhaps reflecting their greater life experience, they were the group most likely to cite having people close to them who had benefited as a reason for giving.

Volunteers amongst the 12-16 and 17-24 year-old groups were also asked about their motivations. Older respondents tended to cite reasons such as "giving back to the community", "personal identification with the cause" and "belief in worthy causes", whereas the motivations for 12-16 year-olds seemed more pragmatic, such as "developing skills" and "gaining work experience". Social motivations were also more common within the younger group; "working with a friend" and "meeting people" were common reasons for volunteering for the younger age groups. This supports extant research on volunteering motivations (Handy et al. 2009; Hustinx et al. 2010; Wang & Graddy 2008).

Although these findings are useful in providing an overview of reasons for giving, they offer a relatively superficial account of the factors shaping the decision to give. Deeply personal factors, such as life experiences and values, interact with social and contextual factors such as reference groups and giving situations. The stories of children and young people offer deeper insights into their motivations to give, and these seemed to be closely related to the donor socialisation framework presented in Chapter Three and discussed in Chapter Five.

Consistent with their understanding of charity as discussed in Chapter Five, the youngest children's motivations for giving were expressed as well-rehearsed mantras of "it's good to give". There was very little sense of any real emotion or empathy involved in giving. The lack of awareness of charities and understanding about giving for 4-6 year-olds meant that they resorted to repeating teachers' explanations for charitable activities or imitating the reasons parents gave for donating. Since children of this age

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are typically unable to take the perspective of other people (Roedder John 1999), they might find it hard to articulate reasons for giving to people they do not physically see or know. The idea of charity and giving to societal causes presupposes a level of abstract thinking and it is evident from the focus groups with young children were unable to express their motivations for giving.

Even at the young age of 4-6, however, children could express feelings of sympathy and elements of reciprocity when talking about helping people who were hurt or ill. Their motivations for helping others seemed to lie in experiences or expectations of being helped themselves if they were ill or hurt in the future. This suggested that their 'schemata' about how to act and feel when confronted with another person in need had been tentatively formed and this gave them a better understanding of why they might want to help.

By the age of 9, many children have acquired the cognitive abilities required for perspective taking and abstract thinking about charities (Piaget 1965; Roedder John 1999) and thus 9-11 year-olds were able to discuss their motives for giving. Many participants still claimed that "it's good to give" but these statements seemed more genuine and sincere than those made by the youngest children. This shows that the majority of children had achieved the level of conventional morality as purported by Kohlberg (1969) in his model of moral development. The 9-11 year-olds were also more able to discuss emotions such as feeling happy or a sense of pride in giving, and wanting to avoid feeling sad and guilty. Empathy with 'victims' and beneficiaries was very strong and motivations to give were borne out of a concern for others, reflecting the shift towards a more allocentric perspective and strong principles of equality associated with this stage (Damon 1975; Kohlberg 1969; Roedder John 1999). Ideas of equality were expressed in terms of responsibility ("everybody should give") and common need, in that everybody needs help in some form. In a similar vein, causes were deemed as equally

worthy; as one 9 year-old boy put it, "I think children, animals and people should be given the same amounts of money, we should help them all". At this age however, some children had begun to evaluate and judge the worthiness of different causes, as indicated by comments such as "I want to help children who don't have as much as me. It's not fair on them. They should get more than old people."

Reasons for giving amongst 9-11 year-olds also included positive attitudes towards the act of giving itself, or at least what came with it. Engaging in charitable activities was "fun", and some talked about how they "really liked dressing up for children in need" for example. Discussions with 9-11 year-olds involved many stories about the different activities that they had been involved in, and this enthusiasm motivated them to give.

The socialisation of teenagers into being donors was apparent through their justifications for giving and not giving money. Reasons hinted at an expectation to give which shows advancement to Kohlberg's (1969) level 2 conventional morality and in particular stage 3 where interpersonal conformity informs giving. As a group, 16-18 year-olds did not offer detailed accounts of their reasons for giving, but did cite adherence to social norms about giving. For those teenagers whose life experiences necessitated encounters with charities, the reasons for giving were more akin to those of adults, as they expressed a desire to give back to the community or help others less fortunate than themselves. Teenagers were also more likely to consider multiple motivations for giving, such as "it makes you feel good but it's also helping other folk".

More than the other age groups, teenagers provided detailed accounts of their motivations for volunteering. Volunteering appeared to serve multiple purposes for them, providing them with work experience, developing skills, and meeting new people as well doing something that was worthy (Clary & Snyder 1991; Handy et al. 2009).

Negative emotions also seemed to play an important role here; although many teenagers talked about how it felt good to give, they tended to focus on the avoidance of negative feelings or the stigma associated with not giving. This was part of a greater awareness than younger groups of the social dimensions of giving. Teenagers recognised how their giving could be affected by social influences, as well as how their giving attitudes and behaviour could affect and be affected by others. Life experiences also played an increasing role in shaping teenagers' attitudes towards charities and hence their reasons for giving. Some provided accounts of their reasons for doing 10K runs or other sponsored events for Cancer Research because of a personal tragedy or connections within their social and familial networks. The development of personal values was also emerging in some of the older participants. For example, Michael, an 18 year-old politics student, had strong environmental values which made him fanatical about protesting and campaigning. His reasons for campaigning also included wanting to "feel empowered", gaining a "sense of achievement" as well as "doing something productive that will help the future of our society".

The motivations for giving by young adults were often multi-faceted and hidden in layers of thick description about their lives. When asked why people gave to charity, Peter stated that:

> *"… they feel like they might be able to make a difference, it might be something close to their heart. I think a lot of that is why maybe people give – like if someone's parent has suffered from cancer… or they're more likely to do stuff but maybe an interest to do events like running marathons, etc, raising money and doing stuff for that charity. For some people they might just have too much money. And maybe giving to charity is the way to do it. Some people are just generally nice and want to help others, like to help others".*

(Peter, 23, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14c)

Peter's own motivations for giving are, in his own words, related to his "caring disposition" and his general desire to make a difference in the world. His

motivations also varied depending on the cause or charity. He was more inclined to do a sponsored run, for example, and to do this for a cancer charity than one for animals, because of his personal priorities and experiences.

Narratives about reasons for giving were also replete with discussions of personal connections to charities and causes and of people close to them who were involved in charitable activities. For example, many young people talked about feeling obliged to sponsor their friends or colleagues, reflecting a desire to maintain social capital and reinforce their place in particular social networks (Putnam 2000; Wang & Graddy 2008). In those contexts, the cause was often irrelevant, and decisions about the amount to give depended more on how close they felt to the person seeking a donation.

What was fascinating to explore with the 22-24 year-olds was the longitudinal aspect of their giving. Through follow-up interviews, the study was able to explore how their motivations for giving changed over time and were coloured by changes in personal circumstances or attitudes. Changes in job status, disposable income, relationship status were all considered as having an effect on their motivations to give, acting as drivers or barriers. Drivers of giving amongst young adults tended to be personal values and principles, and spiritual or duty of care reasons rather than a preoccupation with emotions. Examples include the 23 year-old accountant who gave " 'cause I practice what I preach for a better world and to practice being that better person myself" and the 22 year-old learning assistant who donated blood "because it's the right thing to do…I strongly believe in giving even if it means you have to sacrifice something". With this complexity came a degree of ambivalence; one anonymous respondent to the young adult survey, for example, gave "for political reasons, I wouldn't be involved as much in charities if I wasn't politically active, don't think donating achieves much… you need to try and change the system". These discussions convey the level of postconventional or principled morality which is typically evident in adults

over 20 years of age (Kohlberg 1969). Some young adults articulated self-chosen principles such as equality of human rights and respect for individuals which shows reaching the most advanced stage of moral judgement.

Having explored how motivations to give get more sophisticated and complex with age, this chapter now examines the personal and social influences on giving behaviour in more detail.

6.10.1 Personal influences on giving

Personal values

Personal influences on giving have mainly been studied in the literature as socio-economic variables, as considered earlier in this chapter but more recently, researchers have looked towards the importance of values in influencing or guiding giving behaviour (Bennett 2003; Kottasz 2004; Wymer 1998). In his study of 250 adults in London, Bennett (2003) used Banet's Inventory of Self-Actualising Values, finding that various sets of values could be used to profile donors for three specific charities. The use of Kahle's List of Values in this study provides a more comprehensive examination of the personal values that may affect giving. Given the development of values in adolescence (Eisenberg & Fabes 1998; Batson 1998), these may play a role in children and young people's donor behaviour. It should be borne in mind however that stable values may not be as developed for children as for adolescents given the moral development of children in late childhood (Kohlberg 1969; Piaget 1965).

Within the focus groups and interviews, many participants, particularly 22-24 year-olds, talked about how their motivations for giving were based on values that they held. However, when probed, participants seemed unable to articulate these values or elaborate on them. Examining the relationship between values and giving behaviour therefore benefited from quantitative investigation.

Children and young people were asked to select the value they regarded as the most important in their lives. This is presented in tables 6.7-6.9 according to their level of donation for each age group.

Table 6.7: The propensity for 9-11 year-olds to donate according to the value they rated as most important in their lives

	sense of belonging	excitement	warm relationships	self-fulfilment	respected by others	fun and enjoyment	security	self-respect	achievement and success
nothing	3.6%	0.9%	0.9%	1.8%	2.7%	2.7%	1.8%	1.8%	2.7%
£0.01-£1	0.9%	0%	7.3%	0.9%	0.9%	7.3%	3.6%	0.9%	1.8%
£1.01-£2.50	2.7%	0.9%	0.9%	1.8%	2.7%	7.3%	1.8%	1.8%	3.6%
£2.51-£5	4.5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2.7%	4.5%	0%	0.9%
more than £5	4.5%	0.9%	6.4	0.9%	0.9%	2.7%	5.5%	0%	0%

From Table 6.7, it seems that those tweens who valued a sense of belonging were the most likely to have given nothing (3.6%). This is surprising given that charitable giving can have social benefits and give children a sense of belonging to a larger group of people or cause. Being respected by others, having fun and a sense of achievement were also valued by non-givers. The latter two are less surprising as they suggest more hedonic values which may cause these tweens to pursue self-interest more than charitable giving.

For those who gave, having warm relationships with others, having fun and enjoyment and feeling secure were important values for 9-11 year-olds. Particularly in terms of having fun and enjoyment this would support earlier discussions that 9-11 year-olds like participating in charitable activities because they were fun. So in this sense, fun is acquired through participation in charitable activities, hence they were more likely to give.

Table 6.8: The propensity for 12-16 year-olds to donate according to the value they rated as most important in their lives

	sense of belonging	excitement	warm relationships	self-fulfilment	respected by others	fun and enjoyment	security	self-respect	achievement and success
nothing	2.5%	0.8%	5.0%	0.8%	0.8%	5.0%	0%	0%	1.7%
£0.01-£10	4.2%	4.2%	14.2%	0.8%	7.5%	9.2%	8.3%	1.7%	5.0%
£10.01-£20	3.3%	3.3%	8.3%	0.8%	0%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%	0%
£20.01-£30	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.8%	0%	0%	0%
more than £30	1.7%	0%	0.8%	0%	2.5%	1.7%	1.7%	0.8%	0%

For 12-16 year-olds, there is greater variation in terms of values selected particularly in the £0.01-£10 category (shown in Table 6.8). For non-givers, again a sense of belonging was important. Here we might expect that a sense of belonging or wanting to feel attached to a social group is important for 12-16 year-olds (related to Erikson's (1968) idea of an identity crisis in adolescence) and the need to seek and maintain peer friendships. Within schools, wanting to belong to a group might however involve not giving. Take the example of Jonathan "when the poppies came around, I was going to buy one but none of my mates were so I didn't" (16, Borders secondary school, Focus group 12). As with the 9-11 year-olds, warm relationships, having fun and security were considered the most important values for those who did donate. Although they generally donated smaller amounts, this finding shows that these three values are relatively stable across 9-16 year-olds. This may have important implications for charity marketers in the benefits they communicate through the fundraising campaigns directed at children and young people. It may be that utilising the importance 9-16 year-olds attached to values such as warm relationships with others, having fun and enjoyment and security in communications may increase the likelihood of giving behaviour amongst this age group.

Table 6.9: The propensity for 17-24 year-olds to donate according to the value they rated as most important in their lives

	sense of belonging	excitement	warm relationships	self-fulfilment	respected by others	fun and enjoyment	security	self-respect	achievement and success
nothing	1.3%	0%	2.2%	0.9%	0.9%	3.1%	1.3%	0.9%	1.3%
£0.01-£10	4.9%	0.4%	19.1%	4%	1.8%	10.7%	1.8%	3.6%	8.0%
£10.01-£20	2.2%	0%	5.8%	0.4%	0.9%	0.4%	0.9%	2.7%	0.4%
£20.01-£30	0.9%	0.4%	1.8%	1.3%	0%	0%	0.4%	2.2%	0.9%
more than £30	0.9%	0.4%	3.1%	1.3%	0%	2.7%	0.9%	2.7%	0%

There is greater variability amongst 17-24 year-olds in terms of the most important values in their lives (shown in Table 6.9). By 17-24, it is expected that core personal values would emerge (Rokeach 1979) and endure into adulthood. For those who gave nothing, having fun and enjoyment was the value considered most important. As considered previously, 17-24 year-olds give to charity less for 'fun' than their younger counterparts and hence here it is taken to be a hedonistic reason for non-giving. By valuing having fun more, the young people may be more self-interested and hence less likely to give.

For those who gave, fun and enjoyment were still valued but those who valued warm relationships were most likely to give. It is likely that their motivations for giving are heavily related to the need to connect with others either directly (to peers or family members) or indirectly (to beneficiaries).

Given the relatively small percentages obtained due to the sample size and high number of missing values for 9-11 year-olds for this question, it was hard to identify any meaningful relationships (as chi-square tests of independence all proved to be statistically insignificant) so the level of donation was correlated with Kahle's list of values. Spearman's rho was chosen to correlate values with level of donation as it is best suited for use on

two ordinal variables (De Vaus 2002; Pallant 2005). Again, figures for 17-24 year-olds are provided to show indicative findings that require further statistical analysis with a larger sample.

Table 6.10: Spearman's rho correlation coefficients of level of donation and level of importance attached to values

Level of donation in the last month by age group	sense of belonging	excitement	warm relationships	self-fulfilment	respected by others	fun and enjoyment	security	self-respect	achievement and success
9-11 year-olds	.033	.048	.025	.085	.083	.036	.016	-.004	.060
12-16 year-olds	.189*	-.006	.270**	.179*	-.119	-.007	-.076	-.072	-.109
17-24 year-olds	.099	.108	-.079	.058	-.005	-.011	-.041	.146*	-.003

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Three values were found to have statistically significant correlations with how much 12-16 year-olds gave: a sense of belonging, warm relationships with others and self-fulfilment. The more importance individuals attached to these values, the more likely they were to donate to charity. Although the correlation coefficients are relatively weak, they do point towards the influence of certain values in predicting donor behaviour. Particularly in considering the values themselves, it might be expected that the significance one puts on feeling like they belong and having meaningful relationships with others will involve higher empathy with potential beneficiaries and hence deciding to give to others. It may be expected that this heightened sense to reach out to others is linked to more general prosocial tendencies and the desire for social interaction (Erikson 1968). This produced the highest strength of correlation at 0.27 which does indicate a small-medium relationship between the two variables.

Regarding self-fulfilment, this value subsumes feelings of fulfilment or satisfaction with oneself. Given the positive relationship this had with charitable giving, the implication is that charitable giving may be one way of achieving fulfilment and satisfaction for the individual. For children and young people, this is particularly important, especially given concerns about the well-being of young people (UNICEF 2007).

It is also worth considering the other relationships which were not found to be statistically significant. Fairly weak correlations were found but it is interesting to note that some values showed two negative relationships within the three age groups with charitable giving: self-respect; feeling secure; having fun and enjoying yourself; and achieving things and being successful. The latter two in this list convey more self-oriented or hedonic values. This might suggest that social influences on giving may be less important, since these personal values are more self-oriented. It might be expected that being respected by others would have a negative relationship with the level of donation (and a negative relationship was shown for 12-16 year-olds although this was extremely weak and not significant). Being respected by others as a value raises questions about the potential social influences on giving, as the more importance an individual places on being respected by others, the amounts donated deceased. This may point towards the existence of peer pressure in decisions to donate but particularly in environments where charitable giving is not rewarded or reinforced.

Overall, this analysis points towards the importance of values and how they might be related to the level of giving for children and young people. As a departure from Bennett's (2003) work exploring values for particular charities, this study has looked at the level of giving. Both studies suggest that positive and negative hedonistic values can affect giving, however.

Materialistic values

Materialism has been consistently found to have a profound effect on the consumer behaviour on children and young people, and more importantly, on their psychological well-being (Schor 2004; Mayo & Nairn 2009). Materialism, as defined in Chapter Three, is the value placed on the acquisition of material objects (Burroughs & Rindfleisch 2002). Particularly among the current generation of children and young people, materialistic values have been found to affect consumption (Richins & Dawson 1992, Belk 1985) but this has largely been overlooked in a nonprofit context. Bennett (2003) however, found that level of donation increased with materialistic inclinations (with adults). Exploration of materialistic values in children and young people can deepen understanding of the interaction between commercial and nonprofit worlds.

Survey data utilising Schor's (2004) materialism scale for the 9-11 year-olds and Goldberg et al.'s (2003) youth materialism scale for the 12-24 year-olds were totalled and descriptive statistics performed (see Appendix 5 for more information on individual items). The results are presented in Table 6.11:

Table 6.11: Descriptive statistics of materialism scores by age group

	Mean	**Median**	**Range**	**Standard deviation**
9-11 year-olds*	28.55	29	36 (9-45)	7.336
12-16 year-olds**	26.12	28	30 (11-41)	6.715
17-24 year-olds**	22.79	23	31 (10-41)	6.910

* scale was between 5-45
** scale was between 10-50

It would seem from Table 6.11 that younger age groups are more materialistic than older age groups (bearing in mind that the scale for 9-11 year-olds was smaller than for 12-16 and 22-24 year-olds). Given that the mid-point of the scale is 25 for 9-11 year-olds and 30 for 12-24 year-olds, the

younger children seem to be more materialistic. On further inspection age differences were found within the different age groups (Table 6.12).

Table 6.12: Descriptive statistics of materialism scores by age

	Mean	**Median**	**Range**	**Standard deviation**
9 year-olds*	26.25	27.5	25 (12-37)	8.481
10 year-olds*	27.41	28	36 (9-45)	8.235
11 year-olds*	29.34	29	36 (9-45)	6.633
12 year-olds**	27.06	30	20 (13-33)	6.567
13 year-olds**	27.43	29	23 (18-41)	5.153
14 year-olds**	28.42	29	25 (15-40)	6.295
15 year-olds**	25.54	27	30 (11-41)	7.587
16 year-olds**	21.14	19	19 (14-33)	5.552
17 year-olds**	24.93	25.5	19 (14-33)	6.006
18 year-olds**	23.22	23	27 (12-39)	8.586
19 year-olds**	25.71	26	26 (15-41)	7.622
20 year-olds**	22.82	23	26 (10-36)	6.254
21 year-olds*	21.00	19	28 (11-39)	7.165
22 year-olds**	22.13	22	23 (10-33)	5.750
23 year-olds**	20.76	19.5	27 (10-37)	6.697
24 year-olds**	23.37	23.5	27 (10-37)	7.237

* scale was between 5-45
** scale was between 10-50

It is evident from the descriptive statistics that the mean scores for materialism among 9-11 year-olds increased with age. For 12-16 year-olds, materialism mean scores seem to increase up to the age of 14 and then decrease dramatically. The pattern for 17-24 year-olds is more variable but it

should be noted that results for this age group are only indicative due to the non-random sample used.

Nairn et al. (2007) found that materialism was higher for 9-11 year-olds than 11-13, and they reported an average score of 23.86 for 9-13 year-olds in the UK. As they state, however, "no straightforward relationship between age and materialism has been established" (p.31). In the current study, materialism levels seem higher for 11-13 year-olds than for 9-11 year-olds. This may be due to different scales being used for 9-11 year-olds and older respondents in this study. Further inspection of the relationship between age and materialism for this study shows that the Pearson correlation coefficients are:

9-11 year-olds	.138*
12-16 year-olds	-.283**
17-24 year-olds	-.085

* correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

** correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The correlation confirms that relationships between age and materialism are statistically significant. For 9-11 year-olds, a positive, albeit fairly weak, relationship was found. This indicates that tweens were more materialistic as they aged. For the 12-16 year-olds a small-medium negative relationship was found indicating that as children progressed through adolescence and adulthood, they were less materialistic. The corresponding finding for 17-24 year-olds was not significant but does indicate a weak negative relationship.

With this in mind, materialism was then correlated with the amount donated by children and young people in the last month. The following Pearson correlation coefficients were found:

9-11 year-olds	-.077
12-16 year-olds	-.085
17-24 year-olds	-.123

Although none of the coefficients were statistically significant, all three coefficients point towards a negative relationship between materialism and amounts donated. That is, as individuals were more materialistic, the amounts they donated decreased. Looking only at the two random samples, the correlation was marginally stronger for 12-16 year-olds than 9-11 year-olds showing that there may be a more robust relationship for this age group. In exploring the relations between the attachment young people place on wealth and material possessions and their inclinations to donate to charity, it may be fruitful to consider the qualitative discussions on materialism. Materialism per se was not a line of questioning but through analysis of transcripts, materialism was a key theme within the stories told by children and young people.

Vivienne in particular articulated the tensions between spending and giving. She talked in one of her interviews about feeling guilty walking past homeless people while her hands were full of shopping bags, particularly if they were sitting outside a shop that she had wanted to visit. To counteract feelings of guilt, she discussed how she would often give to homeless people or other collections if she had bought a product on special offer.

> *"Well, I'm always buying earrings and jewellery in Accessorize so if they've got a sale on and there's a pair of earrings that were £8 but now £4, I'd pay for it and then give the £4 that I'd saved to the homeless man sitting outside… I would have paid for it anyway and it will help him in some way".*

> (Vivienne, speech therapist assistant, 22, Musselburgh, Individual interview 3b)

On a deeper level, Vivienne also felt 'guilty' about being 'materialistic'. Stories of her shopping were full of indulgent analogies but as a religious person she felt that the negative feeling needed to be counterbalanced by good deeds. This seemed to have a major influence on her avid volunteering, generous donations and being a regular blood donor. Vivienne's counterbalancing of positive and negative feelings may be related to Schwartz's (1967) claim that

giving can be used as a way for individuals to compensate for or equalise prior indulgences.

For other age groups, particularly 16-18 year-olds, their discussions of materialism centred around their desire to spend and not having the adequate financial resources to do so. The negotiation of materialism with giving is that giving was a secondary if not minor concern. Succumbing to commercial pleasures and buying clothes, CDs, and snacks were cited as reasons for non-giving. It seemed for this group that peer approval and engagement with the commercial world far outweighed concerns for those in need or wider societal issues. This was not evident in all 16-18 year-olds but did run as a common theme through the focus groups for this age group.

For 9-11 year-olds, the idea of materialism and even shopping was relatively alien. Shopping experiences were mainly with their parents and given the restricted autonomy of many children to engage in consumer practices, materialism was not a major concern and was not considered as something that could affect giving. This would seem to contradict the relatively higher materialism scores found for this age group though as they were found to be the most materialistic among all age groups.

Links in the literature show the relationship between materialism and self-esteem (Mayo & Nairn 2009; Schor 2004) but for the younger respondents, self-esteem could be related to charitable giving. By giving, the children felt good about themselves and as giving is often within schools or within the home, this behaviour is socially reinforced. Further research is required to explore this issue. Exploration into the relationships between materialism and giving would benefit from a survey with larger samples of children and also the inclusion of other scales measuring psychological wellbeing as a potential mediating factor in the relationship.

6.10.2 Social influences on giving

Literature on donor behaviour has largely concentrated on individual motivations for giving but this study suggests that the decision to donate may be a response to situational factors that rely on social learning and conditioning.

As discussed in Chapter Three, social influences on consumer and donor behaviour may be stronger for children and young people than for older people. Given that extant research by and large neglects situational influences on giving behaviour, this study explored the social aspects of giving in the narratives of the children and young people. This section begins by considering the influence of charity consumption arenas, before exploring how significant others and other reference groups may affect motivations to give.

Charity consumption arenas

Consumption arenas are by definition social places and in such social settings, group dynamics will have an effect on the behaviours of individuals and the group as a whole (Phelan et al. 1991). Prosocial behaviour theories stress the importance of social support and social networks and these were evident in many discussions about giving in educational or workplace settings. For the 22-24 year-olds, personal relationships (in the form of acquaintances, colleagues, casual or close friends) were important influences on giving. This is consistent with other findings that reducing social distance encourages giving behaviour by increasing feelings of sympathy (Small & Simonsohn 2008). Furthermore, lifelong socialisation theories suggest that adults may also be influenced by the modelling of particular behaviours in new settings and relationships (Ekstrom 2006).

Particularly in schools and workplaces, participants expressed an obligation to conform to the social norm of charitable giving. For the younger age groups, this was evident in school-based activities where failing to engage with events such as Comic Relief or non-school uniform day could lead one to be criticised or ostracised.

> *"If everyone in your class bought a poppy and you didn't, you'd just get stared at. People would call you Scrooge or think you were poor... You just wouldn't wear school uniform on non-school uniform day, even if you didn't believe in the cause or didn't have 50p, you'd find some way around it. You would just get totally bullied and laughed at all day."*
>
> (Jo, 16, Borders secondary school, Focus group 12)

Similarly, for the 22-24 year-olds, giving in the workplace was expected:

> "*There was a bake sale at work and it was for an animal charity, I hate animal charities but I couldn't exactly refuse to buy a cake... It's more about being involved in the charitable spirit than what money or what cause – it's all being raised for a good cause so it doesn't matter what cause it's going to... even though you don't have control over what good cause it's going to, you shouldn't really care – it's more about being in the charitable spirit so if on charity day there is a cake sale, even people who don't eat or like cake would buy a cake, not because they have strong feelings about the charity it's going to but mainly because it's a charity day and people want to get involved, you know, get that warm fuzzy feeling.*"
>
> (Stephen, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14b)

> *"At work, we get emails all the time with folk asking for sponsorship for this or for that... It gets a bit annoying to be honest. Even if I didn't believe in the cause or didn't want to give, you kinda have to sponsor them something, it's for a friend. You don't want to seem tight... But I'd rather sponsor someone than give it to some random in the street."*
>
> (Colin, 22, law student, Edinburgh, Paired interview 3a)

These examples show how peer group influences are present in charity consumption arenas, exerting pressure to conform to the social norm of charitable giving. The participants' motives seemed to be two-fold: to avoid

ridicule or negative attention (social exclusion) and to gain praise or positive attention (social inclusion) (Barry 2005). For children and young people, decisions about donating in charity consumption arenas may be subject to strong emotions as their vulnerabilities are exposed in a social setting. The desire to avoid negative emotions such as shame, guilt or embarrassment seems to be amplified within the social context of charity consumption arenas. Issues of social identity are also evident here, particularly in the second quote about appearing not to seem 'tight', which supports the notion that (charity) consumption is an extension of the self (Belk 1988). Buying a cake or sponsoring people when one does not want to do so is example of self-incongruence in pursuit of preservation of the self and impression management (Goffman 1959; Hogg & Banister 2001).

Other social aspects of giving involve ingroup and outgroup discrimination (Brewer 1999; Tajfel & Turner 1979). Children and young people may feel motivated to give in order to avoid being recognised as outside the majority (outgroup discrimination). For example, in groups where giving is considered good, one is motivated to give to be a part of the collective. Levels of giving in this environment are seen as collective actions and hence encouraged as collective giving reinforces group membership (Radley & Kennedy 1995). However, group discrimination can also motivate an individual not to give. One 16 year-old recounted an instance of Marie Curie daffodils being sold around classrooms in his school. He believed strongly in this cause and wanted to buy one, but when the teacher asked the class, he realised that no-one else wanted to buy a daffodil. To avoid potential stigma and outgroup discrimination he did not buy one either.

Such processes of discrimination can lead potential donors to follow the group mentality and toe the line in terms of charitable giving.

> *"…if everyone at work, well or a lot of people is giving to somebody, or donating money to a charity event to help a charity – then you might feel like well I'm not doing anything maybe I should jump on the*

bandwagon and do something then to feel included but in saying that I wouldn't do anything if I didn't agree with the charity – but maybe to a point."

(James, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual Interview 14a)

This bandwagon effect was also evident in all the focus groups conducted in the 9-11 and 16-18 age groups and was related to the desire for social inclusion. Radley and Kennedy (1995) contend that public demonstrations of giving in particular are important in reinforcing group membership and the relationship the individual has to the group at large. Many examples were provided of conspicuous displays of charity by wearing wristbands, badges or ribbons. Drawing on Veblen's (1912) notion of conspicuous consumption, these displays of support for charities can be considered as conspicuous consumption to enhance one's social standing. This has led West (2004:1) to criticise the trend towards 'conspicuous compassion', which he sees as being *"all about feeling good, not doing good, and illustrates not how altruistic we have become, but how selfish"*. Conspicuous compassion seems particularly relevant to consumption arenas. Such overt displays of charitable behaviour were not discussed by many participants, however, perhaps reflecting concerns about appearing self-centred, especially in focus groups. In one individual interview Louise, a 22 year-old nursery nurse, talked about how she often wore different charity ribbons on her coat at university, and how she enjoyed the attention she received from friends and fellow students asking about the causes involved. In this case, she seemed to be using charitable giving to portray her desired self and enhance her self-esteem within the consumption arena of university. Even within the individual interviews, however, many young adults distanced themselves from people who wanted to show or tell people about their donor behaviour. Giving was seen as a private matter that should not be discussed socially.

An alternative perspective on the bandwagon effect and conspicuous compassion is provided by symbolic self-completion theory (Wicklund & Gollwitzer 1982) which holds that "people who have an incomplete self

definition tend to complete this identity by acquiring and displaying symbols associated with it". Although not explicit in the transcripts, this might explain why some of the children started wearing wristbands or engaged in charitable group behaviours. The notion of identity formation is especially pertinent to adolescents in an 'identity crisis' (Erikson 1968; Marcia 1980). We might expect some of them to engage in charitable behaviours in a bid to maintain or change their identities as they move towards adulthood.

Charity consumption arenas point to the power of social influences on giving behaviour. By definition, consumption arenas are large social spaces, but within these, there may be subgroups which construct mini consumption arenas with their own social influences. One manifestation of a subgroup is the idea of giving circles, whose raison d'être is giving.

Giving circles

In addition to the general consumption arenas, there was some evidence of giving circles amongst participants. Giving circles are groups of people who give collectively by "pooling their resources in support of organisations of mutual interest" (Schweitzer 2000:32). Eikenberry (2006) detailed three types of giving circle: small networks, loose networks and formal organisations. All three were evident in the participants' discussions.

Small networks are small informal groups whose main purposes are social and educational. One 24 year-old accountant was part of a football prediction group, for example. Ten members were involved, each having paid £10 to enter. Half of the pooled money was donated to a charity that had been chosen jointly, and half was a prize for the member with the most accurate football predictions.

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"It didn't start off like a charity thing. We'd been doing the football thing between a few guys at work and a few mates for a while but then a couple of years ago, X asked if some of the money could be given to charity and we all agreed and have just been doing it ever since."

(James, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual Interview 14a)

Loose networks are more structured and contain a core group of people carrying out the administrative roles but whose membership is much larger than a small network's (Eikenberry 2006). This was the most common giving circle described by participants. These were mainly in the form of school/work charity committees, comprising volunteers who met to choose causes and organise fundraising events. In schools, these were most likely to involve senior pupils or student councils. Alan and Jane (Paired interview 1) provided an example of this as they were involved in the school council in their school who met monthly to discuss which charitable activities the school should engage in.

Formal organisations often have a structure with committees or boards which undertake decision-making (*ibid*). For example, some university societies had a specific charity remit. They usually had many members and hierarchical decision-making, with a committee or board meeting regularly to determine causes, resources and fundraising activities.

Giving circles appeal particularly to young people because of the fun and social aspects (Eikenberry 2006) and enhances the experience of giving beyond one-off charitable activities. These may occur in consumption arenas or indeed bridge several consumption arenas, and their existence is consistent with the shift towards an experience economy (Guthrie et al. 2003). It seems that many people want giving to charity to be an experience, and this can act as a strong motivation for continued giving. Given the importance of social networks and peer groups to children and young people, giving circles may be an attractive form of charitable engagement for them.

Reference group influences

FAMILY

Parents are key socialisation agents for children (Eisenberg & Fabes 1998; Roedder John 1999) and act as gatekeepers in limiting exposure to the commercial and nonprofit world. They have the capacity to facilitate or to hinder giving by influencing both the attitudes and behaviours of the child. Particularly regarding parental inductions (techniques used to provide reasons for requiring the child to change their behaviour) (Hoffman 1970), the explanations given by parents for engaging in charitable behaviours are important not only in the moral development of the child but in exposing and teaching the child about charities (Eisenberg & Fabes 1998). One 9 year-old girl expressed sadness and regret that mother did not allow her to give to an animal charity, for example, telling her "don't waste your money". More positively, 18 year-old Rosheen talked at length about how her mother had always encouraged her to clean her room so that they could take old toys and clothes to the local charity shop. Thus, Rosheen's mother's values and practices have been passed on to her as she has normalised the behaviour of donating to charity shops.

As considered in Chapter Three, socialisation agents are crucial in the education and development of children into donors. Children imitate parents from an early age and Breeze and Thornton (2005) found that mothers' (more than fathers') giving behaviour was noticed and adopted by children. Children in this study similarly cited more instances of consulting or imitating their mother's giving behaviour than their father's. References made to parental or household giving were typically implicit in the discussions of children and young people. In particular, many 9-11 year-olds talked about their experiences of shopping with their mother (and to a lesser extent, grandparents) in charity shops or encountering street collections whilst shopping.

Dynamics of family purchases and in this case family donations may involve the use of pester power by children for encouraging family members to donate. This was only evident in discussions of young children talking about gaining sponsorship money from family members and 'pestering' them to sponsor the child. This form of pester power may be more mild but still has the potential to encourage parents/siblings to give where they otherwise might not have. It would be interesting to examine further the negotiation or 'pestering' strategies used by children to elicit donations or sponsorship money from parents.

There were also many instances in the focus groups of siblings (particularly older siblings) encouraging donor behaviour by sponsoring each other and by talking about their own charitable activities. Especially with older siblings being at different schools, the 9-11 year-olds especially were exposed to different charitable activities through interaction with their siblings. And conversely, 16-18 year-olds were aware of activities which younger siblings were involved with. This generally increased motivations to give as familial ties meant that they were more inclined to support each other. The general exposure to different charitable activities is a process considered in the donor socialisation discussions but it is important to note that the attitudes of parents and siblings can and do influence the 'becoming' donor.

TEACHERS

Once children enter the school system, teachers also have an important role in educating children about charities and establishing rules for giving. This may be through curriculum-based teaching or informal teaching, as observed with the 4-6 year-olds. The children asked many questions about charity events and were generally inquisitive, suggesting that the role of teachers as donor socialisation agents needs further research attention.

The 4-6 year-olds often took cues from their teacher when confronted with something they did not understand. In this sense, the teacher has a role in providing the scripts and knowledge for 4-6 year-olds to start becoming donors. In debriefing discussions with the teacher of the 4-6 year-olds, she remarked that the children:

> *"…generally just copy what I say. That's why so many of them said 'because it's good to give'. I have to be careful that I justify things to them, they're always asking why and it's important for me to teach them about charities. Especially since they don't really understand about poverty or abuse or other issues."*

(Primary school teacher, 4-6 year-olds)

The tendency to solely use teachers' scripts lessened as children aged and developed their own schemata about charities but nonetheless teachers played a significant role in the ongoing donor socialisation process in educating 9-11 and 16-18 year-olds about different charities and causes. Particularly as teachers act as gatekeepers for older children by selecting the charities to whom the 'school' supports or the activities to engage in, their role as socialisation agents should not be understated.

PEER GROUPS

The existence of peer group influences were strong, particularly for the 16-18 year-olds and to a lesser extent within the charity consumption arenas for 22-24 year-olds. As an age group, children and young people are considered to be particularly influenced by peers (Eisenberg & Fabes 1999; Lindstrom 2003; Marshall 2010) in terms of consumption and it would seem that this transcends to nonprofit consumption practices.

Children and young people recounted many stories of how peers had influenced giving either as a trigger to giving or to encourage giving/non-giving in certain situations.

"Peter asked me to do the 10K with him. I couldn't really be bothered but it's only 10K."

(James, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14a)

"Teri was raising money to go to India for her gap year so I ended up sponsoring her for loads of things, like going along to events and other stuff."

(Michelle, 18, biology student, Dundee, Paired interview 2)

"Quite a lot of my friends are protestors. I met them when we first get to camp. Because we all live around the country, it's good when we get together for marches and that cause we get to see each other".

(Michael, 18, politics student, Stirling, Individual interview 1b)

Peer group influences were also linked to aspects of the formation and maintenance of self and social identities. Links to self or social identity within consumer behaviour literature are applicable here (Banister & Hogg 2006; Grant 2004; Wooten 2006). Grace and Griffin (2006) showed how personality traits have been linked to consumer behaviour and in particular self-monitoring, or the degree to which people adjust their behaviour according to social cues (Snyder 1974). Particularly in the case of giving, cues taken from peers are subtle but powerful, as indicated in the case of the Marie Curie daffodil discussed above.

The idea of ingroup/outgroup discrimination was particularly evident in large scale charitable events within charity consumption arenas. As considered above, children and young people may be motivated to give or not to give based on the levels of perceived reinforcement or punishment (Bandura 1977). For volunteering these peer influences are applicable but generally in a more positive way (examples within the data included young people encouraging each other to take part in sponsored events or volunteering). For volunteers, peer group influences are particularly strong in the formation of social networks and the maintenance of social capital. Maintaining and

building new relationships through volunteering is seen as an important motivation for volunteering for young people.

CELEBRITY INFLUENCES

The role of celebrities in influencing donor behaviour has not been considered in great detail in the literature but Breeze and Thornton (2005) reported that children were especially susceptible to celebrity influence in their giving preferences and behaviour. Walker and Fisher (2002) found that that the effect of celebrity influence on giving decreased between the ages of 11 to 24, again reinforcing that for younger age groups, celebrities can play an important role in promoting giving. Furthermore, it seems that celebrities' involvement with charities divides opinion as they can add legitimacy to a particular charity or campaign but can also attract criticism over whether the celebrities had ulterior motives in gaining publicity.

From the focus groups, it is evident that celebrity influences decreased with age, supporting Walker and Fisher's (2002) findings. This perhaps reflects the growing scepticism and cynicism over the use of celebrities (Boush et al. 1994) and the growing understanding of congruence between celebrities and causes. It should be noted that 4-6 year-olds were quite oblivious to the use of celebrities by charities in general. The 9-11 year-olds were generally aware of celebrities through *Comic Relief*, *Children in Need,* and other high profile charitable events. It would seem that there was little understanding of the reasons for both celebrities and charities to use one other for promotion. Related to their consumer socialisation and increased media literacy, by age 16, teenagers were able to discuss the benefits and drawbacks of celebrity endorsement. Generally they were more sceptical about the celebrities' motives rather than those of the charities. From the survey, 51% of 12-16 year-olds stated that they did not care if celebrities were used for charities and 43% stated that they were sceptical of celebrities' motivations for promoting charities. This age group also believed that celebrities benefited

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more from engaging with charities than the charities did in using the celebrity. But perhaps contradicting their scepticism, 59% of 16-18 year-olds said that "more celebrities should support or promote charities". This suggests some acknowledge of pragmatism by the young people in that celebrities were required to gain publicity.

Despite this, it seems that 16-18 year-olds were influenced by celebrities in their giving choices, with boys impressed most by sports stars who supported causes (e.g. Lance Armstrong) and girls impressed by popstars (e.g. Girls Aloud or McFly). For example, Rosheen was avidly involved in charitable activities raising money for the Third World because Damian Rice (a popstar) had talked about the problems in Africa in one of his concerts. She talked about her admiration for Damian Rice and how this had motivated her to engage in those activities. This supports research by Giving Campaign (cited in Walker & Fisher 2002) which found that just over half of 11-16 year-olds and a third of 16-19 year-olds said that celebrity endorsement of a charity would influence them to get involved.

6.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter has sought to provide a rich and detailed account of donor behaviour among children and young people, including the wide range of personal and social influences on giving. In addition to documenting particular aspects of their donor behaviour, it has highlighted more contextual aspects of giving by considering the donor decision, giving situations and the existence of charity consumption arenas.

CHAPTER SEVEN: HOW CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE RELATE TO CHARITIES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Having considered how children and young people understand and donate to charity, this thesis now focuses on how they relate to charities. This chapter begins by considering their intended future engagement with the nonprofit sector. It then explores how their current and intended donor behaviour appears to be shaped by attitudes about personal responsibility and the role of charities in society, issues of trust and accountability, and stereotypes about donors and volunteers.

7.2 FUTURE ENGAGEMENT

As discussed in Chapter Three, children and young people do not only matter to charities for what they currently do and give, but also for what they may do and give as they grow older. In light of this, both qualitative and quantitative parts of the study asked about children and young people's willingness to engage with charities in the future. Reflecting developmental differences, the surveys phrased this differently for younger and older age-groups, precluding direct comparisons between the 9-11 year-olds and older respondents.

Figure 7.1:

Responses to the statement "when I grow up I want to give more to charity" for 9-11 year-olds

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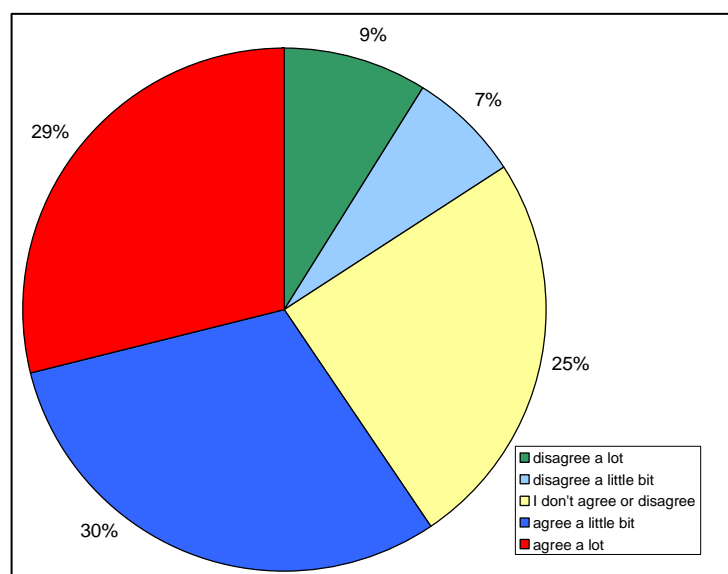
Amongst the 9-11 year-olds, 59% agreed that "when I grow up I want to give more to charity". Although the majority of responses were positive, it is interesting that a quarter were neutral or unsure and 16% disagreed, despite the sense at this stage that charity was generally a "good thing". It may that by the age of 9-11, children become more aware of the role institutions play in their lives and particularly companies and moreover advertising. This may be a hint of the scepticism to advertising that adolescents develop as they progress through adolescence (Boush et al. 1994; Mangleburg & Bristol 1998). Although the survey did not ask what they intended to give in the future, the focus group data indicated that tweens were more inclined to discuss charitable giving in terms of money, perhaps because they were less knowledgeable about opportunities for giving time, or were less interested in volunteering. Typically children would state that they "would like to give more when I'm older 'cause I'll have more money" (Bruce, 9, Falkirk primary school, Focus group 4).

Figure 7.2: What 12-24 year-olds intend to give in the future
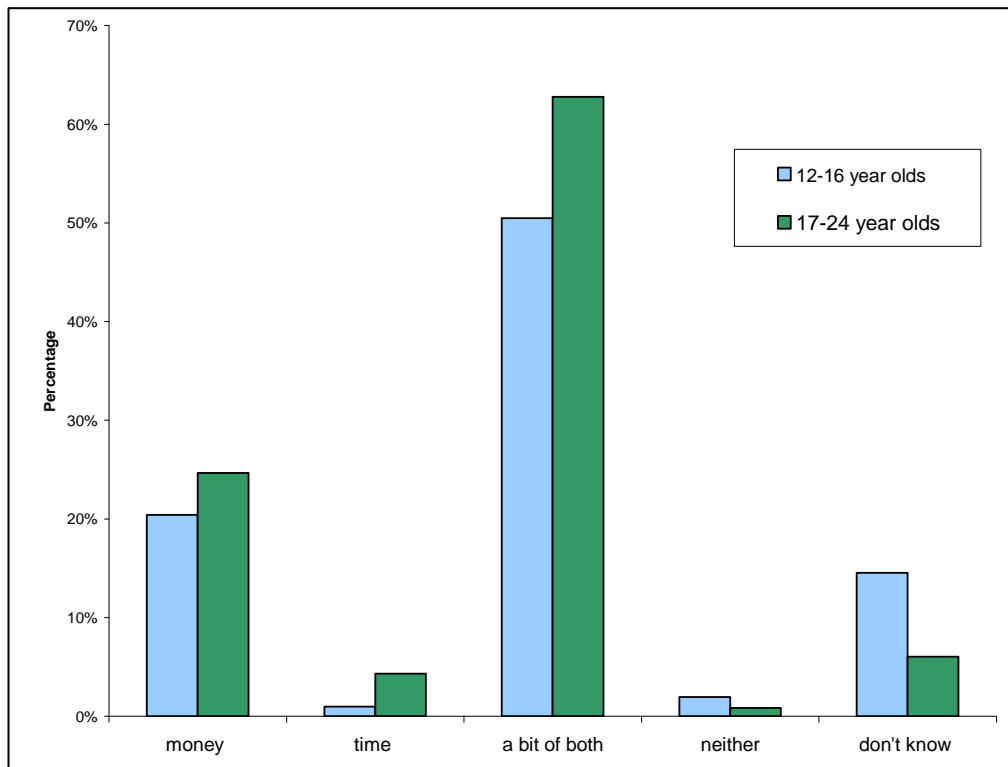
Amongst 12-24 year-olds, the proportion of neutral or negative responses to the question about future charitable donations was lower than amongst the 9-11 year-olds, and this was lowest amongst the 17-24 year-olds. This may reflect greater certainty about the future amongst older respondents. It may also suggest that there was greater internalisation of social norms, or greater social desirability bias, amongst this group. In any case, only 1% claimed not to plan on giving to charity in future, which may challenge views of children and young people as disinterested in charities (Putnam 2000; Arnett 2007). The desire to give both time and money to charities in the future was supported by focus group and interview data. For example,

> *"I'd definitely want to give more when I'm older, like when I have a job and that."*
>
> (Chloe, 17, Borders secondary school, Focus group 13)

> *"I'd quite like to volunteer. I don't really know where or how but it's something that I'd like to do… and of course I'll continue to give money."*
>
> (Peter, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14b)

Although 12-16 year-olds expressed more uncertainty than the 17-24 year-olds about their future charitable giving, their views about the balance of time and money were broadly similar. Overall, 57% of 12-16 and 64% of 17-24 year-olds expected to give both money and time in the future, 23% of 12-16 and 25% of 17-24 year-olds intended to donate money only, and the figure for volunteering was significantly lower at 1% and 4% respectively. The trade-offs between giving time and money discussed in Chapter Six were also relevant here. For example,

> *"I'd like to volunteer but I just don't have the time. I'm always going down to London meeting clients or being sent around to different offices so I don't want to commit to anything. I do feel guilty cause I know I should but that's why I always sponsor people or give when there's a collection at work… that way I know that I'm still supporting charities. Maybe in the future I can volunteer for time but not just now."*
>
> (James, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14a)

7.2.1 Factors influencing future giving intentions

Asked about what might influence their future decisions to give, 14% of 12-16 year-olds stated they would give anyway, the same percentage claimed not to know. The effectiveness of a charity seemed to be the key issue: knowing that the charity made good use of donations was chosen by 28% of 12-16 year-olds as the one factor that would encourage them to give.

Figure 7.3: The factor that would most influence future decisions to give for 12-24 year-olds
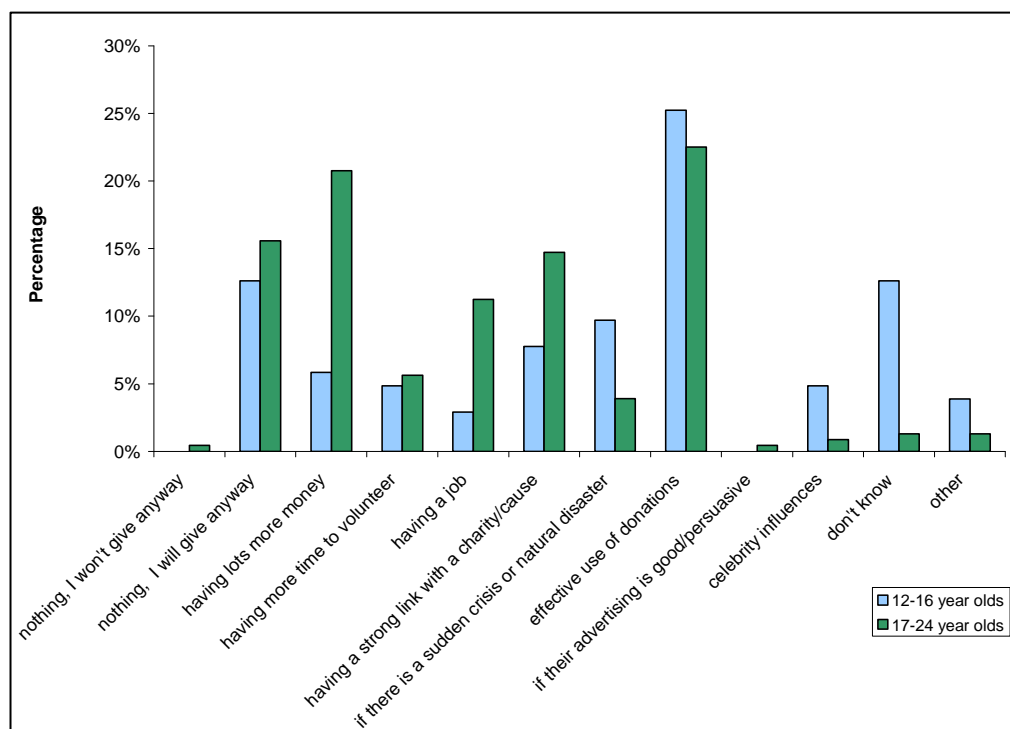
12-16 year-olds also seemed to be more open to influence from celebrities or news of sudden crises or natural disasters. In contrast 17-24 year-olds were more influenced by personal factors such as having a job or money. For example, Paul (23, civil servant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 5a) said that he would volunteer if his job allowed it in the future, particularly if there was an employer-supported volunteering scheme.

Few in either age-group expected advertising to be influential, but a personal connection with a charity or cause was also important in determining future giving behaviour, particularly among the older respondents. This was consistent with discussions in the focus groups and interviews. One participant, for example, commented that:

"I would probably give more if someone in my family was diagnosed with cancer or something. You never know what's going to happen but I would definitely give more to Macmillan or something."

(Louise, 22, nursery nurse, East Lothain, Individual interview 2b)

A related issue here is that children and young people could see themselves not only as future donors and volunteers but also as potential beneficiaries of charities' work, and this featured in their discussion about future engagement with charities. Ideas concerning reciprocity (Zuckerman 1975) were discussed by all age groups, albeit in different guises. Even amongst the 4-6 year-olds, the idea that they helped others was linked to the notion that such kindness had been, or would be returned in the future by others. This idea or expectation of reciprocity was also present amongst 9-11 year-olds, but at this stage they distinguished between beneficiaries who were known to them and those who were strangers, and between types or levels of reciprocity that could be expected. Thus, one 9 year-old boy from Falkirk talked about how he expected friends and family to help him as he helped *them,* but not for Children in Need or Comic Relief because he didn't know them: "I don't expect anything back from those people 'cause they're so far away" (Harry, Falkirk secondary school, Focus group 5). Similarly,

"I really liked it when we sponsored Abanobi, we [school] raised money to sponsor him. I really liked it when he sent us letters. He likes football just like me and he said thanks cause the money we raised bought him books and pencils. I'm glad we helped him… but I wouldn't expect Abanobi to send us stuff. We're supposed to send him things."

(Tom, 10, Falkirk primary school, Focus group 6)

"If I like help my pals in the playground or the class, I'd like them to help me back just cause I helped them… like if I helped my big sister with something, I want her to help me back."

(Sarah, 10, Falkirk primary school, Focus group 3)

These two quotes show different ideas of reciprocity as based on the different notions of charity held. Tom's understanding of charities is advanced enough to reason that beneficiaries in other countries were often unable to reciprocate help but the point of donating would be help others in an altruistic manner (and not expect anything back). For Sarah, her notion of charity is more akin to prosocial behaviour, hence kindness shown to others by helping them in her view should be reciprocated.

For 16-18 year-olds, expectations of direct or substantial reciprocity did not feature as a consideration in giving. A 17 year-old from the Borders who frequently volunteered as a first aider, stated that they did not expect anything in return apart from a "thank you". Some participants however articulated the broader notion that they may be beneficiaries of charities in the future. Other examples include Rosheen (18, Fife secondary school, Focus group 11) who spoke about her participation in the 10K race for life and money donated to the charity. Part of her motivation was that she may benefit from the charity in the future if there were research breakthroughs. For Alan (17, Borders secondary school, Paired interview 1), donating money to causes such as Comic Relief or buying poppies did not come with an expectation of anything in return. But he did make a distinction between buying poppies and Jeans for Genes day where he might be more likely to benefit from the giving to the latter than the former charity.

Reciprocity was mainly cited as a motivating factor by participants who had experienced particular life events which made this more salient for them. This was typically if a relative had received help from medical care or medical research charities. As young people approach and enter adulthood, their exposure to such life events tends to increase, and as might be expected,

older participants offered more stories about close friends and family as beneficiaries. This allowed reflection on the idea of future reciprocity not only for themselves but others in their social and familial networks. Vivienne, for example, talked about buying *The Big Issue*, and how she liked to think that if she were homeless, other people would help her. Similarly Louise, prompted by close relatives falling ill, had given to medical care causes to partially thank them but also in hope that she may benefit from their services in the future if she was in need.

Some 22-24 year-olds even articulated reciprocity in a more strategic manner:

> *"You know what goes around comes around. I'm a strong believer in karma. If you do good things, goods things will happen to you. I think that's why I do so much for charity… I don't need to give blood, I mean I even binge on spinach just so I can give blood, and I volunteer… I expect that if I was ever in need that there would be other people who would help me. Just like I'm willing to help other people now."*

> (Josie, 23, learning assistant, Glasgow, Individual interview 4b)

Josie's comment shows a sophisticated and philosophical reflection on her own giving practices and of her feelings towards prosocial behaviour in general. Analysing Josie's giving history and behaviour, she seemed to be 'banking' goodwill and charitable behaviours in anticipation that either herself or someone close to her would require the services of charities in the future. In other discussions, Josie also articulated a strong belief in justice in that some beneficiaries were in some way being punished for previous misdemeanours. This related to Lerner's (1998) just world theory and shows Josie's view that the world is fundamentally just and exhibits signs of principlism as considered by Batson (1994) as a major motivation to giving behaviour.

Overall, it seems that most children and young people intend to donate to charity in the future, with all groups finding it easier to envisage giving money

than giving time. Younger age-groups appear to find it more difficult to articulate the factors that might influence their future giving, but all groups expressed beliefs about reciprocity that became more nuanced with age. Future giving was expected to be influenced by charities' effectiveness in using donations, by participants' access to time and money, and by links between particular charities and personal experiences of need within friendship or family circles. Although advertising was not expected to influence future giving decisions by any age-group, celebrity endorsements and news of particular emergencies seemed to matter more to tweens than to older groups.

7.3 ATTITUDES TOWARDS CHARITIES AND THE NONPROFIT SECTOR

Understanding attitudes and opinions towards charities can provide further insight into how children and young people relate to charities. Four key issues were identified in the focus groups and interviews: the duty to care, the role of charities in society, issues of trust and confidence, and images of donors and volunteers. These issues are discussed in turn below.

7.3.1 Responsibility – the duty to care?

The "duty to care" (Walker & Fisher 2002) was a theme running through many of the discussions in this study, as participants in general and the 22-24 year-olds in particular felt they had a social responsibility to support charities (Batson 1998). The idea that one should give was evident in the discussions with 4-6 and 9-11 year-olds but as discussed in Chapter Five, this appeared to have been understood as a social norm rather than a strong personal conviction. Although the majority of 9-11 year-olds felt that they personally had a responsibility to give, there was a feeling that some people (such as "rich people" or "older people") were more able to give than others (such as "poor people").

"I think rich people should give more 'cause they have more money. Adults should give more than children too cause they're bigger. Everybody should give but they can give more. I don't have a lot of money so I can't give that much".

(Robert, 9, Falkirk primary school, Focus group 4)

This comment suggests that although he believes richer people should give more to charities, Robert felt that everybody has a responsibility to give. This is symptomatic of the economic socialisation and in particular learning of concepts such as distributive justice (Damon 1975; Dickinson & Emler 1996) that is required to understand notions of giving and learning to become a donor.

Amongst teenagers and young adults, the notion of wider societal responsibility was apparent. Many 16-18 and 22-24 year-olds felt that as adults and members of society, it was their duty to give. Indeed, giving to charities was seen as an important marker of adulthood. This is exemplified by Euan and Lynne as their reasons for giving were "cause we're part of society now, we should give, it's our responsibility to give" (Euan, 24, teaching assistant, Edinburgh, Paired interview 4a). This relates to the literature about transition and emerging adulthoods (Arnett 2001, 2007; Molgat 2007) as participation in society can be seen as a marker of adulthood and as a symbol of commitment to societal ideals. The development of the responsibility to give is likely to be as a result of socialisation processes influenced by the media, parents, peers or other socialisation agents (Batson 1998). The idea that giving as an 'adult' was less obvious in terms of portraying social identities to others but certainly for Euan and Lynne's own self-identity it was important for them to view themselves as adults and as fully-fledged citizens. This relates to wider notions of civic engagement and social inclusion. By giving to charities and engaging in other charitable activities such as recycling or helping neighbours, young people felt included in society and part of a larger collective (and supports emerging ideas in the literature on participation

(Brodie et al. 2009; Gaventa & Cornwall 2006). The development of this sense of responsibility is important in the donor socialisation process especially as the ways in which young people relate to charities crystallise over adolescence. The extent to which children accept a duty to care seems to be an important foundation for subsequent charitable behaviour and may even predict future engagement with charities.

7.3.2 Charities' roles in relation to Government

Views about the role of charities in society are likely to influence how people relate to the nonprofit sector as a whole. Consistent with the work of Walker and Fisher (2002), children and young people saw charities fulfilling one or several of the following roles:

1. intermediary between the donor and beneficiary
2. providing care and support
3. campaigning and raising awareness
4. filling the gaps left by government

As discussed in Chapter Five, the overwhelming view among the younger children and tweens was that charities existed to provide care and support for those in need. Tweens demonstrated little understanding of the role of the Government in providing services to beneficiaries or financial support to charities. As teenagers learned more about political systems and charities (through political socialisation), however, they began to understand that some charities exist to provide services but some exist to raise awareness of issues or change attitudes or behaviour.

> *"There are charities that like help people like giving them shelter and building houses and wells and that but there's some that don't actually do like physical work or help people. Well, sort of, like Greenpeace, it's just like raising awareness for things … and the anti-bullying thing. It's just making people aware not to bully folk".*

(Matthew, 16, Borders secondary school, Focus group 13)

Rosheen (18, Fife secondary school, Focus group 11) also discussed the idea that as an individual she cannot solve homelessness but if she gives to homeless charities, she can indirectly help alleviate the problem. Here the charity is used both as the channel in which donations could be collected and distributed but also in enforcing change and helping homeless people. Her comments suggest that she sees the predominant role of charities as an intermediary between the donor and beneficiary but also as a vehicle for change.

As Figure 7.4 indicates, the 12-16 year-olds and 17-24 year-olds surveyed apportioned responsibility between charities and the Government in quite different ways; 57% of the younger group, but 82% of the older group, agreed that the Government had a basic responsibility to take care of people incapable of looking after themselves. It is also worth noting that 30% of 12-16 year-olds chose the neutral option here, perhaps reflecting a degree of uncertainty associated with earlier stages of political socialisation (Lunt & Furnham 1996; Walter 1990).

Figure 7.4: Attitudes concerning Government responsibility

"The government has a basic responsibility to take care of people who can't take care of themselves"

12-16 year olds

17-24 year olds

- strongly disagree
- slightly disagree
- neither agree nor disagree
- slightly agree
- strongly agree
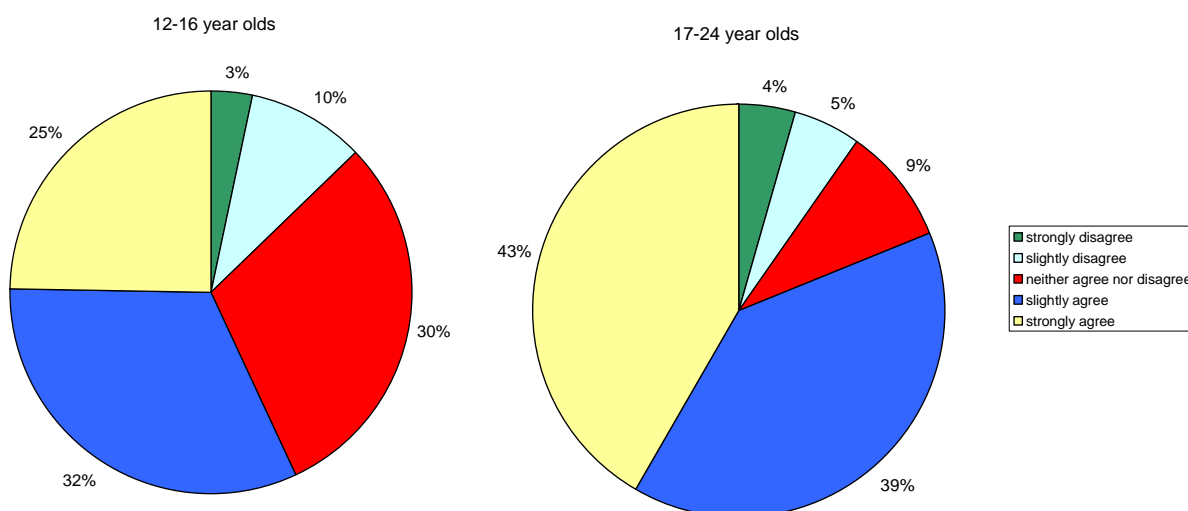
Although older respondents felt more strongly about the Government's responsibility to look after those who could not look after themselves, Figure 7.5 indicates that younger respondents were keener for the Government to provide more financial support to charities (70% of 12-16 year-olds agreed with this, compared with 64% of 17-24 year-olds). Here it is worth noting that the proportion of neutral responses were similar for both groups, but disagreement levels were higher for the older respondents (18% compared with 9%), perhaps suggesting more complex reasoning or political differences amongst the older group. Certainly, within the focus groups and interviews, some of the 22-24 year-olds argued that the Government should provide greater financial support for charities ("governments need to get their finger out and help charities more, they need to back them up money" - Colin, 22, law student, Edinburgh, Individual interview 3b), while others preferred the status quo ("I think they do enough" - Stephen, 24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14c).

Figure 7.5:   Attitudes to Government funding of charities

"The government ought to help more, not rely on charities
to raise needed money"

12-16 year olds

4%   5%   21%   35%   35%

17-24 year olds

4%   14%   18%   37%   27%

- strongly disagree
- slightly disagree
- neither agree nor disagree
- slightly agree
- strongly agree
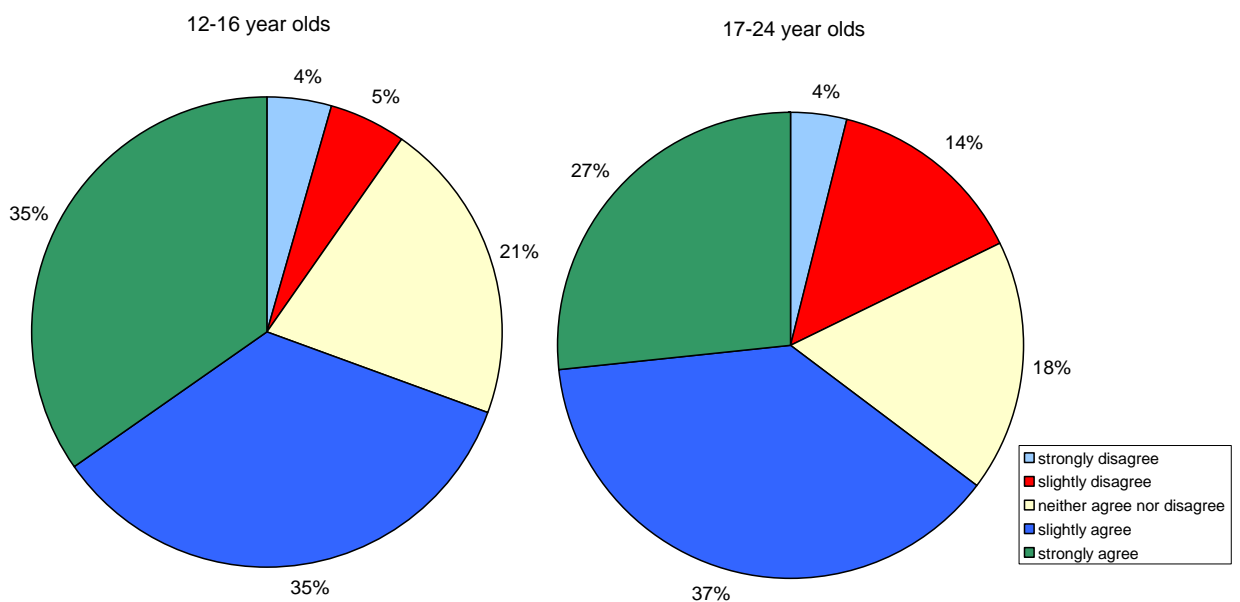
7.3.3 Trust and confidence

Developing alongside political and economic socialisation are ideas of trust and confidence in institutions. In interviews and focus groups, the tweens tended to see charities simply as a good thing without any flaws or negative features, but in the survey data, 39% of 12-16 year-olds and 55% of 17-24 year-olds believed that charities wasted too much money on administrative expenses. The two older age groups were more inclined to raise issues of trust and accountability in discussion, and to express concerns that charities might not spend their donations wisely. They tended to suggest that most charities were good despite a few "bad apples", but many offered media stories about charity scams or misuse of funds. Such concerns are evident in the following exchange:

> **Researcher:** *you mentioned the issue of trust, do you think that's a big issue when deciding whether or not to give to charities?*
>
> **Peter:** *Indeed.*
>
> **Stephen:** *I think that, as James said, in this country generally speaking that you've got the issue where charities are quite regulated so you can take some sort of comfort that they're registered but you can still, there is still an issue about some random guy walking about with you know a collecting tin, do you know whether he's really sort of with a registered charity or not so I would never really give anything to someone walking about with a tin unless it's like cancer research but even then it's questionable because you do get those unscrupulous people but I think trust is not so much of an issue as in other countries where it's more relaxed regulation.*
>
> **James:** *Again I think it's something that maybe perhaps makes you favour the larger charities as you know they'll probably get audited and they'll have resources and segregation of duties which will mean that embezzlement and fraud are like less likely to take place and like some of the recent scandals have I think involved smaller charities where it's maybe when one person has too much power, too much control and they can get away with it. So erm.. it kinda makes me always want to donate to the bigger charities sort of well known household names cause you have more faith that your money won't be misused.*

> **Stephen:** yeah absolutely and obviously there was that recent example of Headway House where that Dame defrauded the charity.

(James, Peter, Stephen, 24, accountants, Edinburgh, Focus group 14)

Clearly as a group of accountants, these young adults may have a particular perspective on organisational accountability, but others used principles of commercial transactions to discuss their expectations of 'value for money' from their donations. Euan (24, teaching assistant, Edinburgh, Paired interview 4b) for example wanted to receive regular updates about how his donations were being used and used the materials to hold the charity accountable in that sense whereas Vivienne placed more trust in charities, and her "basic expectation was that money was being used appropriately" (Vivienne, 22, speech language therapist, Musselburgh, Individual interview 3b). The notion that charitable transactions could be analysed in commercial and value-adding terms is symptomatic of the broader influence of consumer culture in shaping the lives of children and young people, reinforcing the data presented in Chapter Six about expectations of some "return" on donations. This was particularly the case for young adults as 46% expected something in return for giving compared with only 32% of 12-16 year-olds.

7.3.4 Image issues

Looking more specifically at the image of people who give, children and young people seemed to hold quite stereotypical views of donors and volunteers. As discussed in the Chapter Six, this was found to act as a current barrier to giving, but they also seemed to affect how children and young people related to charities and thought about their future giving behaviour.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the typical donor is seen to be a middle-aged, white, single woman (Jay 2001; Low et al. 2007). Even though some participants in this study referred to donors in a disparaging way as "do-

gooders", most did not stereotype them. As many of the children and young people were donors themselves, they were unlikely to associate themselves with such negative stereotypes. Instead the persona of donors was considered fairly universal and one which had more positive than negative connotations.

As noted in Chapter Two, the image of volunteering in particular has attracted much sector-wide and Government attention (e.g. Hankinson & Rochester 2005; Rochester 2006). The 9-11 year-olds saw all charitable work as good and available to everyone, but volunteering still appeared to be marred by negative stereotypes among the 16-18 year-olds, and to a lesser extent among the 17-24 year-olds. Due to the increased social pressures commonly experienced by adolescents and young adults, (Eisenberg & Fabes 1998; Erikson 1968) it was unsurprising that those who had not previously volunteered were more likely to talk about *do-gooders, hippies*, and the *blue-rinse brigade*. Such themes also featured in the pictures drawn of "typical volunteers". These generally fell into four categories: the older charity worker, the sweet singleton, the environmental protestor and the average or 'normal' volunteer.

The older charity worker

Figure 7.6: Volunteer Drawing (Stephen, 24, Individual interview 14c)
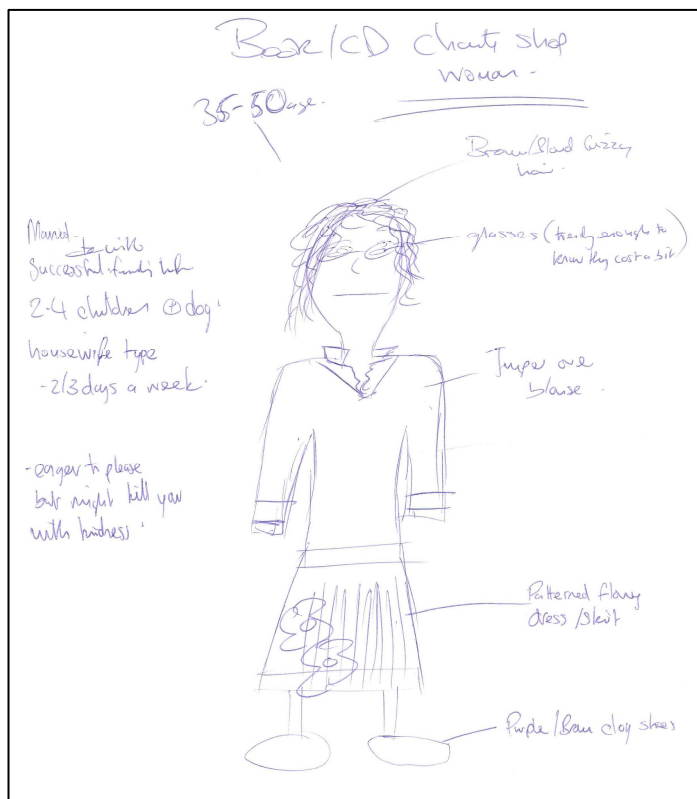
Figure 7.7: Volunteer Drawing (Focus group 11)
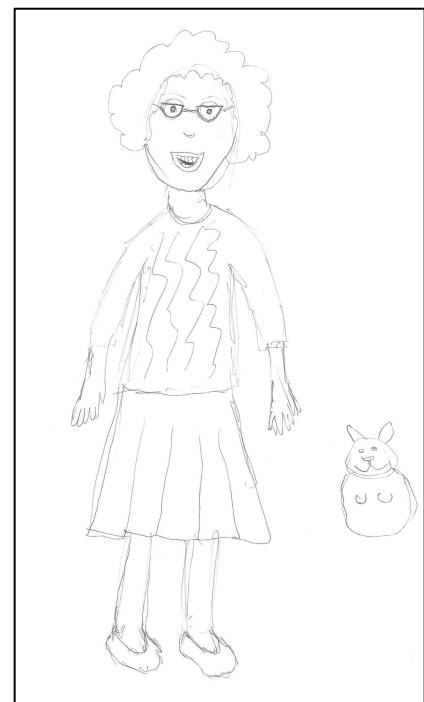
The older charity worker was characterised in much the same way as Dorothy Donor in that she was seen as an older lady, either an empty nester or widowed, and dressed in "old-fashioned clothes which she buys in the charity shops" (Christine, 17, Fife secondary school, Focus group 11). This presents volunteering as an elitist activity carried out by middle-class women with a lot of time on their hands. Other participants' conceptions of the typical volunteer as the older charity worker (see Figure 7.7) described her as being middle aged, wealthy, wearing glasses and having permed hair, and described her personality as being friendly, approachable, warm, patient, and compassionate.

The sweet singleton

This stereotype is more modern but portrays the volunteer as a do-gooder, not that far removed from Debbie Donor (Handley 2009). She was depicted as a woman in her 20s or 30s who is financially secure and well-educated. Her defining characteristic was her single status, and this was seen to give her more time for volunteering and possibly the motivation to meet people. However, many of the older participants described her as a dedicated volunteer who may work for a variety of causes. She was described as being someone who believed strongly in the cause and who probably donated money to various causes as well as volunteering. Peter (24, accountant, Edinburgh, Individual interview 14b) described this stereotype to be "a lady like in her 20s or 30s, she has a job but there are lots of students who volunteer, she's more likely to be single, well not married but maybe have a partner but more likely to be single". When questioned why she would be single "… feel like when you get married you get more responsibility and have less time to do this sort of stuff." Nonetheless Peter, concluded by describing her as "vibrant, enthusiastic, joyful, caring, kind". It is important to note that both Dorothy and Debbie Donor and these first two stereotypes are female reinforcing perhaps learned socialised gender roles that women are predominantly carers.

The environmental protestor

Figure 7.8: Volunteer drawing (Vivienne, 22, Individual interview 3a)
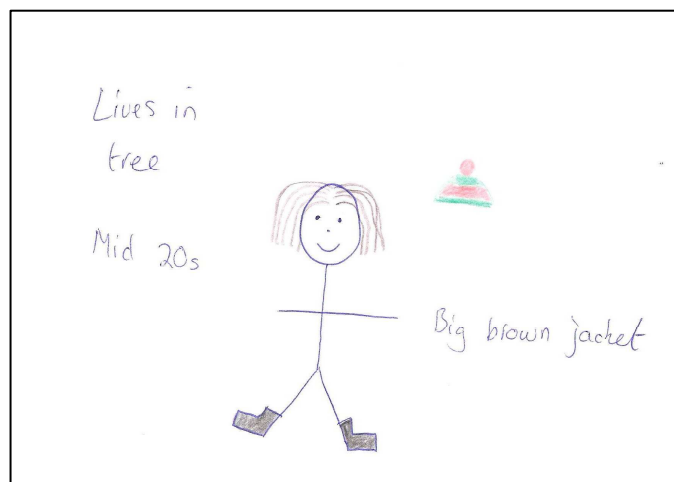
The environmental protestor was drawn by a minority of young people but featured in several discussions. This stereotype was of a passionate environmentalist who is male, relatively young but living a 'hippy' lifestyle and focusing their volunteering efforts on campaigning and protesting. Michael, as an avid protestor himself agreed with this kind of stereotype but would in his discussions articulated the environmental protestor stereotype as someone "clean-shaved, looks respectable but makes their own soap and is committed like swampy" (Michael, 18, politics student, Stirling, Individual interview 1a).

The 'normal' volunteer

Figure 7.10: Volunteer drawing (Josie, 23, Individual interview 4b)

Figure 7.9: Volunteer drawing (Vivienne, 22, Individual interview 3a)
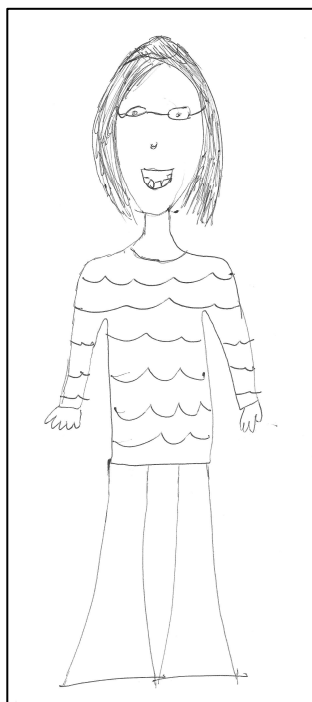
Figure 7.11: Volunteer drawing (Hannah, 17, Focus group 13)

The normal volunteer was most often drawn by current volunteers who did not like the idea that they could be pigeon-holed or stereotyped. Conceptions of the normal volunteer were often "anyone could be a volunteer" and "there isn't really a stereotypical volunteer" (Vivienne, 22, speech language therapist, Musselburgh, Individual interview 3a).

Figure 7.11 was drawn by a 17 year-old school student who was at the time of interview thinking about going on a gap year volunteering abroad. She disliked the idea that volunteer stereotypes existed since for her, volunteering incorporated many activities such as work experience, gap years, and long-term volunteering activities such as running youth groups or working in charity shops.

While the existence of this 'normal' volunteer category may be encouraging for charities, it should be noted that most of the 'typical volunteers' drawn were again female, reinforcing the findings in Chapter Two of young people's perceptions of gender differences in giving behaviour.

In analysing the differences between drawings by volunteers and non-volunteers, the young people who had experiences of volunteering themselves or knew others who volunteered tended to have a more inclusive notion of what the typical volunteer is. Some drew pictures of people who were similar to themselves but this was not always the case. For example Josie, a current volunteer, was conscious of the stigma associated with volunteering and wanted to distance herself from stereotypes of the sweet single woman or environmental protestor. Conversely, some young people talked about and drew a 'stereotype' that seemed aspirational to them in some way. Particularly when illustrating "normal volunteers", they described their kind and caring personalities, devotion to causes and helping others, and their happy dispositions.

Overall then, while there were some positive representations of typical volunteers, the image of volunteering still seems to have some way to go before the old stereotypes are eradicated. This matters if potential volunteers want to distance themselves from - or associate themselves with - certain portrayals. This may help to encourage future engagement with charities particularly in terms of donating time.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The attitudes and opinions of children and young people regarding charities are likely to influence their current and future giving behaviour. This chapter has considered their intentions to give in the future and how they relate to charities in terms of their beliefs about personal responsibility and the role of charities in society, their concerns about trust and accountability, and the image of donors and volunteers. Overall, it seems that children and young people believe they have a duty to care and expect to engage with charities in future, particularly with charities that are effective and honest in managing donations and with which there is some personal connection. Although many expected to give both time and money, there were some indications that participants found it easier to imagine themselves giving money than time, not least because despite attempts to rebrand volunteering, some negative images persist in the minds of children and young people.

This chapter also provided further insights into donor socialisation, since the attitudes expressed by the different age groups appeared to be informed by different levels of economic and political understanding.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS

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CONCLUSIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

As discussed in detail in Chapters Two and Three, prior research on donor behaviour has been largely quantitative and focused on a narrow conception of charitable giving, and it has neglected both children and young people and experiential aspects of giving. At the same time, prior research on children and young people as consumers has offered insights into their consumption experiences, but it has not considered how these might relate to the nonprofit sector.

This thesis has explored what it means for children and young people to be, and to become, donors. It has done this by drawing together various strands of literature on donor behaviour, children and young people, and consumption, to develop a framework for considering the process of donor socialisation. Through the use of a multi-method research design, based on interpretive, child-centred and participatory principles, it has examined how children and young people aged between four and twenty-four understand, donate and relate to charities.

The following sections of this chapter reflect on the key themes emerging from this study before considering its contributions, implications and recommendations for future research.

8.2 KEY FINDINGS

This study has explored the experiences and behaviour of children and young people as consumers in the nonprofit sector. It has documented how they currently behave as donors and relate to the wider nonprofit sector, and also explored how they have become donors. Findings from the study may be summarised in terms of how children and young people understand, donate and relate to charity.

Children's understandings of what charity is starts at an early age through engaging in prosocial behaviours like sharing and being kind to others. As they mature, they are socialised not only into being consumers, but also into being donors. The donor socialisation process as articulated in Chapter Three and throughout the findings draws on previously disparate research streams on prosocial development, moral development and reasoning, consumer socialisation and economic/political socialisation. Children's perceptions and understandings of what charities are became increasingly complex and sophisticated with age. This is largely as a result of the physical and cognitive changes associated with childhood and the onset of adolescence alongside developments in prosocial and moral reasoning as well as exposure to a wider range of life experiences and socialisation agents.

The following paragraphs outline the process of donor socialisation identified in this study – considering developments in charity knowledge, charity marketing knowledge, donor skills, motives and values, and socialisation influences. It should be noted that the donor socialisation process is based on insights from the multi-method research undertaken in this study with the four age groups of children and young people but coverage is provided from birth to adulthood, as informed by extant literature.

0 – 2 year-olds

Infants up to the age of 2 years, typically in Piaget's (1965) Sensori-Motor stage, are classified by egocentric and primitive behaviours. Although infants may engage in some prosocial behaviour such as sharing of toys or crying when they see another person in distress, there is little acknowledgement or understanding of these acts. Prosocial behaviour is most likely to be performed on parents or primary caregivers as they are the key socialisation agents for children of this age.

2 – 7 year-olds

From years 2 to 7, children undergo substantial cognitive and physical development. They begin to be exposed to charities by their parents and when they start nursery and school, teachers. The 4-6 year-olds in this study had heard of the word 'charity' but they had little understanding of what it meant. Their (generally positive) attitudes towards charities and giving were predominantly based on learned scripts from parents and teachers. Whilst 4-6 year-olds still engaged in prosocial behaviours such as helping other people or sharing toys, it is through exposure to school-based charity events that they first begin giving to charity. Often the children are used to channel donations from parents as many of this age group received little pocket money but more importantly they are learning about what being charitable meant and about the concept of money. Furthermore, their expected cognitive development, according to Piaget's (1965) Pre-operational and Roedder John's (1999) Perceptual stages, dictate that their thinking about charities is relatively simple and one-dimensional. Children of this age did not show the ability to generalise from particular experiences of charitable giving and found it difficult recalling and discussing activities that they had engaged in. This is due to their reliance on single and concrete representations of objects and relatively unsophisticated perspective-taking abilities. Thus, their tendency towards egocentrism limited children's abilities to empathise fully with beneficiaries they were not directly in contact with.

In terms of charity marketing knowledge, children aged 2-7 start recognising charity logos and events (such as Comic Relief and Children in Need) but again only those that they have directly come into contact with. The 4-6 year-olds, in accordance with literature (Roedder John 1999) could distinguish between advertisements and programmes. In the nonprofit context, they were exposed to and can recognise charity advertisements but they did not seem to understand their (persuasive or informational) intent. This may be because they are in the very early stages of economic and political socialisation and advertising literacy hence they did not understand what the charity advertisements were asking of them and what would be received in exchange for a donation.

Between the ages of 2 and 4, children are likely to observe family members engaging with charities but may have limited opportunities to participate in them. From the age of 4, children are more likely to be involved in specific nursery or school-based events. They may engage in prosocial behaviour and charitable activities but was not able to label or differentiate between them. They have limited awareness of information sources hence their information searches were limited to questions directed at immediate socialisation agents (that is, parents, siblings and teachers) and they generally lacked the cognitive abilities required to evaluate alternative charities and causes. Their engagement with charities and donor skills relied heavily on learned scripts and modelled behaviour and seemed to denote little conscious thinking; thus suggesting that they were unable to process anything outwith their existing charity schemata.

This age group were unable to articulate or understand their motivations for giving. They repeated learned scripts and mantras such as "giving is good" and "we should all give" as their reasons for giving. This is mainly because they are at the premoral judgement and moral realism stages of their moral development which indicates that children may act prosocially but cannot comprehend or articulate why (Piaget 1965). Furthermore, the 4-6 year-olds

were still prone to be egocentric which limits their ability to see the viewpoint of others and develop feelings of empathy and sympathy. Through observation of the 4-6 year-olds, it is clear that despite their lack of understanding about why people gave, they sought praise and positive reinforcement. They craved the approval from teachers and parents and to a lesser extent peers from having engaged in charitable activities.

Parents and teachers are the main socialisation agents for this age group, but there are increasing peer and media influences at around age 7. As Moschis and Churchill (1978) purports, children learn through observation, imitation and the reinforcement provided by key socialisation agents. This was evident with the 4-6 year-olds as they referred on many occasions to positive praise from parents and teachers after giving.

7 – 11 year-olds
Increases in charity awareness and knowledge as well as encounters with charities advance the donor socialisation process in the years between 7 and 11. With the development of cognitive abilities to reason and think more systematically about the world around them (Piaget's (1965) Concrete Operational Stage and Roedder John's (1999) Analytical Stage), and associated economic and political socialisation, tweens' understanding of what charity is becomes more advanced. They begin to understand and distinguish between different charities and causes and become more aware of the various ways in which they can support charities (such as taking part in sponsored events, giving money and donating goods). The more allocentric perspective of tweens, due to the development of social perspective-taking abilities, allows them to develop empathic concern and understand the perspectives of beings other than themselves (initially other children and animals). Moreover tweens' abilities to consider more beneficiaries with whom they do not have direct contact with is important in broadening the range of causes supported by this age group.

Despite the increasing knowledge about charities, the 9-11 year-olds studied were not wholly accurate on all aspects of what charity is. They seemed to understand what being charitable meant but not the system of 'charity' within society. This is due to their limited knowledge about society and political systems.

Due to tweens' increasing media literacy and consumer socialisation, they are more discerning in terms of charity marketing knowledge. The 9-11 year-olds in this study were able to discuss different marketing methods that charities used and had understanding of the intent of charity advertisements. They also had increased brand awareness and can retrieve charity brands and logos from memory, as demonstrated in the drawings from tweens in this study. This is primarily due to their increased exposure to charities through the mass media and ongoing activities within schools and at home.

As Vygotsky (1981) suggests, the years between 7 and 11 are key to a child's development, in that they are engaged in an 'apprenticeship' for further socialisation. This seems to be the case for donors as the 9-11 year-olds were practicing their 'donor skills'. As tweens started receiving more pocket money, they learn to develop competences in buying products and giving. It seemed that the 9-11 year-olds in this study used trial and error during this phase of development to decide upon their preferences for certain charities/causes and methods of giving. They did this by engaging in a wide range of activities and gave to many charities, often without discrimination (suggesting little evaluation of alternative courses of action). Tweens were able to process relevant information about charities from the media and peers but tended not to actively search for it.

Another important aspect of donor skills is the development of negotiation and influence strategies in giving. The 9-11 year-olds were more inclined to encourage others to donate and pester siblings and parents to give money. Particularly as this age group often participated in school-based sponsored

events, many discussions considered asking (immediate and extended) family members for donations (making children agents of socialisation themselves).

In terms of motives and values, 9-11 year-olds were able to articulate their rationale for giving. This is mainly due to their emotional and prosocial moral reasoning development. They have a greater understanding of the emotions involved in giving (for example, feeling sad or guilty when they saw a charity appeal and feeling happy when they gave). This more allocentric perspective is allied with acquiring moral subjectivism (Piaget 1965) which allows more subjective intent and reasoning behind giving. Taken together, there is less reliance on learned scripts and more emphasis on personal values and introspection for motivations for giving.

As Erikson (1968) notes, between the school ages of 6 and 12, the key socialisation agents shift from parents and family members towards teachers and peers. This would be the case for 7-11 year-olds but increasingly the mass media plays a role in educating children about charities through exposure to programmes about societal issues and charity appeals.

11 – 16 year-olds
From the age of 11, children's charity knowledge continues to expand as they are exposed to more charities and changing personal circumstances. Their increased knowledge about economic and political systems helps them to situate charities within society and understand the system of charity. Adolescence, particularly in the latter stages, is characterised by more abstract, symbolic thinking and reasoning as predicted by Piaget (1965) and Roedder John (1999) (Formal operational and Reflective stages respectively). This is reflected in the increasingly complex and multidimensional understandings of charities. By age 16, the teenagers had sophisticated understandings of what charity is, articulated in discussions that were replete with concepts of income distribution, justice and reciprocity.

By late adolescence, this age group exhibit similar knowledge and behaviour to that of adults in their donor socialisation, as with their consumer (Roedder John 1999), economic and political socialisation (Meirick & Wackman 2004) and moral reasoning (Kohlberg 1969). By understanding concepts such as positive justice (Damon 1990) and moral conventions of society (Kohlberg 1969), teenagers even begin to grow sceptical of charities' work and advertisements.

Regarding charity marketing knowledge, teenagers gain valuable experience in dealing with organisations, hence they are aware of the range of marketing methods that charities use by late adolescence. They begin to develop preferences for certain communication channels. Teenagers had a broad repertoire of charity brands and were able to read charity advertisements. They were more confident in recognising the intent of charity advertisements and celebrities used to promote causes. Far from having uncritical opinions about charities, it is also through adolescence that teenagers grew sceptical of charity marketing methods. This is partly due to the exposure to negative news stories about charities but also their growing scepticism of advertisers in general.

The donor skills of 11-16 year-olds grew increasingly advanced and varied in terms of searching for information from a variety of sources and evaluating between alternative causes/behaviours. Especially by late adolescence, they are able to make decisions about giving, based on personal and social motivations. The development of complex giving scripts is facilitated by more nuanced understandings of money, prices and the value of giving. Furthermore, the increased knowledge about different types of causes, means that teenagers could evaluate charities using multiple attributes or dimensions. This increasing sophistication means that teenagers' actual charitable behaviour becomes more selective and idiosyncratic as they consider the symbolic consumption of giving.

In alignment with teenagers' acquisition of more sophisticated negotiation and influence strategies in consumer socialisation; in charities' consumption, negotiation and influence strategies are less directed at parents and more at friends. Teenagers developed skills in encouraging or persuading others to give or not give. For example many of the 16 year-olds interviewed talked about asking their friends for sponsorship money and could articulate tactics used to elicit such funds.

11-16 year-olds were able to articulate both personal and social reasons for giving. Again their motivations became more multi-faceted as they learn about the social norms of giving and within moral reasoning, concepts such as positive and distributive justice (Damon 1990). It is likely that values will emerge in late adolescence which may lead towards the formation of cause preferences – as the teenagers in the 12-16 year-old survey could rate the relative importance of charities and state the causes they preferred to support. For teenagers, there was also a greater awareness and reflection upon the emotions involved in giving. They had the capacity to feel and act upon their empathic concern for beneficiaries but also fellow donors.

The key socialisation agents for 11-16 year-olds are peers (Erikson 1968). Adolescents are particularly susceptible to peer influences and it seems that giving behaviour is partially governed by peer social reactions. This may be positive (reinforcing giving behaviour) or negative (punishing giving behaviour). Moreover, 11-16 year-olds will continue to use the media as an ongoing socialisation agent.

17 – 24 year-olds
As young people enter adulthood, charity knowledge grew more sophisticated, multi-dimensional and critical. The 17-18 year-olds interviewed showed deep understanding of the roles which charities play in society and relative importance of differing causes. These were cemented by around 21 years of age as many of the 22-24 year-olds were able to consider social

norms, rules and laws with regards to giving and how giving could be a marker of adulthood (or being a citizen within society). Due to their economic and political socialisation, discussions about charities and giving related to civic engagement showing abstract and reflective thinking. Particularly important is the development of the concept of reciprocity and an instilled responsibility or duty to care.

Young adults are competent consumers in a nonprofit context and expressed preferences over modes of giving and also charity marketing methods. They had high levels of brand awareness and were able to classify or group charities and causes. Allied with this was greater awareness of negative aspects of charities such as the potential for fraud or embezzlement. This fuelled scepticism and cynicism about some charities' work but also specific marketing methods used such as street fundraisers. They were also more cynical over the use of celebrities in charity communications but nevertheless acknowledged the reasons charities would have for doing so.

Young adults are discerning donors, having accumulated a myriad of personal experiences and encounters with charities. By 22, they are aware of the social roles in which they may play in society and the social norms and laws which govern their interactions. Young adults have also developed a sense of responsibility which is often taken into consideration in decisions to give. Their external search for information about charities was generally selective and internet-based but they are able to use a variety of sources if necessary. Young adults were more critical in the evaluation of alternatives and often had set criteria from which to judge charities' and efficient use of funds. Furthermore, in their decisions to give, there was evidence of heuristics and mental accounting in deliberations over which activities to engage in and the relative personal costs and societal benefits of giving time or money.

The motives of 17-24 year-olds for giving were more complex and multi-faceted than younger age groups. Often they related to personal experiences or an innate desire to contribute to society. This expression is aided by the achievement of the most advanced stages of moral and prosocial development and the crystallisation of personal values. Young adults were able to demonstrate moral subjectivism and provide articulate and sophisticated reasons for giving. Furthermore, as Erikson (1968) contends for adults over the age of 18, young people value friendships and relationships. Social reactions and expectations of giving are important determinants in instigating or reinforcing giving behaviour and in avoiding stigma for non-giving. Maintaining friendships within a social network are strong motivations for giving but also forging new relationships and social capital.

Consistent with theories of lifelong socialisation (Ekstrom 2006), the donor socialisation process appears to continue into adulthood, as young people enter new occupational settings and expand their social networks. This resonates with the importance Erikson (1975) places on friendship and relationships for young adults. Socialisation still occurs for adults as they are exposed to new situations, experiences or methods of giving. This reinforces Berger and Luckmann's (1967) notion of 'secondary socialisation' that can pervade throughout adulthood. For the young adults in this study, peers within their social networks remain key socialisation agents but more specifically significant others (that is, spouses) play a role in influencing engagement with charities. Secondly, the mass media continues to act as a socialisation agent in exposing young adults to other ways of giving and potential beneficiaries.

In investigating how children and young people donate to charity, this study has shown that they engage in a wide range of charitable behaviours and play an active role in supporting charities. This is contrary to accounts of young people as apathetic or disengaged from society (Putnam 2000; Arnett 2007). Over three quarters of the children and young people surveyed had

donated money in the last four weeks. Their engagement with multiple causes and through multiple methods is due to their broader definitions of what charitable behaviours are. The range and number of activities in which children and young people engaged in increased until mid-adolescence but then decreased as teenagers were more selective and there were greater demands on their time and money. The amount of money given predictably increased with age, despite the increasing specificity of giving and methods used. This study also identified age differences in the types of charitable activities that children and young people engaged in. These are partly affected by the context of giving and social influences in giving in charity consumption arenas for this age group.

Regarding monetary donations, gender was found to be associated with the amounts given with 9-16 year-old girls being more inclined to give and to give more than boys. There were also distinct age differences in the methods used to give, as a result of the increased opportunity to give to charities but also being more selective. Moreover there seem to be inconsistencies between the causes which children and young people prefer to give to and the causes they actually supported. This may point towards the importance of situational factors and the opportunities for children and young people to give to causes which they felt strongly about.

Evidence was also found for three types of donor decision making models. How children and young people decide to give was best articulated by older children and young adults and it would seem that their decisions depended on the level of involvement in the cause, perceived risk and conscious information processing. Stories about charitable acts and children and young people's motivations for giving provided rich, insights into why they engaged in various charitable activities. 9-11 and 12-16 year-olds were similar in being more inclined to cite feeling good and social reasons for giving but in adolescence, there was greater influence of persuasive charity

communications. This indicates children and young people's susceptibility to influence by socialisation agents and environmental cues.

Personal values and social influences on giving were found to affect children and young people. Regarding personal values, indicative findings suggest that the importance children and young people attached to life values influenced their donation levels. Although no statistically significant relationships were found between materialism and the level of donations, the findings indicate a potential negative relationship between the two. Social influences on giving pertained mainly to the effect of socialisation agents but also to the context of giving situations, including the particular charity consumption arenas that children and young people encountered.

Children and young people expect to engage in charitable activities in the future, with their intentions influenced by potential changes to their personal circumstances and the financial and time resources available to them. The sense of social responsibility and duty to care or give was also evident in the children and young people in this study. Attitudes towards charities and the role of charities in society affected how children and young people related to charities. In particular, increasing scepticism about charities' work and their marketing activities that children develop into adolescence and adulthood. Accountability issues, trust and confidence in charities' use of funds and the volunteer stereotypes were factors that children and young people borne in mind when making decisions to give.

Taken together, this thesis has shown that perceptions and conceptions of charities grew increasingly complex with each age group as children are socialised into being and becoming donors. The range of charitable activities which children and young people participated in increased until early adolescence and then decreased as giving for teenagers became more selective and privatised. This is partly due to the emergence of core personal values and clear cause and giving preferences. Alongside this, the

progression from childhood to adulthood is marked by more complex and sophisticated thinking behind motivations for giving and the greater awareness of giving as a personal and social activity. The influence of social factors on giving increased until late adolescence but as the young adults demonstrated, a preference emerges of a less conspicuous consumption of charities.

8.3 CONTRIBUTIONS

The following sections outline how this thesis makes a contribution to knowledge and theory.

8.3.1 *Contributions to charity marketing and donor behaviour research*

This thesis offers a detailed account of the current donor behaviour of children and young people, a topic previously neglected by sector and academic researchers. This complements the extant research on adult donor behaviour by providing insight into similarities and differences between the attitudes and behaviour of children and young people and those of adults. This thesis has also provided insight into the donor behaviour of children and young people as they age, particularly in three distinct transitions phases of their childhood and adolescence. By exploring experiences as well as behaviour, it also offers charity marketers insights which could be used to tailor marketing communications in order to appeal to tweens, teenagers and young adults. As in any marketing to children though, marketers must consider the potential vulnerability of children and adhere to voluntary and statutory codes of practice. Especially with children who are becoming donors, charity marketers have a duty not to cause undue distress, particularly with the use of harrowing or upsetting images. Depending on their emotional development, some children may not be able to process or cope with exposure to the tough realities of some beneficiaries. Engagement with

charities can be both positive and negative for children – in that participating in activities can help to form and maintain peer relationships and boost their self-esteem and confidence but equally can expose children to societal issues which they may not be able to comprehend. The potential vulnerability of children through the early stages of donor socialisation needs to be carefully considered by charity marketers who wish to raise awareness or funds within this age group.

The examination of how life values and materialistic values shape donor behaviour adds to current knowledge on the drivers for giving. Particularly as values are developed in childhood and adolescence, the examination of life and materialistic values sheds light on how they may interact with other factors in determining giving behaviour. Furthermore, in contrast to prior donor research which has simply asked *why* people give, this study has explored *how* people make decisions to give. It has provided some evidence concerning different types of donor decision and different decision-making processes in this context.

The detailed exploration of social influences and charity situations which potential donors encounter adds to the current donor behaviour literature on both children and adults. In particular, it furthers understanding of giving circles and giving within 'charity consumption arenas', contributing to current participation literature concerning life spheres and social network theory (Brodie et al. 2009). Within these arenas, various social factors have been shown to influence the behaviour of children and young people as donors which has implications for the understanding of donor behaviour in a social context.

In addition to examining the current donor behaviour of children and young people, this study has explored how they learn to become (or not to become) donors. Thus, a key contribution of this thesis lies in the synthesis of literature to produce a framework for donor socialisation and consider its

relevance to the real life experiences of children and young people. This thesis has interwoven diverse strands of literature, and qualitative and quantitative research, to provide a thick description (Geertz 1973) of how children and young people develop as donors. By exploring how they come to understand, donate and relate to charities, and the environmental factors that affect socialisation, it offers insights into how the concept of charity develops from childhood to adolescence to adulthood. Understandings of charity as an institution and as a virtue became more complex as children and young people acquire more knowledge and experience of charities. The variety of charitable activities that children and young people engage in seems to narrow as a result of clear preferences and the emergence of charity consumption practices that young people develop. Personal and social factors also affect children and young people at different ages and this provides insight into our understanding of how children donate and relate to charities. This holistic discussion of children's maturation into donors and volunteers provides a unique contribution to donor behaviour research.

Finally, by developing comprehensive research instruments to address many facets of charitable behaviour, this study offers useful research questions and research instruments for future studies seeking to examine the attitudes and actions of other groups in other locations.

8.3.2 Contributions to research on children and young people

This thesis contributes to current understandings of children and young people as consumers by considering their consumption experiences, attitudes and values, decision-making processes, and social influences in a nonprofit setting. In particular, it offers further insight into the social influences on consumption, and more specifically the socialisation agents of parents, peers and the media.

The idea that consumption arenas may exist for children and young people furthers our understanding of where children and young people consume. Particularly with the growth of research into life spheres (Phelan et al. 1991), this thesis has shown how consumption can be bound by or facilitated within these arenas and how consumption patterns may vary across the boundaries of school, home and the workplace.

The concept of donor socialisation contributes to lifecourse studies, by showing how children and young people develop as donors, and by exploring how young adults' understanding, attitudes and behaviour in relation to charities, continues to develop as they enter new occupational and social settings. This can broaden debates around emerging adulthoods and growing research into the key transition periods in childhood and adolescence (Molgat 2007). This study has provided insights into the many factors that might influence decisions about giving but more broadly about participation in society and overall civic engagement. For some young people, charitable giving seemed to be a marker of adulthood, and this contributes to existing literature on the social inclusion or exclusion of children and young people (Barry 2005). In particular, changing personal circumstances and progression through different life stages can affect giving behaviour and engagement with charities.

8.3.3 Contributions to prosocial behaviour research

In terms of contribution to prosocial behaviour literature, the thesis has provided support for further understandings of prosocial behaviour through articulating a framework for donor socialisation. It also widens the scope of the field to consider adult socialisation within the prosocial behaviour literature. Lifelong socialisation research is currently at an embryonic stage and thus this study has provided glimpses of adult donor socialisation which can further understanding of how prosocial behaviours develop into adulthood (Eisenberg & Fabes 1998). The findings from this thesis have also provided some indication of how social norms and roles are considered in

decisions to act prosocially, bringing more nuanced understandings of moral reasoning.

Furthermore, the documentation and support for the donor socialisation process in this thesis has contributed to the field of prosocial behaviour by focusing on one specific type of prosocial behaviour and illuminating how giving behaviours develop. Few studies thus far have considered giving on its own within the prosocial field. Donor socialisation, as a combination of consumer, economic, political, as well as moral and prosocial development, broadens the field of prosocial development to incorporate strands of research from other fields (such as consumer research, economists, and political scientists).

8.3.4 Contributions to methodological research

The use of a child-centred and participatory research design has encouraged children and young people to voice their own experiences in relation to charity and causes. This thesis has shown how children and young people can be involved in the research process, particularly in developing and piloting research instruments and make useful contributions. By placing children at the heart of research design decisions, it can help to ensure that taking part in research is a fulfilling experience for them but also in providing them with the autonomy and freedom to choose how they would like to engage with the research questions. Examples of this include allowing the interviewees to choose their own pseudonyms but also in letting the children choose how much time they wanted to draw and talk about their drawings/maps. Particularly with the 4-6 year-olds, it was extremely important to allow for their relatively short attention spans and needs by accepting that they may need toilet breaks mid-interview or that they may want to talk about topics other than those specified on an interview guide.

This child-centred, participatory rationale counters the adultism of much previous research with children in the nonprofit sector. This thesis has

provided an example of how various projective techniques, including concept maps and drawings, are helpful in research with children and young people as these allow them to articulate their thoughts, feelings and experiences alongside verbal discussions. Particularly as drawing is a natural activity for children, this study has shown that the use of drawings can allow participants to provide their own representations of the world around them, which can be difficult for young children through written or spoken words. The use of concept maps in this study's methodology has further demonstrated the usefulness of such a tool in capturing the complexities of a concept such as charity for a range of age groups. Of course, drawings and concept maps require careful interpretation but this study gave children and young people the opportunity to describe and discuss their drawings and maps, encouraging them to articulate their ideas and elaborate on issues in their interviews and focus groups.

Furthermore, in quantitative research with children, this study has shown that age-adapted questionnaires are essential to allow children to understand research questions. Particularly in the principles of participatory, child-centred research, it has been shown that research can be accessible to children and that they should be considered in the design of data collection instruments. Given that children can be at varied stages of socialisation and maturation, it is important to consider what is appropriate for them and how particular questions may be interpreted. Further contributions lie in the development of age-adapted questionnaire items for investigating charitable behaviours of children and young people.

In addition to furthering research with children, this thesis provides discussion of the various ethical implications and reflexivity issues that are required when conducting research with children and young people. Adapting data collection instruments, gatekeeper issues, power relations are all important and especially in terms of reflexivity, the experience of other researchers are crucial in deepening understanding of the issues one should bear in mind

when conducting research with children – particularly the procedures on gaining parental and participant informed consent.

This study has also provided contributions to future surveys on giving in its inclusion of questionnaire items of different types of charitable behaviours and reference periods which are relevant for investigation of adult populations. Furthermore, the surveys have shown the use of Kahle's (1983) List of Values scale and Schor (2004) and Goldberg et al.'s (2003) materialism scales in donor behaviour research. This research has shown tentative relationships between values and giving but furthers the use of these scales in relation to charitable giving.

This thesis has also demonstrated that multi-method research designs can work in unison to provide a thick description or fuller account of a social phenomenon. The overall interpretive paradigm that guided this research allowed for the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods. This research has shown that they can be used effectively not only to compare and enrich findings but also to offset each other's potential weaknesses in the examination of a social phenomenon.

8.4 IMPLICATIONS

8.4.1 Implications for charities and fundraisers

By showing that children and young people participate in a range of charitable activities, this study has highlighted their appeal as a target market for many charities. It has also shown that tweens, teenagers and young adults constitute distinct target markets, and offered insights into what they might seek from engaging with charities, and what barriers there might be (such as volunteer stereotypes or lack of information about opportunities). This suggests that charities need to tackle the negative images or portrayals of charities possibly through media which target young people, through social

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media campaigns or further rebranding of volunteering. This has been a priority for the Government and the Third Sector since 2000 but it is evident from this thesis that more needs to be done to eradicate negative and incorrect stereotypes of donors and volunteers. Particularly in understanding how children and young people donate and relate to charities, there is much scope for charities to use these findings to target young people more efficiently and communicate the right messages. The importance of consumption arenas for this age group suggests that charities may benefit from linking up with schools and workplaces to engage in giving partnerships with them. Moreover, the children and young people in this study have expressed their willingness to engage in charities but often are met with obstacles such as a lack of information or opportunities. There is much scope for charities and fundraisers to make giving and supporting charities more accessible for children and young people.

An understanding of donor socialisation should help charities understand how children learn to be donors so that they can adjust or modify their existing methods of raising awareness of their cause. For example, this study has emphasised the importance of socialisation agents and in particular teachers and schools in the donor socialisation process. This could have implications for the sector bodies (such as Charities Aid Foundation or National Centre for Voluntary Organisations) to work with policy makers in implementing curriculum development into citizenship or learning about charities. A better understanding of donor socialisation can also help the handful of charities who currently provide programmes for schools aimed at educating children about social issues and the work of their charities.

The findings concerning the distinct cause preferences among this age group will help children's charities and medical charities in particular to convert preference for their cause into actual donations. The study also highlights the fluidity of cause preference in childhood and adolescence, and how giving can be bound by contextual factors despite personal motivations or

preference for a cause. This might encourage charity fundraisers to raise the awareness or profile of their cause amongst children, since cause preferences developed in childhood can endure if the relationship is continued throughout childhood and adolescence.

It is also important to emphasise that charities, like other organisations, must adhere to the legislation and codes of conduct on marketing to children. Charities and the government alike must consider the ethical issues of marketing to children and ensure that due diligence is carried out in targeting this age group and the messages communicated to them. It must be acknowledged that charity advertising and engagement with charities may have negative undertones given how children are prone to undue distress through exposure to shocking charity advertisements or ethical considerations of targeting children in schools in which they may be considered to be a captive audience. Like their commercial counterparts, charity marketers need to consider the ethical implications of their actions.

8.4.2 Implications for educators and public policy makers

For schools and educators, this thesis reinforces the important role of teachers and the school curriculum in teaching children about charities and giving, and moreover participation in society. It also emphasises the significance of teachers in the (donor) socialisation process. This research can aid the implementation of the Curriculum for Excellence in Scottish schools and Citizenship programmes in England and Wales, as it suggests ways of helping children become responsible citizens. Regarding charity marketing, this study may contribute to debates surrounding media literacy and children's understanding of charity advertisements and their persuasive or informational intent. In documenting the importance of schools as charity consumption arenas, there are implications for headteachers and teachers in the charity events and range of causes to support as children are captive audiences within schools. On a more general level, the role of educating

children about the ways in which they can engage with charities is an important consideration for headteachers and school boards.

This thesis has illuminated findings which are relevant to current debates about participation, social inclusion and exclusion, civic engagement and citizenship. Findings about the image of volunteering can help guide further policy proposals into the rebranding of volunteering or other UK-based and European volunteering initiatives. Given the government's plans to promote the Big Society concept and community-based participation, the finding that a barrier to volunteering may be volunteer stereotypes, can help to inform future volunteering communications but also in understanding the complexities of motivations to volunteer.

This thesis can inform policy discussions regarding children and young people in the context of social inclusion/exclusion. Policy makers have the power to make routes into giving and volunteering easier for children and young people, and to foster giving and citizenship within society as a whole. With young people often regarded as disengaged from society, this thesis provides an alternative view in suggesting that current giving surveys have excluded this age group and the ways in which they support the voluntary sector. Especially as young people's conceptions of what charity is are broader than giving money and time, public policy makers have a duty to recognise what young people currently do but also harness their potential contributions in adulthood. The greater understanding of how children and young people understand, donate and relate to charities can inform debates about citizenship and connecting young people to other groups within local communities.

8.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Given gaps in the donor behaviour literature, there is scope for more research with children and young people to consider the many facets of

donor behaviour, using both qualitative and quantitative methods. For example, given the rich stories that emerged from this study, there is considerable scope for narrative research approaches to explore and examine giving behaviours and experiences. This may shed further light on how personal experiences may influence decisions about giving.

The emergence of life course theories, and the increasing recognition of lifelong socialisation, suggest the scope for research exploring how adults understand, donate and relate to charities, and how or whether this changes as they move into new relationships or life stages. Glimpses into how children and young people behave as donors have been offered in reference to four transition phases in this study, but further research could provide a more comprehensive account of the various influences on giving, particularly in the changing circumstances of children and young people.

More research can be conducted on how children and young people behave as donors, volunteers, beneficiaries and advocates of charities. Gaps that still remain are the examination of the less obvious charitable activities that children and young people engage in, like taking part in sponsored events, or giving goods to charity shops. Moreover there is scope to study the notion of substituting time and money and other charitable activities. There is also the opportunity to examine the uses and gratifications of charitable giving in the context of children and young people's lives. As considered in this thesis, giving can aid development of one's social capital but also as a basis for peer interactions and the enhancing self and social identities. Research into this area can help to uncover more insight into the personal and social dimensions of giving.

Regarding children and young people as an influence market, this research points towards a two-way socialisation process in that parents educate children about charities and sometimes channel their donations through children but conversely, some children can make parents aware of the

charitable activities that they are engaged in. Further investigation of pester power and family/household giving would further understanding into how families engage with charities, as a unit. Do family identities exist for charitable giving? Recent developments in North America show the emergence of family volunteering but family giving behaviours have yet to be considered by the literature. Research on intergenerational influences on giving, and the processes of family negotiations around giving would further extend understanding of donor behaviour.

Given the theoretical framework of the donor socialisation process, studies could examine specifically the cognitive understandings, skills and abilities required for children and young people to learn to become donors and behave as donors. This will help to provide a more comprehensive view of the donor socialisation process.

Research on how people decide to give, that is how types of donor decision change according to cause, perceived risk, levels of involvement, can greatly increase our knowledge of the decision-making process. A more in-depth investigation of the gap between attitudes and intentions to giving and actual giving behaviour can further understandings of giving. This may consider giving in a broad sense or individual behaviours or cause preference.

Furthermore, investigation of specific factors such as religiosity or ethnic origin, martial/relationship status, values, materialism can enhance our understandings of giving behaviour of both children and young people and adults. Particularly regarding religiosity, many participants expressed that faith was important as a motivator for their giving but this was not reflected within the survey. This may point towards a more complicated relationship, and again this is worthy of further exploration.

In addition, the relationship between values and giving should be explored further, especially in terms of personal and materialistic values. Particularly

with the growth of consumerism, materialistic values may affect charitable giving in general, but little is known about what these effects might be. Studies into how materialism can harm psychological well-being for children and young people are generally accepted but charitable giving may offer some children an alternative to consumption. Further examination of the relationship between the two would provide interesting insights for both commercial and nonprofit consumer researchers.

One other obvious recommendation for future research would be to undertake a similar study in other countries and cultures. International comparisons of giving behaviour are scant and cross-cultural studies could provide further insight into how children and young people engage with charities in different contexts, particularly in cultures where religion is more prominent or where there is a stronger sense of civic engagement.

8.6 A CONCLUDING NOTE:

THE CHARITÉ CHRYSALIS

This thesis has shed light on previously neglected areas of research and provided an account of how children and young people understand, donate and relate to charities. It has interwoven other strands of research alongside interpretive research to explore children and young people as being donors and becoming donors. It seems evident that as children enter adulthood they leave the safe environment of their schools and homes and enter into other, more varied life spheres. This seems to be reflected in their charitable giving behaviour particularly as they learn more about their societal surroundings and charities in the ongoing maturation and socialisation processes during childhood and adolescence. For children, the emphasis is on donor *becomings*, as they are nurtured, exposed to, and taught about charities within tightly confined charitable consumption arenas. As they enter

adulthood, however, they emerge from this charité chrysalis and form their own charitable giving identities as donor *beings*. This thesis has provided a glimpse inside and around the cocoon, offering some insights into children and young people as donor beings and becomings.

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Appendix 1

Topic guide for interviews and focus groups

Concept map

(for 9-11, 16-18, 22-24 year-olds: Write or draw as words or phrases that you think are associated with the word charity)

- What do you think charity is? How would you describe the concept of charity to someone else?
- Can you think of any charities?
- Learning about charities? Exposure? Awareness?
- What kind of things have you done in the past to support charities – at home or at school?
- What kind of things does your family or friends do to support charities?
- How do you feel about charities – is a good thing or a bad thing?
- Motivations to engaging or not engaging in charitable behaviours
    - o Can you think of reasons why people support charities?
    - o Can you think of reasons why people do not support charities?
- Do you think that it's instinctive to give to charity?
- Can you talk about how you go about making the decision to give?
- Do you think you can make a difference?
- Why would you help someone? Would you expect them to help you back?
- How do you feel when you've done something for charity?
- Which causes would you prefer to support? Why?
- What do you think about volunteering?
- What kinds of people volunteer? Do you think there are volunteer stereotypes?
- Drawing task – draw either individually or collectively a typical volunteer.

Charity drawing
    (4-6 year-olds: Draw a picture of you being kind or helping someone else)
    (9-11, 16-18, 22-24 year-olds: Draw a picture of what you think charity is)

Questions about participation in the study and the interview process

Debriefing

Appendix 2

FOCUS GROUP (14) TRANSCRIPT EXCERPT

- Focus group participants: three 24 year olds – 3 males
- All were trainee chartered accountants at the time of the focus group at international accountancy firms but situated in Edinburgh. All graduated with degrees in business/accountancy.
- Participant 1: IK – lived in Edinburgh all his life – went to private school; practicing Muslim.
- Participant 2: PT – born in Stafford, moved to Edinburgh for work three years ago – went to private and state schools.
- Participant 3: JT – born in Stirling and moved to Edinburgh for university in 2001 – went to state school.

Clarification of names, ages, occupations, etc
Pseduonyms to be used in data analysis and reporting agreed.

Concept map task

MH: First of all, I'd asked you to complete a little mind map of what you think about charities, would you mind talking me through them.... PT?
PT: Well, I've written various things, I've given a few examples of charities, I've given methods of collection, I've given accounting and regulation.
MH: So would you say that was your definition of charities…
PT: Well, I've also given types and slash definition of charities.
MH: So when you were thinking about charities, what was the first thing you wrote?
PT: Doing good, giving to a worthy cause.

MH: Ok, great. JT, what did you write in yours?
JT: I wrote that charities, helping others, associating it with like good causes such as curing illness, advancing knowledge, sometimes related to religion, poverty, famine. Erm… it could be like an organisation or a group of individuals, who like have a common goal. Erm… can involve donations of time or money.

MH: Was there anything else that you'd like to add to this?

PT: I just went on about the ways you could give to charity like Gift Aid and things like that.
MH: IK, tell me about what you thought about when you think of charities.
IK: I wrote a variety and varying things. Donations, not-for-profit organisations, achieving a purpose, usually non-financial, money came to mind when I was thinking about charities, helping people, the disasters emergency committee for some reason came to mind and cancer research.

JT: Did the five pillars of Islam not come to mind IK?
[Laughter]
IK: I was coming to that… Zakat… yeah, is one of the pillars of Islam.

MH: Off the top of your head, could you name any charities that come to mind?
JT: Oxfam
PT: Save the Children
IK: Cancer research
JT: Barnardos
PT: yeah… HomeLink
IK: Islamic Relief
JT: Thistle Foundation

MH: Why did you think of those?
JT: They're heavily advertised on TV and the Thistle Foundation, because my friend lives quite near there.
IK: Me being a Muslim, Islamic Relief is a big charity that does work in a lot of Muslim countries.

PT: I knew about Homelink through work.
MH: okay, what do they do?
PT: And Save the Children, they help single family parents, etc.

MH: So is work one of the major ways you come into contact with charities?
IK: As I said, being a Muslim and religiously and through practising Islam and going to the Mosque, etc.

MH: What are some of the links your work has with charities?
PT: We do indeed.
IK: We have the option of being volunteers.
PT: We get three days free holiday to go out and help charities.
JT: What? It's not free holiday.
PT: Well, no, it's not free holidays but extra.
MH: Do you currently use these and volunteer?
PT: Not at the moment. But I am planning to.
MH: Why have you decided not to volunteer at the moment?
PT: Because I work at the moment and you have a lot on your plate … you don't really have time to think or breathe.
IK: When there's a collection at work for like NSPCC or something, you just give whatever change you have.
JT: Yeah, me too. It's always embarrassing though if you don't have any spare change.
IK: You don't really think about it. I don't really sit and think about where the money goes or …
JT: It's going to a good cause so you just give. You just do it.

MH: Do you have a similar thing at your company?
JT: At XXX, we recently had a Store Wars initiative where like the Manchester office, the Edinburgh office, the Glasgow office and I think maybe one other one went to Barnardo's stores and they had to like rebrand like do the merchandising, get donations and they had the challenge to see who could increase the turnover the most.
PT: That's what we did… well similar.

MH: Was there an option for you guys to take part in this?
JT: Yeah but it was only limited teams unfortunately and the demand was too high and we didn't make it…

MH: Is this something you'd really like to do?
IK: No motivation for me to be honest. I couldn't be bothered.
[others seemed surprised]
IK: Well, I'm going to be honest with you.

JT: I tried to volunteer for a charity but I got rejected.
[others laughed]
JT: remember in the university library where there was that volunteer.org.net thing I tried to get on. I got dingied.

MH: In what ways do you presently support charities or causes?
PT: Erm... well, through work I have raised money for Save the Children as well as Barnardos.
MH: how did you do that?
PT: It was part of our Corporate Responsibility day. And we had various events, etc etc, that raised money in various ways. I also dressed up as Blobby and received donations in that way.
JT: That's Mr Blobby to you.
PT: Mr Blobby sorry … erm… I've also put money in various collections on the street. Uh-huh.
MH: What about when you were younger?
PT: I worked in, as part of, what's the really big cancer…
IK: Cancer research?
PT: No not cancer research. Erm…
JT: Macmillan?
PT: As part of Macmillan I worked in my mum's coffee shop which was a Macmillan's shop. And I did it free of charge which helped raise money, for treatments, etc.

MH: Any other types of volunteering?
PT: That's all that comes to my mind at the moment.

MH: What about you IK?

IK: I would say that I never put in money to be honest on the street but I have a monthly direct debit to NSPCC, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children… and then I also pay an annual sum to Pakistan to raise… erm… charities as part of my Zakat, you know which is the Muslim, religious sort of giving. And if there's any specific events that happen I usually give something to charity.

MH: You mentioned that you have a direct debit with NSPCC. When did you start that up and why?

IK: That started about … school… about 7 years ago at school and the main motivation to be honest was watching the video. The advertisement in the video was a bit hard to take.

MH: So why did you choose this charity over others?

IK: I think they're probably the largest, to be honest, I think they can make the best use, I think of the money, in terms of directing it and focusing it.

MH: Great, but overall, NSPCC is a children's charity, why did you choose a children's charity over others such as disability, elderly, charities, etc.

IK: I think I love children, that's why. No really, cause I've grown up with young children around me all my life. Basically because I've got so many young cousins and you know we were the oldest so we always grew up with a lot of young children around the house and bringing them up and so it's quite hard to see abuse against children, it's quite hard to take so that's why.

MH: that's great. So JT, what have you done in the past and presently for charities?

JT: Erm… I used to do quite a lot in the past, just mainly through church, they had quite a lot of like organised famines or through schools, they had like organised swims, organised walks. More recently there's been a more sporadic kind of like maybe donating like if somebody comes round with a collection tin in the pub or at the football. Or I think at the end of the month they go into a burns reloaded thing , I don't even actually know what charity it's for but I just know it's for a charity. And it's like you pay money and you have like a ceidlh and dinner and stuff. And all the money goes to well I guess the profits goes to charity.

MH: What sorts of things have your family and friends done to support charities?

PT: I certainly can, MH. My dad did a sponsored run, he did ten marathons in ten days for various charities and raised money that way.

JT: Well, if you mean the ways that you can donate then you can give your time or your money so you can volunteer and there's things like Volunteer Scotland.net so you can volunteer for stuff and then they never email you back. And then there's also things like direct debits and Gift Aid … where the government pays the tax to the charity, it's a tax-efficient way of giving.

IK: and I think business networking's important as well. You know obviously you can give your network over to the charity … and give them names and addresses and potential people to knock on, and stuff.

JT: Ah, and I have a mate who went to Nepal and built a school… and actually on a tangent one of the girls from work, is trying to arrange, we have this thing where you go on secondments and she's trying to arrange to go abroad and use her accountancy skills to try and help people and our work are going to try and support her to do that, like they're going to pay her wages for three months so while she goes to a charity, well, not a charity but to a country who like needs her work ….

PT: We also have a friend called XXX-CD who went to Ghana and he went there to help build a new farm…

IK: no, you mean a school,

PT: eh, was it not a farm…

IK: a school

JT: no, it was a school.

PT: okay, it was a school.

MH: Can you elaborate on this?

PT: he used his time free of charge… it was with some university arranged thing… what's it called?

JT: I can't remember what it's called.

IK: Edinburgh Global Partnerships.

PT: yes, EGP

JT: EGP. And he raised the money for the flight himself and stuff like that so he did like dressing up and going round pubs and stuff.

IK: And manual labour as well.

MH: Have any of you guys done anything like this?

PT: No but I would like to do that.
MH: why?
PT: Why??? Because it's sounds something like… …
MH: What's stopping you do it now?
PT: work [then laughs]

MH: What about the rest of you?
JT: Work as well I guess.

MH: But it's something that you would be interested in?
JT: It would indeed. It would be good.
MH: And you, IK?
IK: No, it wouldn't really interest me, I'm happy just giving money, that's it.

[others laugh]

PT: that's an honest answer…

MH: Talking more generally about charities as organisations, do you think they are a good thing or a bad thing?
PT: I think, er, there's no fine line there… like, er… it's not black and white, er…
[others laugh]
PT: IK, I'm giving an honest answer here. It's not black or white because you can't say every charity is a good charity cause that's bollocks cause there's a lot of corrupt and badly managed charities out there. A lot of charities that are raising money out there like Gouranga are for things that I don't believe in… so therefore I don't think you can, I don't think that's a question I'd really like to answer.
[others laugh]
PT: well, it's not.
IK: erm… I mean, I don't, I think charities generally speaking are a good thing. And, er… I think that it' gives people a sort of, a channel in which to help a cause they want… er… which is quite convenient for them and er, but, generally speaking I mean it's your choice at the end of the day whether you want to contribute or not, so but there are some charities obviously which are not really, the best or transparent and don't have the best aims but you generally know which is a good charity and you can invest in it.
MH: is there anything you'd like to add, JT?
JT: yeah, I kinda agree with IK, well, plus like in the UK anyway, there's rules that charities have to make to get charitable status anyway so you can kinda assume that they're not doing bad stuff like it's all going to be for good and that, but you know there's been like corruptions with people embezzling money and stuff but I think the general idea of charities is a good idea and that there's just a few rotten apples in the barrel.

MH: What do you think about the differences between big charities and small charities? Do you think there is an even playing field for them?
PT: MH, in this world, I don't think size really matters.
[hilarious laughter]
PT: Sorry but seriously I don't think size matters just because a lot of people give more to the bigger charities cause they're all out there and therefore they think the bigger charities are better … which in many ways they probably is because they can use the money more efficiently but it doesn't mean a smaller charity should be denied resources because it's small.
MH: Any other comments?

JT: Erm... I think ... like I can understand why there's lots of different charities cause people have different like wants and objectives but I think because it's so splintered and for example, there's like so many children's charities, so many animals charities, it's a bit inefficient with all the money they spend on advertising to try and erm.. like to get the money so I think it's kinda a bit of a waste and a drain on the charitable resources all this extra marketing that goes into it... like but obviously, I guess but if everyone's got like slightly different wants and needs, that's why they've splintered over time.

MH: I want to now like you to discuss about your personal motivations for engaging or not engaging in charitable behaviours, maybe based on being young professionals. For instance what do think about the differences between what men and women do for charity?

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JT: I think men tend to give more money whereas women give more time.

MH: Why?

JT: erm… cause

IK: Well a woman's place is in the kitchen so she's got a bit more time to give usually.

JT: what, cook for bake sales, [laughs]

IK: yeah

PT: I'd agree with JT there.

IK: No, I would, erm... I mean we're making a joke of it but the social demographics are that there are less women at work in the UK than there are men so obviously I think it's easier for women to give their time than men to give their time because obviously they'd had to take time off work so unless work allows it then.

PT: Plus I believe that it comes down to nature, I feel that women are perhaps more sensitive and not necessarily, well, ...

IK: I disagree with that... I dispute that fact.

PT: no, they are

IK: I dispute that.

PT: They are more caring in a way

IK: No I dispute that.

PT: More caring in a way and more able to adapt their abilities and stuff better potentially than some men, so men think oh so by doing a good thing I'll just give money to the charity and that'll be it.

MH: So what about relative to age. You're all young men, how do you feel about the differences between charitable behaviours as compared to younger children or older people?

PT: erm… older people, potentially women who are retired obviously have more time on their hands so they'd probably volunteer more in shops like Oxfam or whatever helping out in shops and stuff so in terms of time commitment they'd probably give more of their time than other people who are working. So it comes down to work.

IK: I think a lot of it comes just to be honest how much money you have and I think that at every age level, the more money you, the wealthier you are, the more privileged you are, the more money you'll probably give to charity.

JT: yeah, I think like cause we've got such time constraints with work and stuff, at this stage in our careers, when you're a child you have a lot more free time so you could do like sponsored walks and swims and stuff like that but now just cause you've got a lot more work commitments and stuff like that. And the same with older people, when they're retired, they've got a lot more free time, it's a bit like that so it's the time constraints I think that play a part in the lack of charitable activities that I do.

MH: You've mentioned quite a lot already about financial and time constraints, are they the only barriers that stop you from engaging in more charitable activities?

IK: I think personally, I think I can be of more use to a charity by giving money than giving my time, that's why I choose to give money rather than my time.

PT: I agree with IK.

MH: Relating back to when we talked about whether charities were a good thing or a bad thing, you mentioned the issue of trust, do you think that that's a big issue when deciding whether or not to give to charities?

PT: Indeed.

IK: I think that, as JT said, in this country generally speaking that you've got the issue where charities are quite regulated so you can take some sort of comfort that they're registered but you can still, there is still an issue about some random guy walking about with you know a collecting tin, do you know whether he's really a sort of with a registered charity or not so I would never really give anything to someone walking about with a tin unless it's like cancer research but even then it's questionable because you do get those unscrupulous people but I think trust is not so much of an issue as in other countries where it's more laxed regulation.

JT: Again I think it's something that maybe perhaps makes you favour the larger charities as you know they'll probably get audited and they'll have resources and segregation of duties which will mean that embezzlement and fraud are like less likely to take place and like some of the recent scandals have I think involved smaller charities where it's maybe when one person has too much power, too much control and they can get away with it. So erm.. it kinda makes me always want to donate to the bigger charities sort of well known household names cause you have more faith that you money won't be misused.

IK: yeah absolutely and obviously there was that recent example of Headway House where that Dame defrauded the charity.

MH: All three of you have mentioned donating time or money in the past, when you have, do you expect something back?

JT: just a sense of well being.

PT: I don't think you expect anything back, you maybe expect to be kept up to date with whatever they've been working on to see how things are getting on if you've been building a school or whatever and you've built three quarters of the school and you'd like to be kept informed as to when the whole school's finished.

MH: Going back to you JT, how does it make you feel?

JT: Warm and fuzzy inside. Going back to an earlier point, I think quite a lot of people use the EGP because it looks good on their CVs as well for getting employment. So I think that's quite a motivation for quite a few students as to why they do it as well, as for like helping people and stuff as well.

MH: could you elaborate on this warm fuzzy feeling? Is there anything else?

JT: Erm... well like sometimes, well, at church we adopted some wee dude in Africa and erm.. he used to like write use letters and that and just saying how he was getting on and saying thankyou very much for the money cause it's letting me go to school and just like stuff like that so it was always nice to get a bit of feedback to let you know that your money's doing something good rather than disappearing down a black hole.

MH: How about you IK, how does it make you feel?

IK: I suppose I mean obviously the amounts are massive so I mean, you almost forget about it if it's a direct debit that you've giving money to charity but it's good to I think you feel, you feel sort of good in yourself and you've done a good deed when you give money.

MH: And do you expect something back from these children?

IK: No, nothing, you don't expect anything back ... all that I would expect back is that they spend the money properly.

PT: I agree. You don't expect anything back from who you're giving to, you maybe expect updates or whatever from the charity itself or making sure the money's spent on how it should be, that's all you expect.

MH: So you would like correspondence from the charity?

IK: Not even necessarily. I mean to be honest, I throw away most of the stuff that I get through from the NSPCC into the bucket.

RANKING CAUSES TASK

MH: What I'd like for you to do now is a little task – could you think of or write a list of as many different types of charities/causes as you can.

IK: So kids,

JT: animals

PT: peace

JT: famine, drought

IK: health

JT: disaster relief ... elderly

PT: social

MH: Would you like to elaborate on what you mean by social?

PT: hmm, maybe you can leave that one out.

[laughter]

IK: well, they can all be social.

PT: refugees

IK: we can maybe group those under third world.

JT: disease, like disease research... which I guess you could group under health since it includes like cancer research, etc.

MH: So how many do you have there IK?

[since IK was scribing].

IK: Seven.

MH: So, if I were to give you a big pot of money and you had to divide it up between these seven causes, how would you do it and could you maybe rank them from 1 to 7.

JT: I'd rank animals last just cause.

[PT laughs]

IK: No, I'd agree with that.

PT: Oh no, I disagree.

IK: Well it's two against one.

PT: No, no, no.

MH: PT, can I ask why do you disagree with animals being last?

PT: Well, maybe amongst those categories. If it didn't have ... well it would have been disaster relief because they're just like one-offs.

JT: Would you help like some guinea pig rather than

PT: yeah, but if there was like some disaster

IK: what, like if the guinea pig died. ... if JT and I were the primeministers, there'd be no dogs in this country.

MH: JT, why did you instantly say animals last?

JT: when you look at all these causes like disaster relief, like the people in Bangladesh and stuff and you'd want to budge them and obviously want to help children ... like to be honest I just value human life more than I value than animal life so I'd just rank them last. Like I'd never donate, if I had an extra tenner I'd never give it to a dog if I could give it to help a poor child or an elderly person.

PT: Is that because you've got issues with dogs.

[PT laughs]

MH: Ok, so moving on, you've got animals ranked seventh, what about the others?

IK: I would say the number one for me would be the third world or disaster relief...

PT: Health, health

IK: you say health PT,

PT: health or third world

JT: yeah, I'd find it really difficult to judge between the others because they've all got their

IK: merits...

JT: yeah, I guess it depends on what it's like personal towards you cause I guess, IK, you've got family in Pakistan and stuff so disaster relief is always close to your heart... with that sort of one whereas I've had a gran who died from cancer so obviously I'd probably give money to cancer research so I guess it just depends on individual circumstances in your life, for the other ones.

IK: yeah, I don't think we can do ... I think we can each you know rank them but not as a group. Btu we did agree that animals were last and they they shouldn't be valued over people.

MH: okay, so maybe could you each pick your top two?

JT: well, I'd probably go with ...

PT: but the subject areas are quite general… like I don't … like famine, famine is like third world.

MH: well you can group them together if you like.

JT: well, given like ones that I've donated to in the past, I'd probably say cancer research, third world, and children are the three that I've donated to ... sporadically.

PT: I'd say third world, health like breast cancer research and stuff like that and children. With third world including famine and things like that.

IK: the common thing in all three were kids and PT and JT had health so they were identical, I had the same except I had disaster relief instead of health.

MH: Could you maybe each describe why you chose those three?

PT: Those ones are maybe more about supporting, well actually that's quite a sweeping statement, supporting less fortunate people but I suppose they all are but I suppose that's supporting less less fortunate people than just less fortunate people if that makes sense.

IK: Yeah I suppose I had to because I've had an quite impoverished upbringing so third world is very close to my heart and being from Pakistan obviously and it's third world country ... and kids like I've said before, I've got a very big fondness of kids. And disaster relief again down to a lot of disasters that have happened in those areas recently that have directed attention there.

JT: Erm... obviously health cause of my gran and like other members of my family... erm... third world and kids you're kinda more educated about because they tend to be on like comic relief quite a lot and they attract a lot of publicity so I guess they are probably ones that you've seen a lot more images about and they're probably like when you see a child starving in Africa, it kinda touches you more than if you see a dog who hasn't got a home.

MH: You mentioned Comic Relief, I now want to talk more broadly about large fundraising events like that, like Comic Relief, Children in Need, and London Marathon, etc.

JT: Yeah, like the Moonwalk, supposedly we're doing it next year.

IK: What?

PT: Yeah, my auntie's doing it.

JT: We're all doing it, are we not?

PT: What? Dressed as women?

JT: There's a girl at work doing it and she's got us some application forms.
[silence]
PT: yeah but we're doing the half marathon though.
JT: yeah, we can do both.
IK: okay then [sarcastically].

MH: Okay, how do you guys feel about these events?
JT: I think they're a good way of focusing people's attention and actually encouraging them to participate and they tend to generate a lot of publicity.
MH: Have you donated to any of these events?
JT: Well, I've sponsored people before for the Moonwalk and other marathons, just folk at work and a few of my mates and I've done the Bupa run myself, I've done Comic Relief, I didn't do Sports Relief, I missed that one out. But Children In Need, I've done that one as well.

MH: Why did you decide to sponsor your friends for these events?
JT: I decided to sponsor them …. I don't know, you just always sponsor your friends when they ask you.
MH: Didn't you begrudge having to sponsor them?
JT: Not at all, they earned it. They walked 26 miles and I just gave them £5 or £10 or whatever I paid them.
IK: I think, I think it depends on.... I think you would sposnor your friend even if it was like giving a dog a home you know and er... just for the friendship obviously but otherwise would you have sponsored the charity? No you wouldn't. I've got to say that I'm a bit sceptical about the like having sponsored walks and stuff, I think that you might even be better rather than making such a big event sort of, just getting money off everybody. At the end of the day, that's what you're aiming for isn't it?

MH: Do you think it's easier to just get money or….
IK: Well, I personally think, like I can't remember how much I sponsored my friend but if he had come to me and said look can you give me this much money for this charity then I probably would have said yes anyway rather than them having to run or walk 26 miles.
JT: yeah I kinda disagree.
PT: I disagree wholeheartedly.
JT: If XXX wasn't doing the Moonwalk or the Edinburgh Marathon, then I don't think I would've donated to breast research. Well I'm all up for that but I meant cancer research.
[laughter]

PT: Well I think it's a way of focusing yourself so if you're doing something then it means you're giving up your time and stuff and people are conscious of that so it brings the charity up into the limelight. If you weren't doing it then I wouldn't go oh yeah we must donate to charity.
MH: Do any of you think about fundraising or taking part in any of these yourselves.
JT: Me and PT have done the BUPA Great Edinburgh Run for the past few years and actually our dad was having a go at me because we paid our money to go in and that goes to charity but we never actively seeked donations and he's like well why didn't you do it. But to be honest at work
PT: well, this year we will do that. Because IK is running it this year as well.
JT: At work, we seem to get a lot of emails and there seems to be, especially as we have quite a big office and there seems to be so many people doing things for so many different causes like there's so many bike rides, hillwalks, and all sorts of shenanigans.
PT: What I think we might do is dress up as rhinos or something like that so it's so much harder when we do the 10K or something like that… and that way we'd get more sponsorship.
JT: well, you're not going to run for the WWF because they stole the WWF, the wrestling's name so I'm just furious at them and I'd never donate to those people and the animals.
IK: I think even at our office now, I think they've specifically appointed someone Force for Good coordinator, she's actually got a role to be the Force for Good coordinator, I don't think she does anything else to be honest, she just does that sort of stuff. And er... there's obviously a big emphasis from the top down in the company to promote such good behaviour and good things.

MH: as another task, could you list as many ways as possible including the ones that we've talked about of supporting charities/causes.
JT: well, there's donating time and money.
PT: donations, through direct debit.

JT: donations to like people with tins. Direct debits like IK does. Direct account, like Gift Aid. Can't remember the other ones.
PT: sponsored, Save As You Earn.
JT: yeah, save as you earn. Donate as you earn. Give As You Earn, not save as you earn.
[laughter]

JT: Give As You Earn and you can also like have sponsored walks, cycles, swims
PT: sponsored events
JT: donate your services as well like we've previously mentioned. Such as Medics En Frontier or something like that if you're a doctor but I think we've also got an accountacy one for us as well.
PT: donate your time, well we've got that.
IK: yeah, like donate your skills is a good one, like it's a very helpful way of supporting a charity as opposed to just volunteering your time which might be sort of unfocused and unstructured.
PT: you could also be like a treasurer or something but I suppose that's time and skills.
JT: yeah, that's a good one.
IK: you could like a Board Member for a charity.
JT: Like the link up with universities and research, and stuff like that.
IK: you could donate other stuff to charities, like other useful stuff.
JT: Like tins, like we used to donate tins sometimes for disaster appeals at church and stuff … and we had to bring in like beans and stuff.
IK: yeah, my dad's friend's a doctor and he donated a lot of medical equipment to cancer research and stuff, research uk and stuff and so there's a lot of other stuff that you can donate.
JT: like take away your phone and stuff like that.
PT: tescos, sport relief. Also like training events at work involves charities and presenting to them.

MH: as our last task, could you make a list of the ways in which charities can market to you as the general public.
PT: internet
JT: TV adverts, especially on music channels.
PT: direct mail.
MH: PT, when you mentioned internet, did you mean emails or webpages or both?
PT: yeah both.
IK: yeah those bloody popups. Like banners and popups.
PT: there's also like if you're doing a sponsored event, you can set up your own website and it's a way for people to give and donate through that and also to get awareness of the charity.
JT: also like the radio – like the cash for kids has linked up with like Clyde one or Radio Clyde so they do like promate that quite heavily. And Rangers have like the Rangers Foundation and like charities apply to the Rangers Foundation and they select three and that all the money goes to them.
IK: just like walking around and stuff with tins.
JT: you also quite often get people coming into pubs and at the football and other sporting events with lots of people walking by asking for shrapnel.
PT: well, there's also like, well it's more a way of raising money but like set up banners and the more times you click on the buttons then it gives a penny to the charity or whatever.
IK: you've also got football sponsorship like Barcelona and their shirts have Unicef on them which is obviously done for free and it raises their profile.

MH: okay, that's a pretty good list, can I maybe add just one that you've missed onto there, wristbands, badges, stickers, badges, etc.
JT: oh yeah.
PT: like the anti-bullying ones, and that
JT: yeah, like the lance Armstrong cancer research thing
PT: I thought that was a very effective marketing technique for charities.
IK: yeah, like the anti-racism black and white Nike football bands.... and you know people wanted them to be fashionable and they really took off. So linking them with fashion, linking charity with fashion, making charity fashionable I think is really the key especially when it comes to these sorts of things.

MH: okay, I just want to go through each of these methods and ask for your opinions on each. So how do you feel about charities advertising on the internet?
JT: rubbish, really ineffective. Just it's a bit of a pain and like often it just annoys me to be honest.

MH: Do you think internet advertising is a particularly good medium? Is it aimed at people your age?
IK: I mean we are the internet age so it can't be age thing. To be honest, I haven't seen a lot of marketing of charities on the internet and I'm sure there's also the trust issue of handling the money over the internet.

MH: okay, next, TV, how do you feel about TV adverts? Can you think of any?
PT: effective but obviously expensive so you wonder that obviously that the bigger charities will do it so therefore you think well they must be spending someone's money on doing that. But obviously it raises more money but you've got to weigh it up against the costs of doing it.
IK: the NSPCC one made me cry so that's why I gave money.
JT: yeah, they definitely like more effective than internet advertising but they're more expensive so you need to do a cost benefit analysis.
IK: can I also say charities get special rates from the TV companies for airing the adverts so they get a discount.

MH: do any of you get direct mail from charities?
PT: yeah a bit
JT: from time to time.
MH: how do you feel about that?
IK: bin
JT: bin
PT: bin.

MH: why?
PT: because you get enough mail and mail takes a lot of time to open and it's just so much.
IK: i think that you generally know what a junk mail looks like, usually the wrapper is shiny and smooth ... but I'm sure if they make it look like a bank statement or something then I'm sure more people would open it.

MH: radio?
PT: ineffective, unless it's like publicising an event or something I wouldn't go like oooh I'd listen to something about a charity… unless it's like an extended thing about the charity when they talked about their projects and stuff rather than like.
IK: I think the radio's a lot more useful when it comes to local and regional charities rather than national charities but I think that the radio argues that radio advertising is more effective than TV advertising anyway.
JT: like especiall in a car because if you're like, TV advertising when you're at home, you're just going to flick it when the adverts come on onto like another channel but if you're driving then you can't flick through the channels obviously as quickly because you'll be concentrating on what you're doing so the message does get across, it's broadcast to you.

MH: next is linking up with organisations, like cause related marketing. How do you feel about that.
PT: yeah if the products were generally the same price and one was giving money to charity, then you'd obviously buy that one. But it also depends who it was going to. Well it means that the money grabbers and the corporate unethical business that is whatever, tescos for instance, it means that less money is going to them.
MH: what if it was more expensive? What if the product was 10p more expensive and it said that 10p of the cost was going to charity.
PT: well if it's more expensive, then I would still buy it.
IK: what the hell are you doing?
PT: only if it was like a bit more, like 30p i would be more inclined to buy it, I would still buy it but I wouldn't go out of my way to go and buy it.
IK: I think it does depend on the price. But if they were the same price and one of them was giving money to charity, I'd 100 times out of 100 buy the charity one but if it was more expensive, if it was like the charity one was like on top of it, then it would be depend on what charity it was for and how much.

MH: How do you feel about charities linking up with companies to do this?
PT: trust as well comes into it as well.
IK: yeah it's a good thing but it's a money making ploy by the company at the end of the day but it is a good thing.
PT: yeah but then the big charities only favour the big charities so then it doesn't really help the smaller charities does it, it doesn't help the little fellas out there.

MH: how about tin collections?

PT: no, it's not something I generally donate to. Well it depends.

MH: well, what about the Big Issue and homeless people?

PT: no.

JT: well, yeah, sometimes, it kinda depends on your mood, i don't know like it depends.

IK: I've never given money to them or ever bought the Big Issue because there was a guy at my school who was like that and he used the money for drugs. That's put me off buying the big issue but I do believe in the big issue. It's a good thing.

JT: I'd more likely give to a tin or a big issue seller than those people who jump you on the princes street cause they get money for it, no not like the Gouranga people but the people who are like can I get your bank details. Yeah I hate those people, they annoy me.

PT: they are the most annoying people in the world. You think they are doing a good cause but if they were doing that for such a reputable cause they'd be doing it free of charge and not get paid for it and not get performance related bonuses and they're the most annoying people because they keep you for 20 mins and you say that I already give to a charity but they always keep you there and never let you go.

MH: do you think that this is a bad way of charities to encourage more donors?

PT: yes.

IK: I don't think so. I don't think it's gonna put me off the charity you know like I'm gonna get one of these guys, I mean they're usually big charities. It's not going to put me off giving money to cancer research in the future.

JT: well it must be successful because even though it annoys me, they've been going on for ages so it must be good for the charity overall.

MH: how do you feel about charities linking up with football and other sports?

JT: I think that it's a good idea because it gets the message across to a massive audience.

IK: I think it is, it is sort of, people are made aware of the charity and at something that they want to do and enjoying and at their leisure which I think would take them in with that sort of advertising.

MH: We've talked about sponsored events already but do you have any other comments? Do you think that it's a good way of encouraging more people to donate?

JT: definitely I think so.

PT: yes

IK: In America, I once went to a charity sponsored bikini event and that was amazing. You had to pay three dollars or four dollars and then you look and then vote for … the models were there for free, and stuff.

MH: okay, how do you feel about charities and fashion – which includes wristbands, badges, t-shirts, etc?

PT: I think specific things like the wristbands were a very effective means because everyone thinks it's fashionable and you're obviously paying your £1 which goes to the charity anyway.

MH: do you think it's effective for people your age?

PT: I think it's more definitely the school kids.

JT: yeah, school.

IK: I actually bought the nike black and white one because I thought that it was quite fashionable and you know you give money to a good cause. But I had cousins in Saudi Arabia who asked for them and they were selling them on for thirty dollars each in Saudi because they weren't available. I wasn't impressed by that.

Debriefing

Appendix 3

Part 2: Survey of 9-24 year-olds

It is worth noting that the reference periods used in this survey varied according to the question asked. In line with sector surveys on giving, questions 2 and 3 used 4 weeks or one month as the reference period. In collecting data on the charitable activities that children and young people engaged in, it was more fruitful to use 6 months as a reference period as many respondents may be unlikely to have carried out the activities on a regular basis (e.g. buying goods from a charity catalogue). Using one month for question 1 would have limited the scope for investigating the types of activities that children and young people engaged in.

As stated in the methodology, the questionnaires underwent a rigorous examination by children and young people and hence changes were made. This does however limit the comparability of aspects of the surveys as different wordings and questions may be used. However, in keeping with the child-centred, participatory principles that guided this research, this was felt to be in the best interests of the children and young people.

Other differences between the surveys are questions about causes, in that the 9-11 and 12-16 year-old versions included examples of each cause to help children to identify or recognise the causes. This was not done for the 17-24 year-olds as the pilot showed that they were able to discriminate between types of charities and causes.

Some of the attitude statements about charities were taken from existing studies on giving attitudes and did provide a point of comparison with data from this sample.

The demographic data collected was minimised and designed to be appropriate for each age group. However, it is noted that some respondents, particularly in the 9-11 year-old category were confused with definitions of religion and ethnicity.

Making A Difference
QUESTIONNAIRE

Hi, my name is Mary and I am doing some research about how
young people donate and relate to charities. This involves me asking young people
about things you may have done for charity and how you feel about charities.
The questionnaire should take about 10 minutes to fill in.

1. People can make a difference to others in a variety of ways.
   Have you taken part in the following activities
   a) ever?
   b) within the last 6 months?

(Please tick all that apply)	ever	last 6 months
Sponsored someone else to do something for charity	☐	☐
Given money to charity	☐	☐
Taken part in charity events (like Comic Relief, Children in Need)	☐	☐
Given money to beggars in the street	☐	☐
Taken part in a sponsored event (like a sponsored walk, silence, etc)	☐	☐
Spent time doing something for a charity	☐	☐
Bought anything in a charity shop	☐	☐
Bought charity-related products (like wristbands, badges, t-shirts, etc)	☐	☐
Bought any Fairtrade products	☐	☐
Given anything to be sold in a charity shop	☐	☐
Helped out a neighbour	☐	☐
Recycled used glass, cans, paper, clothes	☐	☐
Campaigning/protesting for a charity/cause	☐	☐
Encouraged others to donate to charity	☐	☐
Other, please specify _____	☐	☐

2. People can give money to charity in lots of different ways.
   Have you given money to charity in the following ways
   a) ever?
   b) within the last month?

(Please tick all that apply)	ever	last month
Given money on the street – charity tins/buckets	☐	☐
Given money at a shop counter	☐	☐
Given money at church	☐	☐
Given money to a collection at school	☐	☐
Given money because of events like Comic Relief, Children in Need	☐	☐
Other, please specify _____	☐	☐

3. Could you guess how much you gave to charity in total in the last month?

Nothing ☐ £0 - £1 ☐ £1.01 - £2.50 ☐ £2.51 - £5 ☐ More than £5 ☐

4. Do you prefer to give to charity occasionally, regularly, a bit of both or never?

Occasionally ☐ Regularly ☐ Both ☐ Never ☐

5. Do you currently volunteer or spend time doing something for a charity/community group?

Yes ☐

No ☐

→ | Please write down the names of any charities you volunteer with.
_____

What do you do when you volunteer? _____
_____
_____ |

6. There are many reasons for supporting charities.
   Why do you support charities/causes?   *(Please tick all that apply)*

I do not support charities/causes. ☐	I would feel guilty if I didn't give to charity. ☐
I believe in the charities' work. ☐	Charities make it so easy to give. ☐
I feel it is my duty to give to charity. ☐	Charity adverts are very persuasive. ☐
I support charities because my friends and family do. ☐	I feel good when I have given to a charity. ☐
I give because I benefit from the work charities do. ☐	I give because of religious reasons. ☐
I give because my friends/family have been helped by charities. ☐	I give because I can afford to. ☐
Other, please specify _____	☐

7. Where have you noticed advertising for charities and causes?
   (Please tick all that apply)

Television ☐	Newspapers and magazines ☐
Radio ☐	Internet ☐
Billboards and posters ☐	Newsletters and leaflets ☐
Charity shops ☐	Other, please specify ☐ _____

8. Which of the following causes do you think are important to support?

	Not at all important	Slightly unimportant	Slightly important	Very important
Children or young people (e.g. NSPCC, Save the Children)	○	○	○	○
Elderly people (e.g. Help the Aged, Age Concern)	○	○	○	○
Disabled people (e.g. Deafblind UK, National Autistic Society)	○	○	○	○
Homeless people (e.g. Shelter)	○	○	○	○
Human rights (e.g. Amnesty International)	○	○	○	○
Medical research (e.g. Cancer Research, British Heart Foundation)	○	○	○	○
Third World/overseas aid and development (e.g. Oxfam)	○	○	○	○
Medical care (e.g. Macmillan Cancer Support, St John Ambulance)	○	○	○	○
Religious organisations (e.g. The Salvation Army, Christian Aid)	○	○	○	○
Rescue services (e.g. Mountain Rescue Team, Lifeboats)	○	○	○	○
Education (e.g. Bag Books, Chance UK)	○	○	○	○
Arts, music, culture (e.g. The National Gallery, Royal Opera House)	○	○	○	○
Animals (e.g. RSPCA, WWF, Dogs Trust)	○	○	○	○
Environment (e.g. The National Trust, Greenpeace)	○	○	○	○
Sports (e.g. Athletics Foundation, Access Sport)	○	○	○	○

9. How much do you agree or disagree with the following sentences?

	Disagree a lot	Disagree a little bit	I don't agree or disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a lot
ABOUT CHARITIES					
There are so many charities that it's hard to decide which one to give to.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I like giving to bigger charities more than little charities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think TV adverts for charities are annoying.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
TV adverts for charities make me feel guilty.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I find it hard to refuse when someone asks me to give money to charity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I usually tell other people when I've given to charity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I help causes where my family or friends are involved.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I often give because I feel too embarrassed to say 'No' when someone asks.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I give to charities because I like the feeling of being generous.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I can't afford to give that much to charity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It doesn't matter if I give to charity because other people will give anyway.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I give I expect nothing in return.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel I understand the needs of other people.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I grow up I want to give more to charity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to find out more about charities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I enjoy doing things for charity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ABOUT CELEBRITIES AND CHARITIES					
When celebrities do things for charities, they should be doing it for free.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
More celebrities should support or promote charities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
When celebrities help charities, the CELEBRITIES benefit more than CHARITIES from the attention they get.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ABOUT MONEY AND BUYING THINGS					
I wish my family could afford to buy me more of what I want.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I wish my parents gave me more money to spend.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I wish my parents earned more money.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I usually have something in mind that I want to buy or get.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I want to make a lot of money when I grow up.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I go somewhere special, I usually like to buy something.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Brand names matter to me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I like clothes with popular labels.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being cool is important to me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. Below is a list of things that some people look for or want out of life. Read each thing and rate how important they are in your daily life.

	Not at all important			Very Important	
Feeling like you belong to something	1	2	3	4	5
Being excited	1	2	3	4	5
Warm relationships with people	1	2	3	4	5
Feeling fulfilled or satisfied with yourself	1	2	3	4	5
Being respected by others	1	2	3	4	5
Having fun and enjoying yourself	1	2	3	4	5
Feeling secure	1	2	3	4	5
Respecting yourself	1	2	3	4	5
Achieving things and being successful	1	2	3	4	5

➡ Now read over the list again and circle the one thing that is the most important to you.

11. Please tick your gender: Male ☐ Female ☐

12. Please write your age in the following box: ☐ years old

13. Do you get any pocket money? Yes ☐ No ☐
    Do you get any money for doing a job or helping around the house? Yes ☐ No ☐

14. Altogether how much money do you get each week?

☐ Nothing ☐ £0 - £1 ☐ £1.01 - £2.50 ☐ £2.51 - £5 ☐ £5.01-£10 ☐ More than £10

15. Please write which town/city you live in?

16. Which country were you born in?

17. What is your ethnic group?

White ☐ Asian ☐ Black ☐ Other, please specify _____

18. What is your religion?

None ☐ Christian ☐ Buddhist ☐ Jewish ☐ Muslim ☐ Sikh ☐
  Other, please specify _____

19. How many people live in your house, including you? ☐ people

20. For each person in your house, please write their relationship to you
    (for example, *father, mother, two brothers* or *mother, sister*)

21. Do you have any pets? Yes ☐ No ☐

END OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE
Thank you very much for filling in this questionnaire!

Best wishes,
Mary ☺

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	My Surveys	Create Survey	My Details	Account Details	Account Users

WELCOME!

Welcome to the Making A Difference Survey 2008
PLEASE COMPLETE THIS SURVEY IF YOU ARE 16 OR YOUNGER.
If you are aged 17 or over, please complete the corresponding survey at: www.survey.ed.ac.uk/mad-over17
Thank you for clicking through to this link. I really appreciate you taking the time to complete this survey.

Practical points about the survey:

- 5 pages in length
- Takes about 10 minutes to complete
- Once you have moved on from a page, you can't go back and change your answers but you CAN stop at any point and come back to the survey at a later time.

In addition, I'd like to remind you that all data collected will be anonymous and treated in strict confidence. Individuals will not be identifiable and no personal information will be passed onto other parties.

If you'd like a paper copy of the questionnaire sent to you or if you have any other questions about the survey, please do not hesitate to contact me at the following email address:
Mary.Ho@ed.ac.uk

Thanks!
Mary

1. People can make a difference to others in a variety of ways.

Have you ever taken part in the following activities?

(select all that apply)

- ☐ Sponsored someone else to do something for charity
- ☐ Given money to charity as part of a regular giving arrangement (every week or month)
- ☐ Given money to beggars in the street
- ☐ Bought the Big Issue
- ☐ Given any money because of a charity advert or appeal in the media (including Comic Relief, Children in Need)
- ☐ Taken part in a sponsored event (e.g. a sponsored swim, walk, etc)
- ☐ Spent time doing something for a charity (e.g. volunteering)
- ☐ Bought anything in a charity shop
- ☐ Bought charity-related goods (e.g. t-shirts, wristbands, badges, etc)
- ☐ Bought goods from a charity catalogue
- ☐ Bought any Fairtrade goods
- ☐ Given any goods to be sold in a charity shop
- ☐ Helped out a neighbour
- ☐ Recycled used materials (e.g. glass, cans, paper, clothes)
- ☐ Campaigning/protesting for a charity/cause
- ☐ Encouraged others to donate to charity
- ☐ Other *(please specify)*:

---

2. Below is the same list of activities, which of the following have you taken part in within the last 6 months (since December 2007)?

(select all that apply)

- ☐ Sponsored someone else to do something for charity
- ☐ Given money to charity as part of a regular giving arrangement (every week or month)
- ☐ Given money to beggars in the street
- ☐ Bought the Big Issue
- ☐ Given any money because of a charity advert or appeal in the media (including Comic Relief, Children in Need)
- ☐ Taken part in a sponsored event (e.g. a sponsored swim, walk, etc)
- ☐ Spent time doing something for a charity (e.g. volunteering)
- ☐ Bought anything in a charity shop
- ☐ Bought charity-related goods (e.g. t-shirts, wristbands, badges, etc)
- ☐ Bought goods from a charity catalogue
- ☐ Bought any Fairtrade goods
- ☐ Given any goods to be sold in a charity shop
- ☐ Helped out a neighbour
- ☐ Recycled used materials (e.g. glass, cans, paper, clothes)
- ☐ Campaigning/protesting for a charity/cause
- ☐ Encouraged others to donate to charity
- ☐ Other *(please specify)*:

---

3. Have you used the following methods to give money to charity

(a) ever
(b) within the last month?

please tick all that apply

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	ever	last month
a. street collection - charity tins/buckets	☐	☐
b. shop counter collection	☐	☐
c. door/house collection	☐	☐
d. collection at church	☐	☐
e. collection at school	☐	☐
f. attending a charity event	☐	☐
g. gift aid	☐	☐
h. other	☐	☐

4. Could you estimate how much you gave to charity in total in the last month?

Select an answer ▾

5. Do you prefer to give to charity occasionally, regularly, a bit of both or never?

○ occasionally   ○ regularly   ○ both   ○ never

6. Which of the following causes have you given money to in the last month?

(select all that apply)

☐ CHILDREN OR YOUNG PEOPLE --------- for example NSPCC, Save the Children, ChildLine
☐ ELDERLY PEOPLE --------- for example Help the Aged, Age Concern
☐ DISABLED PEOPLE --------- for example Deafblind UK, The National Autistic Society
☐ HOMELESS PEOPLE --------- for example Shelter
☐ HUMAN RIGHTS --------- for example Amnesty International
☐ MEDICAL RESEARCH --------- for example, Cancer research UK, British Heart Foundation
☐ THIRD WORLD/OVERSEAS AID OR DEVELOPMENT --------- for example Oxfam, World Vision
☐ MEDICAL CARE --------- including hospitals/hospices, for example Macmillan Cancer Support, St John Ambulance
☐ RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS --------- for example The Salvation Army, Christian Aid
☐ RESCUE SERVICES --------- for example Mountain Rescue Team, RNLI
☐ EDUCATION --------- for example Bag Books, Chance UK
☐ ARTS, MUSIC, CULTURE --------- for example The National Gallery, Royal Opera House
☐ ANIMALS --------- for example RSPCA, WWF, Dogs Trust
☐ ENVIRONMENT --------- for example The National Trust, Greenpeace
☐ SPORTS --------- for example Athletics Foundation, Access Sport

VOLUNTEERING

7. Do you currently volunteer with a charity/community group?

○ Yes   ○ No

If you answered No, please continue to the next page

a. Please specify in the box provided the charities you currently volunteer with.

For each of the charities, please specify:

- how long you have volunteered with that charity,
- what sort of work you carry out,
- how you were recruited,
- how often you volunteer,
- average hours per week.

b. Please use each box below to describe the details of each volunteering experience.
Charity 1

Charity 2 or more

8. How important were the following factors in your decision to volunteer:

	not at all important	slightly unimportant	slightly important	very important
a. giving something back to the community	○	○	○	○
b. personally relate to the cause	○	○	○	○
c. belief in worthy causes	○	○	○	○
d. a good way to use your skills and knowledge	○	○	○	○
e. to gain work experience	○	○	○	○
f. to work in a team	○	○	○	○
g. to work with a friend	○	○	○	○
h. to meet people	○	○	○	○

GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS CHARITIES

9. There are many reasons for supporting charities.
Which of the following statements best describe why you support charities/causes (through volunteering and giving)?
(select all that apply)

☐ I do not support charities/causes.
☐ I believe in the work that charities undertake.
☐ I feel it is my duty to give to charity.
☐ I would feel guilty if I didn't give to charity.
☐ I give because people I know have been affected by issues dealt with by some charities I support.
☐ There are religious/spiritual reasons for my support.
☐ I give because I benefit from the work charities undertake.
☐ Charities make it so easy to give these days.
☐ I give because I can afford to.
☐ Charity adverts are very persuasive.
☐ I feel good when I have given time/money to a charity.
☐ I support charities because my friends and family do.
☐ Other *(please specify)*:

10. Where have you noticed advertising for charities and causes?
(select all that apply)

☐ Television
☐ Radio
☐ Billboards and posters
☐ Newspapers and magazines
☐ Internet
☐ Newsletters and leaflets
☐ Charity shops
☐ Other *(please specify)*:

11. Charities communicate with the general public in a variety of ways.
Below are a list of methods - please indicate whether you consider the ways in which charities communicate with you to be ANNOYING, INFORMATIVE, INTRUSIVE, UPLIFTING/INSPIRING, MAKES ME FEEL BAD/GUILTY.
(please tick all that apply)

	annoying	informative	intrusive/unwanted	uplifting/inspiring	makes me feel bad/guilty
a. TV adverts	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. TV programmes (including Comic Relief, Children in Need)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. Billboards and posters	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. Newspapers and magazines	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. Internet websites and/or emails	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g. Newsletters and leaflets	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
h. Personalised letters from charities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

12. Which of the following causes do you personally think are important to support?

	not at all important	slightly unimportant	slightly important	very important
a. children or young people	○	○	○	○
b. elderly people	○	○	○	○
c. disabled people	○	○	○	○
d. homeless people	○	○	○	○
e. human rights	○	○	○	○
f. medical research	○	○	○	○
g. Third World/overseas aid and development	○	○	○	○
h. medical care (including hospitals/hospices)	○	○	○	○
i. religious organisations	○	○	○	○
j. rescue services	○	○	○	○
k. education	○	○	○	○
l. arts, music, culture	○	○	○	○
m. animals	○	○	○	○
n. environment	○	○	○	○
o. sports	○	○	○	○

13. I would prefer to donate money to a charity that believes the most important thing to be

	strongly disagree	slightly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	slightly agree	strongly agree
a. changing society as we know it	○	○	○	○	○
b. making people independent and self-sufficient	○	○	○	○	○
c. looking after every aspect of a person's life	○	○	○	○	○
d. making the people they help feel good about themselves	○	○	○	○	○
e. empowering the people the charity is seeking to help	○	○	○	○	○
f. making the public think hard about issues	○	○	○	○	○

14. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	strongly disagree	slightly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	slightly agree	strongly agree
a. There are so many charities that it is difficult to decide which one to give to	○	○	○	○	○
b. There's no point in giving money to the bigger charities because so little gets to the cause	○	○	○	○	○
c. Nowadays charities can only do their job properly if they are run by people who get paid, not volunteers	○	○	○	○	○
d. The bigger the charity becomes, the more out of touch it gets with those it is trying to help	○	○	○	○	○
e. Too often charities don't bother to say how the money they get is being spent	○	○	○	○	○
f. Charities waste too much money on administration	○	○	○	○	○
g. The government has a basic responsibility to take care of people who can't take care of themselves	○	○	○	○	○
h. I like watching TV adverts for charities	○	○	○	○	○
i. The government ought to help more, not rely on charities to raise needed money	○	○	○	○	○
j. I like to support projects where you can see what your money has bought	○	○	○	○	○

15. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about celebrities promoting charities/causes?

	strongly disagree	slightly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	slightly agree	strongly agree
a. I don't care if celebrities are used.	○	○	○	○	○
b. CHARITIES benefit the most because of the publicity they get.	○	○	○	○	○
c. When celebrities do things for charities, they should be doing it for free.	○	○	○	○	○
d. CELEBRITIES benefit the most because of publicity they get.	○	○	○	○	○
e. I'm sceptical of the celebrities' motivations for promoting charities/causes.	○	○	○	○	○
f. More celebrities should support or promote charities.	○	○	○	○	○

16. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	strongly disagree	slightly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	slightly agree	strongly agree
a. I find it hard to refuse when someone approaches me directly for money	○	○	○	○	○
b. It's rewarding to feel you've helped people in some way	○	○	○	○	○
c. I give to charities because I want to support the good causes for which they work	○	○	○	○	○
d. I usually tell other people when I've donated to charity	○	○	○	○	○
e. I often give because I feel too embarrassed to say 'No' when someone asks	○	○	○	○	○
f. I help causes where my family or friends are involved	○	○	○	○	○
g. I give to charities because they help to create a better society for everybody by reducing the level of social problems	○	○	○	○	○
h. I give to charities because I like the feeling of being generous	○	○	○	○	○
i. I cannot afford to offer my support to charity	○	○	○	○	○
j. It does not really matter whether I give to charity or not, as other people will give anyway	○	○	○	○	○
k. When I give I expect nothing in return	○	○	○	○	○
l. I give to charities which have a good reputation	○	○	○	○	○
m. I feel I am sensitive to the needs of others	○	○	○	○	○

17. In the future, what do you think you will give to charity?

○ money   ○ time   ○ a bit of both   ○ neither   ○ don't know

18. What one thing is most likely to encourage you to give to charity in future?

○ Nothing, I won't give anyway.
○ Nothing, I will give anyway.
○ Having lots more money.
○ Having more time to volunteer.
○ Having a job.
○ Having a strong link with a charity or cause.
○ If there is a sudden crisis or natural disaster.
○ Knowing that the charity spends the money effectively and makes a difference.
○ If their advertising is good/persuasive.
○ If a celebrity I know and admire supports them.
○ Don't know.
○ Other *(please specify)*:

[   ]

19. The following is a list of things that some people look for or want out of life.
Please study the list carefully and then rate each thing on how important it is in your daily life, where *1 = not at all important and 5 = very important*.

	1	2	3	4	5
a. sense of belonging	○	○	○	○	○
b. excitement	○	○	○	○	○
c. warm relationships with others	○	○	○	○	○
d. self-fulfilment	○	○	○	○	○
e. being well respected	○	○	○	○	○
f. fun and enjoyment in life	○	○	○	○	○
g. security	○	○	○	○	○
h. self-respect	○	○	○	○	○
i. a sense of accomplishment	○	○	○	○	○

20.
Now reread the items from above and select the one thing that is most important to you in your daily life.

[Select an answer ▼]

21. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	strongly disagree	slightly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	slightly agree	strongly agree
a. I'd rather spend time buying things than doing almost anything else	○	○	○	○	○
b. I would be happier if I had more money to buy more things for myself	○	○	○	○	○
c. I have fun just thinking of all the things I own	○	○	○	○	○
d. I really enjoy going shopping	○	○	○	○	○
e. I like to buy things my friends have	○	○	○	○	○
f. When you grow up the more money you have the happier you are	○	○	○	○	○
g. I'd rather not share my things with others if it means I'll have less for myself	○	○	○	○	○

h. I would love to be able to to buy things that cost lots of money	○	○	○	○	○
i. I really like people who have expensive things	○	○	○	○	○
j. The only kind of job I want when I grow up is one that gets me a lot of money	○	○	○	○	○
k. I think others judge me as a person by the kinds of products and brands I use	○	○	○	○	○

AND FINALLY...

Some questions about you...

22. Please indicate your gender:

○ Female   ○ Male

23. Please write your age in the following box.

[ ]

---

24. Do you get any pocket money?

○ Yes   ○ No

Do you get any money for doing a job or help around the house?
○ Yes   ○ No

Altogether how much money do you get each week?
Select an answer ▼

---

25. Please state which town/city you live in?

[ ]

Would you consider the area in which you live to be
Select an answer ▼

26. Please indicate your country of birth:

○ Scotland   ○ England   ○ Wales   ○ Northern Ireland
○ Other *(please specify)*: [ ]

27. What is your ethnic group?

○ White   ○ Asian or Asian British   ○ Black or Black British
○ Other *(please specify)*: [ ]

28. What is your religion?

○ None   ○ Christian   ○ Buddhist   ○ Jewish   ○ Muslim   ○ Sikh
○ Other *(please specify)*: [ ]

---

29. How many people, including you, live in your household?

Select an answer ▼

For each person in your household, please state their relationship to you
(for example, *father, mother, two brothers* or *mother, sister*)

[ ]

30. Do you have any pets?

○ Yes   ○ No

---

31. THIS IS THE END OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE.
If you have any other comments about this questionnaire or the overall study, please use the box below to express them.

[ ]

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Mary Ho - Making a Difference (over 17)---

WELCOME!

Welcome to the Making A Difference Survey 2008
PLEASE ONLY COMPLETE THIS SURVEY IF YOU ARE 17 OR OLDER.
If you are aged 16 or under, please complete the corresponding survey at: www.survey.ed.ac.uk/mad-under16
Thank you for clicking through to this link. I really appreciate you taking the time to complete this survey.

Practical points about the survey:

- 5 pages in length
- Takes about 15 minutes to complete
- Once you have moved on from a page, you can't go back and change your answers but you CAN stop at any point and come back to the survey at a later time.

In addition, I'd like to remind you that all data collected will be anonymous and treated in strict confidence. Individuals will not be identifiable and no personal information will be passed onto other parties.

If you'd like a paper copy of the questionnaire sent to you or if you have any other questions about the survey, please do not hesitate to contact me at the following email address:
Mary.Ho@ed.ac.uk

Thanks!
Mary

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INTRODUCTION

1. People can make a difference to others in a variety of ways.

Have you taken part in the following activities
(a) ever
(b) within the last 6 months (*since December 2007*)?

please tick all that apply

	ever	last 6 months
a. Sponsored someone else to do something for charity	☐	☐
b. Given money to charity as part of a regular giving arrangement (every week or month)	☐	☐
c. Given money to beggars in the street	☐	☐
d. Bought the Big Issue	☐	☐
e. Given any money in direct response to a charity advertisement or appeal in the media (includes Comic Relief, Children in Need)	☐	☐
f. Taken part in a sponsored event (e.g. a sponsored swim, walk, etc)	☐	☐
g. Spent time doing something for a charity (e.g. volunteering in a charity shop)	☐	☐
h. Bought anything in a charity shop	☐	☐
i. Bought charity-related goods (e.g. t-shirts, wristbands, badges, etc)	☐	☐
j. Bought goods from a charity catalogue	☐	☐
k. Bought any Fairtrade goods	☐	☐
l. Given any goods to be sold in a charity shop	☐	☐
m. Recycled used materials (e.g. glass, cans, paper, clothes)	☐	☐
n. Campaigning/protesting for a charity/cause	☐	☐
o. Encouraged others to donate to charity	☐	☐
p. Other	☐	☐

2. Have you used the following methods to give money to charity

(a) ever
(b) within the last month?

please tick all that apply

	ever	last month
a. street collection - charity tins/buckets	☐	☐
b. shop counter collection	☐	☐
c. door/house collection	☐	☐
d. collection at church	☐	☐
e. collection at work	☐	☐
f. collection at school/college/university	☐	☐
g. attending a charity event	☐	☐
h. pub collection	☐	☐
i. online via a charity website	☐	☐
j. gift aid	☐	☐

k. payroll giving	☐	☐
l. other monthly direct debit (not through work)	☐	☐
m. other	☐	☐

3. Could you estimate how much you gave to charity in total in the last month?

Select an answer ▾

4. Do you prefer to give to charity occasionally, regularly, a bit of both or never?

○ occasionally   ○ regularly   ○ both   ○ never

5. Which of the following causes have you given money to in the last month?
  (select all that apply)

☐ children or young people
☐ elderly people
☐ disabled people
☐ homeless people
☐ human rights
☐ medical research
☐ Third World/overseas aid and development
☐ medical care (including hospitals/hospices)
☐ religious organisations
☐ rescue services
☐ education
☐ arts, music, culture
☐ animals
☐ environment
☐ sports

GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS CHARITIES

8. There are many reasons for supporting charities.
Which of the following statements best describe why you support charities/causes (through volunteering and giving)?
(select all that apply)

- ☐ I do not support charities/causes.
- ☐ I believe in the work that charities undertake.
- ☐ I feel it is my duty to give to charity.
- ☐ I would feel guilty if I didn't give to charity.
- ☐ I give because people I know have been affected by issues dealt with by some charities I support.
- ☐ There are spiritual reasons for my support.
- ☐ I give because I benefit from the work charities undertake.
- ☐ Charities make it so easy to give these days.
- ☐ I give because I can afford to.
- ☐ Charity communications are very persuasive.
- ☐ I feel good when I have given time/money to a charity.
- ☐ I support charities because my friends and family do.
- ☐ Other *(please specify)*:

9. Where have you noticed advertising for charities and causes?
(select all that apply)

- ☐ Television
- ☐ Radio
- ☐ Billboards and posters
- ☐ Newspapers and magazines

- ☐ Internet
- ☐ Newsletters and leaflets
- ☐ Charity shops
- ☐ Other *(please specify)*:

10. Charities communicate with the general public in a variety of ways.
Below are a list of methods - please indicate whether you consider the ways in which charities communicate with you to be ANNOYING, INFORMATIVE, INTRUSIVE, UPLIFTING/INSPIRING, MAKES ME FEEL BAD/GUILTY.
(please tick all that apply)

	annoying	informative	intrusive/unwanted	uplifting/inspiring	makes me feel bad/guilty
a. TV adverts	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. TV programmes (including Comic Relief, Children in Need)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. Billboards and posters	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. Newspapers and magazines	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. Internet websites and/or emails	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g. Newsletters and leaflets	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
h. Personalised letters from charities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

11. Which of the following causes do you personally think are important to support?

	not at all important	slightly unimportant	slightly important	very important
a. children or young people	○	○	○	○
b. elderly people	○	○	○	○
c. disabled people	○	○	○	○
d. homeless people	○	○	○	○
e. human rights	○	○	○	○
f. medical research	○	○	○	○
g. Third World/overseas aid and development	○	○	○	○
h. medical care (including hospitals/hospices)	○	○	○	○
i. religious organisations	○	○	○	○
j. rescue services	○	○	○	○
k. education	○	○	○	○
l. arts, music, culture	○	○	○	○
m. animals	○	○	○	○
n. environment	○	○	○	○
o. sports	○	○	○	○

12. I would prefer to donate money to a charity that, as a top priority, believes in

	strongly disagree	slightly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	slightly agree	strongly agree
a. changing society as we know it	○	○	○	○	○
b. making people independent and self-sufficient	○	○	○	○	○
c. looking after every aspect of a beneficiary's life	○	○	○	○	○
d. making beneficiaries feel good about themselves	○	○	○	○	○
e. empowering the people the charity is seeking to help	○	○	○	○	○
f. making the public think hard about issues	○	○	○	○	○

13. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	strongly disagree	slightly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	slightly agree	strongly agree
a. There are so many charities that it is difficult to decide which one to give to	○	○	○	○	○
b. There's no point in giving money to the bigger charities because so little gets to the cause	○	○	○	○	○
c. Nowadays charities can only do their job properly if they are run by paid professionals, not volunteers	○	○	○	○	○
d. The bigger the charity becomes, the more out of touch it gets with those it is trying to help	○	○	○	○	○
e. Too often charities don't bother to say how the money they get is being spent	○	○	○	○	○
f. Charities waste too much money on administration	○	○	○	○	○
g. The government has a basic responsibility to take care of people who can't take care of themselves	○	○	○	○	○
h. I like watching TV advertisements for charities	○	○	○	○	○
i. The government ought to help more, not rely on charities to raise needed money	○	○	○	○	○
j. I like to support projects where you can see what your money has bought	○	○	○	○	○

14. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about celebrities promoting charities/causes?

	strongly disagree	slightly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	slightly agree	strongly agree
a. I don't care if celebrities are used.	○	○	○	○	○
b. CHARITIES benefit the most because of the publicity they get.	○	○	○	○	○
c. When celebrities do things for charities, they should be doing it for free.	○	○	○	○	○
d. CELEBRITIES benefit the most because of publicity they get.	○	○	○	○	○
e. I'm sceptical of the celebrities' motivations for promoting charities/causes.	○	○	○	○	○
f. More celebrities should support and promote charities.	○	○	○	○	○

15. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	strongly disagree	slightly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	slightly agree	strongly agree
a. I find it hard to refuse when someone approaches me directly for money	○	○	○	○	○
b. It's rewarding to feel you've helped people in some way	○	○	○	○	○
c. I give to charities because I want to support the good causes for which they work	○	○	○	○	○
d. I usually tell other people when I've donated to charity	○	○	○	○	○
e. I often give because I feel too embarrassed to say 'No' when someone asks	○	○	○	○	○
f. I help causes where my family or friends are involved	○	○	○	○	○
g. I give to charities because they help to create a better society for everybody by reducing the level of social problems	○	○	○	○	○
h. I give to charities because I like the feeling of being generous	○	○	○	○	○
i. I cannot afford to offer my support to charity	○	○	○	○	○
j. It does not really matter whether I give to charity or not, as other people will give anyway	○	○	○	○	○
k. When I give I expect nothing in return	○	○	○	○	○
l. I give to charities which have a good reputation	○	○	○	○	○
m. I feel I am sensitive to the needs of others	○	○	○	○	○

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16. In the future, what do you think you will give to charity?

○ money ○ time ○ a bit of both ○ neither ○ don't know

17. What one thing is most likely to encourage you to give to charity in future?

○ Nothing, I won't give anyway.
○ Nothing, I will give anyway.
○ Having lots more money.
○ Having more time to volunteer.
○ Having a job.
○ Having a strong link with a charity or cause.
○ If there is a sudden crisis or natural disaster.
○ Knowing that the charity spends the money effectively and makes a difference.
○ If their advertising is good/persuasive.
○ If a celebrity I know and admire supports them.
○ Don't know.
○ Other *(please specify)*:

18. The following is a list of things that some people look for or want out of life.
Please study the list carefully and then rate each thing on how important it is in your daily life, where *1 = not at all important and 5 = very important*.

	1	2	3	4	5
a. sense of belonging	○	○	○	○	○
b. excitement	○	○	○	○	○
c. warm relationships with others	○	○	○	○	○
d. self-fulfilment	○	○	○	○	○
e. being well respected	○	○	○	○	○
f. fun and enjoyment in life	○	○	○	○	○
g. security	○	○	○	○	○
h. self-respect	○	○	○	○	○
i. a sense of accomplishment	○	○	○	○	○

19.
Now reread the items from above and select the one thing that is most important to you in your daily life.

Select an answer ▼

20. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	strongly disagree	slightly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	slightly agree	strongly agree
a. I'd rather spend time buying things than doing almost anything else	○	○	○	○	○
b. I would be happier if I had more money to buy more things for myself	○	○	○	○	○
c. I have fun just thinking of all the things I own	○	○	○	○	○
d. I really enjoy going shopping	○	○	○	○	○
e. I like to buy things my friends have	○	○	○	○	○
f. When you get a bit older the more money you have the happier you are	○	○	○	○	○
g. I'd rather not share my things with others if it means I'll have less for myself	○	○	○	○	○
h. I would love to be able to to buy things that cost lots of money	○	○	○	○	○
i. I really like people who have expensive things	○	○	○	○	○
j. The only kind of job I want is one that gets me a lot of money	○	○	○	○	○
k. I think others judge me as a person by the kinds of products and brands I use	○	○	○	○	○

AND FINALLY...

Some questions about you...

21. Please indicate your gender:

○ Female   ○ Male

22. Please write your age in the following box.

[   ]

---

23. Which of the following best describes your current occupational status?

○ Unemployed
○ Self-employed
○ In full-time employment
○ In part-time employment
○ On a gap year
○ Student (full-time or part-time)
○ Other (please specify):
[   ]

    a. Please write your job title/occupation in the box below.
    [   ]

    b. Please indicate which of the following best describes you:
    [Select an answer ▼]

    Do you have a part-time job?

    ○ Yes - I have one part-time job.   ○ Yes - I have more than one part-time job.   ○ No

---

24. In which of the following bands does your **personal** annual income (before tax) fall?

○ £0 - £5,000
○ £5,001 - £10,000
○ £10,001 - £20,000
○ £20,001 - £30,000
○ £30,001 - £40,000
○ £40,001 and over

25. Which, if any, of the qualifications do you have?
   (select all that apply)

☐ None
☐ Standard Grades / GCSEs
☐ Highers / Advanced Highers / CSYS / AS/A-levels
☐ Higher National Certificates / Higher National Diplomas
☐ Degree (e.g. BA, MA, BSc)
☐ Postgraduate Degree (e.g. MSc, PhD, PGCE)
☐ Professional qualifications (e.g. CA)
☐ Other (please specify):
[   ]

---

26. Please state which town/city you live in?

[   ]

    Would you consider the area in which you live to be
    [Select an answer ▼]

27. Please indicate your country of birth:

○ Scotland ○ England ○ Wales ○ Northern Ireland
○ Other *(please specify)*: [_____]

28. What is your ethnic group?

○ White ○ Asian or Asian British ○ Black or Black British
○ Other *(please specify)*: [_____]

29. What is your religion?

○ None ○ Christian ○ Buddhist ○ Jewish ○ Muslim ○ Sikh
○ Other *(please specify)*: [_____]

---

30. Please indicate your marital status:

○ Single
○ In a relationship and living together
○ In a relationship and not living together
○ Married
○ Other *(please specify)*:
[_____]

31. Do you have any children?

○ Yes ○ No

How many children do you have?
[_____]

---

32. How many people, including you, live in your household?

[Select an answer ▼]

For each person in your household, please state their relationship to you
(for example, *two flatmates* **or** *father, mother, two brothers*)

[_____
_____
_____]

33. Do you have any pets?

○ Yes ○ No

34. THIS IS THE END OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE.
If you have any other comments about this questionnaire or the overall study, please use the box below to express them.

[_____
_____
_____]

Making A Difference
QUESTIONNAIRE
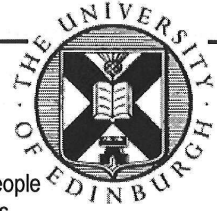
Hi, my name is Mary and I am doing some research about how
young people donate and relate to charities. This involves me asking young people
about things you may have done for charity and how you feel about charities.
The questionnaire should take about 10 minutes to fill in.

1. People can make a difference to others in a variety of ways.
   Have you taken part in the following activities
   a) ever?
   b) within the last 6 months (since January)?

(Please tick all that apply)	ever	last 6 months
Sponsored someone else to do something for charity	☐	☑
Given money to charity	☐	☑
Taken part in charity events (like Comic Relief, Children in Need)	☑	☐
Given money to beggars in the street	☐	☑
Taken part in a sponsored event (like a sponsored walk, silence, etc)	☐	☑
Spent time doing something for a charity	☐	☑
Bought anything in a charity shop	☑	☐
Bought charity-related products (like wristbands, badges, t-shirts, etc)	☐	☑
Bought any Fairtrade products	☐	☑
Given anything to be sold in a charity shop	☑	☐
Helped out a neighbour	☐	☐
Recycled used glass, cans, paper, clothes	☐	☑
Campaigning/protesting for a charity/cause	☐	☐
Encouraged others to donate to charity	☑	☐
Other, please specify _____	☐	☐

2. People can give money to charity in lots of different ways.
   Have you given money to charity in the following ways
   a) ever?
   b) within the last month?

(Please tick all that apply)	ever	last month
Given money on the street – charity tins/buckets	☐	☑
Given money at a shop counter	☐	☑
Given money at church	☐	☐
Given money to a collection at school	☐	☑
Given money because of events like Comic Relief, Children in Need	☑	☐
Other, please specify _____	☐	☐

3. Could you guess how much you gave to charity in total in the last month?

   Nothing ☐   £0 - £1 ☑   £1.01 - £2.50 ☐   £2.51 - £5 ☐   More than £5 ☐

4. Do you prefer to give to charity occasionally, regularly, a bit of both or never?

   Occasionally ☐   Regularly ☑   Both ☐   Never ☐

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5. Do you currently volunteer or spend time doing something for a charity/community group?

Yes ☐

No ☑

→ Please write down the names of any charities you volunteer with.
_____

What do you do when you volunteer? _____
_____
_____

---

6. There are many reasons for supporting charities.
Why do you support charities/causes? *(Please tick all that apply)*

I do not support charities/causes. ☐	I would feel guilty if I didn't give to charity. ☑
I believe in the charities' work. ☑	Charities make it so easy to give. ☐
I feel it is my duty to give to charity. ☐	Charity adverts are very persuasive. ☐
I support charities because my friends and family do. ☐	I feel good when I have given to a charity. ☑
I give because I benefit from the work charities do. ☐	I give because of religious reasons. ☐
I give because my friends/family have been helped by charities. ☐	I give because I can afford to. ☑
Other, please specify _____ ☐	

---

7. Where have you noticed advertising for charities and causes?
(Please tick all that apply)

Television ☐	Newspapers and magazines ☑
Radio ☑	Internet ☐
Billboards and posters ☑	Newsletters and leaflets ☑
Charity shops ☑	Other, please specify ☐ _____

---

8. Which of the following causes do you think are important to support?

	Not at all important	Slightly unimportant	Slightly important	Very important
Children or young people (e.g. NSPCC, Save the Children)	○	○	○	●
Elderly people (e.g. Help the Aged, Age Concern)	○	○	●	○
Disabled people (e.g. Deafblind UK, National Autistic Society)	○	○	●	○
Homeless people (e.g. Shelter)	○	○	●	○
Human rights (e.g. Amnesty International)	○	○	○	●
Medical research (e.g. Cancer Research, British Heart Foundation)	○	○	○	●
Third World/overseas aid and development (e.g. Oxfam)	○	○	●	○
Medical care (e.g. Macmillan Cancer Support, St John Ambulance)	○	○	○	●
Religious organisations (e.g. The Salvation Army, Christian Aid)	○	○	●	○
Rescue services (e.g. Mountain Rescue Team, Lifeboats)	○	○	○	●
Education (e.g. Bag Books, Chance UK)	○	○	○	●
Arts, music, culture (e.g. The National Gallery, Royal Opera House)	○	○	●	○
Animals (e.g. RSPCA, WWF, Dogs Trust)	○	○	○	●
Environment (e.g. The National Trust, Greenpeace)	○	○	○	●
Sports (e.g. Athletics Foundation, Access Sport)	○	○	●	○

9. How much do you agree or disagree with the following sentences?

	Disagree a lot	Disagree a little bit	I don't agree or disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a lot
ABOUT CHARITIES					
There are so many charities that it's hard to decide which one to give to.	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐
I like giving to bigger charities more than little charities.	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think TV adverts for charities are annoying.	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐
TV adverts for charities make me feel guilty.	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐
I find it hard to refuse when someone asks me to give money to charity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑
I usually tell other people when I've given to charity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑
I help causes where my family or friends are involved.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑
I often give because I feel too embarrassed to say 'No' when someone asks.	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
I give to charities because I like the feeling of being generous.	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐
I can't afford to give that much to charity.	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐
It doesn't matter if I give to charity because other people will give anyway.	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I give I expect nothing in return.	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐
I feel I understand the needs of other people.	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐
When I grow up I want to give more to charity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑
I would like to find out more about charities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑
I enjoy doing things for charity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑
ABOUT CELEBRITIES AND CHARITIES					
When celebrities do things for charities, they should be doing it for free.	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐
More celebrities should support or promote charities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑
When celebrities help charities, the CELEBRITIES benefit more than CHARITIES from the attention they get.	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐
ABOUT MONEY AND BUYING THINGS					
I wish my family could afford to buy me more of what I want.	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐
I wish my parents gave me more money to spend.	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐
I wish my parents earned more money.	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐
I usually have something in mind that I want to buy or get.	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐
I want to make a lot of money when I grow up.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑
When I go somewhere special, I usually like to buy something.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑
Brand names matter to me.	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐
I like clothes with popular labels.	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐
Being cool is important to me.	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐

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10. Below is a list of things that some people look for or want out of life.
Read each thing and rate how important they are in your daily life.

	Not at all important				Very Important
Feeling like you belong to something	1	2	3	4	(5)
Being excited	1	2	(3)	4	5
Warm relationships with people	1	2	3	(4)	5
Feeling fulfilled or satisfied with yourself	1	(2)	3	4	5
Being respected by others	1	2	(3)	4	5
(Having fun and enjoying yourself)	1	2	3	4	(5)
Feeling secure	1	2	3	4	(5)
Respecting yourself	1	2	3	(4)	5
Achieving things and being successful	1	2	3	4	(5)

➡ Now read over the list again and circle the one thing that is the most important to you.

11. Please tick your gender:　　　Male ☐　　　Female ☑

12. Please write your age in the following box:　[10]　years old

13. Do you get any pocket money?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Yes ☑　　No ☐
Do you get any money for doing a job or helping around the house?　Yes ☐　　No ☑

14. Altogether how much money do you get each week?

☐ Nothing　　☐ £0 - £1　　☐ £1.01 - £2.50　　☐ £2.51 - £5　　☑ £5.01-£10　　☐ More than £10

15. Please write which town/city you live in?　　Dalgety Bay

16. Which country were you born in?　　Scotland

17. What is your ethnic group?

White ☑　　　Asian ☐　　　Black ☐　　　Other, please specify _____

18. What is your religion?

None ☑　　Christian ☐　　Buddhist ☐　　Jewish ☐　　Muslim ☐　　Sikh ☐

Other, please specify _____

19. How many people live in your house, including you?　[3] people

20. For each person in your house, please write their relationship to you
(for example, *father, mother, two brothers* or *mother, sister*)

Mother, Stepfather

21. Do you have any pets?　　　Yes ☑　　　No ☐

END OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE
Thank you very much for filling in this questionnaire!

Best wishes,
Mary ☺

Appendix 4

Statistical analysis

Table 1: Crosstabulation of how much respondents gave to charity in the last month against gender for 9-11 year-olds

Expected and actual counts are presented.

gender * how much you gave to charity in last month Crosstabulation								
			how much you gave to charity in last month					Total
			nothing	£0 - £1	£1.01 - £2.50	£2.51 - £5	£5.01 - £10	
gender	male	Count	34	24	16	9	23	106
		Expected Count	20.3	23.2	21.8	14.5	26.1	106.0
		% of Total	15.5%	11.0%	7.3%	4.1%	10.5%	48.4%
	female	Count	8	24	29	21	31	113
		Expected Count	21.7	24.8	23.2	15.5	27.9	113.0
		% of Total	3.7%	11.0%	13.2%	9.6%	14.2%	51.6%
Total		Count	42	48	45	30	54	219
		Expected Count	42.0	48.0	45.0	30.0	54.0	219.0
		% of Total	19.2%	21.9%	20.5%	13.7%	24.7%	100.0%

Table 2: Chi-square table for gender and the level of monetary donation in the last month

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25.638[a]	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	27.036	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	13.742	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	219		
a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14.52.			

Table 3: Crosstabulation of how much respondents gave to charity in the last month against gender for 12-16 year-olds

Expected and actual counts are presented.

gender * how much you gave to charity in last month Crosstabulation										
			how much you gave to charity in last month								
			nothing	£0 - £1	£1.01 - £2.50	£2.51 - £5	£5.01 - £10	£10.01 - £20	£20.01 - £30	More than £30	Total
gender	male	Count	16	15	15	5	12	2	0	7	72
		Expected Count	12.9	10.8	12.3	5.1	13.4	11.3	.5	5.7	72.0
		% of Total	11.4%	10.7%	10.7%	3.6%	8.6%	1.4%	.0%	5.0%	51.4%
	female	Count	9	6	9	5	14	20	1	4	68
		Expected Count	12.1	10.2	11.7	4.9	12.6	10.7	.5	5.3	68.0
		% of Total	6.4%	4.3%	6.4%	3.6%	10.0%	14.3%	.7%	2.9%	48.6%
Total		Count	25	21	24	10	26	22	1	11	140
		Expected Count	25.0	21.0	24.0	10.0	26.0	22.0	1.0	11.0	140.0
		% of Total	17.9%	15.0%	17.1%	7.1%	18.6%	15.7%	.7%	7.9%	100.0%

Table 4: Chi-square table for gender and the level of monetary donation in the last month

| Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.922[a]	7	.001
Likelihood Ratio	26.836	7	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.506	1	.004
N of Valid Cases	140		
a. 3 cells (18.8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .49.			

Table 5: Descriptive statistics for religion

Descriptives								
how much you gave to charity in last month								
					95% Confidence Interval for Mean			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Minimum	Maximum
none	142	1.92	1.474	.124	1.68	2.17	0	4
christian	70	2.20	1.410	.169	1.86	2.54	0	4
buddhist	1	4.00	.	.	.	.	4	4
jewish	2	.50	.707	.500	-5.85	6.85	0	1
muslim	1	2.00	.	.	.	.	2	2
other	1	1.00	.	.	.	.	1	1
Total	217	2.00	1.455	.099	1.81	2.20	0	4

Table 6: Analysis of variance table for religion by the level of monetary donation in the last month

ANOVA					
how much you gave to charity in last month					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	13.148	5	2.630	1.250	.287
Within Groups	443.848	211	2.104		
Total	456.995	216			

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Graph 1 and Graph 2: Means plots for religion and ethnic origin by the amount donated in the last month (for 9-11 year-olds)
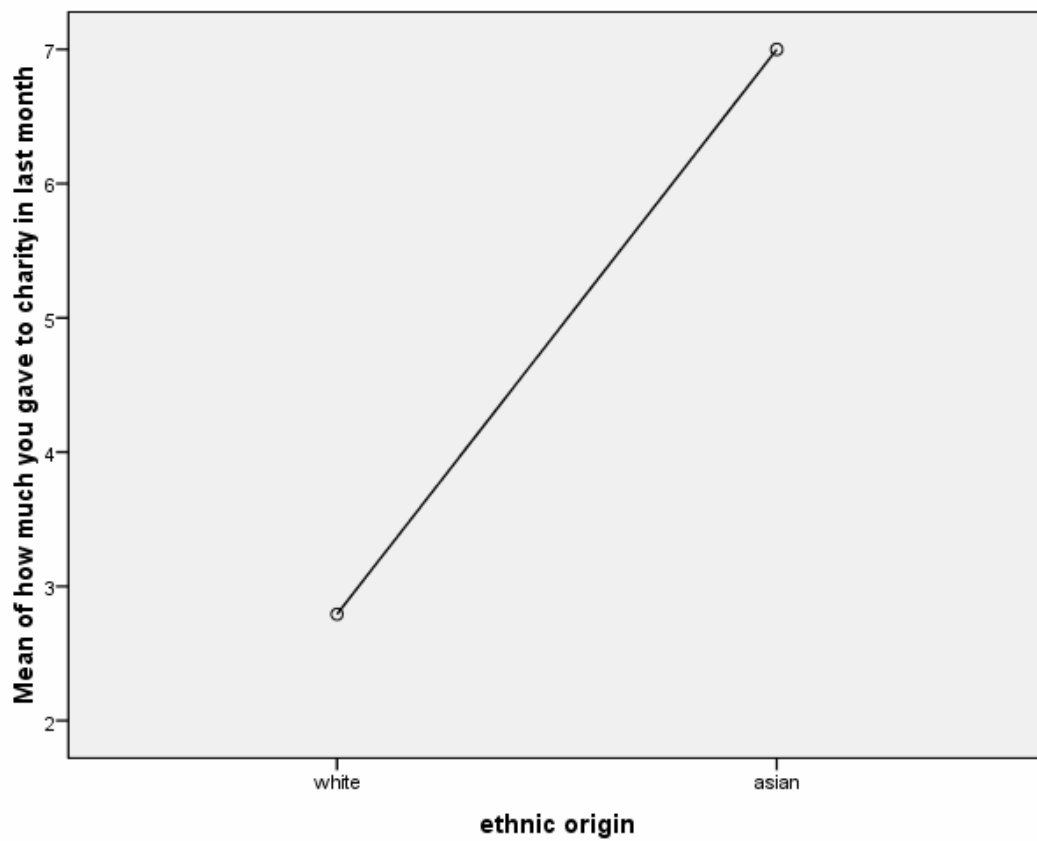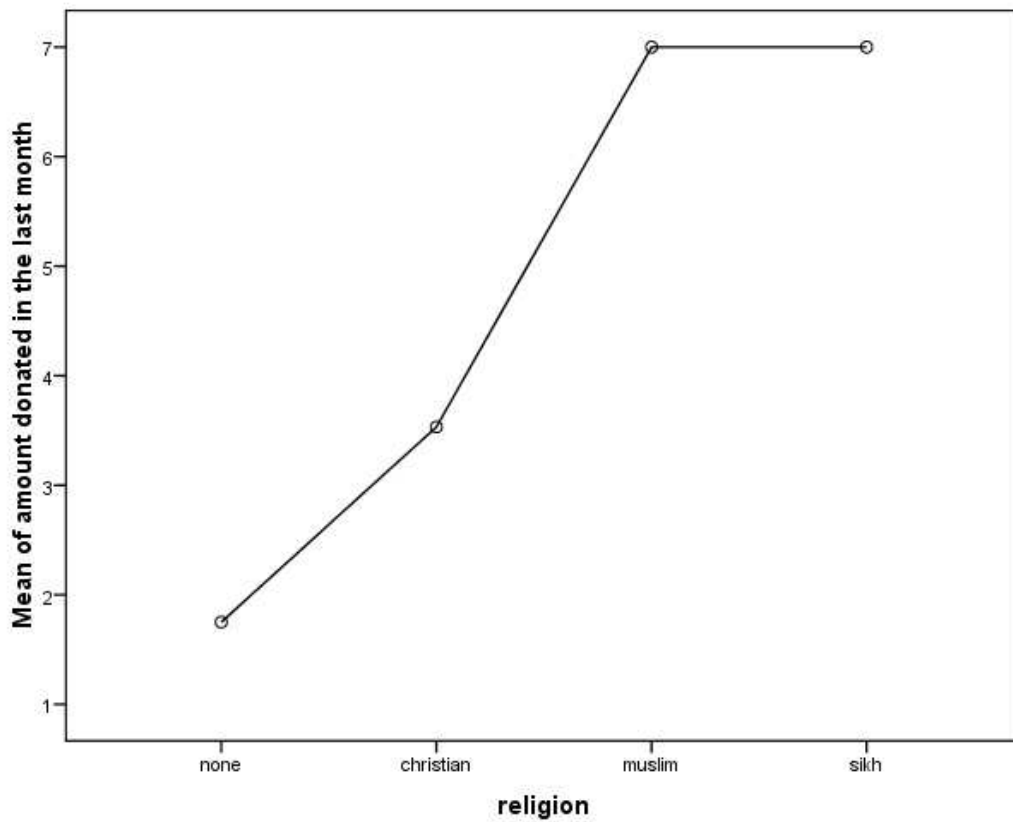
Graph 3 and Graph 4: Means plots for religion and ethnic origin by the amount donated in the last month (for 12-16 year-olds)
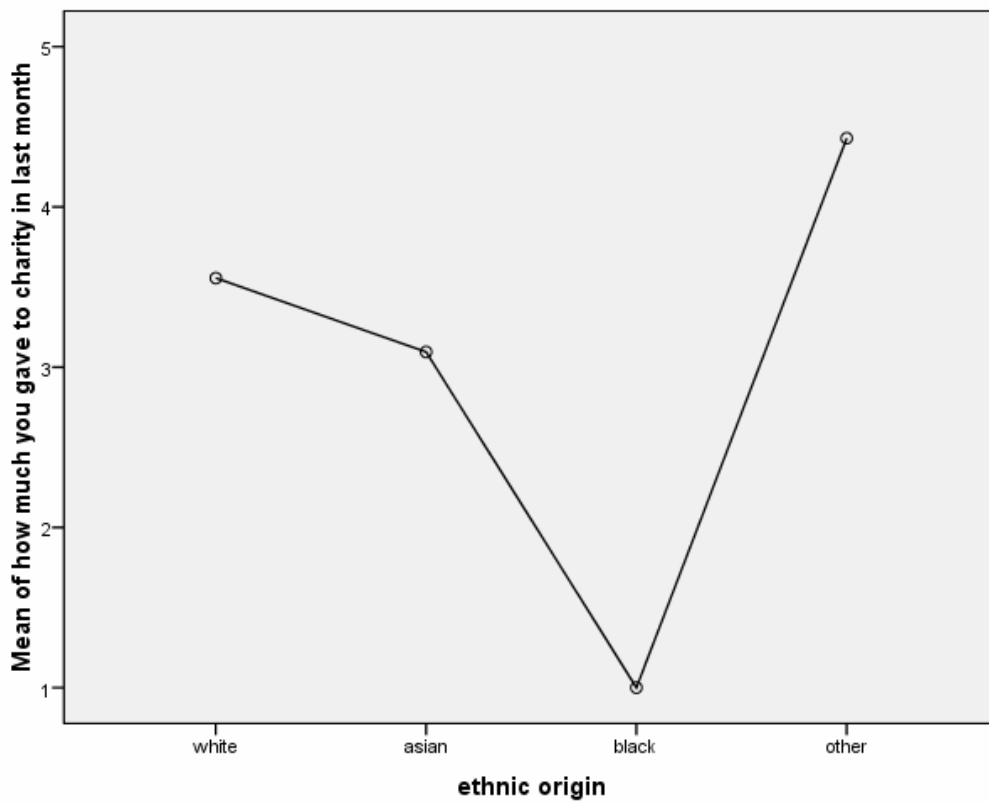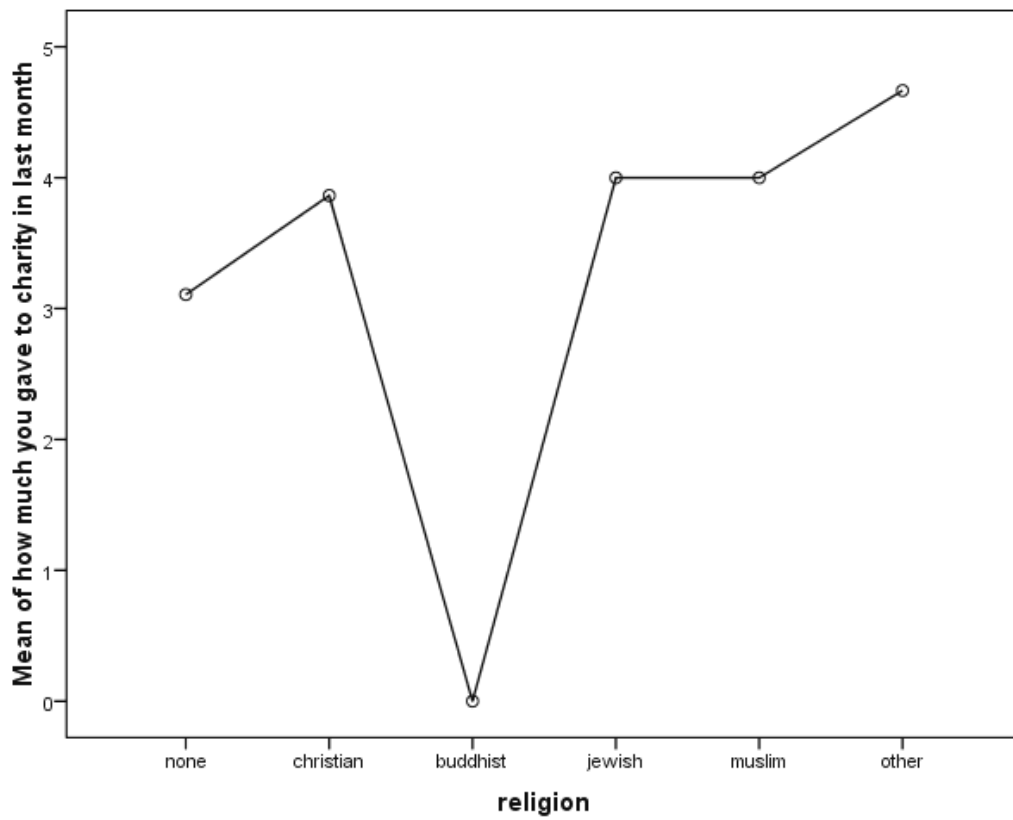
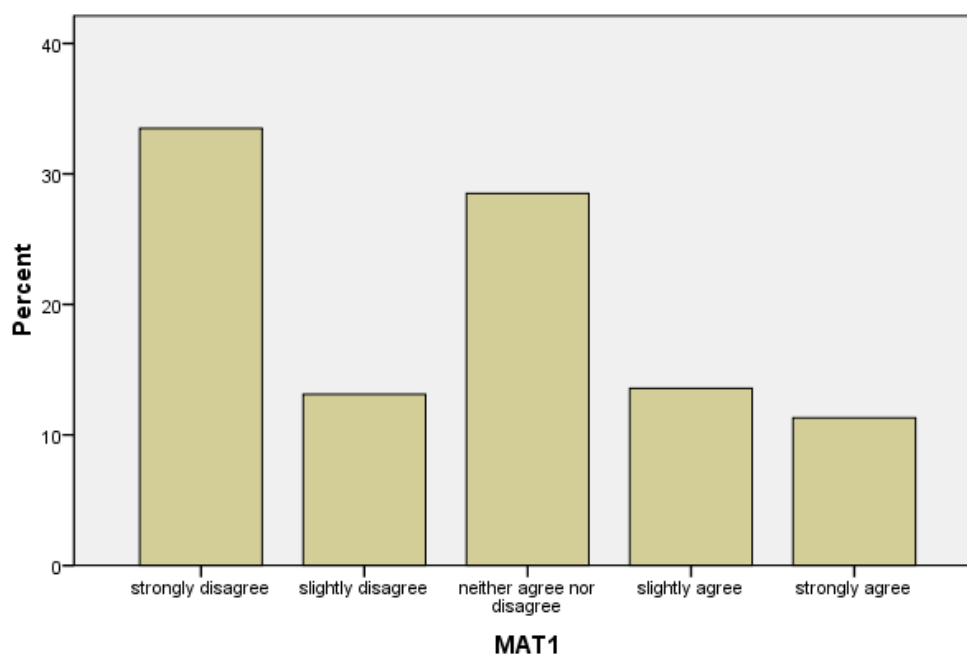**Materialism scores**

9-11 year-olds

Strongly disagree = 1
Slightly disagree = 2
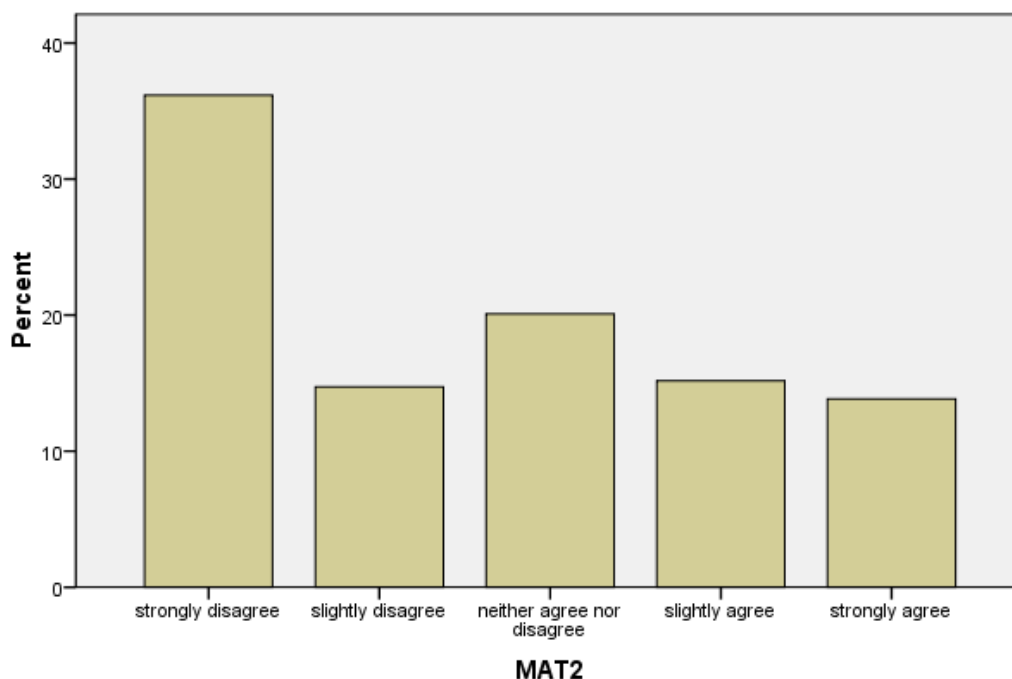Neither agree nor disagree = 3
Slightly agree = 4
Strongly agree = 5

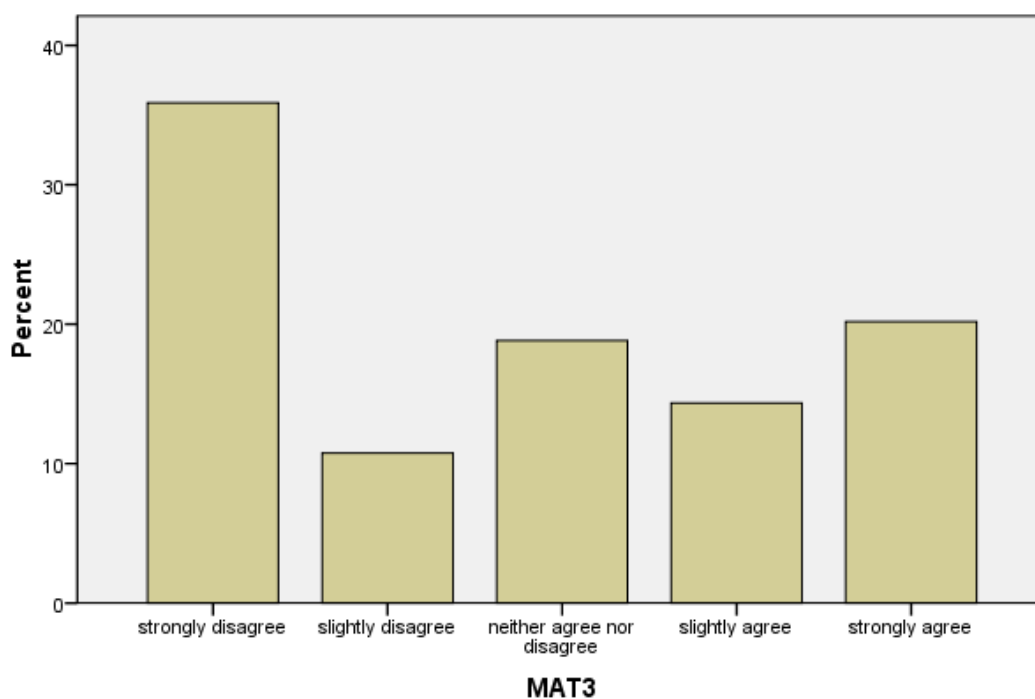**MAT1 - I wish my family could afford to buy me more of what I want.**

MAT1

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
9-11 year-olds	33.5%	13.1%	28.5%	13.6%	11.3%
Mean	2.56				
Median	3				
Standard deviation	1.369				

MAT2 - I wish my parents gave me more money to spend.

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
9-11 year-olds	36.2%	14.7%	20.1%	15.2%	13.8%
Mean	2.56				
Median	2				
Standard deviation	1.454				

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MAT3 - I wish my parents earned more money.

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
9-11 year-olds	35.9%	10.8%	18.8%	14.3%	20.2%
Mean	2.72				
Median	3				
Standard deviation	1.558				

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MAT4 - I usually have something in mind that I want to buy or get.
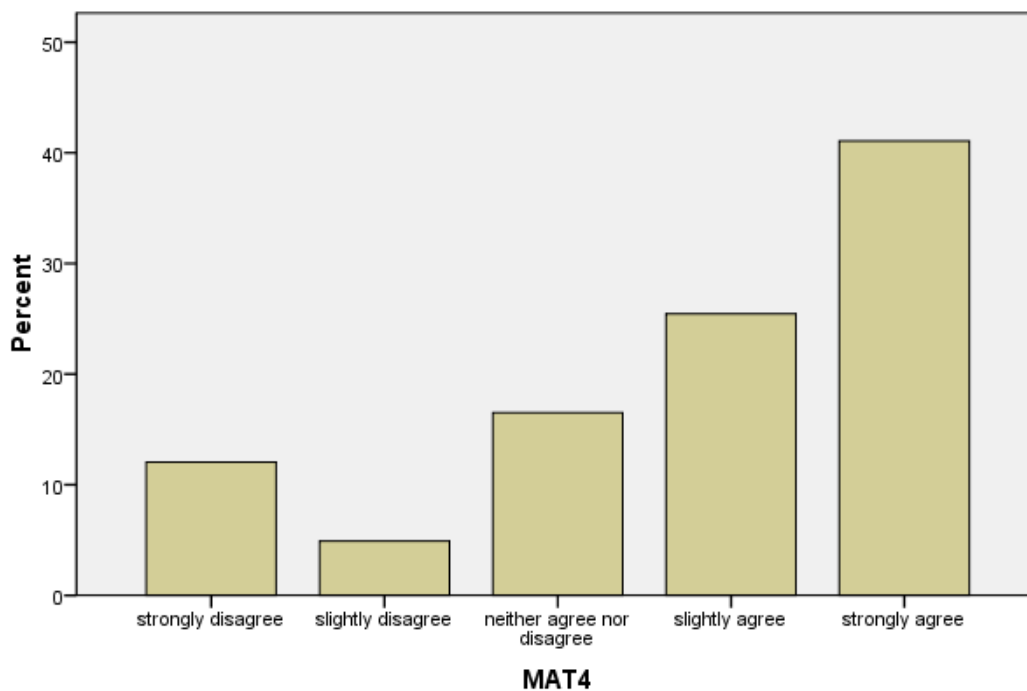
MAT4

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
9-11 year-olds	12.1%	4.9%	16.5%	25.4%	41.1%
Mean	3.79				
Median	4				
Standard deviation	1.349				

MAT5 - I want to make a lot of money when I grow up.
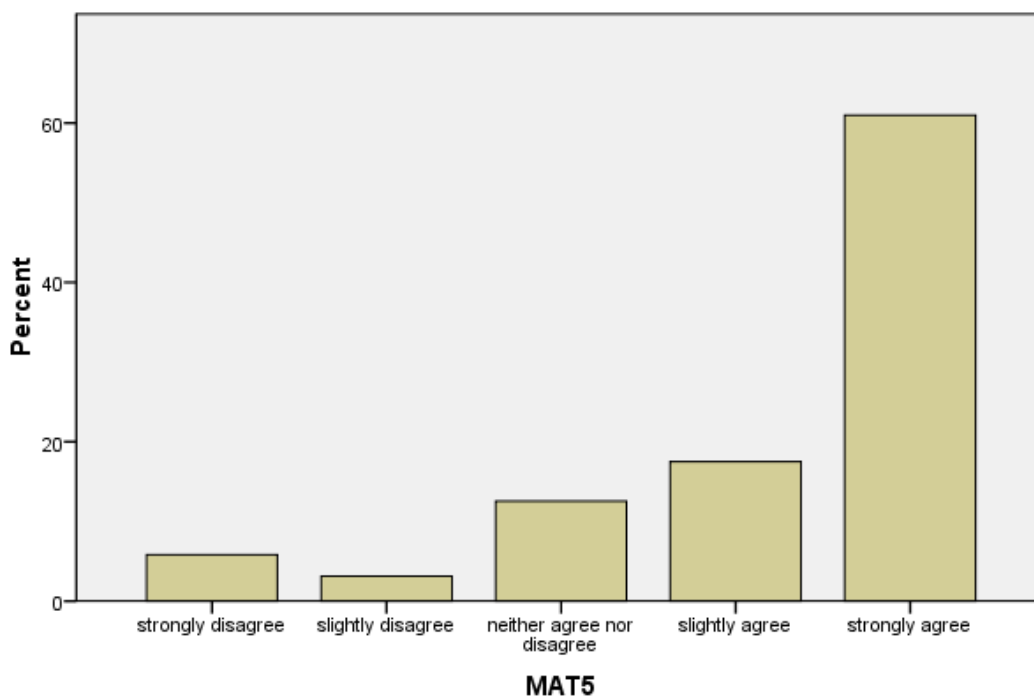
	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
9-11 year-olds	5.8%	3.1%	12.6%	17.5%	61.0%
Mean	4.25				
Median	5				
Standard deviation	1.154				

MAT6 - When I go somewhere special, I usually like to buy something.
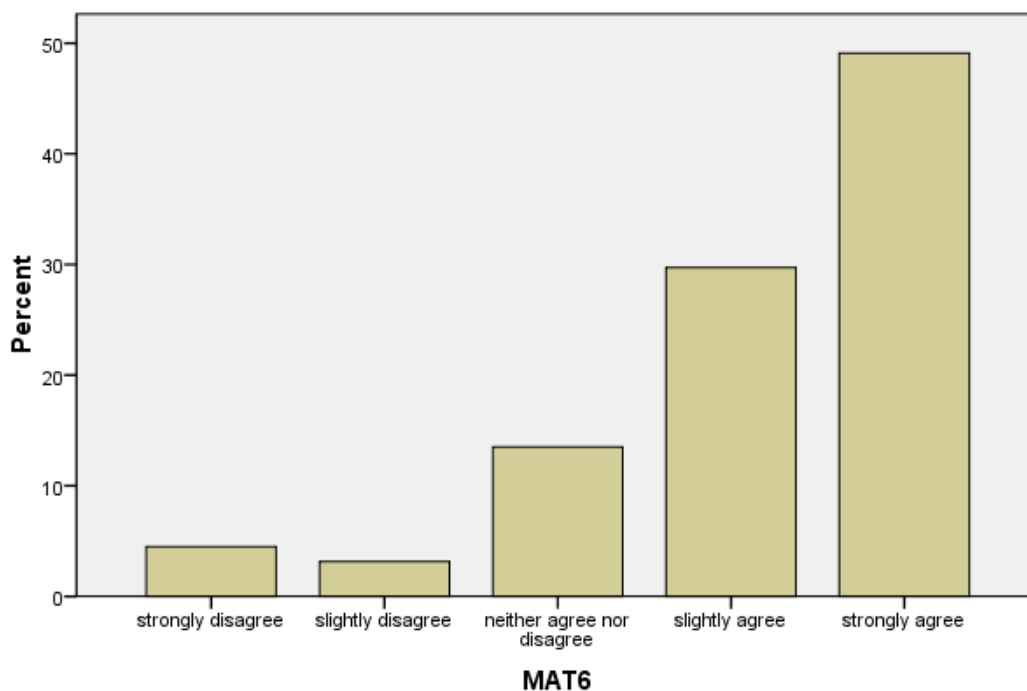
	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
9-11 year-olds	4.5%	3.2%	13.5%	29.7%	49.1%
Mean	4.16				
Median	4				
Standard deviation	1.067				

MAT7 - Brand names matter to me.
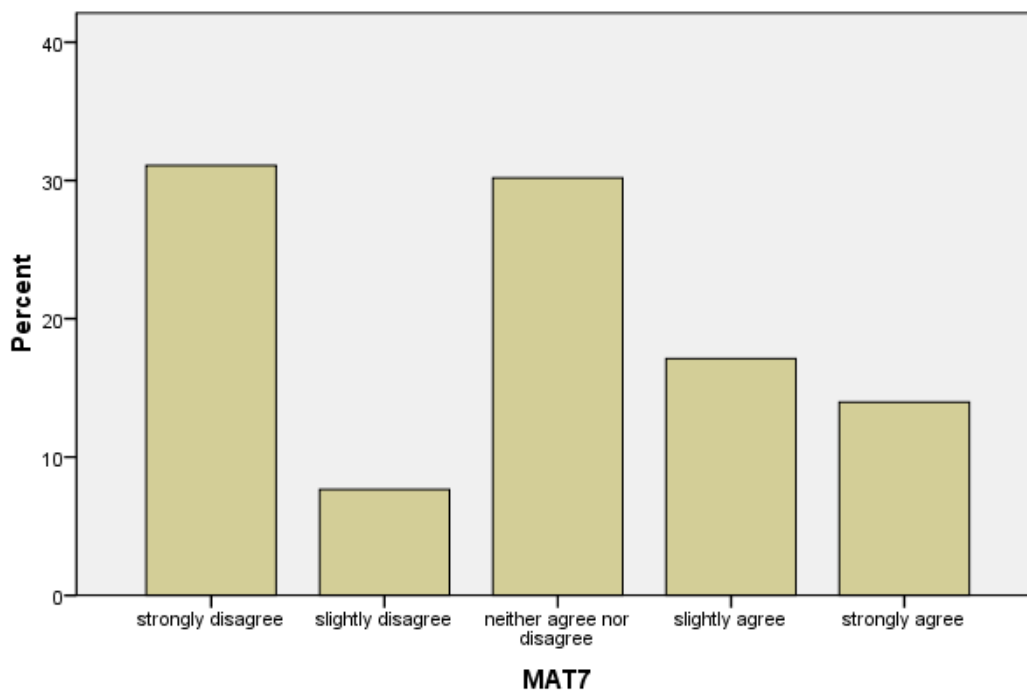
MAT7

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
9-11 year-olds	31.1%	7.7%	30.2%	17.1%	14.0%
Mean	2.75				
Median	3				
Standard deviation	1.413				

MAT8 - I like clothes with popular labels.
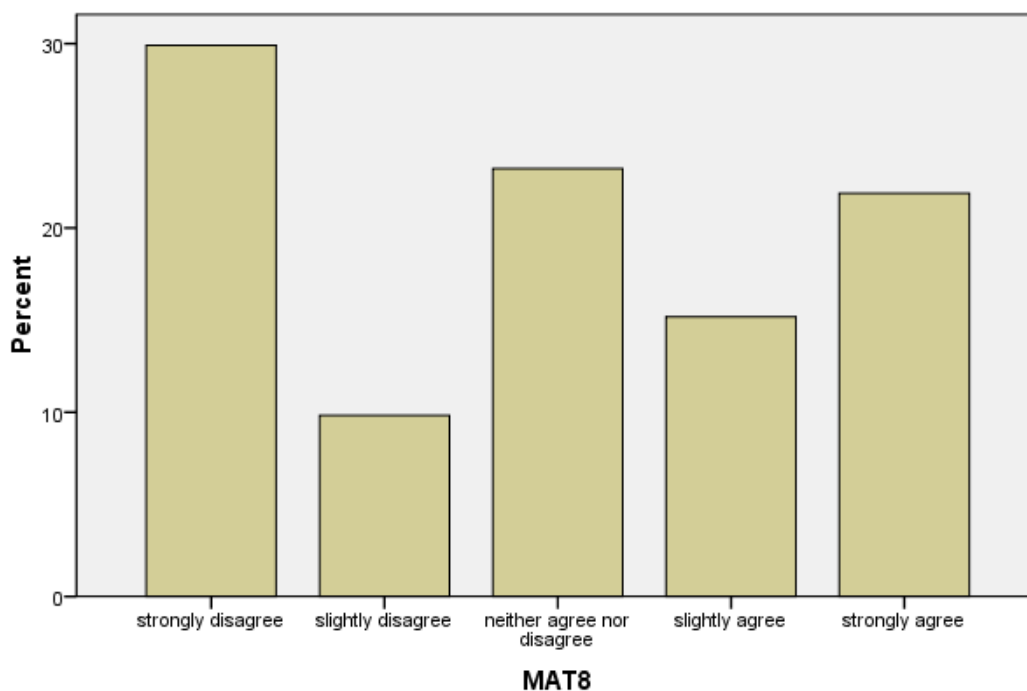
MAT8

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
9-11 year-olds	29.9%	9.8%	23.2%	15.2%	21.9%
Mean	2.89				
Median	3				
Standard deviation	1.523				

MAT9 - Being cool is important to me.
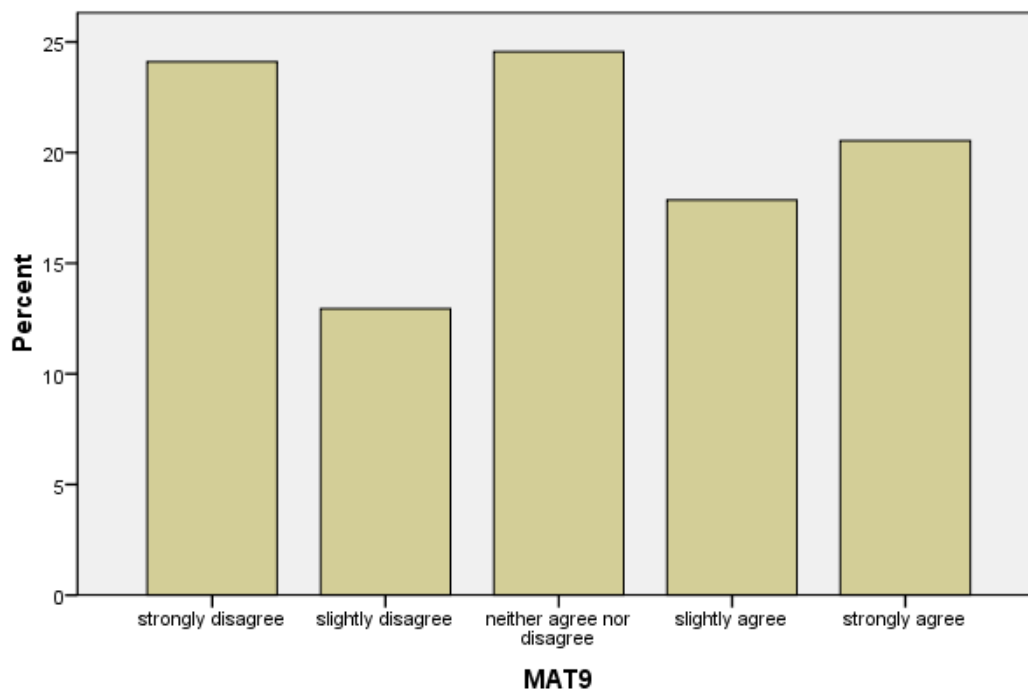
MAT9

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
9-11 year-olds	24.1%	12.9%	24.6%	17.9%	20.5%
Mean	2.98				
Median	3				
Standard deviation	1.450				

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12-16 year-olds

Strongly disagree = 1
Slightly disagree = 2
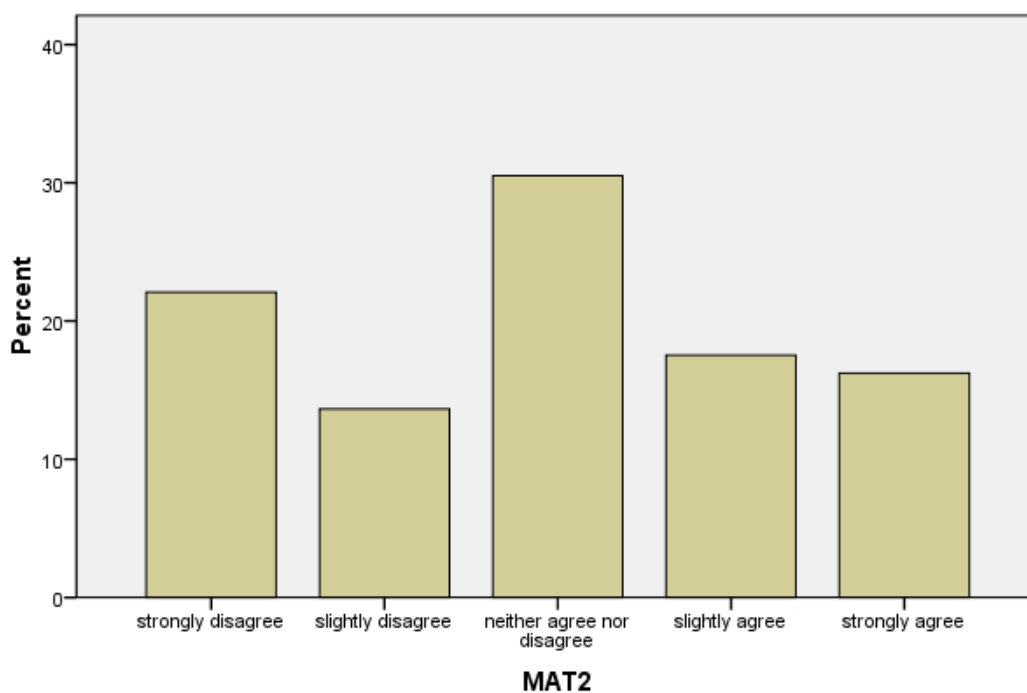Neither agree nor disagree = 3
Slightly agree = 4
Strongly agree = 5

MAT1 – I'd rather spend time buying things than doing almost anything else.
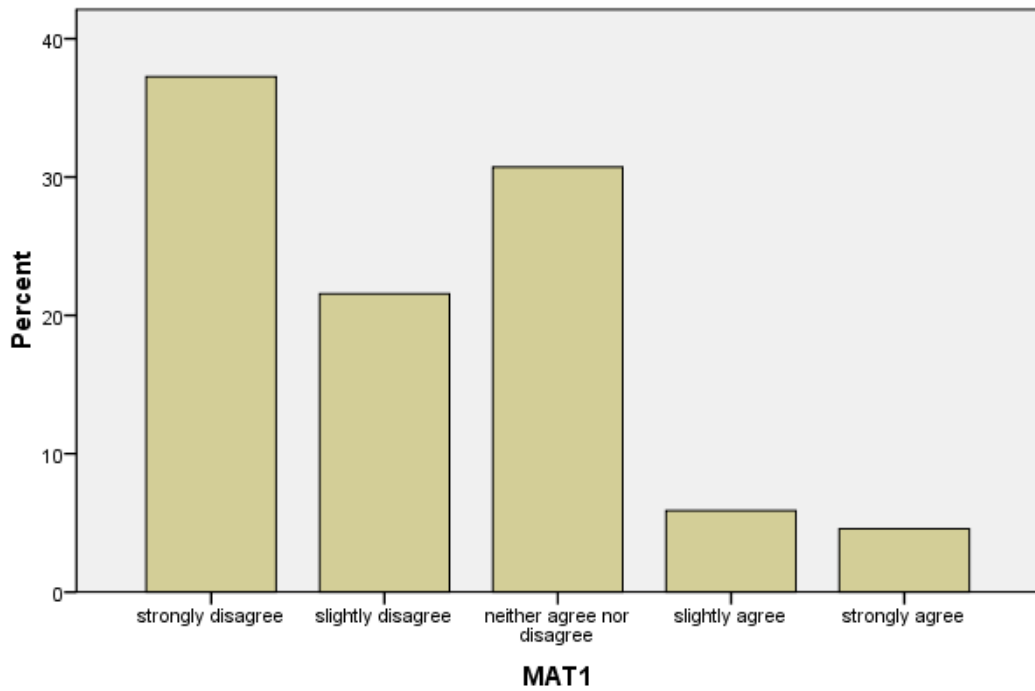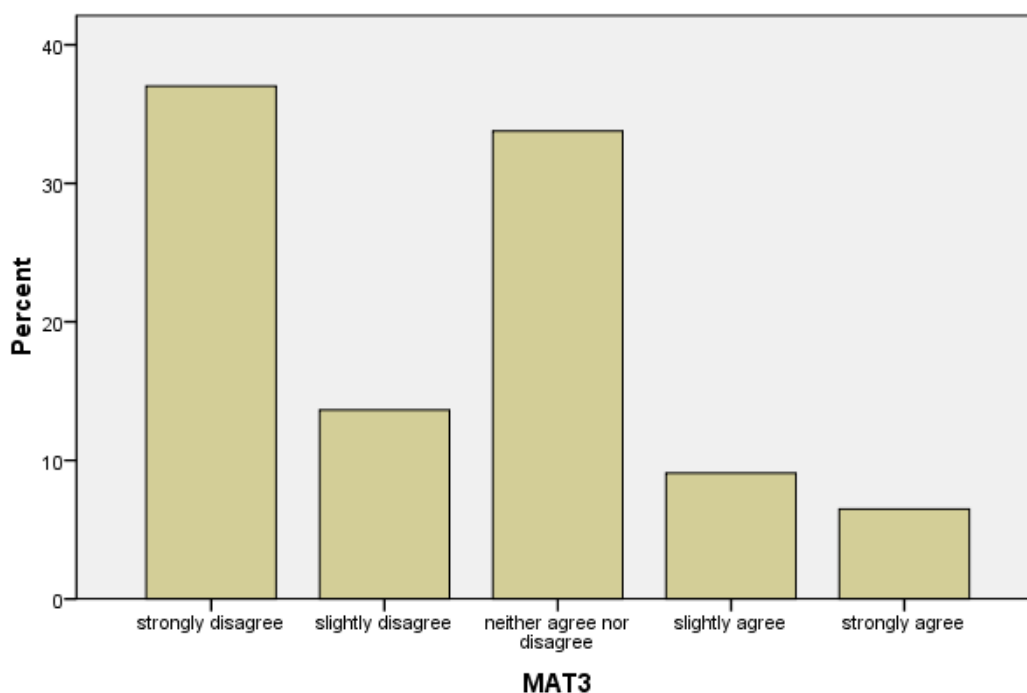

MAT1

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
12-16 year-olds	37.3%	21.6%	30.7%	5.9%	4.6%
Mean	2.19				
Median	2				
Standard deviation	1.140				

MAT2 – I have fun just thinking of all the things I own.

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
12-16 year-olds	22.1%	13.6%	30.5%	17.5%	16.2%
Mean	2.92				
Median	3				
Standard deviation	1.360				

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MAT3 – I really enjoy going shopping.

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
12-16 year-olds	37.0%	13.6%	33.8%	9.1%	6.5%
Mean	2.34				
Median	2				
Standard deviation	1.244				

MAT4 – I like to buy things my friends have.
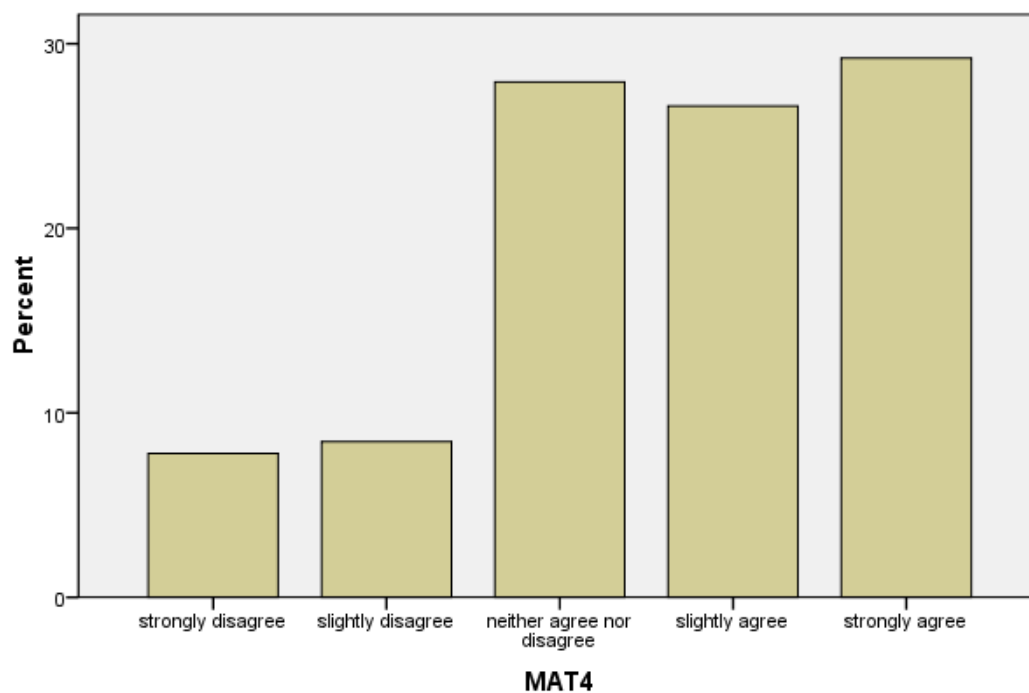
	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
12-16 year-olds	7.8%	8.4%	27.9%	26.6%	29.2%
Mean	3.61				
Median	4				
Standard deviation	1.212				

MAT5 – When you grow up the more money you have the happier you are.
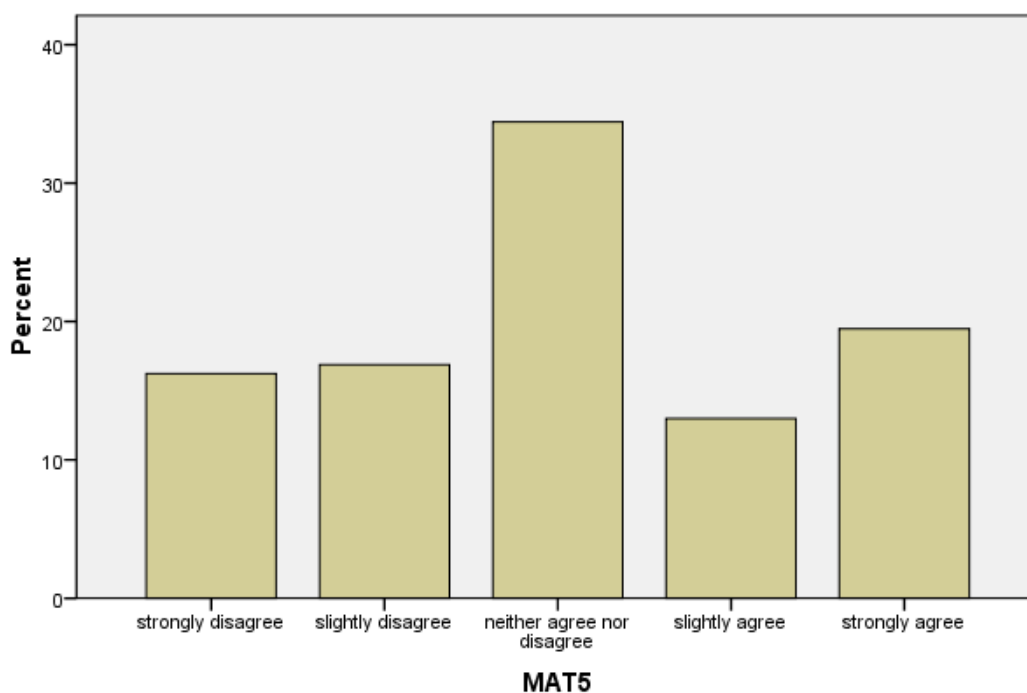
	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
12-16 year-olds	16.2%	16.9%	34.4%	13.0%	19.5%
Mean	3.03				
Median	3				
Standard deviation	1.318				

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MAT6 – I'd rather not share my things with others if it means I'll have less for myself.
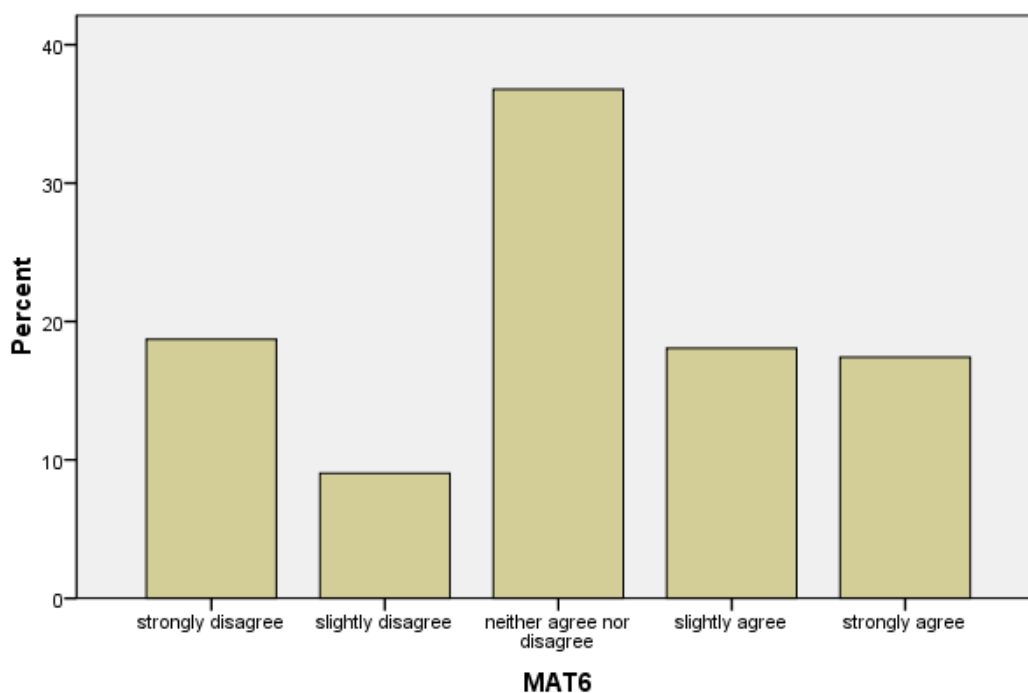
MAT6

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
12-16 year-olds	18.7%	9.0%	36.8%	18.1%	17.4%
Mean	3.06				
Median	3				
Standard deviation	1.313				

MAT7 – I would love to be able to buy things that cost lots of money.
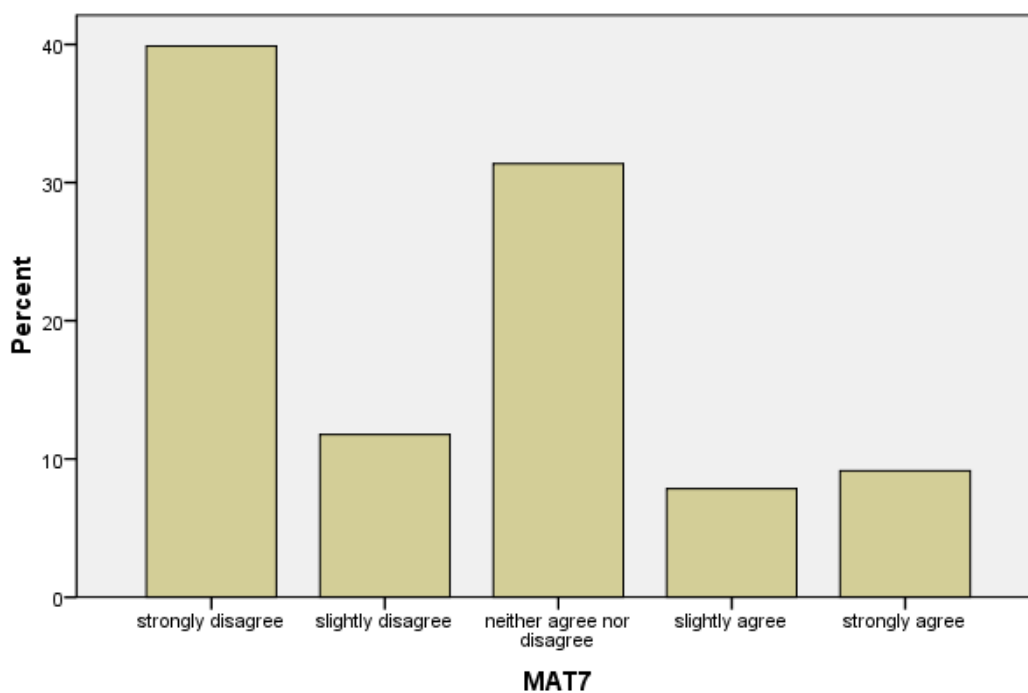
	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
12-16 year-olds	39.9%	11.8%	31.4%	7.8%	9.2%
Mean	2.35				
Median	2				
Standard deviation	1.319				

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MAT8 – I really like people who have expensive things.
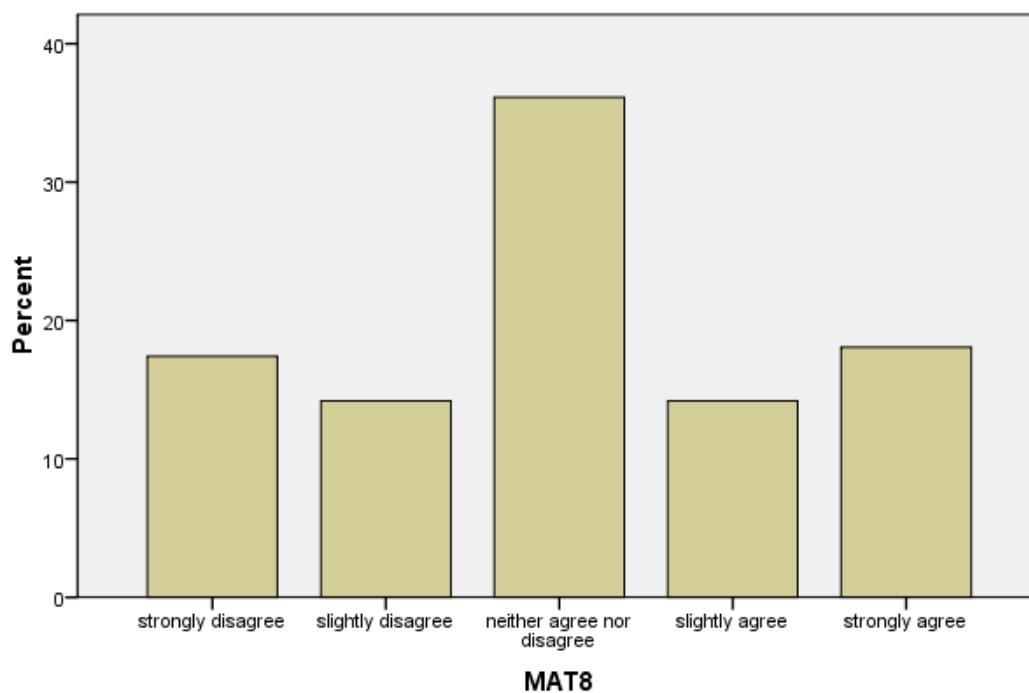
	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
12-16 year-olds	17.4%	14.2%	36.1%	14.2%	18.1%
Mean	3.01				
Median	3				
Standard deviation	1.309				

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MAT9 – The only kind of job I want when I grow up is one that gets me a lot of money.
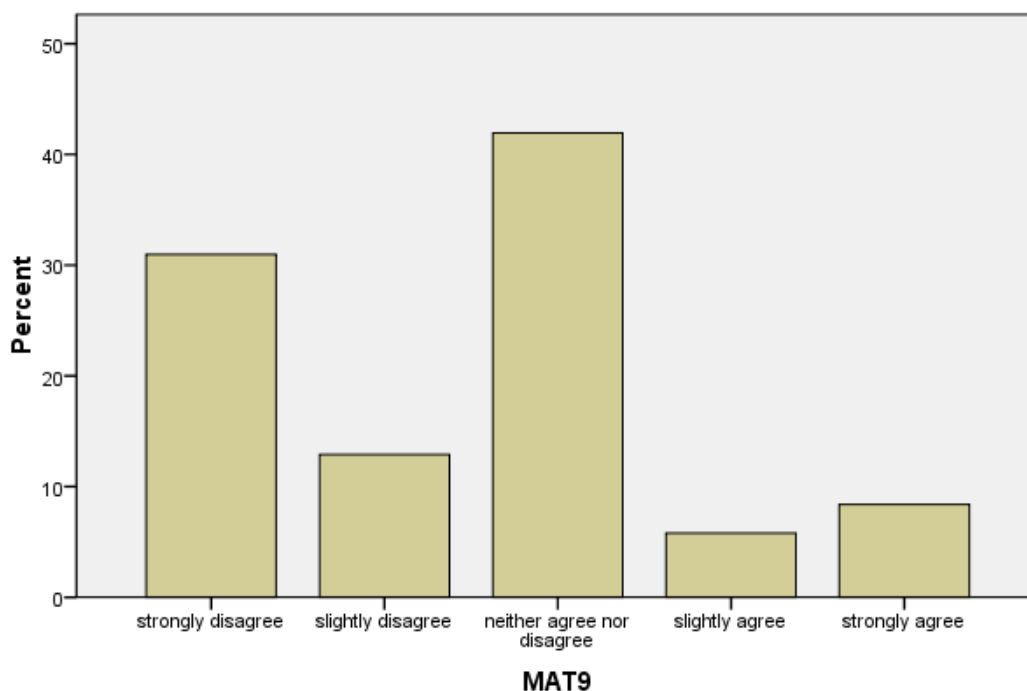
	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
12-16 year-olds	31.0%	12.9%	41.9%	5.8%	8.4%
Mean	2.48				
Median	3				
Standard deviation	1.224				

MAT 10 – I think others judge me as a person by the kinds of products and brands I use.
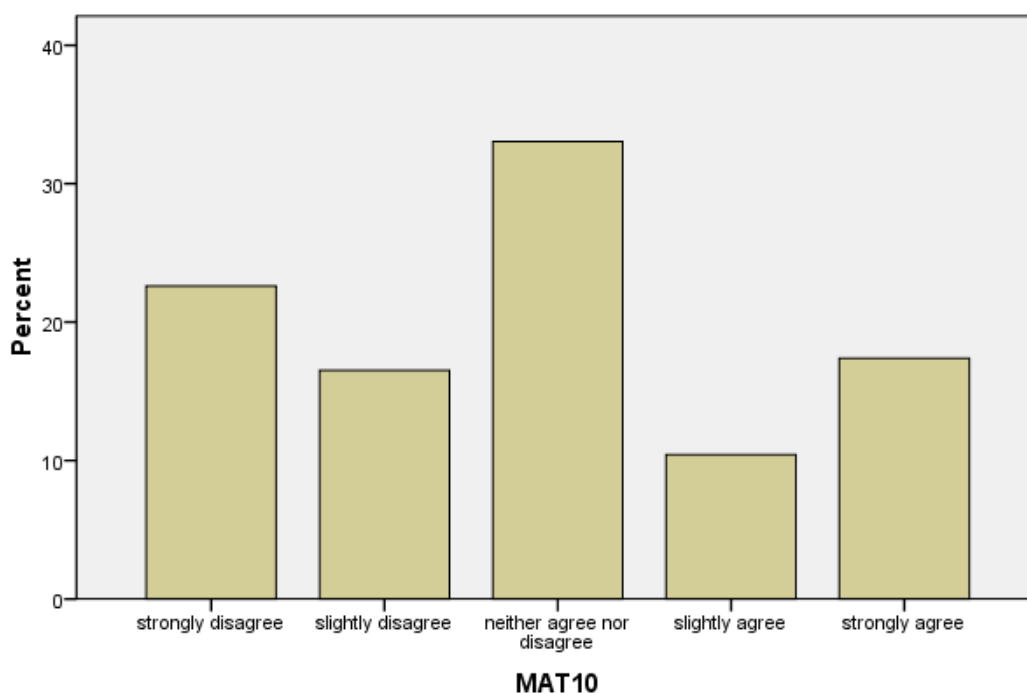
MAT10

	Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree
12-16 year-olds	22.6%	16.5%	33.0%	10.4%	17.4%
Mean	2.83				
Median	3				
Standard deviation	1.363				

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