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Fundraisers and the Mediated Gift:

Investigating the role of fundraising in gift giving to

non-profit organisations

by

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Abstract

This thesis considers how professional fundraisers facilitate gift giving to non-profit organisations. It argues that fundraising practices are misconceived in the public eye and the extant literature in the field, in which philanthropic giving is investigated with the aim of predicting the main drivers of giving and identifying the most favourable fundraising techniques to encourage such behaviour. Givers are investigated as if their giving stems entirely from their subjective moral identities and social experiences, which need only to be triggered by a direct solicitation. Asking is, thus, presented as a step that is simply present or not in the mix of elements which prompt an individual to make charitable gifts. However, whilst this explains why individuals choose to give, they do little to explain how or why donors choose to enter into long-term, repeat giving partnerships with charities. This is exacerbated by a lack of empirical investigation into the actual workings of the fundraising process within organisations and even less on who takes responsibility for fundraising.

In order to address these issues, the day-to-day practice of fundraisers is analysed from a perspective that draws on the theories of the gift proposed by Mauss ([1954]2011) *and* Titmuss (1973). The research draws on qualitative data from interviews with fundraisers and their colleagues across 14 non-profit organisations, complemented by a secondary analysis of donors' descriptions of their giving from previous studies of donor behaviour.

Findings suggest that fundraising is best analysed as part of a social relation, in which the ask is embedded in ongoing interactions rather than a one-off trigger of a giver's altruistic tendencies. The primary gift giving relationship is found to exist not between the giver and beneficiary, but rather the giver and fundraiser. In the absence of direct natural social relationships between giver and distant beneficiary, fundraisers attempt to mimic such social relations by employing tactics of reciprocity to secure both new and ongoing gifts. In doing so fundraisers divert rather than remove the obligations inherent in these reciprocal gift exchanges. Such findings reveal a far broader impact for fundraising on wider charitable and philanthropic practice than merely generating income. Building on the strength of these findings, this thesis offers a more nuanced and complex conceptualisation of contemporary gifting to strangers via organisations – that of *the mediated gift.*

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my later father, Philip Brian Tromans, who taught me the joy of asking tricky questions, and instilled in me the courage to find a way to try answer them.

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A thesis is not a solo undertaking and this one has not been an exception. As this thesis is fundamentally about relationships, I cannot but reflect on those who have walked this path with me and express my gratitude for their support and guidance.

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SECTION 1 – Context setting and literature review

Chapter 1: Introduction and Context

In September 2018, Amazon founder Jeff Bezos announced his intention to spend $2 billion on helping homeless families and contributing to better access to pre-school education. Amongst the myriad of responses - ranging from highly critical to highly supportive - was an online reaction from one of today's leading philanthropy scholars. Professor Rob Reich of the Stanford Centre on Philanthropy and Civil Society tweeted:- "Let the scrutiny begin. We can save the gratitude for later". Many supported Reich's suggestion, others disagreed that withholding gratitude is neither an appropriate response or an effective strategy for encouraging more giving. Whilst this tweet and the subsequent reactions could be viewed as just another example of the debates that endlessly range on social media, this exchange between two of the most significant players in contemporary philanthropy - one a very major donor and another a leading global expert on the field - captures an issue that is at the core of this thesis: the importance of mediating philanthropic gifts, and the routine - if often invisible - practices that prompt and facilitate new and ongoing monetary donations.

This thesis will discuss the mediation of all kinds of philanthropic giving in the United Kingdom, ranging from large philanthropic donations such as the one talked about above, to the regular small donations given by thousands of people across the country on a daily basis. The United Kingdom is a nation of givers: whilst precise estimates vary, data collected by governmental and non-profit organisations indicate that most of the UK population gave money to charity at some point during 2017 – a finding that has remained reasonably consistent for several years (CAF, 2018, p.6; 2017, p. 7; 2016, p,5; 2015, p. 6). Between 2014 and 2017, around two-thirds of the population of the United Kingdom collectively gave around £10 billion each year to their chosen non-profit organisations (Ibid), representing an estimated 0.54% of the country's GDP (CAF, 2016a, p. 7). Additionally, whilst it is recognised that these individuals are motivated to give for a wide variety of reasons and that they give to a wide variety of causes, there is growing evidence of one commonality: that most people give as a result of being prompted by someone asking for a donation (Bekkers, 2005; Bryant et al, 2003; Breeze, 2017). Indeed, one study estimates that 95% of all donations to non-profit organisations are made in response to a direct solicitation received through various

fundraising activities (Bekkers, 2005). Being asked to give to charity is a common-place experience, and exposure to fundraising is an everyday occurrence for the vast majority of individuals. We all experience regular requests for donations in formats ranging from face to face solicitations made by professional fundraisers in private meetings, on the street and on our doorstep; informal requests by colleagues, friends and family; printed and digital direct mail appeals; requests on social media or via telephone; as well as the myriad of adverts and invitations to participate in various forms of fundraising events (Breeze & Jollymore, 2015; Carver, 2014; Morduant & Paton, 2007). The integration of charitable opportunities into commercial transactions, for example when the purchase of a particular product triggers a donation, means that we are also prompted to think about giving when purchasing goods and services, some as mundane as nappies or fruit juice (see for example Pampers, 2018 & AgeUK, 2018).

Yet, as this thesis will outline, we know very little about those who carry out, design or manage these acts of asking. Whilst there is a growing understanding and awareness of different fundraising methods; there is very little research on how charities go about implementing these techniques in practice. How do those who fundraise for charities know who to ask, when and in what ways? What type of work goes into preparing to ask an individual for a gift; and what is expected both of the fundraiser and the charity once they have received the individual's gift? Who do fundraisers need to work with and what are the practical, social and emotional constraints they face when asking for money? Do fundraisers have any say in what types of gifts they can ask for? How do they account for these decisions and the ways in which charitable gifts are spent? What do the answers to these questions tell us about the kind of role that fundraisers and fundraising play in determining what the organisations in the non-profit sector can and cannot achieve for the people they serve? In this thesis, I will address these questions by examining how fundraisers who are embedded in the charitable organisations that make up the UK non-profit sector carry out the task of asking for, securing and acknowledging the gifts that the UK population have to give. In doing so, this thesis contributes to theories of philanthropic giving by interrogating the journey that gifts take from solicitation to the recipient beneficiary; as well as policy debates about fundraising by highlighting the importance of the role fundraisers play and the value of integrating them fully into the non-profit organisations who employ them.

More specifically, by incorporating an empirical study of professional fundraisers' practice in the context of non-profit organisations this research aims to fill in some of the gaps in current social theories of the gift and contribute to more nuanced theory of the gift more suited to gift practices in the contemporary world.

Before moving into an analysis of fundraising in this way, this introductory chapter sets out the context in which this study of fundraisers takes place. This thesis, thus, begins with a brief overview of the link between giving to charity and fundraising, noting why a study of fundraisers working in non-profit organisations is a valid undertaking. Competing definitions of the term 'fundraising' are then discussed in more detail, outlining both the contested and misunderstood nature of the practice, as well as the absence of the fundraiser as an individual. The ways in which fundraising is currently misunderstood in the media, policy environment, wider civil society and the extant literature on the subject are then considered; highlighting why the study of fundraisers in important. Finally, this chapter provides a brief introduction of the rationale for the theoretical approach taken in this investigation, concluding with an overview of the overall structure of the thesis.

1.1   The significance of fundraising and its relationship to charitable giving

Charitable and philanthropic giving via non-profit organisations represents one of the more common and visible gift giving practices in contemporary society – that of giving to strangers via organisations (Titmuss, 1973; Silber, 1998; Healy, 2004; Sargeant & Shang, 2010; Elder-Vass, 2015). Silber (1998) suggests that the very extent of such giving to charity is evidence that modern individuals "have developed not only the capacity and willingness to give to strangers (as stressed by Titmuss)", but also the capacity to develop the "deep and lasting personal involvement" with non-profit organisations that the repeat giving of these gifts offer (p. 143). Indeed, modern UK society increasingly relies on non-profit organisations to not only provide essential services for those who cannot afford them, but also to deal with social justice issues; help conserve our heritage and environment; provide sporting facilities; support the arts; as well as a myriad of other activities that can be seen to serve the common good (Glennie & Whillans-Welldrake, 2014; Sargeant & Shang, 2010; Frumkin, 200; Howell, 2013; Clohsey,2003). And, as observed in the introduction above,

some figures suggest that we are often willing to give generously and regularly in order to contribute to the continuation of these services.

It is no surprise, therefore, that there is an ever-growing body of research exploring what motivates individuals to give to charitable organisations with the aim of understanding and predicting the best triggers for and most effective methods through which they can give to charity – and most importantly how these can be incorporated into the fundraising activities of these non-profit organisations. However, I argue that these studies are limited in that there is a tendency to investigate givers as if their giving practices stem entirely from their subjective moral identities and social experiences, which need only be activated by an awareness of the "good" work being carried out by any particular organisation. Yet the evidence noted in the introductory paragraphs suggests that almost all gifts to charitable organisations are given in response to some sort of direct and clear request for a gift (Bekkers, 2005; Bryant et al, 2003; Breeze, 2017; Schervish & Havens, 1997). So much so that Adloff (2016), in writing about the state of current philanthropic research, contends that "… the modern gift economy would simply be unthinkable without institutionalized forms of requesting donations" (p. 63).

These observations suggest that gift solicitation and the task of fundraising is central to enabling the work of non-profits and charities. Indeed, figures from the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO, 2017) and the Institute of Fundraising (IoF, 2013) suggest that more than half of the sector's income is generated through fundraising activity. Scaife et al (2014) find that charitable gifts generated via fundraising provide "critical operational income that enables an organisation to exist" (p. 2). Even organisations that are not primarily dependent on the voluntary donations generated through fundraising, find that these gifts enable them to carry out work that they would not have otherwise been able to do - work that has uncertain or intangible outcomes; or that provides services to stigmatised or unpopular beneficiary groups; or that government funding or fees simply won't cover (Ibid; Edwards, et al, 2016; Body & Breeze, 2016; Hansen, 2017). Put simply, the charitable sector would not be able to deliver the services and outcomes outlined above that the public expect of it without the work that fundraisers do to generate the income, whether

primary or secondary, that these organisations need to function. (e.g. Wagner, 2004; Hughes, 1996; Burlingame & Hulse, 1991, Duronio & Loessin, 1991).

This is especially so in the current economic and political climate which is characterised by a discourse of austerity and severe cuts to government funding of the sector and other vital social services (Daly 2012 & 2013; Scaife et al, 2014). This has resulted in an increase in demand for many of the services provided by the sector, which finds itself having to advocate on behalf of an expanding group of vulnerable populations and beneficiaries with little or no public voice, as well as provide for their social and physical needs. Some fundraising and non-profit studies suggest that this has seen an exponential growth in the sector in the later decade of the 20th first few decades of the 21st century, with a corresponding heightened demand for philanthropic and voluntary gifts (for e.g. Mordaunt & Paton, 2007, p. 2; Hughes, 1996, p. 174). Simultaneously, there are many indications that, despite what the statistics above show about the widespread generosity of the UK population, giving has not increased at the same rate as the demand for charitable gifts. (Maclean et al, 2012, p. 26; Hughes, 1996, p. 174; CAF, 2017a, p.6). This is coupled with a concern that younger generations' inclination to give and corresponding giving habits may not continue to reflect those of current and previous generations, thereby limiting the introduction of new givers to the sector and increasing pressure on existing donors to give ever increasing amounts (Burnett, 2002; CAF, 2017a, p.4). Thus, the non-profit sector is "faced with a conundrum of how to increase the total level of donations it receives" in what can seem like an increasingly difficult and complex financial environment (CAF, 2015, p. 21). This has led to greater competition for voluntary income; a pressing need to diversify and stabilise income streams; growing pressure on fundraisers to develop more effective fundraising approaches; and the exacerbation of the "donor fatigue" that Ken Burnett identified in 2002 as the same group of donors are asked repeatedly to give.

However, as has been and will be demonstrated in this and the following two chapters, the fundraising and gift solicitation practices of non-profit organisations remain largely invisible; obscured in the data on the sector; misunderstood in the media, and minimally addressed in the academic literature that tends to focus on those who give. The processes, subtleties, work and relationships involved in developing, delivering and managing the requesting and

exchange of charitable gifts are rarely investigated in any depth. There is little agreement, let alone understanding of what actually constitutes and makes up the solicitation of a gift and what does not. Information on how solicitation and fundraising actually work within the non-profit organisations it serves is similarly limited and we have very little empirical understanding about who takes responsibility for fundraising in these organisations and in what ways. As a result, aside from texts that outline and explore the efficacy of specific fundraising techniques (e.g. Nickel & Eikenberry,2009; Nichols, 2004; Clohsey, 2003) and the professionalisation of fundraising (e.g. Bloland & Bornstein, 1991; Carver, 2014; Aldrich, 2016;) very little is understood about the ways in which fundraisers go about their work and the effect their practices have on non-profit and philanthropic practice. Yet, given how dependent the sector is on the skill and experience of fundraisers and the income that they generate, this thesis argues that understanding "how money is raised is as important as how it is spent" (Edwards, 2013, p.6). Furthermore, I argue that all the evidence outlined in this section suggests that giving and fundraising form two sides of the same coin (Duronio & Loessin, 1991). Seen in this light, studying the practices, motivations and impact of those who ask, as well as those who give, will help understand the nature, position and impact of modern philanthropic gift giving to strangers via organisations, as well as lead to a better understanding and management of the gift solicitation practices of the non-profit sector (Seiler, 2016; Silber 1998).

1.2   Competing and varied definitions of fundraising

The study of fundraising is, in part, hampered by competing accounts and definitions in both the fundraising management literature and research that underpins it. The tendency when attempting to define the activity, is to focus on the specific techniques or fundraising mechanisms that fundraisers implement in order to generate and secure charitable gifts; or the attributes and skills required of them to implement these tasks effectively (e.g. Botting & Norton, 2001; Burnett, 2002; Mullin, 2002; Darnton & Kirk, 2011; Sargeant & Jay, 2014). What emerges, as a result, is a picture of fundraising that includes a wide range of techniques and approaches ranging from direct marketing campaigns, to volunteers shaking tins to trustees and charity leadership asking high net-worth individuals for that £1 million donation (Breeze, 2017). As such, attempts to find a single definition for 'fundraising' that captures the complexity and breadth of the undertaking remain difficult. Where definitions

do exist, they are either rather simplistically approached in terms of the generation of revenue for an organisation; or in normative terms, outlining what the perceived moral purpose of the role should be. This section briefly considers the suitability of each of these approaches, as will be outlined in Chapter 2, the way in which fundraising is defined has implications for the way in which it is conceptualised and subsequently analysed.

1.2.1 Definitions of fundraising as resource development

Definitions that frame fundraising as a means to generate financial resources for non-profit organisations represent one of two dominant ways of defining the undertaking. Sargeant & Shang (2010) prefer a definition from Hopkins (2001) that "takes fundraising to mean the generation of revenue for charitable purposes" (p. 34). Duronio & Tempel (1997) suggest that at its most basic level fundraising involves "the acquisition of revenues from private sources for non-profit organizations" (p. 1). Waters (2016) expands on this definition, calling fundraising "the actual transfer of money from a donor to a non-profit" (p. 423), thereby identifying the source of fundraised income as the individual donor. The Institute of Fundraising (2011) builds on these definitions by considering what tasks fundraising might involve, defining fundraising as "the act of raising resources (especially, but not only money) by asking for it, to fund the work your organisation carries out, including front-line activity and the overheads" (cited in Breeze, 2017, p. 3). These definitions are of use in that they identify the importance of fundraising for organisations in generating the financial resources needed to function. More specifically they acknowledge the centrality of not only the individual donor's gift to contributing to those resources, but also the need to *ask* the individual donor give. However, these definitions do little to grapple with what asking involves or whose labour it requires, nor do they engage with the wider organisational processes and contexts within which fundraising may be situated and may affect the way in which gifts can be solicited.

1.2.2 Definitions of fundraising as an organisational process

Definitions of fundraising that attempt to capture the embeddedness of the activity within non-profit organisations, frame it as process that not only exists for the survival of an organisation, but one which is essentially a strategic organisational product. *The NCVO Civil Society Almanac 2018* defines fundraising as a set of specific types of activities that

voluntary organisations engage in with the aim of generating *voluntary income* from the public in the form of *donations* from individuals (NCVO, 2018). This definition includes the employment of professional fundraisers, the organisation of events big and small, and the contacting of potential donors directly via mail, telephone or email, etc. as activities included within the realm of fundraising. Carver (2014) defines fundraising as "an organized activity that nearly all non-profit organizations must rely on to stay in operation" (p.1). Whereas, MacKeith (1992) more specifically outlines that fundraising refers "to those sub-units within an organisation which are concerned with providing the resources (or inputs) by which the organisation achieves its goals (or outputs)" (p. 2). Adloff (2016) describes fundraising as "an institutional and organizational precondition for personal giving" (p. 62). These definitions of fundraising are largely concerned with where and how fundraising fits into and contributes to the wider structures of the organisation and, thus, the ways in which fundraising is managed.

1.2.3   Definitions of fundraising as facilitator of generosity

An alternate but growing in significance with the increase in philanthropic studies, means of defining fundraising takes a more normative stance, outlining what their authors believe fundraising should or should not constitute. It is in these definitions that the acknowledgement that fundraising is an activity carried out by individuals – fundraisers – on behalf of either the organisation or the donor becomes present. For example, Gunderman (2010) outlines the social roles and responsibilities of fundraisers. In doing so they acknowledge the fundraiser's agentic capacity "to change each and every element of the giving process… by defining precisely the kind of giving act they wish to facilitate" (p. 73). Other authors such as O'Neill (1993), Pratt (1997), Pribbenow (1999), Rosso ([1991] 2016), and Mordaunt & Paton (2007) equate fundraising to the moral and ultimately beneficial process, in their view, of facilitating a donor's gift giving and generosity. This is achieved by providing specific opportunities to give; ensuring that gifts are given due recognition; and donors themselves are adequately looked after and cared for. Schervish (2007) provides a definition that places the donor's interests and needs at the centre of the fundraising process. These definitions equate fundraising with the process of educating and guiding donors about their giving. As such, fundraisers shape and mould donors' giving decisions, whilst providing a space for them to implement their particular visions of the public good

(Payton & Moody, 2008). Rosso ([1991]2016) defines fundraising as the "gentle art of teaching the joy of giving" and expands the role of the fundraiser to include enabling and activating the giving process (p. 323). These definitions acknowledge the role and presence not only of the fundraiser, but also that of the donor and the concept that the triggering and maintenance of their capacity to give is the primary role of the fundraising process. This concept has come to dominate conceptions of fundraising particularly within philanthropic studies, as will be outlined in Chapter 2.

Of note, however, when considering the competing definitions of fundraising in this section is that in most of these accounts fundraising is framed primarily as a strategic organisational process that serves to provide knowledge to the donor in order to facilitate and aide their giving as a means to provide the financial resources needed by the non-profit to deliver its mission. These descriptions conceive of fundraising as either a neutral, technical means of generating income for charitable organisations or a moral undertaking that is tied up with conceptions of charitable and philanthropic giving as inherently good. In these accounts, fundraisers are often viewed as employees who implement the planned resource generation strategies of the non-profit organisations for whom they work, which, in turn, are largely unaffected by any individual fundraiser's approach to undertaking these activities. Furthermore, the focus of these definitions is on fundraising as a means to trigger philanthropic behaviour, doing little to explain how long-term giving relationships are established or investigating the individual social and emotional skill involved in both driving and maintaining such behaviour.

1.3   Fundraising is misconceived, misunderstood and misrepresented

The lack of clarity associated with defining what the task of fundraising is, what work it entails and who it involves leads to corresponding difficulties in identifying the exact nature and size of the paid UK fundraising workforce. The difficulty of this task is exacerbated by the absence of specific entry criteria or the requirement to register with a professional fundraising association, which results in very little accessible data on those qualified to or even practicing fundraising here being available. The UK's Institute of Fundraising (IoF), a professional membership body for those engaged in fundraising, had 6,000 members in 2017 (IoF, 2017, p. 1). However, not all those who fundraise for a living chose to join the IoF,

are necessarily aware of its existence, or can even afford to join. Additionally, fundraising often forms only part of an individual's professional role, thus as Breeze (2017) notes, "there are many people *doing* fundraising who do not necessarily identify *as* fundraisers" (p.4). Thus, as far as Breeze (2017) has been able to ascertain, it is estimated that there are between 10,000 and 31,000 paid fundraisers in the UK. Even the higher of these estimates seems woefully low, given the number of charitable organisations who rely on fundraising activity to generate income. The National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) (2018) estimates that there are just over 165,000 voluntary organisations in the UK . Given that data from the Institute of Fundraising (2013) and NCVO (2017), which draws on the financial and administrative records of over 7,800 non-profit organisations across the UK as noted in section 1.1, suggests that 56% of the sector's income comes from donations from individuals generated through fundraising activity, it can probably be concluded that the fundraising profession is probably larger than these numbers suggest.

This obscuring of the number of paid fundraisers within the data on the sector combined with the competing definitions of fundraising considered in section 1.2, certainly cannot aid the public image of the profession. Fundraising, even when carried out by volunteers, has the tendency to be viewed with what Rosso ([1991] 2016) terms "suspicion and apprehension" (p.323). Many people, even those who are themselves fundraisers describe the task of asking for and managing voluntary donations as "begging" (Washington, [1907] 2016), "genteel extortion" (Daniels, 1998, p. 138) or "dirty work" (Aldrich, 2016, p.512) – an undertaking that is needed, but is considered inconvenient and not really talked about in polite company (Moody & Breeze, 2016, p. 316). At best fundraising, claims Levy (2009), is viewed "as a bold and presumptuous act" (p.1) that often "attracts the same kind of disparagement as sales" (Duronio & Loessin, 1991, p. 125).

This view is often reflected in the media, where it certainly is not portrayed as the "noble profession" carried out by individuals with "an important calling" that Desmond Tutu describes (cited in Breeze and Scaife, 2015, p.570). Indeed, as both Mullin (2007) and Breeze (2017) note there is nothing new about negative and incomplete portrayals of fundraising in the media. However, the attribution of the suicide of much loved elderly donor, Olive Cooke, with persistent fundraising requests by the *Daily Mail* in 2015 generated an

onslaught of criticism of the sector's income generating activities. Headlines variously described fundraisers and fundraising as "hounding" (Wilkinson, 2015, p.1), "brutal" (Siegle, 2015), "aggressive" (Baggini, 2015) and "bullying" (Sylvester & Kennedy, 2015, p.1). These headlines and the subsequent outcry from the public and various political and industry bodies eventually led to the Etherington Review in the summer of 2015, whose recommendations have, in turn led to the establishment of a new Fundraising Regulator, more stringent and clear guidance about the responsibilities of trustees from the Charity Commission, and new codes of fundraising practice (NCVO, 2018a). However, this has not buffered either the fundraising profession or charity sector from accusations of double standards and aggressive, inappropriate gift solicitation behaviour. As recently as January 2018, the sector has been shaken by the breaking of the President's Club scandal, in which the organisers and attendees of the charity's major fundraising event have been accused of sexual harassment; closely followed by the emergence of accusations of widespread sexually inappropriate behaviour by some of the staff at various large international development charities (Marriage, 2018; Weaver & Stewart, 2018; O'Neil, 2018, p.1). Both these stories have exacerbated previous expressions of unease about many of the sector's practices, especially with regards to the acquisition and management of donor's gifts. These incidents have subsequently led to what David Brindle (2018) of *The Guardian* has termed a "big test of public faith" in the UK charitable sector, with many choosing to withdraw their support completely (Cooney, 2018).

Fundraisers too are asking themselves whether they are "involved in something that may or may not be a change for good" (Chaney, 2018). Headlines in industry magazines and blogs reflect the sense that fundraising appears as if it is in a state of disarray (see for example Slack, 2015; Radojev, 2015; Cotterill, 2015). Each scandal builds on the pressure of the last; resulting in the perception that the profession and its practices are seemingly "under attack" or dismally failing the sector (Flannagan, 2015; Sargeant, 2017). Thus, the demands for greater accountability, transparency and stricter controls on how money is raised and subsequently spent continue to grow both from the public and political spheres, but also from charitable organisations and fundraisers themselves, as they seek to salvage the public trust they feel they may have lost; and enhance what little they perceive there to be left (Bloland & Tempel, 2004; Breeze & Scaife, 2015).

Contributing to poor public and media understandings of fundraising is the idea that many givers may not even recognise that they have been asked to give or the role that a direct request for a gift may have played in the mix of motivations they may have had for giving to a particular cause or group of beneficiaries (Gunstone & Ellison, 2017). As will be explored later in this thesis, this could be tied up with the many narratives of philanthropic giving as an essentially altruistic, inherently private and individualistic undertaking (Harrah-Conforth & Borsos, 1991; Edwards, 2013; Ostrander, 2007). By contrast major philanthropy, in much the same way as fundraising, is often viewed with disdain by the media and public, with the motivations of philanthropists being questioned often reflecting the heady mix of self-interest and altruism that this behaviour represents (Daly, 2011; Silber, 2012; Odendahl, 1990, Schervish, 2007). Thus, there is the desire on the part of donors across the spectrum to maintain the idea that they are not manipulated into giving, but do so as a result of their own altruistic motivations (Silber, 2012; Breeze, 201). What is important to note here is that there are a whole raft of fundraising practices that are simply just not recognised by the general public, media or even other actors within charitable organisations as solicitation or important in generating their giving activity. Indeed, in many studies where donors are asked directly about their giving and the reasons for doing so, they "seldom seem conscious of the fundraiser role unless their experience had been especially good or the opposite" (Scaife et al, 2011. P. 64).

Yet, the evidence shows that donors themselves have come to expect more from charitable organisations, as they themselves have become more sophisticated and informed in their giving. Demands for greater accountability and transparency come not only from the public and those political and regulatory bodies responsible for the charity sector, but increasingly from donors who claim to want to have a clearer understanding of what their gifts will do and fund, and greater expectations of what their gifts should be able to achieve (see for example, Chaney, 2018; McDonald et al, 2011; Ostrander, 2007). This move is most evident in the growth and development of what Eikenberry (2008) terms "new philanthropy" which has seen the "introduction of such funding mechanisms and philosophies as special and identity-based donor-advised funds, venture or high-engagement philanthropy, and giving circles", especially amongst high-net worth donors (Ibid, p. 142). These funding approaches

are characterised by demands from donors for high levels of "involvement" and feedback on outputs and outcomes (Edwards et al., 2016; Eikenberry, 2008). However, in most of these cases, there is often little direct interaction between the individual giving and the non-profit organisation, but increasingly with an intermediary such as a wealth adviser, community foundation or group representative in the case of giving circles making the fundraising role even less visible, obscured from the donor by another layer of gifting advice and management (Ibid; Daly, 2011; Ostrander, 2007).

This lack of acknowledgement or understanding of the significance of the fundraising role extends into the governance and staffing structures of charitable organisations themselves. The fallout from the "fundraising crisis" described in the paragraphs above revealed just how little boards of trustees know and understand of, let alone engage with the fundraising practices of the organisations for whom they provide legal and governance oversight (Hind, 2017; Etherington, 2015; Jenkin, 2016). However, whilst this may have been "news" at the time, this is not a new or unrecognised phenomenon within both academic and practitioner research within the sector (Dorsey, 1991; Hughes, 1996; Barman, 2007). Scaife et al (2014) note that many boards and senior staff do not understand the complexity of fundraising and often show little interest in the details and inputs of the task of generating income for the organisation (p.1). Fundraising is presented and planned for as a technical, but neutral task, that merely provides the finances that the board and senior management teams require in order to implement the organisation's mission. This is reflected in the definitions of fundraising explored earlier that simply define the task as a technical means to secure the money needed by charitable organisations in order to function. In many cases fundraising is viewed as a practice that requires a limited skill set that can be easily acquired and implemented by almost anyone (Breeze, 2017; Mordaunt & Paton, 2007). The problem is that this lack of engagement in and understanding of the complexity of the task of fundraising severely impacts and shapes the ways in which fundraisers are able to do their work (Hughes, 1991; Barman, 2007). As Ken Burnett (2002) suggests in his seminal work on the need to bring a level of individuality and relationship building back into fundraising; under-recognition of the type of work involved in fundraising is likely to result in a lack of investment and engagement from senior members of non-profit organisations into fundraising such that it limits the kind of and quality of gift solicitation that can be carried

out. But this lack of recognition also depicts fundraising as a separate, and often commercial, function of the organisation and does not recognise the need for front-line staff, senior management and trustees to participate in and guide the overall fundraising process (Breeze & Jollymore, 2015; Scaife et al, 2014). In many cases this leads to many fundraisers feeling that they are considered "pariahs" within their own organisations – as they are seen to conduct commercial work not directly associated with the altruistic mission of the organisation, work for which they are constantly demanding information or that often appears for all intents and purposes to compromise the altruistic nature of the organisation's mission (Duronio & Loessin, 1991, p. 130; Morgan, 2005; BBC 2018). Thus, there is little understanding or recognition of the partnerships that are needed between fundraisers, service staff and charity leadership to implement successful fundraising strategies, or how a lack of participation can impact on the overall mission and work of the non-profit (Daly, 2013, p. 30).

1.4   Fundraising is not a homogeneous practice

Part of the problem faced by fundraisers is that understandings of what they do have become dominated by the most visible means of asking for voluntary donations. When people think about what charities do, both in their own lives and those for whom they imagine charity existing, they do so with reference to the way in which they understand they were asked to give to these groups, whether through "direct mailings, cold calls and preternaturally chirpy young fundraisers accosting them on the street" (Baggini, 2015 [online]ubi; Breeze, 2017). Additionally, much of the fundraising that the general public encounter is still carried out by volunteers; and more recently the growth of peer-to-peer fundraising and crowdfunding platforms gives the impression that fundraising is a task that is primarily carried out by altruistic, voluntary supporters of charities (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2007; Sargeant, 2017). However, as Hughes (1996) notes, these volunteers and supporters are increasingly identified, recruited and supported by a paid fundraiser who guides these individuals in "making better use of a scarce resource – themselves", but remain unseen and unacknowledged (p. 182). This is exacerbated, no doubt, by the increasing professionalisation and differentiation of fundraising techniques, role titles and approaches – in which specialist fundraisers are responsible for different approaches to gift solicitation and management designed to appeal to and meet the needs of a diverse mixture of donors

(MacKeith, 2012). The diversity within the profession in turn leads to a lack of clarity of what constitutes fundraising and, thus, what the job of fundraiser entails. This confusion even appears to extend into academic studies of fundraising which we will see, in Chapter 2, are dominated by critiques of these more visible marketised fundraising techniques versus the highly personalised relationship-driven approaches apparently reserved for the wealthiest philanthropists (Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009; Clohsey, 2003; Hanson, 2015).

A quick perusal of the fundraising management literature, however, or even an investigation of the different ways in which any individual can give to charity reveals that fundraising is by no means a homogenous practice (e.g CAF, 2018; Sargeant & Jay, 2014). Approaches to fundraising vary as much as the causes which the non-profit sector seeks to address. Breeze & Scaife (2015) provide a useful summary of twelve of the most prevalent fundraising approaches they find to be used worldwide. These include:

- Fundraising events, ranging from popular mass participation events such as marathons to smaller, localised affairs such as balls or auctions;
- One-to-one approaches in which the potential donor is asked directly for a donation;
- Direct marketing appeals, which seem to be the target of much of the criticism around fundraising practice;
- Appeals made online, through social media and mobile phone giving;
- Community fundraising, such as fetes, tea mornings, local talks and so forth, which often involve the engagement of volunteers;
- Campaigns that seek the commitment of bequests or legacies;
- Campaigns and approaches that encourage planned or regular giving via direct debit or payroll giving;
- Fundraising from corporates and businesses in the form of sponsorship, cause related marketing campaigns, direct grants, donation of employee time and so forth;
- Applications to trusts and foundations for grants;
- Endowment and investment funds;
- Fundraising via raffles and lotteries; and finally
- The securing of in-kind gifts that range from the donation of physical space to individual's time or expertise.

More importantly, the increasing pressure to diversify income streams means that approaches to fundraising *within* any single organisation varies. It is rare for any one organisation to depend entirely on any one fundraising approach to generate voluntary income. Fundraising strategies are increasingly based on the fundraising pyramid and development ladder models (see Appendix F.), both of which have become widely accepted and recognised elements of classic fundraising management theory (Hughes, 1996). The central premise behind these models is that different categories of donors respond differently to specific fundraising approaches. Donors also change the way they interact with organisations over time and as the relationship with the organisation and understanding of the cause develops (see for example Sargeant & Jay, 2014, p. 167). The now seemingly ubiquitous application of these concepts within fundraising strategies that Sargeant & Jay (2014) claim point to the diverse nature of fundraising practice both across and within organisations in the sector – many of which are simply not seen and therefore, remain poorly understood.

In drawing together the issues of the competing definitions and contested understandings of fundraising outlined thus far in this chapter, we are left with a strong sense of fundraising as a somewhat mercenary, impersonal practice carried out by dispassionate marketing professionals who manipulate and take advantage of individuals' altruistic inclinations to generate often unjustified amounts of income. This thesis argues that this view of fundraising belies the complexity of the task of fundraising and obscures the impact of individual fundraisers is shaping how gift solicitation is carried out. As will be outlined in Chapter 2, this view is often exacerbated by academic studies of fundraising, which tend to reflect the narrow lens through which the practice of gift solicitation is often viewed in the media and by the public. This leads to the argument proposed in Chapter 3 for the development of a broader sociological lens through which to investigate both the processes involved in fundraising and the particular role of the fundraiser as a means to both enrich and widen our understandings of gift solicitation and gifting within the non-profit sector. The next section provides a brief introduction to this theoretical lens, which will be considered in greater depth in Chapter 3, in order to anchor the review of the literature in

Chapter 2 and contextualise the overall structure of this thesis outlined in the closing sections of this introductory chapter.

1.5   Introduction to the mediated gift and fundraising as a social relation

This thesis presents the argument that, like philanthropic giving, fundraising is best viewed as a part of a social relation. However, departing from Ostrander & Schervish's (1991) original conception of philanthropy as a social relation which exists directly between donors and recipient groups, the concept of fundraising as a social relation provides for the consideration of the role of the "intermediaries" in this relation that they identify, but do not consider in any depth. The detailed analysis of fundraising as a social relation employed in this study rests on a particular sociological understanding of the gift as originally presented by Mauss in 1954. Mauss ([1954]2011) outlines a conceptualisation of gift exchange as a means to build and consolidate social relations where enmity and competition would otherwise exist. In observing the gifting practices of several societies, Mauss ([1954]2011) concludes that it is the gift's three-fold obligation to give, receive and reciprocate that enables non-confrontational interaction between disparate groups to take place, thereby, forming social bonds and co-operation. Subsequent theories of the reciprocal gift that have built on Mauss's cyclical gift exchange consider the ways in which the gift is used, in Berking's (1999) apt summation of the gift:

> "*To give means to acquire power, to carry out symbolic exchange, to initiate relationships and alliances, to attribute rights and duties, to objectify subjective meanings and systematically to classify alter egos. It means to dress up strategic orientations in altruistic motives, to make social challenges look like simple acts of charity, to honour and shame, to hierarchize and stratify, to solidarize, to knot forms of mutual recognition, to become equal and intimate*"
> (p. viii).

However, with their focus on gift giving between closely tied individuals, these gift exchange theories have struggled to account for philanthropic gifts via organisations to strangers (for e.g. Titmuss, 1973; Silber, 1998). There are arguments that gifts to strangers do not involve reciprocation. Indeed, Titmuss' (1973) alternative social-organisational approach to the gift which is often applied to studies of philanthropic giving, argues that therein lies the value of

these gifts given via organisations – the removal of obligation and therefore the potential for the exploitation of vulnerable recipients by the more powerful and rich that unequal gift exchange can produce. Yet, the social relations and interactions that are involved in gift solicitation, especially the fundraising activities of non-profit organisations, remains underexplored in these studies. Titmuss' (1973) hypothesises that these gifts can and do lend themselves to facilitating social solidarity and empathy when sought and given in an enabling environment consisting of mediating institutions such as those organisations found in the non-profit sector. However, what Titmuss' (1973) theory fails to explain is why, in the absence of a social connection would individuals chose to give to those strangers represented by these organisations in the first place? How would givers know which organisations to give to and why? More importantly, in the absence of an interactional relationship, how would solidarity between the individuals giving and the stranger receiving be affirmed and communicated?

In not addressing these questions, Titmuss (1973) and those who have subsequently employed his social-organisational gift model to analyse philanthropic gift giving in various countries fail to recognise the agency and impact of any intermediaries in the gift process, particularly fundraisers (Silber, 1998; Healy, 2004). As such, they neglect to account for the ways in which these individuals solicit, receive and reciprocate these gifts on behalf of charities, thereby enabling the concept of the solidaristic, obligation-free gift relationship. I argue that this is a reflection of what will be identified in Chapter 3 as the theoretical separation of those who give from the functioning of the organisations that receive these gifts. To counter-act this tendency, this thesis draws on inspiration from field theory as used by Barman (2007), Krause (2014) and Dalsgaard (2007) to develop a wider sociological conceptualisation of the philanthropic field to include donors, organisations and, most importantly, those staff within these organisations who directly mediate and facilitate gifting. In doing so, I will move away from analyses of philanthropic gift giving that focus on the initial motivations of donors and will look, instead, to the factors that encourage them to repeat and increase their giving to specific non-profit organisations. The central argument is that the answer lies in part in understanding the role that professional fundraisers play in both generating and encouraging repeat charitable giving to these institutions.

Thus, a theoretical partnership is employed to analyse the everyday work of individual fundraisers within the context of gift giving to strangers via organisations. Drawing on Titmuss' (1973) social-organisational theory of gift giving, as well as those of the gift as a reciprocal social exchange originally outlined by Mauss ([1954]2011), I conceive of gift giving and management within the non-profit sector as a specific and underexplored type of mediated gift giving. In doing so, I borrow from Barman (2007) the basic outline of the structure of her charitable giving field and conceive of the mediated gift relationship as a distinct and semi-autonomous field of practice, constituting givers, fundraisers, non-profit organisations and recipients. From Krause (2014) I borrow the strategy of looking at the lived experience of individual fundraisers as way to gain access to and examine how mediated gift cycles are constructed and contribute to the structure and particular logic of the field. Finally, I draw insights from Dalsgaard's (2007) approach to analysing the mediating role of nurses in blood banks and how they draw on the logic, social norms and rules associated with gift exchange to understand how these elements come together to shape the solicitation strategies that fundraisers employ under certain organisational conditions. In doing so, I aim to provide a social- theoretical framework in which to consider the part fundraisers play in shaping not only gift giving, but also charitable practice overall.

In doing so, this thesis will talk about fundraisers embedded in non-profit organisations and consider the ways in which they interact with potential givers as they help them to give to those with whom they have no direct social connection. The aim is to introduce the idea of fundraisers in organisations as skilled social actors and emotionally skilled facilitators of the gift to strangers in contemporary societies. By utilising sociological understandings of contemporary gifting practices as a lens through which to approach an analysis of fundraising and philanthropic practice, the fundraiser is placed firmly at the centre of the giving of gifts to strangers via non-profit organisations. The charitable gift as a mediated social gift is a central concern in the proposed attempt to introduce new ways of thinking about charitable gift solicitation, which in turn, leads to the introduction of how we might think about the *social role of the fundraiser* and who might help us to do so. A theoretical partnership is used in order to support the introduction of the concept of the mediated gift introduced above and to bring the multi-skilled fundraiser to life.

The social view of fundraising and gift giving to strangers which will be developed and deployed throughout this thesis involves the view of the fundraiser as a purposive agent within the constraints of the non-profit organisation. It allows for an understanding that even the charitable gift to an organisation is negotiated, mediated and shaped by socially skilled fundraisers. These observations offer a range of potential insights into the fundraiser as a social actor, in that he/ she may select from several sources of social norms and rules associated with the gift and often creatively interpret and manipulate them to facilitate gifting between strangers. Just how they do so should be the subject of extended examination. I argue that to date, much of this territory has not been analysed by philanthropic and non-profit researchers and it will be the purpose of this thesis to undertake an extended analysis along these lines.

Thus, this thesis will seek to address the following overarching research question and sub-questions that have emerged from this introductory chapter:

How do professional fundraisers influence the ways in which charitable gifts are solicited and managed in order to meet beneficiary need?

1. What are the everyday solicitation practices that fundraisers engage in, whilst seeking to secure the funding needed to meet beneficiary need?
2. How do fundraisers interact with organisational colleagues to develop these solicitation practices?
3. In what ways do fundraisers influence how gifts are used to meet beneficiary need?
4. How does an analysis of fundraisers' gift solicitation and management practices contribute to our understanding and perceptions of contemporary gift practices?

1.6   Thesis structure

In its examination of the current public attitudes and the state of knowledge about fundraising in the UK and the introduction of the concept of the mediated gift, this chapter has sought to establish the direction in which this thesis will travel. The intention is to move away from conceptualisations of fundraising as a technical task undertaken by non-profit organisations to secure funding or as a means to merely trigger giver's existing altruistic

tendencies. Data collection and analysis will move away from stand-alone critiques of particular fundraising approaches but will consider how various fundraising approaches relate to one another to enable the development of long-term gift relationships between strangers. In doing so, this thesis conceives of those who carry out the task of fundraising as active, knowledgeable and skilled organisational social agents operating in a wider philanthropic field consisting of donors, organisations, beneficiaries.

This thesis is divided into three main sections:

Section 1: Context Setting & Literature Review

Having provided an overview of and background to the key concepts and current debates up for discussion in this chapter, *Chapter 2* delves deeper into the literature on both fundraising and philanthropy. This chapter reviews the research and academic thinking behind the various definitions of fundraising; and unpicks three broad ways in which fundraising tends to be situated in relation to philanthropic practice and the activities of the non-profit sector. The chapter considers how the general absence of the role of the individual fundraiser within this literature leads to underdeveloped understandings of the practice of both fundraising and philanthropy. Finally, it draws together conceptions of philanthropy as a social relation with those of fundraising as relationship management to suggest that a deeper, more nuanced understanding of fundraising, charitable giving and the activities of modern charities would benefit from "bringing the fundraiser back in".

Chapter 3 expands on the idea of the mediated gift as a means of situating the fundraiser as an active agent in a wider conception of the world of philanthropic practice. The chapter reviews the major contributions to studies of the gift from the fields of sociology, anthropology, social psychology and social policy relevant to philanthropic and non-profit studies in order to examine how the idea of contemporary gifting to strangers has developed. The review also acts as a means of assessing the adequacy of these various perspectives of the gift to strangers in theorising the role of the fundraiser as a skilled mediator of gifts within this setting. The chapter concludes that much of the existing gift analysis, as with the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, is marked by an absence of the idea of a gift facilitator or mediator, similarly leaving the gift to strangers under-theorised and

poorly understood. As such it is proposed that current conceptualisations of the gift require a reworking, a mixing and a matching of existing views of the gift, and an acknowledgement of their strengths and weaknesses in order that a conceptual framework be produced which allows for the placing of the socially skilled fundraiser at the heart of philanthropic and non-profit practice.

Section 2: Methodology

The methodology for this research forms the focus of *Chapter 4*. The chapter outlines the interpretivist qualitative methodology employed, reasoning behind the data collection methods used, processes undertaken, as well as the limitations and ethical considerations associated with these research approaches. A consideration of the sampling methods and modifications made during the data collection process is also included. There is a discussion of the methods used to analyse the data, including the use of data management software. This chapter also includes a short introduction of the research participants as means to contextualise and situate the findings presented in the chapters that follow.

Section 3: Findings, Discussion and Conclusion

Chapter 5 represents the first of three chapters that consider the findings that have emerged from the data analysis and what these may mean for our understanding of fundraisers and the gift. Drawing on understandings of the gift from the fundraiser's perspective the chapter introduces the concepts of the constructed reciprocal gift cycle; the fundraiser as exchange partner and a gift relationship spectrum as a means to begin interrogating the nature of the role of the fundraiser within the mediated gift field proposed in Chapter 3 and the subsequent implications for current understandings of the agency of donors, fundraisers and their non-fundraising colleagues within this gift relationship.

The conceptualisation of a constructed and highly mediated reciprocal gift introduced in Chapter 5 is explored in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7. *Chapter 6* employs the ideas of the gift appropriated and the gift reciprocated to explore how the fundraiser employs the social norms and rules that govern and shape both classical and contemporary gift giving practices to mediate and manipulate the emotions and meaning of the gift both for the

givers and recipients of philanthropic and charitable gifts. The chapter draws on the views of both fundraisers and donors to demonstrate how the object of the charitable gift is not a fixed, tangible thing. It too is constructed by the fundraiser; it's nature and parameters being negotiated both internally and externally before being acquired by the donor on the beneficiary's behalf

Chapter 7 draws together chapters 5 and 6 to explore how philanthropic giving is characterised, not by dyadic relationships between fundraising organisation and donor, but rather a wider relationship network of givers, fundraisers, staff, and to a lesser degree, beneficiaries, who all labour for the gift in ways that both include and exclude particular participants from the reciprocal gift relationship. Within the wider gift relationship network fundraisers emerge as multi-skilled emotion and meaning managers who both comply with and resist the organisational constraints which exist around them as they attempt and achieve to varying degrees the idealised gift relationship set out in Chapters 5 and 6.

Finally, *chapter 8*, the concluding chapter, provides a summative account of the key findings and responses to the research questions and their implications for our conceptions of contemporary gifting to strangers via non-profit organisations. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the limitations of this research and develops a framework for future research.

Chapter 2: Competing conceptions of fundraising - A literature overview

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature concerning the concepts of fundraising and fundraisers within the non-profit sector. It begins with a brief overview of the extant fundraising practitioner and academic texts on fundraising. This is followed by a consideration of existing conceptualisations of the role of fundraising as a servant of philanthropy or the wider non-profit sector, or as a broker of philanthropic relationships; and how and if these conceptions adequately recognise the social role of the fundraiser. An approach that appraises these differing perspectives drawn from non-profit and philanthropic studies is adopted in order to assess what they do and do not say about fundraising and its purpose. It becomes clear that these ways of looking at fundraising say very little about fundraisers as individual actors with their own agentic capacity. The chapter concludes by proposing that a new conceptualisation of fundraising as a social relation that lends itself to a more robust understanding of the fundraiser as an active participant in the philanthropic gift. This provides the basis for the discussion of the mediated gift and associated gift theory and its role in this study in Chapter 3.

Since the publication of the first fundraising "how-to" text in the mid-1960's accounts of fundraising as an increasingly professional undertaking have bought new insights into how non-profits secure resources to support their work (Breeze, 2017, p. 93). Traditional visions of the non-profit organisation as an inert recipient of altruistically motivated philanthropic gifts have been transformed into descriptions of entities that have their own set of strategies that influence and shape the way in which charitable gifts are secured (Duronio & Loessin, 1991; Andreoni, 1998). The charitable sector has changed significantly in recent years, which has seen an unquestionable process of professionalisation in the way the larger and better resourced organisations within its rank operate. Although, it is recognised that much of the sector is constituted of small, volunteer organisations, these bigger and increasingly influential charitable organisations are now largely run by paid, formally trained and highly skilled professionals who work in partnership with volunteers and donors to deliver programmes of work that seek to address a large and complex range of issues ranging from filling local social welfare and health gaps to tackling global climate change (NCVO, 2018).

The practice of fundraising has kept pace with these changes, establishing itself as a what some regard as a recognised profession within a sector increasingly dependent on the financial resources and goodwill it generates (Bloland, 2002; Sargeant, 2009; Breeze, 2017). Fundraising strategies and approaches draw on a growing body of research into donor motivations and the most effective drivers of charitable giving from various disciplinary perspectives, including economics, psychology, business and marketing, as well as non-profit and philanthropic studies. However, many of these studies tend to be limited to investigating fundraising as a technical organisation-level undertaking and measuring donor responses to what Hansen (2017) terms "everyman" solicitation techniques (p.4). As the review of this research in this chapter will outline, these conceptualisations of philanthropy as a dyadic relationship between non-profit and donor, are characterised by a general absence of consideration of fundraisers as active agents who have the capacity to shape and influence both organisational fundraising strategies and the donor's response to them. This chapter argues that this could be attributed to the lack of clarity about what fundraising entails and a general lack of understanding of how fundraising by professionals fits impacts charitable giving and non-profit practice overall, aside from the generation of revenue. The suggestion is that philanthropic giving relationships cannot be adequately investigated without understanding with whom in non-profit organisations these relationships lie, and the ways in which they may influence the practices of non-profit organisations themselves. The central argument is that in acknowledging the active role of fundraisers in not only asking for funds, the skill involved in doing so, as well as the organisational structures in which fundraisers operate, a framework can be developed on which to base a fuller analysis of contemporary philanthropic gifting relations. However, before this new way of conceptualising fundraising and fundraisers is discussed, this understanding of the practice needs to be situated within current debates about the impact of philanthropic relationships on the activities of the sector. The purpose of this chapter is to create such a context.

2.1   The fundraising canon

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the academic study of fundraising is a fairly recent addition to and somewhat "Cinderella" area of study within the academic sphere, particularly sociology. Breeze & Jollymore (2015) find that academic interest in philanthropy appears to be much greater than that of fundraising, with half as many journal articles

about fundraising being published than philanthropy between 2005 and 2015. Furthermore, where research on fundraising does exist, Breeze & Scaife (2015) go on to find that this "research tends to skim a variety of topics rather than offer great empirical volume" (p. 571). Studies of fundraising emerge primarily from the disciplines of marketing and public relations, psychology, economics, and the equally new, but rather more visible field of philanthropic studies. The picture is further complicated by an ever more impressive canon of fundraising "how to" literature, some of which has significant crossover with the academic texts that seek to use research from these fields to fill an identified knowledge gap for fundraisers (for e.g. Sargeant & Jay's (2014) *Fundraising Management: Analysis, planning and practice* or Mordaunt & Paton's (2007) *Thoughtful Fundraising: Concepts, issues & perspectives).* Both these streams of literature will be explored briefly in the following two sub-sections as a means to place this study in the context of the current state of knowledge regarding fundraising practice.

2.1.1   The 'how to' fundraising literature

Much of what is known about what and how professional fundraisers *should do and behave* can be found in the "how to" literature mentioned in the paragraphs above (Breeze, 2017; Lindahl & Conley, 2002). This growing body of practitioner literature forms an important part of understanding the context in which fundraisers work and learn about their profession; and what we can broadly understand professional fundraising to entail. These texts are often the only access to theoretical training and knowledge acquisition that many fundraisers have. Many of the fundraisers interviewed both for this research, as well as those included in studies by other academics such as Breeze (2017), Nathan (2017) and Scaife et al (2015) remark that fundraising is often learnt on the job and that formal qualifications and training are often obtained as part of this "on-the-job" learning. Much of what fundraisers formally know about their profession and practice is, thus, gained through engagement with the "how to" literature either directly or through their colleagues.

Few scholars have engaged with this canon, however, a recent study by Breeze (2017) conducts a survey of 60 such texts. Breeze (2017) finds that these texts fall into two broad categories: - those that provide instruction on how *to do* fundraising vs those that seek to provide advice on how to *be* a fundraiser (pp. 98 & 99). These books, bar the odd textbook

written by academics such as those remarked upon in the introduction to this section and explored in more detail in section 2.1.2 below, are written primarily by fundraising practitioners who draw on their personal experiences and insights, as well as largely anecdotal, rather the empirical evidence to build their cases (Ibid, p.97). These texts, thus, often focus on the various tasks and technical elements involved in soliciting gifts though various avenues and/ or developing and implementing broader fundraising strategies. However, they provide little substantive analysis or information on how fundraising and gift relationships are established and maintained apart from the practical tasks or lists of attributes that may make interaction with a fundraiser or organisation attractive and fulfilling, on the part of individual donors. Thus, whilst these texts serve to contextualise the technical requirements of the fundraising role, as will be extrapolated throughout this thesis the do not provide much evidence of the day-to-day lived experiences and even less insight into the contexts in which fundraisers operate my constrain and enable them in the application of the techniques and strategies that the propose as effective fundraising practice.

2.1.2   Academic fundraising literature

By comparison academic studies focusing on fundraising, whether they emerge from the fields of marketing, economics, psychology or philanthropic studies, are primarily characterised by seeking to understand the motivations and key drivers of giving and the ways in which particular approaches to fundraising can manipulate these in order to maximise gifts and the donor's subsequent satisfaction with the gifting process (Andreoni, 2006). There is, as such, the tendency to focus on specific fundraising techniques such as direct marketing, challenge events or cause-related marketing (see page 21 for a more comprehensive list); or fundraising in certain sectors such as higher education, health and international development (e.g. CASE, 2013; Carver, 2014; Wedgeworth, 2000; Okada, 2013). For example, there are far more studies dedicated to mass solicitation fundraising approaches than any other (e.g. Barman 2007; Bekkers; 2005; Lainer-Vos, 2014; Sargeant 2001/2013). Breeze (2017) suggests that the focus on mass fundraising techniques can be attributed to the fact that these, as observed in Chapter 1.4, form the most visible and, therefore, easily accessible and replicable fundraising techniques, especially in disciplines such as economics, psychology and marketing that rely on short-term, one-off field or

laboratory work and experiments that rely on easy to access, large, and readily available sample populations. Furthermore, the focus of these studies is on generating new giving from those individuals who have not previously given to particular non-profit organisations. As such, there are far fewer studies that explore fundraising approaches that seek to build longer term relationships with donors with a view of generating repeat gifts (Hansen, 2017; McDonald et al, 2011). Similarly, studies that compare and explore fundraising approaches across a cause or within organisations themselves are notably absent providing little scope for exploring the differences, if any, of fundraising approaches from cause to cause or group to group.

Sociological studies of fundraising are equally sparse and intermittent. Where they do exist they are, like those from other disciplines remarked upon above, largely carried out as an addendum to studies of philanthropic practice, with a focus on how donors' altruistic tendencies can be best triggered or manipulated by particular fundraising approaches (Breeze & Jollymore, 2015). As with studies from other academic disciplines there is a tendency to focus on particular techniques or sectors, with particular concern about the ways in which these techniques may distance or bring donor populations closer to, or from the causes or people they seek to support (e.g. Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009; Clohsey, 2003; Edwards, 2003). Studies that focus on fundraising techniques appear to fall into two broad categories: - those that seek to develop a body of knowledge that can underpin and promote better professional practice such as those by Sargeant & Shang (2014); Sargeant & Shang (2010) or Mordaunt & Paton (2007); and those that focus on mass fundraising approaches such as direct marketing and cause related marketing (e.g. Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009; Sokolowski, 1996). The former body of research tends to be written with the view to improving and promoting fundraising practice and often takes on the tone of what Payton et al (1991) describe as writing for "for believers or for those who want to believe." (p. 276). As a result, there is a growing body of research that considers how the kind of information that fundraising furnishes donors with may shape and influence the way in which they give, when they give and how much. These range from what types of beneficiary images are utilised in fundraising campaigns (Breeze & Dean, 2012); to the ways in which appeals are framed and beneficiaries are portrayed (Hansen, 2017; Okada, 2013); or how other donors are described (Lainer-Vos, 2014); to how often donors can be asked without being fatigued

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(Burnett, 2002). These studies often provide little in-depth analysis of the impact of these techniques and mechanisms outside of their efficacy in generating as greater number of larger donations. By contrast those studies that aim to adopt a more critical approach to the study of fundraising techniques tend to focus on specific, more visible fundraising practices such as direct mail campaigns, cause related marketing, celebrity involvement, and mass fundraising events, and advertising (Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009; Yörük, 2012; Rose-Ackerman, 1982). These studies are often conducted through a lens that is generally critical of the perceived marketisation and rationalisation of the non-profit sector and civil society more widely.

Another focus for these enquiries in recent years has been a growing fascination with the so-called "new philanthropists" and the introduction and growth of new funding mechanisms such as donor-advised funds; venture and high impact philanthropy; community foundations and giving circles (Eikenberry, 2008; Ostrander, 2007; Daly, 2011; Edwards et al, 2014). These giving mechanisms are thought to differ from more traditional donations and grants in that there appears to be a strong desire on the part of these donors to achieve measurable change and impact, whilst also remaining actively involved with the decision making and design of any interventions they may fund.   Considerations of these giving mechanisms are largely concerned with the effort required by non-profits in meeting these donor's demands and the levels of influence – often thought to be undue – over organisations' strategies of the resultant donor-centric gift management that these approaches to gifting require. An additional concern is the level of distance that is inadvertently created between the donor and recipients, as much of the negotiation and management of the donor's contribution takes place through intermediaries such as giving circles; wealth advisors and funding groups such as community foundations (Eikenberry, 2008; Daly, 2011; Ostrander, 2007; Edwards et al, 2016). Central to these studies, and those of mass solicitation, is the conceptualisation of fundraising as a largely homogenous technical undertaking. The common thread across all these studies is a focus on technique, which fails to investigate fundraising as a practice embedded within specific organisational and institutional structures. Neither do these studies effectively provide any insight into the lived experience or agency of fundraisers within these settings, and as such, do not lend themselves particularly well to the current study (Breeze & Scaife, 2015; Hansen, 2017).

Hansen (2017) notes that sociological studies that focus "on fundraisers as individuals are scarce" (p. 4). Studies that consider the role of fundraisers as individual agents within the organisational and social structures in which they operate are even rarer. Where they do exist, they are made primarily within the context of the increasing specialisation and professionalisation of the non-profit sector, and more specifically, fundraising. For example, there are a growing number of studies that suggest that fundraising is a legitimate, yet immature and still developing profession. Indeed, the professional status of fundraising is a topic that occupies the focus of many of the sociological studies of fundraising that have emerged over the last 30 years, in which the assumed professional status of fundraising is often framed as problematic and difficult to pin down (see for example Bloland & Tempel, 2004; Mordaunt & Paton, 2007; Sargeant, 2009; Breeze & Scaife, 2015; MacQuillan, 2017). These studies tend to adopt a more traditional traits- or criteria-based approach to assessing whether fundraising can actually be considered a profession; if so what kind of profession it is; and often focus on explorations of the professional identities and roles of fundraisers. Most significantly, these approaches suggest that in order for the occupation of fundraising to qualify as a profession certain defining criteria or traits need to be exhibited; many then go on the assess the extent to which these traits/ criteria have been reached (e.g. Breeze, 2017; MacQuillan, 2017; Donahue, 1995; Carbone, 1989).

For example, one of the common criteria to appear in these trait-based approaches to determining levels of professionhood is what Tlili (2016) terms "the application of esoteric expert knowledge acquired through sustained periods of pre-service – and/ or in-service – training and education" (p.1108). However, several recent studies, most notably by Breeze (2017) and MacQuillan (2017), suggest both that the development of a standardised and robust body of fundraising theory and knowledge is yet to exist; and more importantly there are no formal requirements to acquire this body of knowledge as a means to qualify to practice or progress as a fundraising professional.   Underpinning these studies are questions of what types and groups of work actually constitute a profession (Tlili, 2016); a concept that also occupies much of the wider sociological literature on professions (Sahin-Dikmen 2013; Svarc, 2016). The difficulty with assessing what types if work can be said to relate specifically to the occupation of fundraising was highlighted in section 1.4 given the

close association and co-option of many marketing, sales and customer relationship management practices with many wider fundraising approaches (MacQuillan, 2017; Paton, 2007). Professional status could also be argued to be questionable in relation to the lack public recognition or general misunderstanding of the practice of fundraising as outlined in section 1.3, as well as the apparent lack of "commitment to and identification with the profession" that the modest number of recognised and recorded fundraising professionals noted in chapter 1 may indicate (Breeze, 2017, p. 165). Though the latter will probably remain difficult to determine given questions about the professional status of fundraising, as well as which occupational practices fit into fundraising and which do not. Additionally, the involvement of volunteers particularly in the most visible forms of fundraising (see section 1.3) often gives the sense that fundraising is an "amateur" affair (e.g. Bloland & Bornstein, 1991; Hughes, 1996). Consequently, these studies are by-and-large characterised by the uncertainty as to the professional status of fundraising (e.g. Breeze, 2017; Aldrich, 2015; Duronio & Tempel, 1997; Burlingame & Hulse, 1991).

However, these trait- and criteria-based approaches can themselves be problematic in assessing levels of professionhood is several ways. Written over a 30 period, many of these studies often do not reflect the current status of fundraising theory development; the rapidly changing nature of fundraising education and training; the altered regulatory environment especially within the UK; and the recent development of ethical codes of conduct and practice. MacQuillan (2017) notes that studies, such as Carbone's investigation of the state of the fundraising profession within higher education systems in the USA in 1989 are often recycled and re-employed with the addition of little new empirical data or critical engagement in the changing and fluid nature of professionalism. Breeze (2017) and Tlili (2016) note that there is no definitive list of traits or criteria to determine levels of professionalism more widely, let alone more specifically for fundraising. Daly (2013) observes that traditional sociological approaches struggle with the rise of what she describes as "new professionals" such as fundraisers (p. 21). Similarly, Sahin-Dikmen (2013) and Breeze (2017) note that less traditional and/ or vocational and creative professions often do not display the criteria or traits that are identified with these sociological traditions; and authors such as Sanghera & Iliasov (2008) and Bolton (2005) suggest that

these approaches often do not take account of the emotional/ or sentimental nature and skill sets required of these professions.

Given the above difficulties in establishing the professional status of fundraising, for the purposes of this thesis, Gurin's (1985) observation that professional status can be seen as "an ideal type rather than attainable reality: 'a goal rather than a resting place'" is adopted (p.88). To this end this study reflects Aldrich's (2016) view of fundraising as an "emerging profession" (p.503). In other words, professionalisation is viewed both as difficult to establish, as well as fluid. Thus, whilst fundraising claims to be a profession, there is still much work needed to develop its legitimacy, recognition and practice more widely. Thus, it aims to join the ranks of more philosophical and reflexive lines of enquiry that seek to establish what kind of profession fundraising is becoming or should be classified as, rather than whether it is a profession or not, whilst exploring the impact of the ways in which fundraising occupational practices are developing. For example, Tempel (1999) argues that fundraising is best viewed as a vocational profession given its lack of autonomy outside of the mission and values of the non-profit organisations in which it is practiced (p. 53). Pribbenow (1999), as does Breeze (2017) and MacQuillan (2017) noted above, argue that popular sociological descriptions of professions do little to capture the nature of the profession, in much the same way as they struggle to determine its professional status. This, they argue, is partly due the normative conceptualisations of the higher moral and ethical purpose of charity and philanthropy and fundraising's close association with both. Most recently Breeze (2017) proposes that fundraising be viewed as a creative profession given the need for fundraisers to be constantly innovative, inventive, and emotionally intelligent, whilst delivering highly competent, technically demanding projects and programmes.

Relatedly, this research will be able to draw on and contribute sociological studies that seek to establish what skills, attributes and demographic traits make for an "ideal" fundraiser - a subject matter that have occupied researchers since studies of the profession began to emerge in the later twentieth century (Lindahl & Conley, 2002). Early studies in this field sought to determine which characteristics, personal situations, attitudes to work and cause, skill sets, as well as levels and types of professional knowledge were needed to create a successful fundraiser (Panas, 1988; Duronio & Tempel, 1997; Bloland & Bornstein, 1991).

More recent studies seek to understand how fundraisers' social experiences; personal motivations and demographic backgrounds frame their practice and the subsequent role they envisage themselves playing within their organisations (Carver, 2014; Breeze, 2017). Many of these studies are pre-occupied with the apparently high turnover of and difficulty associated with recruiting fundraisers (Mack et al, 2016; Nathan, 2017) In these instances, studies are concerned with the ways in which disjointed approaches to developing theory and education for fundraising training highlighted above (Kelly, 1998; Sargeant, 2009; Mack et al, 2016; Breeze, 2017); lack of clear career trajectories and opportunities for promotion and development associated with fundraising's unclear professional status; and poor organisational support for fundraising teams impact fundraising staff longevity and recruitment (Breeze, 2017; Flandez & Switzer, 2012; Aldrich, 2016). A final area of research within these contexts considers the increasing "feminization" of fundraising; and what this tells us about the state and status of the profession as a whole (Dale, 2017, p.1). These authors contend that insufficient attention has been given to the increasing number of women in the fundraising labour force and the ways in which this and women are generally perceived in the workplace may contribute to the overall devaluing and lack of visibility of fundraisers' work. (Daniels, 1991; Conry 1991; Aldrich, 2016; Dale, 2017).

A small, but significant line of research particularly relevant to this thesis seeks to understand the type of role that individual fundraisers play within charitable organisations themselves. Central to these conversations are questions about what constitutes fundraisers' primary client-base and what this means for where and how they are situated in non-profit organisations (Gunderman, 2014; Daly, 2013; Pribbenow, 1999; Rosso [1991]2016). For example, Daly (2013) is concerned with investigating the role that fundraisers enact internally to their organisations. Daly (2013) proposes that fundraisers fulfil a boundary spanning role and serve as "influential gatekeepers" within non-profit or in her specific case, higher education, settings (p. 29). Similarly, a study by MacKeith (1992) looking at the tensions and conflicts that can arise in organisations as a consequence of fundraising, considers the bridging role that fundraisers play between donors and front-line staff. Both Daly (2013) and MacKeith (1992) conclude that fundraisers can be perceived as having multi-dimensional professional identities given that they serve both an organisation's internal and external stakeholders and serve a vital role in connecting the two (p. 28). Daly

(2013) suggests that attempts to understand and situate the profession and its relationship to wider philanthropic practices would benefit from further investigation of partnerships between fundraisers and service staff. These studies provide a picture of the fundraiser as an individual agent embedded within an organisational context that limits and shapes what they are able to do, moving considerations of fundraising practice beyond that of just an organisational practice that can be usefully employed in this study. However, what is missing from these studies is the acknowledgement of fundraisers as *purposive* socially skilled actors who are not only affected by their organisation's mission, policies and structure, but also affect these through their own reactions and practices, and that merit the further conceptual development proposed later in this chapter (Hansen, 2017; Breeze 2017, Bolton, 2005).

2.2   Contested conceptualisations of fundraising in the philanthropic and non-profit literature

It is clear from both the definitions of fundraising explored in Chapter 1 and the overview of the literature provided thus far, that it is broadly conceived of as a practice in and of the organisations in the non-profit sector. Most definitions of the non-profit sector view it as part of a much wider civil society, which is most commonly defined as a space that provides for private action for the public good (Steinberg & Powell, 2006; Howell, 2013, p, 1; Salamon, 1987; Frumkin, 2002; Sargeant & Shang, 2010). Common to most of these descriptions is the idea that the non-profit sector provides an organised, formal setting in the form of largely charitable organisations that connects the disparate actors of society in action towards the achievement of the common good. In doing so the non-profit sector provides a space for action that preserves the pluralistic nature of civil society, whilst creating opportunities to build solidarity between groups of socially distant individuals (e.g. Clohsey, 2003; DiMaggio & Anheier, 1990; Eikenberry & Kulver, 2004).

Yet Frumkin (2002) and Krause (2014) also highlight a distinct duality to the non-profit sector's primary impetus. Frumkin (2002) distinguishes between the demand side of the sector in which the non-profit sector meets the specific social needs of the most vulnerable members of society versus the supply side of the sector in which he notes that the "sector is impelled by the resources and ideas that flow into it – resources and ideas that come from

social entrepreneurs, donors and volunteers" (p.21). Approaching the sector from a wider field perspective, Krause (2014) suggests that there are two overarching views of global civil society and the role that non-profits play within it. The first closely resembles the conceptualisations of the sector as driven by the "stated ideas or values" of the organisations that make up the sector, which are by and large focussed on generating "public benefit" of some description (p.16). The second is one in which civil society and charitable organisations in particular "are described as a tool of the interests" of those who fund the sector (Ibid; see also Smith, 2007 & Edwards et al, 2014).

The sector in these conceptualisations is, thus, of value to two distinct social groups – those in need and those who wish to give to those in need as a means of expressing their values-based moral and altruistic identities. Non-profits can serve both or either and this is determined by from whom, amongst other things, they seek funding and the activities they engage in to secure such funding from these sources. Similarly, the processes of fundraising can be seen to prioritise the needs of either beneficiaries or suppliers of the sector. The suitability of which are discussed in sub-sections 2.2.1 to 2.2.3 before proposing an alternative conceptualisation of the task.

2.2.1   *Fundraising as a provider of the non-profit sector*

Steinberg & Powell (2006), in their introduction to a study of the non-profit sector, perceive of philanthropy, as the transfer of funds from an individual with resources to the non-profit organisation. Fundraising in this instance is quite simply viewed as the technical task of marketing and raising brand awareness, which in turn encourage and facilitate this transfer of funds. In this definition, Steinberg & Powell (2006) reflect a common perception amongst many of those who study the sector that fundraising is an organisation-level strategy, the purpose of which is to support the implementation of the charity's overall goals (e.g. Darnton & Kirk, 2011; DiMaggio & Anheier, 1990; Frumkin, 2002; Howell, 2013). Fundraising is, thus, perceived largely as an instrumental task that has little impact on the functioning of the organisation, aside from making possible its "real mission- based work" (Clohsey, 2003, p.133). Where the particular practices and behaviours of fundraisers are considered they are discussed in terms of establishing the most effective triggers for giving that will also hold in check what is often perceived to be the undue influence of the more powerful donor. The

focus remains on fundraisers as implementers of voluntary income generation strategies, rather than agents who themselves can shape, mould and make decisions about what strategies to employ or not.

2.2.2   Fundraising as a servant of philanthropy

By comparison, the defining of fundraising as a "servant of philanthropy", by Rosso ([1991]2016), identifies the close association between the way money is solicited and the way it is given – a key theme for this thesis (p. 323). More notable, for this review of the literature, is that this conception includes fundraising in normative debates about philanthropy being able to do and achieve the things that neither the market nor the state have an interest in or consider too risky to address, and thereby, act as an agent for social change (Daly, 2012; Edwards, 2013; McDonald et al, 2011; Ruesega & Puntenney, 2010). Fundraising finds a place within these conceptions of philanthropy in assertions such as those by Edwards (2013) who suggests that the way organisations fundraise is of vital importance to the ability of *philanthropy*, rather than the non-profit sector, to act as an agent of social transformation (Nickel & Eikenberry; 2009). Here Edwards (2013) and Nickel & Eikenberry (2009) feed into narratives that identify donors as the key driving force behind the activities of the sector. This often leads to conclusions such as those expressed by Hughes (1999) that "the charity can simply be seen as the custodian of the donor's social responsibility" (p.179). In these circumstances fundraising, where it is considered as part of the donor's giving process, can be seen to fit with definitions of the task of facilitating givers' generosity and transferring the gift to the organisation (Sargeant & Shang, 2010; Rosso [1991]2006).

Fundraising in these circumstances becomes what Ostrander (2007) describes as "donor-centred" (p. 359). Donors respond to appeals which "emphasize potential benefits and opportunities to the donor such as the personal satisfaction of 'making a difference' "in which the donor's needs and interests" are purported to be met through the act of giving (Ibid, p. 361). The purpose of the fundraising function in these understandings is to ensure that the donors' needs are met; that the donor's rights and privacy are protected; and that the giving process is enjoyable and satisfying (Hughes, 1999; Waters, 2016). The fundraising process then serves to enshrine the rights of the donor within the organisation, thereby it is

argued building a relationship of trust between donor and organisation. However, as with conceptions of fundraising serving the non-profit sector, descriptions of fundraising as existing to facilitate donors' giving still conceive of the task as an organisation-level provision of information to aide giving decisions and the provision of mechanisms to enable the act of giving (Schervish, 2007; Hansen, 2017). In this scenario the fundraiser as a social figure who interacts directly with donors remains notably absent.

This ties in with Adloff's (2016) and Schervish's (2007) definitions of fundraising as existing to facilitate giving through the technical provision of information to aide giving decisions and to point donors towards the specific needs of the recipient group. In this space Adloff (2016) acknowledges the fundraiser as a social figure who matches the needs of the donor with those of the organisation – ensuring that both are met. However, in Adloff's (2016) understanding of the fundraising role, the chief "client" is the person giving. The fundraiser, here, serves as an able aide to what is framed as the generous undertaking of giving (Rosso, [1991]2016). What is involved in the process of identifying which of the organisation's needs and work matches the donor's vision of the public good and the tasks involved in enabling the transfer of funds from donors to the recipient beneficiary goes underexplored as the next section highlights (Payton & Moody, 2008).

2.2.3 Fundraising as a connector of donors and recipients.

Conceptualisations of fundraising as a connector are largely found in the sociological studies reviewed in section 2.1.2 that conceive of fundraisers as boundary spanners or bridges (Daly, 2013; MacKeith, 1992). These conceptions of fundraising draw together Frumkin's (2002) idea of the non-profit sector as constituting a demand-side and supply-side with the recognition of the social and often physical distance that this structure represents between those who give and wish to help, and those end beneficiaries who receive these gifts (Breeze, 2017; White, 2007; Silber, 1998; Krause, 2014). Indeed, Hughes (1996) remarks that the non-profit sector has largely become "an operating system that distances donors from the charities they support" (p. 175).

The non-profit sector is recognised as an inherently complex field, serving the needs of several stakeholders (see for example Kendall, 2003; Sargeant & Shang, 2010; Frumkin,

2002; Salamon & Anheier; 1999; Edwards, 2014). It is no surprise, therefore, that there is often a lack of direct engagement between donors and recipients, because "donors do not give directly to beneficiaries", but rather to charitable and non-profit organisations (Krauss, 2014, p.59; Silber, 1998). In the literature more critical of modern approaches to charitable giving, concerns are expressed about this increasing separation of donor from recipient, leading to questions about whether the needs of recipient beneficiaries are actually being met if beneficiaries are not in a position to express their needs and negotiate the funding required to address them directly (e.g. Edwards, 2013; Ostrander, 2007; Daly, 2011; Schervish, 2007; Krauss, 2014; Schervish & Ostrander, 1991). In this space, however, fundraising is perceived as a process that can help overcome this distance and connect these different stakeholders through the gifting process. More, significantly it is here, in this space between stakeholders that the fundraiser as a social actor can be seen to be situated; and is indeed identified as such by the growing group of theorists such as Adloff (2016); Daly (2013), and MacKeith (1992) identified above. In this instance fundraising serves as means to connect the donor's gift to the recipient beneficiary – serving the giver by providing the information and vehicle through which to give and ensuring the gift reaches the recipient, whilst also providing opportunity for a more collaborative role for the donor (Clohsey, 2003; Schervish & Ostrander, 1991). In this way, it is argued in these texts that fundraising serves as means to establish and manage what Waters (2016) describes as "mutually beneficial relationships between a non-profit and a variety of donor publics", whilst protecting the ultimate beneficiary from potentially negative obligation, manipulation or exploitation (p. 434).

The problem, however, with these conceptions of the role of fundraising as connector between giver and receiver, and the tacit recognition of the social role of the fundraiser, remains an assumption of a dyadic relationship between the non-profit organisation and the donor. There is an assertion that the donor's now obligation-free gift follows a direct path from the hands of the donor to those of the beneficiary. The fundraiser is merely seen as an implementer of the technical task of neutrally linking the donor's gift with the appropriate programme of need. There remains a neglect of the journey the gift makes from donor through different levels of organisation peopled by various individuals to the end beneficiary. Individuals who have their own agentic capacity and interest in shaping the

structure, flow and meaning of the gift. Consequently, there is a lack of critical engagement with and interrogation of the role and agency of those individuals within non-profit organisations with whom individual givers interact - most specifically fundraisers - and the way in which they shape philanthropic and charitable activity. More importantly there is little empirical engagement with the ways in which fundraisers' behaviour determines the outcomes of both activities, as well as the nature and structure of the relationship between giver and receiver. This leads to the central assertion in this thesis that fundraising and the role of the fundraiser merit re-conceptualisation and investigation through an alternate theoretical perspective.

2.3   Towards a sociological understanding of fundraising

Central to the definitions and conceptualisations of fundraising discussed in the introductory chapters is the idea first expressed in Chapter 1 that the task consists primarily of *asking*. Evidence, both from the anecdotal and empirical literature reviewed thus far find that effective appeals for donations include a direct request or solicitation for a gift as well as a clear articulation of the need that the donor will be meeting. The findings from these studies suggest that donors need to be asked directly and explicitly to give in order to convert their altruistic inclinations into the act of giving (see for example Andreoni, 2006; Bryant et al, 2003; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2007; Adloff, 2016; O'Neill, 1994; Bekkers, 2005; Duronio & Loessin, 1991; Silber, 2012). These studies often draw on evidence from other disciplines such as social psychology and pro-social gifting practices such as blood donation and volunteering, which demonstrate that a direct solicitation for help serves to trigger a salient personality or the already existing motivations to give or help that an individual may have (Yaish & Varese, 2001; Darley & Latané, 1968; Tsvetkova & Macy, 2014). For example, in a study investigating the potential drivers of altruistic behaviour related to the rescue of Jews during WWII, Yaish & Varese (2001) establish that the asking for or direct solicitation of help is as an important driver for this behaviour, as is a salient personality or existing societal norms or expectations. More specifically the study finds that it is a specific request for help that activates the "salient personality (or orientation) of the individual, whilst at the same time trigger[ing] a decision-making process about the response (i.e. behaviour) to this appeal" (p. 19). In their analysis, it is the clear and direct request that provides an

understanding of the situation and the need to be met; as well as instruction as the means through which that need can be met.

The recognition of the effect a formal request for a donation has in triggering a philanthropic gift is not entirely absent in the philanthropic and charitable giving literature either. For example, Bekkers & Wiepking (2007) identify solicitation as one of the key drivers of philanthropic giving. These are supported by studies across various disciplines that individuals are far more likely to give if asked to do so directly (Yörük, 2009; Sokolowski, 1996; Schervish & Havens, 1997; Andreoni & Rao, 2010; Okten & Weisbrod, 2000; Musick & Wilson, 2007). Interestingly, Andreoni et al. (2011) suggest that the request of a gift can be such a strong trigger of other motivations to give, such as empathy or guilt, that many potential givers often employ strategies to *avoid* being asked. This seems to indicate, that even givers of gifts to strangers anticipate or even expect an invitation or direct request to give. As such, there is a tendency to focus on how to make the fundraising ask most effective at triggering both the self-interested and dis-interested motivations behind giving in the growing canon of research on charitable and philanthropic giving (e.g. Andreoni, 1990; Breeze & Lloyd, 2013; Breeze, 2014; Silber, 2012; Scaife et al, 2014 etc; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2007; Waters, 2016, p. 426: Burlingame & Hulse, 1991; Duronio & Loessin, 1991). Studies consider which messages, images and giving mechanisms best trigger which motivations and the ways in which these can be most effectively implemented (Breeze & Dean, 2012; Hansen, 2017). For example, Okten & Weisbrod (2000) suggest that fundraising reduces the cost of giving by providing information about outputs (p. 257). Breeze (2013) observes that asking often helps aid donors' awareness and eases their decision making processes, in that donors do not necessarily know the nature of organisational needs or are overwhelmed by the sheer volume and extent of need. Therefore, asking draws attention to and makes the need clearer in ways that elicit the desired emotions that will activate the donor to actually give (Andreoni et al, 2011). This certainly matches up with the fundraising management literature that makes it clear that not only do NPO's have to ask, they have to be clear about what they want, when and for what purpose (e.g. Botting & Norton, 2001, p. 11; O'Neill, 1993; Levy, 2009). In other words donors may well have a number of very good reasons to give, but cannot and will not do so in the face of not knowing where, how and to

whom to give or what the money they are giving will be achieving or purchasing on behalf of the recipient beneficiary.

A by-product of the focus on the fundraising ask, and the identification of the need for different ways of asking donors with a variety of giving motivations is the conclusion that different types of donors may respond differently to varying types of gift requests. As a result, modern fundraising has developed into a wide range of practices ranging from mass solicitation techniques such as direct mail, to community and face-to-face fundraising approaches, as outlined in Chapter 1.4. As was additionally noted in the context chapter, however, this sheer variety of fundraising techniques results in one of the difficulties in identifying what actually constitutes the task of fundraising. Thus, making it difficult to analyse approaches to gift solicitation and the ways in which variations may or may not affect giving behaviour.

The subsequent outworking in the critical and sociological literature on fundraising and philanthropic giving is an abstraction of fundraising approaches, with a corresponding binary distinction made between mass fundraising techniques on the one hand and gift solicitations made on a more individualised, collaborative basis on the other. In this abstraction there is a tendency to pitch mass fundraising as impersonal commercialisation of philanthropic giving and charity, which is fundamentality at odds with the values and perceived moral purpose of both (Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009; Edwards, 2014; Clohsey, 2003; Peterman, 2012). For example, Pratt (1997) suggests that mass solicitation techniques lead to distancing and "commoditizing donors" turning them into spectators rather than the participants, stakeholders and collaborators in social change that they should be (pp. 252 & 252). Other scholars have suggested that these techniques encourage what Barman (2017) terms "one-shot check-book philanthropy" and so lack the repeated, face-to-face nature of other types of giving, with consequences for individual and collective well-being" (p.12). Schervish & Havens (1997) consider mass marketing techniques as severely limited in their capacity to bring in the kind of large, impactful gifts that he believes organisations really need and more importantly should be seeking, let alone develop a core of loyal and increasingly generous supporters. This literature subsequently calls for organisations to seek out ways in which to engage donors more directly in the work of organisations to which

they give; and to encourage more collaborative relationships between donors and recipient groups and organisations (e.g. Pratt, 1997; Clohsey, 2003). Schervish & Ostrander (1991), for example, outline ways in which both donors and organisations can encourage more co-operative giving through what they term a needs-based approach in which recipients "define the need and the program, ideally in collaboration and in dialogue with clients and consumers and donors…. donors are envisioned as members of the community who have resources that they are willing to contribute in return for the satisfaction of community involvement and participation" (p. 94).

The problem with these proposed "solutions" to the perceived "marketization of philanthropy" and commoditization of donor's gifts is a that recipient beneficiaries are often conflated with the non-profit organisation (Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009; p. 974). This equation of charitable organisations with individual beneficiaries of gifts that they represent fundamentally ignores the hierarchical, rationalised structures of non-profit organisations that essentially distance the donor from the beneficiary (e.g. Hughes, 1991; Krause, 2014). It also creates the impression that charities are, can and should be primarily reliant on donors who can make substantial financial gifts, thereby reducing the number of donations that need to be secured. However, they also create problematic narratives surrounding the patronage of the elite that sits at odds with the critiques of "big" philanthropy and the undue influence of those with wealth (Silber, 2012; Ostrander, 2007; Edwards, 2013; Hanson, 2015; McGoey, 2015; Reich, 2018). This view also tends to ignore the fact that all but the very smallest of organisations need to secure a myriad of small to large gifts from 100's, even 1000's of donors in order to secure the income they need, and, therefore, fail to address how these givers are to be included in a collaborative, face to face way with the organisations to whom they given. This reflects a tendency within the philanthropic literature to focus on the giving behaviour of the wealthiest givers, as these gifts are often the most visible and the givers easily identifiable (Breeze, 2017). The result often is the presentation of an idealised image of the relationship between those who give to strangers and the strangers to whom they give in these conceptualisations of philanthropy. However, just as critiques of mass solicitation "betray a lack of insight into the actual practice of fundraising and donating" via organisations, so too do these conceptions of a direct, collaborative giving relationship between donor and recipient (Breeze, 2017, p. 16).

The dichotomous presentation of fundraising as either mass solicitation or collaborative partnerships, additionally belies the "ecosystem" nature of the non-profit sector that is captured by Edwards (2013) and Kendall and Knapp (1995), in which the sector is by necessity dependent on a similar ecosystem of fundraising approaches. Conceived in this way, there is a recognition that no one fundraising tool can be determined as universally appropriate or damaging; or should be carried out to the exclusion of others. In contrast to the debates presented in the academic texts on fundraising and philanthropy, the fundraising management literature presents the ideal fundraising strategy as one that employs a variety of fundraising approaches to engage givers from various backgrounds, and income brackets, where fundraising techniques are not viewed in isolation, or merely presented as a one-shot means of asking for single gifts. Instead each fundraising technique whether it be via mass solicitation or more personalised one-to-one methods is viewed as a means to connect even more deeply the donor to the beneficiary and cause (e.g. Botting & Norton, 2001; Clarke, 1992; Mullin, 2002; Sargeant & Jay, 2014). Most importantly, within these ideal fundraising strategies, one fundraising technique is used to build on another as a way to "ease" the donor into a longer-term cycle of giving to the organisation. (IoF, 2010, p, 41). This concept is captured in Waters' (2016) idea of "cyclical communications" being at the "core of fundraising" in which "fundraisers have a variety of communication channels to provide the donor of even the smallest annual giving contribution some level of individual attention". This, in turn, enables the donor to "feel satisfied with the altruistic and egoistic benefits they receive from the interaction" with the organisation (p.435), which prompts them to give to the organisation again and again.

Furthermore, many of the studies that underlie much of the fundraising management literature find that social interaction, whether "real or inferred," between the donor and recipient serves as a much stronger driver for charitable giving than a series of one-way impersonal, information laden asks (Andreoni & Rao, 2010, p. 14). This interaction it would appear serves to trigger empathy in the donor, as well as provide guidance for any altruistic behaviour this may generate. These studies suggest that individuals are more likely to give to those with whom there is some sort of existing social connection (Schervish & Havens, 1997; Musick & Wilson, 2007). Of note in this literature is the additional evidence that

donors are more likely to repeat their gift to the same organisation again if they are satisfied with the feedback they receive and that they have been assured that the expectations associated with their gift have been met (Sargeant, 2001; Burlingame & Hulse 1991; McDonald et al, 2011). Empirical evidence gained in these studies indicate that donors are also more likely to repeat their giving where they feel that they have established a relationship or connection to the non-profit organisation through their initial gifts (McDonald et al, 2011: Sargeant & Shang, 2010). This suggests that donors are interested in developing longer-term giving relationships and connections with organisations and are not wholly satisfied with anonymous, single-shot giving despite the "warm-glow" effects that such gifts may generate (Andreoni, 1990; McDonald et al, 2011; Elder-Vass, 2015). It can, therefore, be extrapolated that there are varying forms or stages of charitable gift and that the nature of the gift may change over time, as a relationship with the recipient charity develops.

Thus, whilst there is growing concern over the increasing mechanisation of fundraising – indeed, there is little doubt that much of it is routinised and predictable - it does not mean that this constitutes a wholesale marketization or commoditization of the philanthropic relationship. The fundraising strategies outlined in the management literature seek to be multi-layered, interactional processes in which not only money is sought, but the interaction and engagement of the donor with the cause. In these approaches fundraisers are seen to draw on professional, organisational and fundraising specific codes of conduct, social rules and norms in their interactions with donors and staff. It would seem the fragile accomplishment of soliciting a gift, but also keeping the donor involved, is the primary motivation behind these approaches. This thesis, therefore, argues that fundraising would be better understood if it were recognised as a social relation, which consists of the development of long-term giving relationships between non-profit organisations and their donors. In applying such an understanding to fundraising, a subsequent shift can be made from focussing on how gifts are triggered to how and, more importantly, who builds and maintains this social relation.

2.4   Conceiving of fundraising as a social relation

Conceiving of fundraising as a means to build longer-term giving relationships between the donor and the charitable organisation allows for a move away from analyses of one-off transactions and a focus on particular solicitation techniques. When viewed in this way, fundraising practice shows some alignment with conceptions of philanthropy as a social relation, in which both donors and recipients actively participate in the gifting process (Schervish & Ostrander, 1991). In conceiving of philanthropy as a social relation Schervish & Ostrander (1991) conclude that "philanthropy is not a one-way process of discovering need and satisfying it" (Clohsey, 2003, p. 136). Rather, philanthropy involves particular types of repeat interactions between donors and recipients in which both sides give and receive. They go on to explore various strategies that organisations can engage in to secure gifts and substantially, in their view, deepen philanthropic relationships. Organisations are no longer viewed as inert or "passive recipients" of gifts, but rather as active participants in the philanthropic process (Duronio & Loessin, 1991, p. 126; Andreoni, 1998).

However, Daly (2011) and Ostrander (2007) also identify that there simply isn't in most cases a "two-way" direct relationship between donors and recipients. There exists a whole set of actors between and within these two sides of the social relation that mediate and shape the interaction between the two (Schervish & Ostrander, 1991). It is worth recognising that Ostrander (2007) and Daly (2011) consider these intermediaries to be wealth advisors, community foundations and giving circles, whilst still conceiving of non-profit organisations as single recipients. However, their identification of a two-way gift relationship that is managed and facilitated by individuals other than the donor and recipient, does provide a framework in which the fundraiser can be included in this group of intermediaries. In this way, fundraisers begin to emerge as the "social figure" identified by Adloff (2016) in his sociological view of philanthropy (p.62). Additionally, this ties up with descriptions of fundraisers within the literature identified in section 2.2.3 that provide for a far more active role for the fundraising individual as an educator, enabler and facilitator of the donor "towards meaningful giving" (Nichols, 2003, p. 164). In these conceptions, the fundraiser's role can be considered as either adapting or reproducing the structures and

processes in non-profit organisations "that currently separate donors from recipients" (Edwards, 2013, p. 6).

In this way, fundraising can be described as a social relation that includes those who give, those who receive, as well as those who ask for and mediate the gift between the two. Clohsey (2003) suggests that the fundraiser's role thus goes beyond asking for gifts and places far greater responsibility at the fundraisers' door to "enable donors and beneficiaries to participate together in articulating and implementing public action of the common good" (p. 128).

2.5   Conceiving of fundraisers as skilled organisational actors

An objective of this study is to understand fundraisers' practice as embedded within the charitable organisations for which they work. As such, there is a need to take care not only to consider the dyadic social relations between fundraiser and donor identified above, but to explore these relations within the organisational contexts in which they are situated. Whilst useful in identifying fundraising as a task carried out by individuals within organisations, the language of facilitation and mediation often associated with the task of fundraising positions the fundraiser as a broker or "go between" in the relationship between the organisation and external donor. This often leads to the sense that fundraisers' practice can be explored outside of or separate from the organisation, especially if the social relation is thought to exist between the fundraiser and the giver. The intention, in this section, is to move away from observations such as those made by Clohsey (2003), in which fundraisers "are [typically] viewed as doing work essentially external to the organization" (p. 133). I argue that this view risks assuming, what Barman (2007) terms "the agentic capacities of fundraisers to shape the donative transfer for their own ends and purposes" without considering the wider contextual field in which fundraising takes place and how this field impacts on the strategies of solicitation at fundraisers' disposal (p. 1417).

Barman (2007) progresses her argument by proposing that whilst an understanding of the relationship between the donor and fundraiser is useful, there needs to be a corresponding understanding of the relationship as embedded within organisations and networks of organisations. Building on the earlier questioning in section 2.2 of the concept of non-profit

organisations as "neutral conduits of funds between donors and the provision of public goods" (Krause, 2014, p. 45), Barman (2007) and Healy (2004) propose a view of non-profit organisations as actors in a wider field in which they "create contexts for giving" and "generate altruistic action differentially across populations" (Healy, 2004, p. 400). However, as will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 3, Healy (2004), Barman (2007) and Krause's (2014) studies consider non-profit organisations as their primary unit of study and they do not progress any investigation into the interactions between individual fundraisers and the structures of the specific organisations for whom they seek funding, as these sit outside the scope of their respective studies. Thus, whilst useful in establishing the wider context in which fundraising takes place, these conceptualisations remain limited in their capacity, in my assessment, to generate more in-depth understandings of the social relations at the heart of the philanthropic process; and, thus, require further development.

Thus, this section returns to the literature outlined towards the end of section 2.1.2 that explores the dynamics that emerge between those who raise the money and those who spend the money within charitable organisations themselves (e.g. MacKeith, 1992; Mowles, 2010; Mikkelsen, 2012; Darnton & Kirk, 2011). What is useful about this literature is that it explores the immediate organisational context in which fundraisers operate. In conceiving of fundraisers as internal boundary spanners (Daly, 2013) and bridges (MacKeith, 2013) these studies identify the task of fundraising as a process that involves bringing several organisational stakeholders including donors, non-fundraising staff, charity leaders and volunteers together in what Breeze & Jollymore (2015) describes a "performance that sets the stage for effective giving" (p. 1). As Daly (2013) notes this allows for an understanding of fundraisers as having multi-dimensional professional identities that are not necessarily limited to asking for donations or maintaining relationships with donors. Fundraisers, in these understandings have a far wider remit that is generally ignored in the literature, thereby, contributing to inadequate conceptions of modern gifting to strangers. Subsequently, this thesis argues that there is not only a need to explore the work that fundraisers do to solicit gifts from donors, but to do so in response to the constraints and opportunities placed on them by organisational contexts and structures within which they operate. In this way fundraisers, for the purposes of this study are acknowledged as skilled,

organisational actors, as well as facilitators of the fundraising social relation identified earlier in this chapter.

2.6   Concluding remarks

The review of the literature on fundraising and philanthropy in this chapter emphasises how there are different ways of viewing the fundraising function. Depending on which stance is taken a completely different picture of fundraising may emerge. This is particularly so in trying to establish the purpose of fundraising or what fundraising brings to the charitable sector and has implications for considerations of its significance and impact in both philanthropic and wider non-profit practices. Throughout Chapters 1 and 2, I have attempted to highlight the general absence of fundraisers as individual actors in these conceptions of the non-profit sector, philanthropy and even fundraising itself. Several reasons for this have been identified which have been discussed in detail. These chapters have argued that these perceptions of fundraising are associated with the respective conceptions of the undertakings of the non-profit sector and charitable giving as mission-driven and/ or interest-driven. Fundraising, within these contexts, tends to be viewed as a necessary task, but one that is conducted outside of and often at odds with the overall mission and purposes of both the sector and philanthropy. This thesis argues, however, that this leads to a paucity of analysis of both practices, as well as that of fundraising which is dismissed as a technical, organisational undertaking. Rather I propose that fundraising, like philanthropy is an inherently social undertaking in which two parties interact, give and get to various degrees.

This chapter concludes that these understandings of fundraising and philanthropy can be enriched by recognising the agency of the individual fundraiser within these contexts. By bringing the fundraiser "back into" considerations of non-profit and philanthropic practice, analysis of relationships between philanthropists and those working to solicit gifts in the sector becomes far more feasible. Chapter 3, thus, focusses on developing a theoretical framework through which an exploration and analysis of fundraising as a social relation can by conducted. In doing so, the chapter will examine recent accounts that engage with the concept of the gift as a social relation, as one particular way of regarding philanthropy and fundraising. It will help highlight the inadequacy of existing approaches of charitable gifts to

strangers via organisations, question their assumption of non-reciprocity and, thus, the absence of obligatory and often exploitative power imbalances. It will start, however, by emphasising how conceptualisations of philanthropy, non-profit activity, and fundraising within that, as separate fields of practice may belie the strength of their connection and suggests a new method of understanding the field in which philanthropic giving and fundraising may operate.

Chapter 3: The Mediated Gift

This chapter explores the theoretical backdrop that frames and supports this research. As outlined in Chapters 1 and 2 this thesis is particularly concerned with the ways in which fundraisers shape and influence how philanthropic gifts are given by donors, as well as how they are received by the non-profit organisations to whom they are directed. Correspondingly the exploration of the literature relating to fundraising, philanthropy and the non-profit sectors in these introductory chapters repeatedly highlights the centrality of the idea of the gift within philanthropic and fundraising activity. For example, Burlingame & Hulse (1991) in an early edited volume of fundraising studies, describe the activity that takes place within these fields as "gift making" (p. 14). Given the strong presence of the concept of the gift in ideas of charity, the non-profit sector and philanthropy, this chapter begins with the proposal that the study of gift giving and the associated theory provides a useful conceptual framework from which to build an analysis of the practice of fundraisers within philanthropic activity. Whilst there has been some interest in gift theory in relation to the study of philanthropy and charitable giving (see Barman 2017 for more detail), it has not been used to analyse fundraising techniques, structures and processes, much less, the work of individual fundraisers. This follows the trend identified in earlier sections of this thesis of focusing on givers rather than those seeking the gift. Yet as Silber (1998) points out "the act of asking or soliciting philanthropic giving" is an important feature of modern philanthropic giving (p.145). In light of these statements, this chapter and thesis will argue that the study of fundraisers' everyday practice within philanthropic giving would certainly contribute to understandings about "the nature and place of giving in contemporary settings" (Ibid).

This chapter will include a brief exploration of contemporary and classic studies, as well as philosophical thinking concerning the gift. Specifically, the focus will be on selected contributions within the gifting canon to the debate about giving to strangers via organisations rather than gift giving in general and how these may expand or enrich our consideration of philanthropic giving; the non-profit sectors' gift solicitation practices and the role of the fundraiser within those. I argue that in focussing primarily on the social profiles of givers, as well as encompassing the vast array of gift giving practices to strangers into a single classification these approaches amount to an incomplete analysis of many

modern gift processes, but especially those to non-profit organisations. I propose that by including an analysis of the role that solicitation and organisations play in gift giving, that one can build a more robust, nuanced understanding of some of the gift giving practices inherent in contemporary society, particularly to strangers. That said, this chapter initially returns to the conceptualisations identified in Chapter 2 of philanthropic and non-profit activity as two separate fields of practice which fundraising serves as a bridge to connect. I propose that an analysis of gift giving to strangers via charitable organisations would benefit from a shift in perception in which philanthropic and charitable activity is conceived of as a single field of practice in which philanthropic individuals, non-profit organisations and fundraisers are all perceived as actors (Burlingame & Hulse , 1991). This chapter, thus, draws additionally on the work of Barman (2007); Krause (2014) and Dalsgaard (2007) who each draw on Bourdieu's field theory to conceive of a shared philanthropic field in which fundraisers can be positioned and their situated practice analysed in relation to other actors in the field.

3.1   The mediated gift field

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 identified the problem of locating fundraising practice, where the philanthropic and the non-profit sectors are analysed as separate fields of practice. Whilst some studies acknowledge that they essentially constitute two sides of the same coin (e.g. Frumkin, 2002 & Andreoni, 2006), each constituency is investigated as if they inhabit distinct fields. In conceiving of fundraising as a social relation, however, this study aims to move away from these understandings of charitable practice to conceive of a mediated gift field such as the one envisaged by Barman (2007) which includes non-profit organisations, donors, staff and recipients in a single arena if practice. In this section, I will argue that such a conceptualisation of the mediated gift field will allow what Barman (2007) terms "empirical consideration… [of] the social context in which donors are embedded" (p.7). An interrogation of how the individual actors in the field influence the practice and positioning of others can, thus, be made without losing sight of the constraints and opportunities of this practice the overall structure of the field may impose (Emibayer & Johnson, 2008; Vaughan, 2008).

In a similar study of non-profit organisations in the international development field, Krause (2014) proposes that the concept of the field opens up the internal processes of any arena of social practice to investigation by providing the means by which to establish not only how the field is objectively shaped and structured, but also how it is subjectively constructed and reproduced by the actions and interactions of the very same actors embedded within this objective structure. In much the same way, I argue that conceiving of the mediated gift relationship as a specific, semi-autonomous field of practice allows for the investigation of contemporary philanthropic gift giving from an individual, as well as organisational perspective. A move away from dyadic gift exchange models or analyses of givers' subjective behaviour discussed in previous chapters can be made to one which considers individual practices as embedded within that of the organisational structures of the non-profit sector. I, thus, conceive of a mediated gift field as space where different agents, amongst them donors, fundraisers, organisations and recipients compete and work with each other and struggle to define and manage what the "good" philanthropic gift looks like and how it is subsequently enacted. In the process, over the following paragraphs, I draw on the studies by Barman (2007) and Krause (2014) above, as a means to illustrate how the application of ideas of field can facilitate the investigation of mediated gift giving. I highlight their limitations with regards to linking charitable gift giving and the fundraising relationships in non-profit organisations. I then introduce the ways in which I propose to depart from and build on these using Dalsgaard's (2007) study of the mediating role of nurses in blood banks as a means to build a more robust theory of mediated gift giving and the role of the individual fundraiser within it. I round off the development of this consideration of the mediated gift field with a discussion of how theories of the gift may guide and situate this investigation of philanthropic giving from the perspective of those who do indeed mediate the gift.

In a study that considers the "macro-level factors that affect donor behaviour" and the fundraising strategies employed by non-profit organisations, Barman (2007) intentionally moves the focus away from the subjectivities of givers' motivations and dyadic relations between those who give and recipient organisations that were identified as problematic in Chapter 2 , to an analysis of "the field-level configurations in which donors and fundraisers are embedded" (p. 1416). In doing so she provides a means of conceiving the composition

and structure of the charitable giving field; and the ways in which this structure determines the strategies of solicitation non-profit organisations may engage in and how these, in turn, shape giving behaviour. As has already been noted in previous paragraphs, according to Barman (2007) "in the case of charitable giving, an organizational field consists of the structure of relationships between the donors, fundraising organizations, institutional actors such as government bodies, gatekeepers, watchdog organizations, and recipients/ clients "(p. 1424). In this way, Barman (2007) avoids presenting charitable giving and the non-profit sector as two separate areas of practice and works towards developing a more unified analysis of how the actors from both the supply-side and demand-side of non-profit sector link, interact and shape the overall field in a way that provides a suitable framework around which to model the mediated gift field for this study (Frumkin, 2002).

However, as with many other studies such as those identified in the literature review in Chapter 2, Barman (2007) works within the conceptual framework that presents a giver's primary relationship as located with the recipient organisation as a whole. Whilst, it needs to be recognised that Barman (2007) is quite intentionally focussed on the macro-structures in which philanthropic gift giving takes place, her focus on the macro-structures necessitates a setting aside of the consideration of the ways in which individuals in organisations shape and structure charitable gift giving for the purposes of her study. By the same token, as both field theorists, Vaughan (2008) and Emibayer & Johnson (2008) point out, studies that look to field-level structures alone, do not lend themselves well to a study seeking to understand how the practice of one set of agents affects the practice of another embedded within the same field. Vaughan (2008) proposes that by moving the analysis of the field to a meso-level, i.e. at the level of relationships between individuals in organisations and within organisational structures, that it is easier to employ the tools of field and capital in conjunction with that of individual habitus, and thus develop studies that can include the impact of individual agents within the field.

An aspect of Monika Krause's (2014) study, though not looking at philanthropic gift giving by individuals but rather institutional donors, provides a possible solution to this focus on the wider field when attempting to consider individual agency in organisational contexts. Krause's (2014) study, like Barman's (2007), uses a field-level analysis of the non-profit

sector, but utilises the everyday experiences and practices of particular staff members within individual organisations (that of desk officers) to explore and analyse the ways in which individual practice interacts with and is shaped by the wider structures and logic of a field. By exploring the everyday practice, interactions and relationships of individual desk officers, Krause (2014) begins to unpick how humanitarian relief agencies actually do their work and meet the perceived interests of both institutional donors and recipient communities using the logic and rules of the humanitarian field as a guide to their practice. In this way Krause (2014) uses an analysis of how desk officers "make their environment manageable and reduce its complexity" as a "way to examine the internal structure and everyday practices of agencies"; and as an "entry point for an analysis of the characteristics of these organisations" and the ways in which they reproduce the ideas, rules and logic of humanitarian relief field (p.15).

Similarly, I propose that by looking at the solicitation and gift management practices employed by individual fundraisers within non-profit organisations, I will gain an alternate means of analysing the characteristics of these organisations as mediators of gift giving to strangers as well as how actors in this field orient themselves in the struggle to define what a "good gift" and the "public good" may look like (Payton & Moody, 2008, p.13). If I can understand the nature and composition of the web of relations engaged in the mediated gift giving field, I will be better able to understand how it is structured and how individual fundraisers affect and are affected by the logic that shapes the field (Krause, 2014; Barman, 2007).

In Krause's (2014) analysis the dynamic between individual practice and the objective structures of the wider field comes to the fore. However, her analysis, is limited to identifying the ways in which desk officers' practice reflects the logic and structures of the humanitarian field overall. She uses the narratives of their everyday practices and processes as a means to understanding how *organisations* within the field orient themselves towards each other and how this positioning shapes the ways *organisations* enact and construct the principles of humanitarian relief. Desk officers in this scenario stand as "representatives" of the organisation in much the same way as fundraisers in Barman's (2007) analysis do. And where Krause (2014) does discuss charitable giving via humanitarian relief organisations, the

assumption that the primary relationship is between the giver and the organisation remains. The agency of these individuals to influence the field is not explored or theorised any further, let alone who they are and how their lived experiences within a constraining or enabling field determines the ways in which they actively engage in shaping the field. Thus, the role of the fundraiser continues to be perceived as reactive and neutral and we are unable to fully investigate the agentic potential of those responsible for solicitation and gift management on behalf of non-profit organisations.

I, therefore, return at this point to Dalsgaard's (2007) study of the role of nurses in mediating blood gifts in Danish blood banks, as a means to gain an understanding of the gift at all levels of practice. Dalsgaard's (2007) study departs from those of Barman (2007) and Krause (2014), in that it considers the practice of intermediaries within the gift process and not just those who give and the end recipient of that gift. More specifically, Dalsgaard (2007) is concerned with how these individuals activate and enact the social norms and rules inherent in the structure of the gift to shape and manipulate the ways in which gifts are given and received. In doing so, Dalsgaard (2007) can analyse and identify the ways in which these gift intermediaries influence, shape and even coerce the establishment of long-term gift relationships within blood banks in which donors return to give blood on a regular basis. I propose that viewing fundraisers as gift intermediaries in a similar fashion to Dalsgaard's nurses positions them as skilled social agents who draw on, "tinker and innovate" with the social norms and narratives that structure the philanthropic gift exchange (McDonald et al, 2011, p. 468). In this way, a theoretical partnership drawing on the ways of perceiving and accessing the field used by Barman (2007); Krause (2014) and Dalsgaard (2007) is developed to introduce the concept of a mediated gift field, and to find a place for the socially skilled gift manager in the person of the professional fundraiser.

3.2   Theories of the gift

"The Gift" and a consideration of the ways in which the practice of gifting contributes to the shape of society lies at the heart of this study that seeks to understand the role fundraisers play in this process. The study of gifting has a long history, with many associated theories. To this end, this section will provide a brief overview of those studies of the gift that will be used to investigate and interrogate the practice of fundraising in this thesis. To aid this

review of theories of the gift in the following sections, theories are deemed to fall into an analysis of two main modes of gift giving; namely gifts exchanged between closely related individuals, and gifts directed towards strangers. Tied up within these gifting practices are competing and often paradoxical conceptions of these gifting practices as altruistic, self-interested and/ or reciprocal (for example Barman,2017, Ungureanu, 2013; Derrida,1991; Bourdieu, [1996]1997; Hyde [1979]2012). Whilst these specific studies of the gift outline the ambiguous and complex nature of giving they often drift into conversations about interest and disinterest and the utility of the gift primarily from the giver's perspective. In so doing, they provide little space for analysis on the part of the recipient or intermediaries within the gift process that were identified in Chapter 2. These are, thus, not the focus of this thesis, but are often drawn upon to contextualise an analysis of the fundraiser's practice within theories of the gift throughout this study.

3.2.1   *Reciprocal gift exchange as establishing social relations*

Marcel Mauss's ([1954]2011) seminal text, *The Gift*, and his three-fold theory of gift exchange has come to form the foundation of many social theories of the gift and reciprocity. At the heart of Mauss's study of gift giving, is the idea that there is no such thing as a disinterested and free gift. Mauss ([1954]2011) theorises, after studying various gifting practices in a number of societies, that all gifts given carry with them the obligation to return the gift at some point – there is an assumption of reciprocity inherent in all gifts. This is not viewed as a negative phenomenon by Mauss ([1954] 2011). Gift giving, receiving and reciprocation help contribute to the building of social bonds between disparate groups of individuals and forms a base on which solidarity, social cohesion and individual identity can be built, without the constraints, competition and often enmity inherent in purely interest-based, impersonal economic transactions. Mauss ([1954] 2011) establishes a three-part theory of gift exchange that includes the obligation to give, to receive and then to reciprocate, as a means to build these social relations. To neglect any of these obligations would represent the breaking of the cycle of gift exchange and thus the relationship, bringing with it the risk of a decline in social status and even social exclusion and isolation.

Subsequent social and anthropological conceptions of the gift have struggled to break free of this Maussian perspective of gift *exchange* and what is often viewed as the problematic

obligation to reciprocate (e.g. Komter, 1996; Schwartz [1954] 1996; Elder-Vass, 2015). In these accounts of the reciprocal gift, it is the perception that gifts cannot be truly reciprocated that ensure the continuation of the relationship, as the recipient is now constantly indebted to the original giver who in turn becomes indebted once their gift has been reciprocated and so forth (Malinowski, [1922]1996). It is in the interactions between those giving, receiving and reciprocating that what constitutes a gift is determined and relationships are established (Gouldner, 1973). Other theories within this tradition grapple with ideas about whether gifts are the physical objects that are exchanged, or the sentiments, feelings and symbolic capital associated with the exchange (Komter, 2007; Hyde [1979]2012; Simmel [1950] 1996). Still others try to understand the nature of the social bonds created via the reciprocal gift; from those which are seen as involving an equal exchange of equivalent gifts to those where exploitation can arise between individuals who have more to give and individuals who have nothing to give (e.g. Komter, 1996; Gouldner, 1973; Sahlins [1975] 1996).

More recent considerations of the gift by authors such as Komter (1996 & 2005); Schrift (1997),Berking (1999) and Goudbout & Caille (1998) seek to bring these questions together to develop a more in-depth and wider analysis of the ways in which reciprocal gift giving builds social cohesion and lends itself to enhancing solidarity in contemporary society. In doing so these studies build on Levi-Strauss' ([1946] 1996) original conception of gift giving as a process whereby social distance is fundamentally reduced (see also Emerson [1844]1997; Gouldner, 1973; Simmel [1950]1996; Cheal [1988]1996; Schwartz [1967]1996; Douglas, 1990). Working with Schwartz's ([1967]1996) argument that cycles of giving and reciprocation are closely tied with the creation and maintenance of the identities of both recipients and givers, Komter (2005) suggests that social bonds are forged in the recognition of the worth or value of the other that reciprocal gift giving conveys. It is in this process that Bourdieu ([1996]1997), whose "account of the gift is grounded on" the principle of "individual and collective misrecognition of the social rules that govern the act of reciprocation", posits that the gift plays an important role in creating symbolic capital (Schrift, 1997, p.14). The gift and counter gift recognise and then reproduce in a practical sense the social positioning and status of the giver and receiver.

It is precisely the indeterminate nature of the reciprocal gift cycle which "can be applied to countless *ad hoc* transactions" which Gouldner (1973, p. 249) identifies, that lends itself to creating "durable relations of symbolic power through which a person is bound and feels bound" to another (Bourdieu, [1996]1997, p. 288). In this way, gift giving becomes a means not only to build social bonds, but bonds that can also allow for the dominance of one group of people over another, as well as the exclusion of those who are unable to participate in the gift cycle. Emerson ([1844] 1997) for example, considers how gifts can "assume to bestow" a sense of moral superiority and can, thus, be "insulting and degrading" (p.26). Komter's (2005) research builds on Gouldner's (1973) idea of "negative solidarity", where the evidence indicates that those who are unable to give much also receive much less and often find themselves isolated and socially excluded as a result (p. 193). Thereby, providing evidence for Gouldner's (1973) assertion the "the norm of reciprocity may lead individuals to establish relations only or primarily with those who can reciprocate, thus, inducing the neglect of the needs of those unable to do so" (p. 253). In this way, Komter (2005) suggests that gifts "can create as well as disturb or undermine social ties" (p.191). The concepts discussed in the paragraph above are utilised throughout the empirical chapters of this thesis to analyse the findings through the particular lens of the gift narrative that is, at times, uncritically adopted in the philanthropic and fundraising literature. For example, Bourdieu's concept of "misrecognition" is adapted and applied as a tool to attempt a more critically engagement with the various misunderstandings of and under acknowledgement of fundraising role, as well as apparent social connection the gift is thought to create between donors and beneficiaries. The use of the concept of misrecognition in this way allows me to analyse the transmutation of a monetary donation into a gift and the implicit denial of the mediated nature of the nature of the philanthropic relationship, both of which serve to maintain the idea of philanthropic gifts as altruistically motivated and solidaristic.

However, it is worth noting the problem with any unequivocal or under critical adoption of these theories is that they themselves are not unproblematic, particularly within the subject matter of this thesis. As noted by Cheal ([1988] 1996) is that in a number of these studies gift practices are either viewed as only significant within primitive societies or as "minor appendage[s] to life in [modern] capitalist society" (p. 87). Gift giving in modern settings, is seen broadly as a means to build social cohesion and personal relationships and, thus, sits

outside normal market practices or represents a fundamental misrecognition of the economic transactions that underlie the practice. Thus, Mauss's ([1954] 2011) original "highly personalised, particularistic three-fold movement of obligations [give, accept and return]" (Silber, 1998, p. 138), tends to be used to frame studies about how gift giving practices and cycles of reciprocity contribute towards establishing and sustaining relationships, social positions and identity at a more micro-level. Consequently, gift theory is largely applied to social processes within the private sphere, where relationships are built in close quarters and face-to-face between family members, friends and close social circles. And where gifts can be directly reciprocated between those who give and those who receive. As a result, these theories often struggle to account for gifts that, a) carry with them no apparent expectation of return, and b) are given to those with whom there is no social connection or ever will be.

3.2.2 *Gifts to strangers and the role of organisations in facilitating them*

There are exceptions to these apparent dominant understandings of personalised, modern gift giving practices, first proposed by Titmuss (1973) in his work exploring the role of institutions and organisations in facilitating blood donations and his development of the idea of "stranger relationships" (p. 240). In Titmuss' (1973) assessment it is institutions and organisations that provide and structure the means through which individuals can meet the needs of strangers in an individualistic, market-based, self-interested society. In other words, it is through the mediation of organisations that the indirect and anonymous giving characteristic of, in his case, blood donation in which personal relationships are largely absent, that social cohesion or what Silber (1998) terms a "community of strangers" can be created and managed (p. 139).

In more recent years, sociologists such Silber (1998), Elder-Vass (2015), Dalsgaard (2007), Healy (2004) and Barman (2017) have applied Titmuss's (1973) model of the social organisational gift to their considerations of gifts to strangers including philanthropic gift giving, which is largely directed towards strangers through non-profit organisations. In these assessments non-profit organisations are seen to act as the means through which community is created or solidarity enacted between philanthropic donors and beneficiaries, who are not socially connected; and through which "altruistically" motivated gifts are

encouraged, without the assumed normative obligation to reciprocate the gift. In this way, it is argued non-profit organisations act as Sahlin's ([1978]1996) community of kinsman, thereby stipulating and managing the "the social distance between those who exchange" and, thus, "the mode of exchange" (p.32). However, the above studies have little to say about how organisations actually go about establishing and maintaining such "communities of strangers" as described by Silber (1998), in the absence of the direct social interactions that traditional gift exchange models include. Nor do they offer any explanation of what ultimately compels a potential giver to take the actual step of giving a gift to a stranger with whom one has no apparent social connection or is ever likely to meet; let alone repeat the process to establish a long-term gifting relationship with a non-profit organisation.

I argue that this is attributable to two distinct tendencies in these social-organisational models of gifting. The first is to prioritise the motivations, social positioning and expectations of the giver in their analysis of how gift giving processes are shaped and determined; and secondly, to view all gifts to strangers as similar, i.e. that a one-off gift such as organ donation is similar to a repeat gift to a charitable cause or several single depositions of free software on an open source website (Elder-Vass, 2015). These will be discussed briefly in the following sections, before proposing a framework employing a wider theoretical partnership that includes various theories of the gift with that of the mediated gift field in which to further investigate philanthropic giving and the role of the fundraiser.

3.3   The place of "the ask" in gift giving

Gift giving as it is described both in social-organisational accounts of philanthropic and charitable giving, as well as more generalised social theories of giving, is shaped primarily by the identities, social positioning and motivations of the giver of a gift (e.g. Komter, 2005; Berking, 1999; Elder-Vass, 2015; Payton & Moody, 2008; Sargeant, 2001). In the case of exchangist and Elder-Vass's (2015) positional theories of giving, it is generally posited that "there is a normative expectation that people in certain social positions will give gifts to certain other people" (p.457). Where gifts to strangers are concerned, this normative expectation of reciprocation from the recipient is largely considered not to exist. Giving here is seen to be driven by a combination of a givers' personal traits, value systems, tastes and experiences. There are two consequential assumptions that risk emerging, however, from

studies that intentionally focus on the donor and his/her motivations and social positioning, and perhaps, however unintentionally, neglect the impact of others within the gift relationship. One is that somehow givers are born or shaped by their immediate social experiences into the role of "fully formed givers" (Ibid, p.2). The other is that gift processes are fixed social phenomena into which individuals slot depending on the social positions in which they find themselves and the ways in which their personal experiences have shaped them. (see for example Gaschè [1972] 1997; Mauss, [1954] 2011; Elder-Vass, 2015; Bourdieu, [1996]1997).

As discussed in Chapter 2, however, these assumptions do not align particularly well with the evidence emerging from a growing body of studies outside of theories of the gift in areas such as pro-social behaviour, philanthropic studies, volunteerism and civic participation that suggest that active engagement in these activities "does not simply spring from already constituted social groups or from aggregated individual characteristics" (Healy, 2004, p. 391). Rather they are more likely to be driven by a number of factors that include the material opportunities to give; information about how and when to give; and more specifically a direct request for a gift (Yaish & Varese, 2001; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2007; Breeze 2017). However, as further noted in Chapter2, these studies also seem to present asking as a simple step that is present or not present in the mix of elements that prompts an individual to make a philanthropic gift. This understanding becomes problematic within the context of this study in which fundraising is conceived of as a two-way social relation. Furthermore, the request or invitation to give is not entirely absent from theoretical considerations of the gift. Indeed, both Bourdieu ([1996]1997) and Gouldner (1973) suggest that it is the issuing of an invitation or a direct request to participate in the gifting process that opens up the channels of communications that result in a relationship that will ultimately lead to a gift. Unfortunately, neither Bourdieu ([1996]1997) nor Gouldner (1973) progress their argument and their assessments remain firmly rooted in gifts between those known to each other. Assessments of the ways in which and from whom requests for gifts are delivered remain absent from social theories that try to account for giving to strangers. As noted earlier, this results in a tendency, within social theories of the gift, to homogenise all gift giving outside of the family and those with whom individuals have close social ties, as well as create the impression that such gift giving is driven entirely by the giver. Yet, the

evidence outside of the gift theory indicates that strategies of solicitation play a fundamental role in shaping the ways in which we care for and give to strangers in a world where our connections and knowledge of the needs of others extend far beyond our immediate social circles. The incorporation of the existing evidence that asking is a key driver of giving, coupled with an empirical study into the ways in which charitable gifts, in particular are solicited and stewarded by organisations would certainly serve to extend our understanding of the nature, variety and social impact of modern manifestations of these giving practices to strangers.

3.4   The problem of reciprocity in the gift to strangers

Integral to the tendency to homogenise gifts to strangers identified in section 3.3 above, is the argument that what makes these gifts similar is that they are largely indirect and impersonal because they are mediated and facilitated by an organisation. (Silber, 1998, p.139). The value of these gifts, in these theorisations, lies in their ability to create gifts free of any reciprocal obligation between the giver and the end beneficiary, especially in situations where they do not meet in person. However, because gifts to strangers are considered to be motivationally and relationally similar, differences in gift giving patterns are largely delineated in terms of differentiation in rates of gifts between regions or levels of gift (Healy, 2004; Barman, 2007). Subsequently, the role these organisations play in determining the nature of these gifts is limited to that of providing ample opportunities and appropriate mechanisms through which to give. The focus then becomes on trying to establish the ways in which organisational structures and strategies can be adjusted to increase giving overall and then develop models through which organisations can do so (Ibid.). This fails, however, to recognise that the different types of needs these organisations are attempting to meet require materially different gifts and, thus, varying types of giving relationship, as well as ways of asking (see Chapter 2.3). Healy (2004) notes that these can "range from rare, one-shot exchanges to common or routine occurrences", even within the same organisation (p. 389). The solicitation and maintenance of these giving relationships require not only very different solicitation strategies, but also very different logistical tools through which to manage and facilitate these gifts (Ostrander & Schervish, 1990; Sargeant & Shang, 2012, Waters, 2016). As such, merely recognising or theorising that solicitation is a

key element in driving and shaping gift giving to strangers will only result in a partial understanding of patterns of giving (Barman, 2007, p. 1418).

It is the general absence of more textured analyses of the different types of relationships that gift giving to strangers can generate that result, in part, in the assertion that these gifts are similar in nature and essentially free of obligation. This can be attributed, as noted above to the assessment in Titmuss' (1973), Healy's (2004), Elder-Vass' (2015) and Silber's (1998) theories of organisationally mediated gift giving, that because these gifts are largely indirect and directed towards strangers, that the classic three-fold gift sequence or cycles of reciprocity no longer hold true in these cases. Thereby, reducing these gifts to what Ungureanu (2013) conceives of as one-way "communicative acts" in which solidarity is indirectly communicated "between donors and those who are in need" (p. 407). Thus, whilst donations to charity "involve the act of giving, [they] carry no explicit right, expectation or moral enforcement of a return gift" (Titmuss, 1973, p. 239). Silber (1998) argues more forcefully that whilst the "the gift's intrinsic and paradoxical combination of interestedness and disinterestedness" and "the deep interconnection between the gift and the donor's personal identity" are still maintained in these circumstances, "the obligation to return, seems to have otherwise largely collapsed". (Silber, 1998, p. 139). These statements reflect four potentially limiting suppositions that can be evident in many studies of philanthropic gift giving that focus on the motivations of the donor. The first, which has already been discussed, is that giving to strangers is largely shaped by the motivations of the giver; second, that in most cases the gift is given without the expectation of a return gift on the part of the giver; third, that it is impossible for, even unethical to expect, the recipient to provide a gift that would have an equivalent value to that of the donor; and finally , there is little clarity about exactly where reciprocal gifts would come from when the gift is given to a stranger via a third party.

Implicit to each of these assumptions is the equation of the lack of expression of an expectation of return to a lack of expectation of reciprocity (Silber, 1998; Elder-Vass, 2015). Indeed, philanthropic donors when asked to speak of their giving practices more often express the desire to give altruistically and very rarely express any direct expectation of return (e.g. Breeze & Lloyd, 2013). However, there is growing evidence within both

philanthropic and fundraising studies that demonstrates that gifts given to charitable organisations, in particular, come attached with strong expectations of reciprocity on the part of the donor. For example, in a study conducted by McDonald et al (2011) of the expectations placed by donors on non-profit organisations, regular communication, expressions of gratitude, intermittent updates, tax deductions and public recognition are included in the mix of unexpressed reciprocal demands donors may make of non-profit organisations. Whilst the study found that not all donors explicitly place these sorts of expectations on their gifts, there is more often than not, at least a minimum requirement that the organisation will ensure the gift given will reach the intended recipient, be well managed, acknowledged, and, most importantly, that the organisation will let the donor know that this has happened. Furthermore, the work of Barman (2007), Schervish (2007) and Daly (2011) also shows an increasing rise in conditional giving, whereby the giver attaches conditions to their contribution "by earmark[ing] or restrict[ing] their gifts to particular departments, causes, or beneficiaries within the recipient organization" (Barman, 2007, p. 1418). McDonald et al (2011) found that where these conditions and expectations are not met, the donor will very often just end the giving relationship with or significantly reduce the level and frequency of their gifts to the charitable organisation. Indeed, one of the characteristics of modern philanthropy is the growing desire on the part of donors to be more involved with and develop direct relationships with the recipients of their gifts (Silber, 1998; Schervish 2007; Daly 2011; Eikenberry, 2008). Thus, whilst organisations may well not be facilitating a direct gift exchange between giver and recipient, they are required to meet the expectations and conditions placed on these gifts by givers, if they are to secure further gifts and continue what essentially constitutes a reciprocal gift relationship. As Lainer-Vos (2014) notes, "charitable organizations… have multiple ways with which to overcome the absence of direct reciprocity" (p.468). However, these strategies of reciprocation remain largely invisible and underexplored within continuing narratives of the "free" or altruistic social-organisational philanthropic gift.

I argue that the equation of a lack of gift equivalence within philanthropic giving with a lack of reciprocity betrays a somewhat objectivist view of the reciprocal gift as a single exchange of material objects. In doing so, I agree with Moody (2008) and Dalsgaard (2007) that this view fails to recognise the gift and reciprocity "as a socially experienced and constructed

attribution of meaning" (Ibid, p. 113). This socially constructionist view of the meaning of reciprocity is supported by Gouldner's (1973) observation "that reciprocity does not necessarily mean equivalence… reciprocal exchange relationships may be very asymmetrical, with one party feeling obliged or actually being obliged to give much more than the other" (p. 243). Simmel ([1950] 1996) agrees that a gift can never really be equally returned, because a return gift cannot ever hope to match the spirit of the initial gift freely given (p. 47). In his view, the gift cycle is characterised more by incremental exchanges of expressions of gratitude and emotion, than the exchange of objects or gratifications of equal value (p. 48). In his exploration of the role of gratitude in gift giving, Simmel ([1950] 1996) proposes that it is gratitude rather than feelings of love or care that drives and continues the reciprocal exchange of gifts. It is the need to express gratitude for and acknowledge a gift received that leads to a return gift being made, thereby continuing the building of social relations. Offer (1997) suggests that gift exchange is "interaction driven by the grant and pursuit of *regard*" (p. 451). And, whilst other gift theorists such as Schwartz ([1967] 1996) would certainly agree with Silber (1998) that "gifts reveal something about the identity of the giver", as well as the receiver, he also notes the gift exchange can never be balanced out or equal as that would, in essence, mean the end of the relationship (p.145). Komter (2007), too, presents several different models of reciprocity which accommodate various conceptions of the gift as including a combination of altruistic sentiments and self-interested, utilitarian functionalism. Thus, reciprocation can be acknowledged as being "constituted by certain forms of recognition, emotions, or convictions", without there being a need to exchange objects of equivalent value (Ungureanu, 2013, p. 393). Similarly, this thesis argues that it is through their acceptance and acknowledgement of the gift received, as well as the communication of their regard and outcomes of the gift given, that reciprocation is delivered and the relationship between the donor and organisation maintained.

Finally, Silber (1998), Elder-Vass (2015) and Titmuss (1973) do rightly observe that gifts to strangers are given largely with the knowledge, and free of the expectation, that the eventual recipient is ever likely to meet the giver, never mind build a reciprocal relationship with them. This, however, overlooks the fact that most gifts to strangers, particularly philanthropic gifts, whilst given with the ultimate recipient in mind, are negotiated with and

given to the organisation that is facilitating the gift. Thus, whilst the giver and recipient may not develop a close social relationship, the giver does have a relationship with the organisation he/she is depending on to ensure that the gift reaches its intended destination. In fact, large parts of Mauss's ([1954] 2011) original theorising of the gift considers the ways in which gift giving facilitates relationships between rival and distant clans and tribes. In these instances, individuals act as "intermediaries for the groups" in questions, much like fundraisers do for organisations and organisations for recipients (Ibid, p. 3). As Silber (1998) observes one of the most interesting aspects of modern-day gift giving practices to strangers is that we have acquired the capacity "to develop a deep and lasting personal relationship with so-called bureaucratised organisations" (p. 143). Yet, Silber (1998) like Titmuss (1973) and those who build on his social-organisational theories, choose not to explore or explain the mechanisms through which these personal relationships are established and maintained. I argue, however, that it is important to note that the reciprocal responsibility appears to lie with those responsible for fundraising and gift solicitation, and not the ultimate beneficiary of the gift. Thereby questioning the overall assumption of the absence of reciprocation and, thus, obligation within these conceptions of obligation-free social-organisational giving and consequentially limited discussion of the unintended obligations, asymmetries in power and inequitable distribution of resources that may be represented in much giving outside of close family and social circles.

In this section, I argue that the lack of interrogation of the types of reciprocation that may occur within organisational gift giving to strangers may lead to a misunderstanding of the nature of long-term repeat giving relationship between the philanthropic donor and the non-profit organisation, in which the organisation must meet the expectations and conditions placed on the gift by donors on behalf of their beneficiaries. In the process, I argue that many theories of philanthropic giving offer what Silber (1998) calls a "very partial rendering both of the actual workings of modern philanthropy and the applicability of Mauss's conception of the gift process", but in ways that differ somewhat from Silber's (1998) assessment (p.139). This misunderstanding of the relationship is exacerbated by an incomplete understanding of the journey the gift makes from donor, to organisation, to beneficiary. Leading to what I argue is the incorrect assumption that the organisationally mediated philanthropic gift does not involve reciprocation. As Dalsgaard (2007) notes, there

is a need to understand and investigate all those involved in the gift at "different levels of practice", including those who solicit, accept and process gifts (p.100).

Whilst acknowledging the role of organisations in creating and mediating opportunities to give to strangers and distancing the recipient from any obligation to the donor, proponents of the idea of the free charitable gift seem to ignore the role of the organisation and those who work for it in processing the gift from receipt to delivery and then addressing how organisations maintain longer term giving relationships. It is difficult to understand how these gift giving processes lead then to the social cohesion that both Titmuss (1973) and Silber (1998) suggest they achieve, if they do not carry the need for two-way interaction between individuals on which the relationships that presumably underpin cohesion can be built. As such, there is room for an additional, more nuanced classification of gifts to strangers via charitable organisations that can incorporate the idea of the journeying gift inherent in the traditional reciprocal theories of the gift, with that of the unreciprocated gift to strangers, but one that is highly managed and mediated by the organisation and, more specifically, specific individuals within non-profit organisations.

3.5   Conclusion and implications for an understanding of fundraisers in the gift

This chapter conceives of fundraisers as managers of the gift within a gift giving field hitherto considered and envisaged as separate though interlinked fields of philanthropic and non-profit practice. In this process, this chapter has aimed to review the literature of fundraising and philanthropic giving within the context of various sociological theories of the gift. It has identified that these theories are to a large extent dominated by Mauss's ([1954] 2011) original "highly personalised, particularistic three-fold movement of obligations" (Silber, 1998, p. 138). In these conceptualisations gift giving tends to be classified as a practice limited to the private sphere, where reciprocal relationships are built in close quarters and face-to-face between family members, friends and close social circles. Modern philanthropic and charitable gift giving, which is directed towards beneficiaries unknown to the giver via non-profit organisations, is thus difficult to account for within these micro-level, personal conceptions of "the gift". In proposing an additional classification of free gifts to strangers, Titmuss (1973) and Elder-Vass (2015) have provided a more suitable theory to account for charitable gift giving in which there is no obligation on

the part of a stranger to return a gift. However, this theoretical approach to the gift is limited in that it focuses almost entirely on the giver and does not provide space for an exploration of the journey through the non-profit organisation that a gift makes from donor to recipient. It is suggested in this chapter, that we need not abandon the idea the moving gift (from traditional theories of gift exchange) or relationship-free gift (from more modern assessments of gift giving to strangers) when attempting to come to grips with the processes that shape contemporary giving in settings other than those of the family and close relations. Instead, I propose that a more robust theory of gift giving would benefit from an interrogation of the journey a gift takes from solicitation to the recipient and how its meaning is mediated by travelling through various layers of organisation. My main argument is that a social theory of fundraising, as well as the associated practices within the philanthropic world (Daly, 2011) could "gain significantly from incorporating some of the core insights from the theoretical and empirical work on the gift" from both a Maussian gift exchange, as well as a social-organisational gift perspective (Komter, 2005, p. 6).

As a means to bring these two conceptions of the gift together, this chapter has suggested a rethinking of the philanthropic space or field to incorporate actors other than the giver and the recipient. In doing so, I identify a space in which to study the role of the fundraiser within a mediated gift field. As such, I draw on elements of Bourdieu's field and gift theory used by Barman (2007) and Krause (2014) to conceive of and interrogate how mediated gift relationships are structured and managed within non-profit organisations. This is bolstered by elements of Dalsgaard's (2007) study of social-organisational gift intermediaries to conceive of and analyse the role of socially skilled gift mediators, which within the mediated gift field I propose can be attributed to the individual fundraiser. A framework from these various elements is, thus, provided in which the role fundraisers play in shaping not only philanthropic gift giving, but also the practice of the charitable sector, can be empirically investigated. This thesis argues for an approach to understanding fundraisers' practice that is constrained and channelled by external forces such as organisational strategy; donor's altruistic tendencies and the social norms governing gift giving. However, there is also the need to recognise fundraisers as skilled and accomplished social actors whose reactions to and attempts to shape the behaviour of donors and staff also affect the practice of both donors and the non-profit organisations for whom they work. The following chapters will

attempt just such an understanding by examining in greater detail the day-to-day practice of fundraisers and their impact on the philanthropic gift.

SECTION 2 - Methodology

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the research methodology employed within this doctoral study. In doing so the chapter begins with an overview of the philosophical assumptions and worldview that have informed the chosen methodological approach – in this case an interpretivist/constructivist paradigm – and clarify what the rationale, benefits and limitations of such an approach may be in answering the research statement set out in Chapter 1, and re-capped here:

How do professional fundraisers influence the ways in which charitable gifts are solicited and managed in order to meet beneficiary need?

5. What are the everyday solicitation practices that fundraisers engage in, whilst seeking to secure the funding needed to meet beneficiary need?

6. How do fundraisers interact with organisational colleagues to develop these solicitation practices?

7. In what ways do fundraisers influence how gifts are used to meet beneficiary need?

8. How does an analysis of fundraisers' gift solicitation and management practices contribute to our understanding and perceptions of contemporary gift practices?

The first sections of this chapter will introduce and provide a rationale for the adoption of a generic inductive qualitative research strategy, comprising a data collection strategy structured around semi-structured interviews with fundraisers and their colleagues supported by secondary analysis of interviews with donors. The third and fourth sections of the chapter detail how participants were selected, how the fieldwork was conducted, and discuss issues related to research ethics. After this the research participants and the researcher are introduced. Finally, the chapter ends with a consideration and description of the data analysis process.

4.1   Philosophical groundings: Interpretivism/ Constructivism

All research, but specifically social research begins with the researcher's philosophical assumptions regarding the nature of reality and what can be known about it (ontology); how he/ she may come to have knowledge of this reality (epistemology); and the best methods through which to acquire this knowledge (methodology) (Creswell, 2007; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Kahlke; 2014; Duberley et al, 2012; Watts, 2014). The combined position the researcher takes on these three issues constitute a *paradigm* or *worldview* that will inform the way data is collected, interpreted and discussed; as well as which elements of the subject being studied are of greater relevance and which are not; and which methodological approaches are best suited to examine these elements to meet the overall objectives of the research. In other words, as Guba & Lincoln (1994) note "questions of method are secondary to questions of paradigm" (p. 105). To select a useful paradigm to investigate fundraisers' practice from a sociological perspective, I begin by outlining the overall objectives of my study of fundraisers' role within the mediated gift field and consider two possible philosophical positions that can be applied to such a study, before providing the rationale for the selection of an interpretivist approach.

This research has two related aims. The first is to contribute to studies of the gift that seek to broaden social conceptualisations of giving as comprising either reciprocal gift exchange between closely tied individuals or "free" gifts to strangers. To this end Chapter 3 proposed an additional category of gifting practice for exploration – that of the mediated gift – as a means to extend current understandings of the complexity and variety of contemporary gifting practices. In doing so I have identified givers, fundraisers, charitable organisations, their staff and beneficiaries as actors within a single mediated gift giving field as a way to consider not only the practices of givers and receivers, but also of intermediaries such as fundraisers within charitable gifting to strangers. Thus, the mediated gift involves the voices and understandings of multiple actors, each of whom seek to control and shape the mediated gift field to their own ends. Having established this broader conception of the mediated gift field, the second aim of this research is to identify and explore the hidden processes inherent in this mediated gift field by analysing the views and reported experiences of those involved in managing and facilitating gift giving within this arena – specifically fundraisers. In doing so, I hope to gain an insight as to how these actors work

with and against others within the field to create shared or otherwise understandings of the mediated gift, in structuring modern philanthropic and non-profit practice.

On the surface, this research could present a functionalist (positivist) reading of the mediated gift, in that functionalism is seen to explain "the persistence of social patterns in terms of ongoing consequences for existent social systems" (Gouldner, 1973, p. 228). In this sense, I am interested in the function of the mediated gift relationship for the establishment and maintenance of a culture of care and solidarity between individual donors and unknown beneficiaries (Komter, 1996). However, a purely functionalist interpretation of the mediated gift could risk falling prey to the tendency that was critiqued in Chapter 3.4 of considering particular elements of exchangist or social-organisational theories of the gift - for example, equivalent material reciprocity or altruisitic intentions – as objectively necessary or unnecessary in order for a gift relationship to exist (Gouldner, 1973; Bourdieu, 1990; Komter, 1996; Silber, 1998; Mauss, [1954] 2011; Titmuss, 1973). Furthermore, a functionalist analysis of the gift in general also does not allow for the "independence of individual actors" (Komter, 1996, p. 9), and a subsequent consideration of the ways in which individual actors such as fundraisers, donors and staff assign meaning to the gift relationship and their interactions within it (Schwartz [1954] 1996); Cheal, [1988]1996; Moody, 2008).

This research seeks to move away from linear analyses of gifting and gift solicitation practices, as purely between giver and receiver, within the non-profit sector. This study is not only interested in the mediated gift's purpose in maintaining philanthropic relationships, but to understand what *kind* of relationships the gift is servicing and sustaining from the perspective of those who directly engage with and are impacted by those relationships (Komter, 1996). One of the aims of this thesis is to understand some of these impacts in terms of the unintended obligations, asymmetries in power and inequitable distribution of wealth identified in Chapter 3, that the practice of fundraising within the mediated gift may produce or reproduce. In this sense this thesis adopts elements of a critical approach, which is based on the conception that it is necessary for social research to reveal how social frameworks and structures manipulate and constrain the actions of individuals as a means to maintain wealth, power and influence; based on the belief that these structures can "be transformed to enable emancipation" (Duberley et al, 2012, p.22).

It is on this final point, however, that the full adoption of a critical approach was deemed unrealistic for this study, in that the focus within critical approaches is on advocacy and direct collaboration with participants in developing a specific agenda and action plans for reform (Creswell, 2007; Duberley et al, 2012). This research, however, presents an exploratory study that is more concerned with understanding how the processes of interaction, relationship building and meaning making among "less visible" individuals within the gift field may contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the nature of the mediated gift; with the aim of capturing a multiplicity of voices that may be lost within critical and advocacy/ participatory approaches focussed on a single marginalised group. Thus, whilst this research is mediated through a critical perspective in which elements such as researcher reflexivity and the challenging of conceptions of the types of gift relationships that shape the field are retained; these are incorporated into a wider interpretivist research paradigm.

Interpretivism (which is closely associated with constructivism) adopts a philosophical perspective that individuals create and develop their own subjective knowledge and meanings of their own social realities (Creswell, 2007, p. 20; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Duberley et al, 2012). These meanings and knowledge are negotiated and constructed through interactions with other individuals through objects, documents, specific language and shared practices. There is, thus, an emphasis within the interpretivist tradition on the agency of individual actors to actively and creatively react to and influence the nature of their environments. In this sense, interpretivist researchers are also concerned with the contexts within which these interactions take place, whether they be where individuals live and/ or work, as a way to understand the impact of culture and history on participants' behaviour (Creswell, 2007, p. 21). As such interpretivism and constructivism place a premium on *understanding* the assumed "multiple, apprehendable, and sometimes conflicting social realities that are the products of human intellect", whilst bearing in mind that these are subject to flux and change and will require constant revision. (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 11). Interpretivist researchers, thus, seek to capture and understand a "complexity of views" held by multiple actors and rely on participants as key informants (Creswell, 2007, p. 21). The foregrounding of the agency of individual actors and the interactive processes they engage in, identifies interpretivism as a suitable paradigm through which to conduct

this study which seeks to understand the means through which mediated gift relationships are constructed and maintained; by whom and in what ways. Similarly, the flexible approach to the development of broad, open-ended questions focussed on encouraging participant and researcher interaction, lends itself to an exploratory study that seeks to understand the ways in which the meaning of the gift is constructed by the now identified numerous actors within the mediated gift field. The emphasis on researcher reflexivity and continued recognition and acknowledgement of the ways in which they are positioned and make meaning themselves may influence their interpretation is also appropriate for this study. Thus, retaining a degree of critical reflection within the methodology, although this study does not make claim to emancipatory or transformative motives. Finally, the interpretivist/ constructivist commitment to the iterative revision and continuous reconsideration of research findings is considered to best match the wider aim of understanding and explorative nature of the objectives of this study.

4.2   Research strategy: Generic Inductive Qualitative Approach

In emphasising agency and the iterative, interactional nature of meaning and knowledge construction, interpretivism lends itself to qualitative research as the data needed specifically calls for social dialogue and interaction. Creswell (2007) suggests that the adoption of a qualitative research approach is most pertinent when "a problem or issue needs to be explored" - especially with regards to bringing forth less recognised voices, which this thesis seeks to achieve in investigating fundraisers and their practice (p. 39). This study is, therefore, based on a generic qualitative methodological framework, employing the primary collection of data through in-depth qualitative interviews with fundraisers and their colleagues; as well as secondary analysis of existing data from interviews with philanthropic donors. Finally, the study employs a generic inductive approach to data analysis, discussed in more detail in section 4.7 .

The decision to undertake a qualitative study has been influenced by the aim to gain insights into what Chapters 2 and 3 highlight as the under-investigated fundraising processes and practices within the mediated gift giving field, as well as how these are interpreted and understood by other actors in the field such as donors and non-fundraising non-profit staff members. Identifying underexplored practices, understanding day-to-day

social processes and the meanings people attach to them is difficult within quantitative, deductive studies where the boundaries of the research are constrained from the outset of the study in terms of the categories established by the researcher and proposed hypotheses (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Additionally, as can be observed in the formal or statistical descriptions of fundraising and fundraisers that do exist, there is a tendency to focus on elements such as fundraisers' demographics, attributes or distribution, or efficacy of fundraising techniques in ways that obscure the less visible operations and interactions that exist in the day-to-day functioning of a fundraising organisation (Breeze, 2017). Halfpenny (1999) has noted a similar issue within studies of charitable giving, observing that numbers and statistics do not often reveal much about the "social reality behind the figures" (p. 208). Qualitative approaches to data collection and analysis are far more likely to offer the chance to get at and understand what these hidden processes are and offer opportunities to interpret how they may influence charitable giving behaviour; as has been evidenced in the growing number of qualitative studies exploring the practices and motivations of philanthropic givers identified in the literature review in Chapter 2.

More specifically the study adopts a generic qualitative approach that is increasingly recognised as a valid research methodology, when utilised in a manner in which the researcher works towards congruency between data collection, analytical methods and philosophical underpinnings which this chapter has set out to map (Silverman, 2005; Caelli et al, 2003; Kahlke, 2014; Lui, 2016 ; Thomas, 2006; Watts, 2014) . Caelli et al (2003) note that whilst studies adopting a generic qualitative research approach are not explicitly guided by one of "the known [or more established] qualitative methodologies" such as empirical phenomenology, grounded theory, interpretative phenomenological analysis or consensual qualitative research (Caelli et al, 2003, p. 4; Elliott & Timulak, 2005, p. 148), they do contain and adhere to a set of unifying principles and design features that can be identified across a number of qualitative studies that validate their adoption particularly within studies guided by an interpretivist methodology. (Kahlke, 2014, p. 41). This view is supported by Elliott & Timulak (2005) who suggest "an emphasis on brand names [such as those mentioned above] to be confusing and somewhat proprietary" and prefer to "emphasise common methodological practices rather than relatively minor differences" (p. 148). Thus, the adoption of a generic qualitative research approach provides the opportunity to free the

researcher from becoming "unnecessarily inhibited and falsely reliant on method-driven prescriptions" (Watts, 2014, p.1) and to enable a closer alignment of research findings with the wider questions and objectives of this study of the role of fundraisers with the mediated gift field (Thomas, 2006; Kahlke, 2014).

Creswell (2007, pp. 37-39) identifies eight key design features and practices, other than the adoption of a specific theoretical lens, that he believes to be common across qualitative research approaches, and which have been adopted within this study to ensure the methodological congruency that Caelli et al (2007); Kahlke (2014) and Silverman (2013) propose are necessary to ensure rigor, validity and credibility throughout the research process. These include:-

- *Natural setting* – within qualitative research the primary research data is collected in the field. As far as possible researchers meet their participants within the contexts in which they live and work as a means to gain a better sense and understanding of participants' lived experience.

- *Researcher as key instrument* – the qualitative researcher collects and analyses their own data, without heavy reliance on instruments such as surveys and questionnaires developed and delivered by other researchers.

- *Multiple sources of data* – qualitative researchers tend to gather and analyse data in multiple forms and/ or from multiple sources, whether these be primary or secondary, rather than relying on a single source of data in order to capture the perspectives of as many actors as possible.

- *Inductive data analysis* – qualitative researchers analyse their data from the "bottom-up", moving from detailed and particular observations, through a series of abstractions and re-analyses, through which a general and comprehensive set of themes emerge which are gathered together to form an overall image, model or theory regarding the phenomenon being studied.

- *Participants' meanings* - throughout the qualitative research process, the researcher tries to understand and interpret the meanings of the issue being investigated that participants hold rather than those of the researcher, as a means to contribute to knowledge.

- *Emergent design* – the qualitative research process is emergent, allowing for the adaption of new and unexpected concepts, ideas, as well as questions to be incorporated into the study during data collection and analysis.

- *Interpretive inquiry* – qualitative researchers make an interpretation of what they understand as happening within the field – an interpretation that cannot be divorced from their own positioning, background and prior understandings of the issue under investigation. As such, this position is acknowledged and incorporated into the findings and final research report.

- *Holistic account* – qualitative researchers try to capture and present a complex, multi-perspective impression and understanding of the subject under study within the boundaries of a single study. In this way, qualitative researchers attempt to give voice to and consider "the complex interactions of factors in any situation" rather than pin down cause-and-effect relationships. The aim is to contribute to a more nuanced knowledge base that can enable positive action or further research, rather than develop or propose fixed solutions or policy interventions.

The extent to which these principles are incorporated into this research design and study is the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

4.2.1 Semi-structured interviews with fundraisers and non-fundraising staff

The primary data collection method within this thesis was qualitative in-depth interviews with fundraisers and their colleagues, as these are widely recognised as a mechanism through which to gain information about how subjects perceive their world and acquire accounts of the ways in which their day-to-day practice is structured by the processes in which they engage (Silverman, 2013; McDonald et al, 2011; King, 2004). King (2004) suggests that "the interview remains the most common method of data gathering in qualitative research"; and proved to be the most pragmatic method for a study such as this which sought out a breadth of fundraisers' experiences working in a variety of organisational contexts which a single or small number of case studies would not be able to provide (p.28). The aim of the in-depth interview is to engage participants in a far-reaching discussion, as a means to capture views, experiences and meaning that would not be easily observed through other data collection methods such as participant observation or other ethnographic approaches (Krause, 2014). Furthermore, Denscombe (2007) notes several additional strengths to interviews including: -

- The depth of information gained in a format that allows for further probing of the issues and lines of investigation;
- the ability of the researcher to gain valuable insights from those with first-hand experience and knowledge of the phenomenon under investigation;
- the flexibility of the method as lines of inquiry and questions can be adjusted during the interview;
- increased validity as the interviewer is able to check accuracy and relevance of the data as it is collected;
- high response rates, as interviews can be held almost anywhere and at a times that suits the participant's schedule; and
- the interview itself can benefit participants as they are given the space and opportunity to think more openly and talk to someone in-depth about issues relevant to them (pp. 202-3).

However, qualitative interviews are not un-problematic in that they provide accounts or descriptions of the social world that are necessarily subjective and often framed to fit the participant's perception of the context of a particular interview (Roulston, 2010). An example in this study would be the risk that fundraisers may exaggerate or overstate their role in securing charitable gifts or shaping organisational strategies in order to paint a more positive picture of their work and chosen career (Becker et al, 2012). Furthermore, each interview will have an associated historical context that may have little to do with the research or researcher, but questions may elicit a variety of subjective responses that range from overt aggression to over-sharing and discussions that veer off-topic (King, 2004; Berger, 2015). As a means to mitigate these issues at the point of data collection, a semi-structured approach was used as the preferred interviewing method. These differ somewhat from a traditional structured interview format, in which precise questions are formulated and ordered prior to the interview taking place (Bryman, 2015). A structured approach would limit the possibility for deeper probing or adaptation of the interview whilst it was taking place, and result only in a general overview of the fundraising techniques and approaches employed by fundraisers. However, a completely unstructured, conversational approach would risk not getting to the subject at hand in any meaningful way or interviews veering off-topic in the way outlined above (King, 2004). Semi-structured interviews, on the other hand, maintained a flexible approach by using "supplementary questions to clarify complex responses and developing lines of enquiry" as they arose during individual interviews, whilst providing the tools to ensure that the interview addressed the research questions (Woodhouse, 2007, p. 166). Interview questions were, thus, used as malleable, guiding "standard headings" that allow for opportunities to ensure that all the relevant questions were asked (Thomas, 2007, p. 318; King, 2004). However, these also enabled me to follow-up differing, complex and contradictory answers related to a variety of fundraising approaches and practices that are shaped by the differing values, perspectives, experiences, organisational contexts and skill sets of each participant.

The subjectivity of fundraisers' accounts was further managed and mitigated through a critical comparison with data collected from interviews with their non-fundraising colleagues as a means to identify areas of both agreement and contestation. This was further supported by the adoption of an in-depth, iterative analysis of all participants'

accounts of fundraising with the aid of the theoretical framework outlined in chapter three. The primary data collection approach was supported by an evaluation of the fundraising instruction and management literature, reports, impact studies, charity regulations and media reports outlined in Chapters 1 and 2. These provided further information on fundraising practice with which to compare the findings from my interview data, as well as wider field processes which interviews are not specifically targeting, such as GDPR and SORP[1] regulations. Most importantly, fundraisers' accounts were compared and contrasted with donors' own accounts of giving gained through secondary analysis of interviews with individual givers to charity.

4.2.2 *Secondary data analysis of interviews with donors*

Whilst this study seeks to foreground what has been identified as the understudied agency of fundraisers within the mediated gift field, there is a recognition throughout this thesis that this exploration of the fundraisers' role is conducted within the context of their relationships with other active agents within the field, notably givers. Thus, questions about how donors perceive the fundraising process; their relationships with the organisations they give to; and how these may impact their own giving decisions and practices arise. Additionally, as noted in the section 4.2.1 above, issues of validity and credibility, and the need to compare and contrast the subjective accounts of fundraisers, demanded that the views of donors be included and addressed. The exploration of "the donors' view" within this study, relied on the secondary analysis of existing data from interviews with philanthropists available within the public domain. The rationale for the adoption of this approach is three-fold, as follows:-

- Firstly, Breeze & Lloyd (2013) note in their study of donor's giving decisions that there is no single publicly available list of UK philanthropic and charitable givers that can be consulted and from which potential donor participants could be readily identified and sampled for this study (p.207). Indeed, aside from data held for tax purposes by

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[1]The **General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)** is the legal framework that sets guidelines for the collection and processing of the personal information of individuals within the European Union (EU) and the European Economic Area (EEA) to which all fundraising charities are required to comply. The charity **Statement of Recommended Practice (SORP)** sets out the legal requirements for how charities should prepare their annual and reports on their finances and overall impact (Fundraising Regulator, 2018b; CharitySORP, 2017).

government bodies such as Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs (HMRC), much of the data that exists about philanthropic and charitable givers are held by non-profit organisations themselves who are committed to maintaining the privacy and confidentiality of their donors from an ethical; fundraising good practice and legal perspective. On the latter point, organisations are legally bound to seek donor's explicit permission for their contact details and giving data to be shared with any external or third parties or to be used to contact the donor for any other purpose than what the data was initially gathered for (see Fundraising Regulator, 2018b). Within this legal requirement, in order to seek this permission, fundraisers/ organisations would have had to engage with individual donors to seek their permission to pass on their contact details to the researcher or to contact the researcher directly. As will be noted later in this thesis, the numbers of donors who would need to be contacted as well as the departure from planned communications with donors that such a request would represent meant that both fundraisers and their colleagues were reticent to enable this aspect of data collection. Furthermore, the timescales involved in seeking such permission, did not make it feasible to recruit donors, at this point, directly either via snowballing or at the organisational level.

- Relatedly, whilst primary data collection through interviews provides a rich and comprehensive data-set from which to draw findings, the interview process requires much in terms of time and resources from the qualitative researcher not only in terms of conducting and processing interview material, but also in terms of identifying and recruiting participants as noted above (Silverman, 2013b; King, 2004). Given the primary objective of this study was to gain as wide a range of insights of gift solicitation and management from the perspective of fundraisers themselves, and the timescales and difficulties already highlighted involved in identifying and recruiting donors as research participants, collecting data from fundraising participants remained the focus of data collection within the set time parameters of this study.

- Finally, recent years have seen the production of a number of studies in which donors have been interviewed about their giving practices and behaviour. These interviews have been published both partially and in full in the public domain, and as far as the

researcher is aware have not been re-analysed for any other purpose than in the original context in which they were initially collected. These were, thus, readily available and easily accessible for the purposes of secondary analysis, and were determined, in consultation with supervisors, to provide adequate data for the purposes of the current exploratory study.

Secondary data analysis is increasingly advocated by qualitative researchers such as Silverman (2013a); Fielding (2004) and Glaser ([1969] 2002). Such authors outline the benefits of secondary data analysis as access to more extensive and often better-quality data than the time or resources available to a single researcher may offer; the ability to bring new insights and fresh perspectives to existing data; as well as the ability to review and address issues the original inquirer may not have been able to address (Bryman, 2012; Feilding, 2004; Glaser [1962] 2012). Additionally, as was the case in this study, a secondary data analysis approach, allowed for access to data from a sample population that can be elusive and difficult access, given the often very personal and private act that charitable giving represents, as well as the legal requirements of the EU General Data Protection Regulation to protect individual's personal date (Harrah-Conforth & Borsos, 1992, pp. 28-9; Fundraising Regulator 2018b). Furthermore, in cases where there is the potential for participants to be "over-researched", which may be a risk with those donors who had previously agreed to a participate in the studies highlighted in the paragraphs above secondary analysis of their existing accounts of their giving was deemed pragmatic.

The disadvantages of secondary analysis, however, include lack of control over the type and content of the data that is ostensibly collected to answer a different set of research questions; and issues around the suitability of the sample included in the initial data collection (Glaser [1962] 2012; Fielding, 2004). The potential lack of correlation between the content of the secondary data used in this research with the data sought to answer the research questions is most noticeable in that it is evident that the donors within these studies were initially asked to speak about their giving behaviour and decisions, rather than their relationships with fundraisers. Thus, as will be noted in the empirical chapters of this thesis, there is a general absence of donors' perceptions or even acknowledgement of the fundraisers' role. However, several useful conclusions regarding donors' understandings of

how their gifting decisions are shaped by their interactions with charitable organisations; what they specifically seek from their relationships and interactions with organisations and the recipients of their donations; how these relationships are perceived and with whom they are understood to exist can be drawn that serve to adequately address any lack of question convergance for the purposes of this exploratory study of fundraiser's understandings of gifting practices within the non-profit sector.

The latter potential disadvantage has also proven problematic in this research, as noted in chapter 2.1.2, in that philanthropic studies tend to draw on the experiences and perspectives of the largest donors – a tendency that is reflected in this dataset, which only includes the views of high-net worth donors. This limitation, as will be noted in Chapter 8.5, has undoubtedly impacted the conclusions this study has reached, in that the views of and the meanings that they assign to their giving and relationships with charities, of a large proportion of the donating public have not been included in this particular study. As a means to provide a degree of mitigation of the effect of this potential bias, the secondary analysis of donor data is complemented with an interrogation of published studies and reports concerned with the giving behaviour of the vast majority of donors who give at lower-levels, or what Hansen (2017) has termed the "everyman" donor (p. 4). All conclusions drawn are also caveated with an acknowledgement of this potential bias and an identification of the opportunities and the need for further primary research with donors giving at all levels is highlighted in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

4.3   The Fieldwork

The fieldwork and data collection for this study took place between May 2016 and February 2017. Preparation included applications to the University of Kent's Ethics Committee (discussed in further detail in section 4.4); a review of the extant literature particularly related to fundraising practice; background desk research; two pilot studies; and the preparation of documents to aid fieldwork including the Interview Schedule; Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form.

4.3.1   Pilot studies

Two pilot studies, data from which was incorporated into the body of research data collected for analysis, were carried out in February 2016. The aim of the first pilot study, consisting of interviews with four fundraisers across four non-profit organisations, was to test the validity and effectiveness of the chosen data collection method and suitability of the sample population. The sample population at this initial stage was professional fundraisers employed directly by charitable organisations based on the conjecture that they play a key mediating or facilitation role between the donor and the recipient group, and, as such, would be the best source from which to gain insights into the processes involved in this gift mediation. However, whilst these interviews provided a rich data set of how fundraisers perceive their role, and indeed the day-to-day processes and networks of relations involved in soliciting repeat charitable gifts for organisations, there remained significant questions about how fundraising and gift management is perceived and understood by other actors within each non-profit organisation. In addition, these initial interviews with fundraisers indicated that fundraisers often do not participate in many gift management processes once the gift has been secured, such as distribution of the gift to programmes and recipients and the gathering of data for reports, as well as the planning of organisational budgets and the setting of income targets. However, these processes appeared to impact their work directly and were deemed necessary to explore in greater depth in order to do justice to this study.

Thus, non-fundraising organisational actors were added into the sample population, with a view to gaining data and insight into the gift management processes that fundraisers themselves were not able to shed light on. A second pilot study incorporated interviews with additional non-fundraising staff members from two of the organisations in the first pilot study. The accounts provided by these staff members both corroborated many of the accounts given by the fundraisers that had been interviewed, but also provided a window into some of the tensions and conflicts that present in determining organisational fundraising and gift management strategies. As such, the research design, and sampling and recruitment strategy were adjusted accordingly to incorporate the views of non-fundraising staff members along with those of fundraisers and donors.

4.3.2 Sampling and recruitment for semi-structured interviews

Sampling for this research consisted of three phases and included elements of generic purposive sampling, supported by a snowball recruitment strategy. The first two phases of sampling included the identification and recruitment of fundraisers and their non-fundraising colleagues for participation in the interview process. The third phase of sampling included the identification and accessing of existing data to inform the "donor view" (discussed in section 4.3.5). Bryman (2012) and Liu (2016) recommend a generic purposive sampling approach as most suited to general qualitative research methodologies such as the one adopted for this study, where the research seeks to answer a series of research questions and explore a phenomenon in greater depth. The research cases and participants are , thus, selected using criteria that the researcher has determined, either contingently or a priori, will answer the research questions across as wide a range of contexts as possible. The aim of purposive sampling is not to achieve a representative sample, but rather to maximise sample variation and the suitability of participants within the context of the study.

The sample of fundraisers for this research was drawn from the estimated population of 31,000 paid fundraisers in the UK (reported in Breeze et al, 2015, p. 293). This study is specifically concerned with the practices of professional fundraisers employed directly by non-profit organisations as paid staff, where fundraising from individual givers forms either all or part of their primary duties. This does not include those professional fundraisers, as defined in the Charity Act 1992 (2011), whose services are secured as consultants or external contractors (Fundraising Regulator, 2018, p.18). Furthermore, whilst the contribution of volunteers and trustee board members to the fundraising efforts of the non-profit sector is well recognised, the experiences of these individuals are not included in this research. The role of these groups both in fundraising and philanthropic practice has been and is being adequately researched elsewhere (e.g. Brown, 2002; Seiler, 2005; Issacs et al; 2007; Webb, 2017).

A set of sampling criteria was identified and gathered together into a sampling matrix (see appendix A. for further detail) to aid recruitment, with a view to incorporating a variety of fundraising practices and to minimise as much clustering, such as the recruitment of too many participants within larger or smaller organisations or fundraising specialisms, within

the sample as possible. The aim was to explore the variety of fundraising practices involved in raising voluntary donations from individuals across different non-profit organisations both in terms of size and cause, but also to enable the identification of common practices and themes. However, the charitable sector is vast, comprising many different types of causes and over 165,000 registered charitable organisations in England and Wales alone (Body, et al., 2015, p. 58). As a means to cut through the complexity that these numbers represent, the sampling took place across three different sizes of organisation based on income level, using an adapted classification from the NCVO (2015) as per Table 1 below. In this case, income level was employed as an indicator of how large and complex each organisation was in terms of staffing, hierarchy and range of service delivery and/or programming, as these were difficult to ascertain prior to data collection in the information that is publicly available. The sample criteria for this research did not include organisations that can be classified as micro or small, as the research focuses on paid professional fundraisers. Given that the lowest salary for a full-time, fundraising assistant identified by Harris Hill in their latest annual survey is just over £20,000/ annum, it was unlikely that organisations with an income of £100,000 or less would be able to justify the cost of employing a paid fundraiser (Harris Hill, 2016, p. 6).

This study also sought to explore the experiences of fundraisers at differing stages in their careers and in differing positions and levels of seniority within the organisations within which they worked; as well as fundraisers working with individual donors from across the giving spectrum from major philanthropists to one-off small cash donors. Thus, additional sampling criteria included fundraisers' seniority and fundraising specialism, if any. Finally, the study aimed to understand whether fundraising practice differed according to cause, geographic location, or geographic reach. Thus, included within the sampling criteria were organisations from various causes using CAF's (2018) approach to cause categorisation (p.13), as well as organisations that deliver services locally, nationally or internationally and operate from different parts of the UK.

Table 1: NCVO Organisational Income Bands

Organisation Income Band (£/annum)	Organisation Size Category
Less than £10,000	Micro
£10,000 to £100,000	Small
£100,000 to £1 million	Medium
£1 million to £10 million	Large
More than £10 million	Major
More than £100,000,000	Super-major

Adapted from: https://data.ncvo.org.uk/a/almanac16/methodology-5/#Income_Bands

Recruitment was carried out using a combination of approaching fundraisers already known to the researcher and a snowballing strategy using the personal recommendation of fundraisers who had already participated in the research. A second phase of snowballing recruitment was employed to secure non-fundraising staff participation by asking fundraisers to recommend and recruit their own non-fundraising colleagues. Given the pressure to complete interviews and data collection within a fixed period of time, the utilisation of the snowballing recruitment mechanism proved to be an effective and speedy approach to recruitment, as personal recommendation and prior knowledge facilitated a warm introduction of the research and the researcher. However, as Bryman (2012) cautions, there was a risk of creating bias within the sample, as participants were likely to recommend fundraisers with similar views and experiences. This was accounted for and where the sampling matrix indicated that too many fundraisers or organisations of a similar ilk had been recruited, and there were gaps, the focus of recruitment was adjusted to include active approaches to fundraisers and/or proactively requesting recommendations of fundraisers who were thought to meet the under-represented criteria.

The final group of participants sampled for the semi-structured interviews, therefore, included 26 fundraisers, 3 fundraising support staff and 14 non-fundraising staff members

working across 14 non-profit organisations (see Appendix B. for summary details of all participants).

4.3.3 Interview guidelines, procedures and practical details

The interview guidelines were designed to encourage open-ended and reflective discussion about fundraising practices and processes from both fundraising and non-fundraising staff's perspectives. Whilst semi-structured interviews allowed for a flexible interrogation of what participants think and feel about fundraising, as a former fundraiser, I was acutely aware that fundraisers in particular would be accomplished communicators of their organisation's cause and fundraising needs. There was, as such, a high probability that participants' accounts would include many carefully guarded and "rehearsed" elements which had the potential to mask some of the processes and experiences this research was seeking to uncover and explore (Breeze, 2017). In order to overcome this, an approach to interviewing advocated by Krause (2014) that included asking respondents to focus on describing practices and processes rather than asking them about values, facts and opinions directly was adopted. As Krause (2014) observes, it is much more difficult to "make up a whole alternative work life with concrete stories. If we ask about processes and practices, and some factual details are omitted or relayed in a tendentious way, we have still gained valuable insights" (p. 179). Questions, thus, sought to draw out how those tasked with income generation employ particular fundraising theories and concepts in their day-to-day practice and income development strategies. The focus was on seeking to understand how much fundraisers and those they work with felt enabled or constrained by organisational processes and structures in developing and implementing these strategies, as well as how, in their opinion, these strategies impact the organisation's approach to meeting the needs of their beneficiaries. Both fundraisers and non-fundraising staff were asked about the specific tasks that make up their day-to-day work practices, whom they needed to interact with and how in order to undertake and complete these tasks and what they felt these tasks accomplish. The final interview guidelines for both fundraisers and non-fundraising staff are included at this juncture for reference (*questions adjusted for non-fundraising staff are italicised*).

Table 2: Interview Guidelines

1. What is your current role within [organisation name]?

2. Where does fundraising sit within [organisation name]?

   - How does it fit within the wider operational structure of the organisation?
   - How many fundraising colleagues do you have and what do they do?

3. What does a typical day in the office look like for you?

4. How did you come to be a fundraiser within this organisation? / *How did you come to be a [role title] within this organisation?*

   - Why have you made a career from fundraising? / *Why have you made a career as a [role title]?*
   - Why did you choose to work for this organisation?
   - Why did you choose to work in the non-profit sector?

5. How do you put together a fundraising strategy?/ *Are you involved in putting together your organisation's fundraising strategy?*

   - What do you need to consider? / *How do you need to contribute?*
   - Who do you work with to accomplish this?
   - What techniques do you use to implement this strategy? / *Do you know how this strategy is implemented and in what ways?*
   - Who do you work with in order to implement this strategy? / *Are you involved in implementing this strategy?*
   - What constraints do you face in implementing this strategy? / *How are you involved?*

6. How do you ask for a gift?/ *Do you ever ask for a gift?*

   - What preparation is needed to ask for a gift?
   - How do you know what to ask for?
   - How do you know who to ask for a gift from?

7. Once a gift/ donation is secured, how is it processed by the organisation?

- How do you know that the donor has given and what?

- How do you know how a gift has been applied and the impact it has had?

- How do you communicate this impact back to the donor?

8. Can you tell me about a time when securing a gift has gone well and has good outcomes, and why?

9. Can you tell me about a time when it all went wrong or not as well as anticipated?

10. Can you tell me about disagreements you have had with colleagues about particular fundraising decisions or approaches?

Most interviews were conducted at participants' place of work in separate meeting rooms where this was possible. Where interviews did not take place "on-site", participants invariably chose to meet in public places such as cafés or restaurants close to their offices. In these cases, offices tended to be small and open place with no private space in which lengthy interviews could take place. Where meetings took place in or near to participants' offices, participants offered me a guided tour of the premises, which assisted in placing both fundraisers and their colleagues into a physical context and to give insight into some of the office dynamics. In two cases, participants' roles were peripatetic in nature and interviews were arranged in coffee shops located near to or on the way to other meetings. Due to injury, two participants were interviewed in their homes; and three interviews were held by phone as neither the participants or myself could travel to meet face-to-face for various unforeseen reasons.

Most interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 1.5 hours with one interview lasting 3 hours. The request to record the interviews was granted by all participants, without a noticeable anxiety about the process. A few fundraisers asked that some details, particularly those related to donors were kept from transcripts and any discussion. All participants agreed to be contacted again should any clarification be needed, and all wished to receive feedback on the outcomes of the research. Overall, the interview experience was positive,

with participants showing much enthusiasm for sharing their experiences and views. Many remarked on how they found the process of being interviewed beneficial and that many of the questions asked had encouraged them to think about their work and their practice in a new light.

4.3.5 Accessing donor data

Three separate sources were used to identify and access interview data with donors. These were identified through a process of desk-based research; the researcher's own prior knowledge of two of the sources and consultation with other philanthropic researchers. The three sources are briefly described as follows:

1. Philanthropy Impact is a UK based non-profit organisation providing advice, training and support to philanthropy advisors, as well as individual donors, social investors, trusts and foundations and other charities. As part of this service, Philanthropy Impact interviews donors regarding their giving and publishes these in part or in full on their website as a means to inspire and guide other donors and donor advisors in their giving practice. This source generated data from interviews with 53 donors.

2. Published by the Environmental Funders Network, *Splendid Torch*, is a short publication including interviews with ten individual donors who currently give or have given to an environmental cause. Interviews were conducted by Phil Murray and Dr Katy Scholfield in 2013 and published in print and online in 2014. Each interview contains both interview questions, as well as donors' approved and edited responses.

3. The *Coutts Million Pound Donors Report* produced annually from 2008 – 2017, by Coutts & Co. researches, tracks and presents trends in giving of philanthropic gifts in excess of £1 million such as gift size, type and cause. Each report contains a series of case studies in the form of interviews with donors to illustrate and support the research findings. Interviews were conducted by Dr. Beth Breeze and edited, approved transcripts published both in print and online annually online between 2008 and 2017. These sources generated interviews with 24 donors for this study.

Only case studies that included complete or partial transcripts of donors' words were included in the final sample. The three sources generated a total of 86 suitable interviews, seven of which appear in two or more of the sources. Once duplications were removed, 79 interviews remained in the sample. Appendix C. contains the list of donors' names with the associated source.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

The research strategy has been designed with the aim of obtaining the most relevant and valuable information, to address the research questions posed at the beginning of this chapter. As such there has been the imperative throughout this research to ensure that it has been conducted in as ethical, consistent and reliable way as possible. In order to facilitate this, I have sought to work within the Economic and Social Research Council's ([2010] 2015) *Framework for Research Ethics*. In doing so the research has followed the ESRC's six principles of ethical research which include voluntary participation; avoidance of harm to any involved; fully informed consent from all participants; the preservation of confidentiality; high standard of research design and implementation; and independence of research. To ensure compliance with these principles the research underwent the University's Ethical review process in March 2016 and was awarded full approval. All individuals were provided with a short summary of what the research was about, how it would be carried out, what was expected of them and how their data would be stored and used prior to agreeing to participate in the research (see appendix D. for copy of participant information sheet). The voluntary nature of participation and the right to withdraw at any point was reiterated throughout the process. Prior to interviews, participants completed another consent form (see appendix E.), and at the start of each interview participants were reminded of the research topic and how their participation would contribute to the research.

Whilst this research involved the participation of individuals within the data collection process, it was conducted primarily at an organisational level. As such the risks to individual beneficiaries and donors of each non-profit was limited. However, there was a risk of accessing or being privy to confidential data regarding these individuals. Where this did occur, data was dealt with within the standard data protection requirements and was duly

anonymised. To protect the anonymity of all interviewees and organisations, there was a concerted focus on anonymising data obtained during storage and write-up as per guidance from the UK Data Archive (2011). All direct (e.g. names) and non-direct (e.g. organisation name; location) identifiers have been replaced with pseudonyms. In doing so, some of the contextual depth of the data may have been lost. However, this has been mitigated to some extent by stating the type of organisation and type of fundraising/ work each participant engages in and using "larger, non-disclosing geographical areas" (Ibid, p. 26). Once collected and transcribed all data was saved to a password protected drive and online file storage, accessible only to the researcher.

4.5   The Participants

This section introduces the participants of this study. This includes a description of demographic characteristics of individual participants, as well as their education levels where these are available, current positions, their distribution by organisation size and cause and, finally the type of donors from whom fundraisers (and by implication the organisations who employ them) seek to solicit gifts.

Table 3: Fundraisers - Demographic Statistics

Participant Attribute	Frequency
Gender	
Female	23
Male	3
Age	
Under 30	8
30 – 39	7
40 – 49	7
50 – 59	4
Career Level	

Executive/ Leadership Level	4
Senior Level	11
Management Level	8
Support Level	3
Education Level	
Master's Degree or Above	5
Other Postgraduate Qualification	2
Bachelor's Degree	12
A-Levels	4
Unknown	3

Considering demographic characteristics of fundraiser participants in Table 3, the sample for this study generally reflects what Breeze & Jollymore (2015) in their study of major gifts fundraisers describe as "the normative social background of fundraisers [Institute of Fundraising, 2013b], being predominantly female, middle-aged and lacking in diversity in terms of ethnicity and disability" (p.7). Of note, for this study is that more than half of the sample hold senior or executive level posts within each organisation. This may be reflective of the importance of fundraising to non-profit organisations and is considered in the analysis chapters of this thesis. However, there is also a general bias in the sample, in that I intentionally sought out fundraisers who could speak about the decision-making processes within their organisations, including strategy development, deciding which projects for which to seek funding etc, which may too provide an explanation for this figure. Career level does not seem to be associated either with age or levels experience or qualifications. All bar four fundraisers were educated to Bachelor's Degree level; with a further seven being educated to Master's or Post Graduate Degree Level. Education was not discussed with three participants. Areas of study varied from international relations and politics and the law to the arts and the hard sciences. Many fundraisers described educational qualifications that seem to bear no relationship to the cause for which they worked, yet many were able to draw a direct link to how their studies have influenced both their career and cause choices.

Table 4: Non-fundraising Staff - Demographic Statistics

Participant Attribute	Frequency
Gender	
Female	11
Male	6
Age	
Under 30	3
30 – 39	4
40 – 49	5
50 – 59	5
Career Level	
Executive/ Leadership Level	5
Senior Level	4
Management Level	5
Support Level	3

Unlike, the sample of fundraisers, a higher proportion of the non-fundraising staff were male (6 out of 17), though women still dominated the sample. As with the fundraisers, just over half of this sample occupied executive or senior level positions. This sample is a relatively older group than that of the fundraisers with more than half being above 40 years of age.

Table 5: Distribution of fundraisers & colleagues by organisation size and cause type

Organisation Size	No. of fundraisers participants	No. of non-fundraisers participants
Super-major	3	2
Major	9	8
Large	12	4
Medium	2	3
Cause Type		

Arts	3	1
Education	2	1
Children & young people	1	1
International development & disaster relief	2	2
Disability	6	2
Homeless people, housing & refugee shelters	2	1
Social welfare	6	6
Prisoners & ex-offenders	1	2
Hospitals & hospices	2	1
Physical & mental health	1	
Conservation, environment & heritage	1	

Table 5 notes the distribution of participants by organisation size and cause type as this tended to correspond with organisational fundraising capacity in terms of the sizes of gifts secured and numbers of donors managed, as well as the types of projects/ work for which voluntary income is sought. These elements seemed to also be relevant in determining whether organisations were more reliant on restricted versus unrestricted income, and thus, the type of donors that fundraisers would seek to solicit gifts from (Table 6). By far, the majority of fundraisers worked in major to large organisations who could afford to secure the services of a paid fundraiser. What is also worth noting at this juncture is that the majority of fundraisers participating (20) in this study worked with wealthier donors (mid-/ major donors), with 5 fundraisers working solely with this group of givers.

Table 6: Distribution of fundraisers by donor type

Working with donor type	No. of fundraisers
Major donors	5

Mid-value donors	1
Individuals	5
Combined major donors/ mid-value donors	8
Combined mid-value donors/ individuals	1
All donors	6

Very little demographic information on the donor sample was available, however, there were far more male donors than female donors with the sample for this study (see Table 7).

Table 7: Donors - Demographic Statistics

Participant Attribute	Frequency
Gender	
Female	28
Male	52

4.6   Background of researcher

One of the elements included in the ESRC's six principles for ethical research is transparency. In an attempt to conduct ethical research, it is important to acknowledge the position of the researcher within the research process and the motivations he/she has in asking and investigating the questions at the heart of any study. Indeed, Fielding (2004) suggests that "primary data analysis is always subject to the problem that researchers will have entered the field and collected their data with particular interests in mind" (p.100) – interests that will shape both the researcher's perspective and approach. This requires the researcher to be reflexive about where they have positioned themselves with regards to the research and how any prior assumptions they hold regarding the questions at hand may affect the study overall. This is particularly the case in qualitative, interpretative research approaches such as the one adopted for this study, which recognise the researcher as an active participant in the research process who shapes both how the research is undertaken, as well as the kind of knowledge that is produced (King, 2004; Berger, 2015; Fielding, 2004; Haynes, 2012).

Acknowledging my own position as a former fundraising practitioner becomes particularly relevant at this point, in terms of both why and the way in which this study was undertaken, as well as how any preconceptions about fundraising may have impacted on the findings and the research process overall. I came to this research in 2014 as a somewhat disillusioned fundraiser. Over a period of 15 years I had occupied several fundraising positions in both large and small organisations and had reached a senior fundraising position within a large and successful non-profit organisation. However, like many in my profession I had developed a growing unease with what I perceived to be the co-option of the fundraising process by increasingly managerialist organisations and wealthy donors focussed on achieving high impact and income growth. I had a number of questions regarding the unintended consequences of what the adoption of, what I perceived, to be corporate marketing and relationship management techniques were generating both for beneficiaries and for givers. Simultaneously, I was increasingly frustrated at what I thought was the tendency within the sector of separating fundraising practice and other income generation activities from the causes and main activities of the organisations for which I was working. Yet, there seemed to be little within the practitioner or accessible academic literature addressing these issues, and even less engagement with these processes within the fundraising support and training groups I was accessing and participating in. Feeling increasingly isolated as a fundraiser from my non-fundraising colleagues, and the beneficiary groups I was supposedly raising money to support and empower, I sought to set out to map and understand some of these processes, with a view to contributing to the debates surrounding improving fundraising practice in a way that would benefit beneficiaries, organisations and givers. In this way, my experiences and background in fundraising have undoubtedly influenced this research in several ways and are evident in how the research problem and questions have been defined, and in the qualitative interpretative research approach that has been adopted.

Berger (2015) has noted two further ways in which the researcher in a position with prior and established knowledge of the field may affect the research that are pertinent to the current context. In the first instance, prior positioning and shared knowledge of the topic at hand helps to shape the participant-researcher relationship in a manner that results in respondents being both more willing and able to share experiences and views than they

may not have in "less intimate" circumstances. Secondly, a background in and experience of the field may provide an advantage in terms of a shared language and ways of seeing that may ease the development of shared meaning between researcher and participant. Continuous reflection revealed numerous occasions throughout my research process where these aspects did impact the progress of the study. For example, with regards to Berger's first point, many interviewees would often employ terms of clarification such as *'you know what I mean', 'you will know or understand'* and *'don't you think',* as a means of acknowledging perceived shared understandings of the issues being discussed. Other participants asked me for my thoughts and views - some even sought to use me as a potential source of information and guidance about how other organisations manage their fundraising practices. Given the confidential nature of these interviews and the desire to ensure I elicit participants' own views and experiences on fundraising, I took care to avoid engaging directly with these questions both during, after and prior to the interview. Instead I asked respondents to give me their view on the issues raised, backed with the continued commitment to disseminate any relevant findings to all participants after I completed the study. In terms of Berger's (2015) second observation I found that my own fundraising background and knowledge eased my own exploration of the field with fundraisers in particular, in that I understood many of the terms and jargon used by participants. For example, interviewees and I would discuss openly 'the GDPR', 'the Edge', 'donor pipelines' and 'cases of support' with an assumption we both assigned the same meaning to these terms. However, one of the risks associated with a shared language and jargon is this assumption that all participants assign the same meaning to the same terms, which certainly proved not to be the case in this research with non-fundraising staff. To this end it was important to check with participants what they meant when using certain concepts , as well as ensure that questions asked were followed with a sense checking process or follow-up clarification questions.

As Fielding (2004) observes in the opening paragraph to this section, all researchers come to the research process with a set of preconceived ideas, experiences and assumptions that will inextricably influence the progress of the research and the nature of its conclusions. What becomes important is that these influences are monitored, accounted for and mitigated throughout both data collection as outlined in this section and the subsequent

analysis and interpretation of research findings. By adopting a two-step analytical approach advocated by Watts (2014) in which data are analysed first from the perspective of research participants, and then from the perspective of the informed researcher, this research aims to extend this commitment to reflexivity, honesty and transparency from data collection into the analytical stages of the study.

4.7   Data Analysis: Generic Inductive Approach

The data analysis process used in this research adopted principles from inductive qualitative data analysis (see section 4.2), incorporating Watts' (2014) two-stance, dual-level coding approach, as a means to maintain a balance between analytical reflexivity and distance, as well as to structure the overall analysis and report writing process. In this approach Watts (2014) advocates the adoption of a "first-person" stance or perspective during the initial reading and coding of data as a means to understanding the data from the view-point of the research participants – one of Creswell's (2007) key characteristics of qualitative inductive research highlighted in section 4.2. This is based on what Watts' (2014) describes as the general consensus within the inductive tradition "that personal, theoretical and even methodological commitments should probably be set aside during the *analysis* of qualitative data" (p.3) as an effective "way into" the data and of achieving reliability, rigour and credibility within the analytical process. Of note here, is the expectation that the analytical process does not stop at this point. The aim of this research is not only to identify the prevalence or importance of processes or practices related to the solicitation of gifts and fundraising, but to *understand* the meaning and implications of these processes and practices within the wider mediated gift field (Creswell, 2007; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Duberley et al, 2012; Watts, 2014). This requires a subsequent in-depth interpretation and discussion of the emergent themes "informed, not by the analysts' own views or proclivities but rather by the analyst's thoroughgoing knowledge " of the relevant fundraising, philanthropic and gift literature reviewed in chapters two and three (p.4).

Whilst, the analytical approach outlined above, added a rationale and framework to the data analysis, it has also accommodated an iterative process of moving back and forth between each level to revisit themes and codes as analysis progressed, that was necessitated by the volume and nature of the data. Indeed, inductive qualitative data

analysis is, in the main, not a straightforward, linear process and as such is difficult to describe, especially in a study such as this consisting three complex datasets from fundraisers, their colleagues and donors. Qualitative interviewing, especially when combined with secondary analysis, involves the production and management of large amounts of data, only a portion of which may be relevant to the inquiry at hand and will be incorporated into the final report and discussions. However, within this iterative inductive process there emerged six distinct phases of analysis, as follows (Thomas, 2006; Elliott & Timulak, 2005):-

1) *Data preparation and familiarisation*

In preparation for coding, all of the data that I had collected was saved electronically on a password protected hard-drive and backed up onto a secure cloud. Interviews were digitally recorded and saved in the same way. Once transcribed, interviewees were assigned a pseudonym and then saved to both NVivo and in a separate Microsoft Word document. Notes taken during and after each interview were written up and similarly saved to accompany the interview data. Secondary data from previous interviews with donors were converted into Microsoft Word documents, where necessary, and saved in NVivo for coding and analysis – for the purposes of analysis, these were treated as interview transcriptions. As I had both conducted and transcribed the primary interviews with fundraisers and staff, I was already familiar with the content. However, these were re-read several further times, along with the secondary donor data to ensure an equitable familiarity and immersion in the data. Initial notes and observations were made at this point.

2) *Generating first-level or initial codes*

Adopting Watts' (2014) dual-level coding system, all transcriptions were reviewed and systematically coded to generate initial or what Watts terms first-level themes. As an example, the quote below, from one of my interviews with a fundraiser, was coded under "sourcing information "; "negotiation" and "projects":

"Before that, I think it was seen as quite separate. Certainly, when I was overseeing the trust fundraising you would go to either the Head of Service or someone in the service and you would ask, you know, how many people are you

looking to support. You know all the outputs and the outcomes. And they were

kind of almost made up projects."

3) *Identifying broad themes*

Codes were then reviewed and grouped together under broader, second-level themes. Some codes were reviewed and moved as necessary, resulting in some coded data being grouped under more than one initial theme. For example, the codes above were grouped under the theme, "Sourcing the material of the gift".

4) *Reviewing thematic structure*

The themes were then reviewed for a third time. Those themes that were not distinct enough, or relevant to answering the research questions, were either set aside or collapsed into a wider theme. Thus, for example, the theme above was subsumed into the wider theme of "Creating the object of the gift".

5) *Defining and naming themes for analysis*

From the process above emerged the three overarching themes that were labelled according to the three distinct processes within the mediated gift field that they represented as a means to organise the data in preparation for writing the final report. Sub-themes were identified to provide body to, and define the boundaries and substance of, each theme. The above theme for example, was incorporated into the overarching theme of "The Gift Made Tangible" and in an organising sub-theme of "Packages of Work".

6) *Organising final analysis into a report*

The final three themes and sub-themes form the overarching outline from which this thesis has developed. Findings were drawn together and have been presented for each theme, using sub-themes to demonstrate how they relate to each other and utilising a selection of quotes to illustrate pertinent findings and points. Each theme is presented as a different strand through which to investigate the mediated gift field and answer the questions that were put forth at the beginning of this chapter. The three strands – "constructing the reciprocal gift relationship"; "the gift made tangible" and "the labour

of the gift" - form the basis of each of three results chapters and tell the story about mediating gift giving to strangers that has emerged from the data.

SECTION 3 – Findings and Discussion

Chapter 5: The simulated reciprocal gift relationship

This chapter is the first of three discussion chapters that present and draw together the research findings from the three overarching themes evidenced within the final data analysis at the end of the previous chapter. To recap these are and will be addressed in the following three chapters as follows:- "constructing the reciprocal gift relationship" (Chapter 5) ; "the gift made tangible" (Chapter 6) and "the labour of the gift" (Chapter 7). The specific focus of this chapter is on the strategies employed by fundraisers in soliciting gifts and maintaining longer-term gift relationships with donors. The chapter highlights four key findings and draws on the views expressed by fundraisers interviewed for this study, as well as examples from the fundraising management and gift literature to interrogate and discuss each point in greater detail. The core findings are:-

1. Fundraising involves more than asking for money.
2. Fundraisers employ different relationship management strategies in order to solicit repeat gifts from donors.
3. Fundraisers actively construct reciprocal gift cycles as a means to manage relationships with donors.
4. Fundraisers manage and divert the obligations associated with gift giving on behalf of donors and recipients.

Under each of these key findings, a number of contributory points are discussed, concluding overall with a discussion about what this may mean for our current conceptualisations of philanthropic giving and fundraising.

5.1   Fundraising is more than asking for money

One of the key concepts that features both in the literature review and the empirical research conducted for this study, is that the ideal non-profit fundraising strategy contains two equally important and interrelated objectives. One is the recruitment of new donors to the organisation which will increase the number of gifts received. The other is to incorporate as many of these donors into a body of regular givers that will give repeat and

ever-increasing gifts to the charity of their choice. This aligns with the theory explored in the "how to" literature in Chapter 2 which is modelled on concepts such as the donor pyramid, donor development ladder and donor lifetime value (see Appendix F. for further information). These models suggest that it is more cost effective to maintain and increase giving from existing givers, than it is to recruit new givers (Burnett, 2002; Nichols, 2004, Sargeant & Jay, 2014). Thus, as observed by Dalsgaard (2007) within blood banks who are also reliant on a regular corps of donors, it can be concluded that "the economic interests" of non-profit organisations "require a particular form of institutionalized social interaction aimed at maintaining existing relationships to donors…. that [also] gives the donor motivations to return" (p. 105).

Yet, as noted in the review of the literature in Chapters 2 and 3, much of the research that underpins fundraising theory and strategy development focuses on providing evidence for the first of these two approaches – the recruitment of new donors. To recap briefly these chapters argue that this literature largely explores what motivates giving behaviour with the aim of understanding and predicting the main drivers of charitable giving and specifically the most favourable fundraising techniques and mechanisms to trigger such giving. The result is a propensity to focus on the evidence that suggests that the actual act of giving is prompted by a direct solicitation which is presented as a single isolated event where the potential giver is asked to give their gift. (Andreoni, 2006, Bryant et al, 2003; Bekkers 2005; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2007). Consequently, the focus is on developing more effective means of asking that concentrate on how the ask is made, and using which means of communication, rather than understanding the contexts and circumstances which structure, constrain or enable more effective solicitation. Thus, there is a neglect of the ways in which repeat gifts are solicited and longer-term gifting relationships are secured. The aim of the discussions that follow is to begin to address this latter question.

Despite the evidence outlined in Chapter 2.3 that asking is one of the key drivers of charitable giving, few interviewees described "the ask" as a distinct moment or activity in the fundraising process. Whilst participants did speak about their experiences of asking if prompted to do so, fundraisers within this research spent more time focussing on the need to build longer-term relationships with givers rather than developing more effective ways of

asking for gifts. Fundraisers described how the ask rarely feels or looks like a specific request for a donation when embedded within a social relationship. Rather it manifests as an anticipated result of a series of conversations and interactions between the giver and representative of the organisation. For example, Frieda, major donor and trusts fundraiser at a large international development organisation, expresses some frustration that fundraising theory and training often does not reflect her experience of solicitation: -

> *"So, in a lot of major donor practice and training it's all about, how do you make the ask. And it's all about how do you go in with the £10,000, £20,000, £100,000 ask. And, yes, there's a lot of conversation about the relationship building and the process … But I have actually found that the ask has a very different feel."*

Fundraisers, like Frieda, often struggled to describe the iterative connection between specific asking and broader relationship-building. Indeed, "the ask" was only addressed directly by 16 of the 26 fundraisers interviewed. When discussed it was done so in terms of how the ask makes the donor feel, a consideration of how an ask is best introduced into an existing relationship, and whether what some fundraisers term a "hard" ask or "soft" ask is more appropriate and in which circumstances. A possible explanation for this is the repeatedly implied need to ensure that the ask does not stunt the development of a longer-term relationship, but rather enables it – in other words that it does not become a moment in which the donor ends the relationship by deciding not to give. Emphasis instead is placed on the donor giving of their own free will, rather than the organisation asking for a gift. Stephen, sole fundraiser at Breaking Free, a small organisation delivering services to prisoners and ex-offenders, tried to explain this idea, but also displays the difficulty fundraisers had in explaining what a "good" ask involves:-

> *"I think that the essence of being a fundraiser, is being able to pitch something in a way that someone feels brought in and feels like they have gained from giving, as opposed to having lost something."*

Asking, instead, is framed by fundraisers as just one phase of the longer-term gift relationship rather than the aim or ultimate outcome of discussions. What emerges is a picture of a process imbued with a sense of what Greenfield (2002) refers to as "asking all

the time", in that there is an implied recognition that the entire relationship is about the anticipated gift (p.27). In this way asking serves as a means to building and securing commitment in the relationship, and the relationship as a means to secure a gift. For example, Catherine, trusts and major donor fundraiser at St. Sebastian's Hospice, provided a vignette that captures the idea that the ideal is for asking to be part of a relationship and corresponding interactions:-

> "But I think it [their initial gift] was a kind of one off, but they have come back and given me some more money. That clearly is through a relationship. We have sat in a room and we have talked about everything that we are going to do. And then they said: 'can we do the carpet?' And I said: 'we can't afford to do the carpet, but we are going to clean it really well. People won't even look at it by the time we have got all the furniture and all the lovely stuff in, it will look beautiful'. And they phoned me that evening and said: 'we would like to buy you the carpet'. So that was amazing."

The ask when it is described above by Frieda and Catherine resembles what Okten & Weisbrod (2000) and Andreoni et al (2011) describe as a confirmation of the details of what is needed, how, when, where and what to give, which when absent makes it difficult for the donor to give an appropriate gift. This supports evidence emerging from previous research, discussed in Chapter 2.3, that suggests that where direction is absent, people will simply not give as the transaction costs for seeking out this information are simply too high (Andreoni, 2006; Breeze, 2010; Cluff, 2009; Musick & Wilson, 2007). Cluff (2009), however, goes on to suggest that in articulating what organisations are seeking money for, there is the need to be clear about what donors' financial gifts will actually do or purchase in order to achieve softer outcomes and objectives. For example, in Catherine's story above, the gift will actually purchase a carpet that will make for a comfortable environment for those visiting their loved ones in the hospice. What is noteworthy in this research, is that whilst Catherine, Frieda and Cluff (2009) are talking about interactions with major donors, fundraisers indicated the need to be explicit about what a gift will purchase or achieve for anyone giving at any level. For example, Rose, individual giving manager at St. Sebastian's, described how this is achieved for those who can only make a relatively small donation, and the impact that can have in terms of encouraging giving: -

"We talked about making that ask … we were just talking about, you know, whatever you can raise will be really helpful to the hospice. Just a £20 donation will help fund a nurse; a £50 donation will pay for a therapy session for a child who has just lost a parent. So soft messaging, so just bringing it back to what those [asks are] - but using the word could obviously, so you're not restricting. And that's worked quite well - we have seen an uplift [in giving]."

However, fundraisers were quite clear that the absence of an existing relationship or connection between a potential giver and the organisation is far less likely to result in the individual participating in the giving process, as the social motivation to give is simply not there. This point was frequently reflected on with concern by many of the fundraisers in this study. For example, Paige from children's charity Dreams, suggests that outside of a relationship the donor is unlikely to feel confident enough to make any, let alone repeat donations:-

"People do give out of the kindness of the heart, but I think at the same time you can't expect someone just to do that without any relationship to the organisation, without any feeling of trust, without any understanding of what their giving is doing, without any kind of reporting back and all that kind of stuff."

Fundraisers' emphasis on the need to establish a personalised relationship of some description with donors, is in keeping with findings and claims in the fundraising literature that good fundraising involves repeated interactions and engagement with givers that do not just comprise of asking for and acknowledging receipt of gifts. For example, Waters (2016), drawing on studies which show that fundraisers spend as little as 5% of their time in actually asking for gifts, describes good fundraising as "continued cyclical communication" in which the giver is "engaged multiple times in between solicitations" (p. 435). Fundraisers need to balance the establishing and maintenance of a relationship with directing the donor's giving in a way that does not shut down or limit the donor's gifting options. The ask, thus, becomes a phase embedded in an overall relationship building process, the focus of which is the securing of several gifts. The nature of these relationships and the ways in which they

are actively structured and maintained by fundraisers forms the basis of the remainder of this thesis.

5.2   Gift relationship types

This research has examined the practices and strategies that individual fundraisers working within non-profit organisations within the mediated gift field employ in order to establish and manage relationships with donors beyond the generation of one-off gifts. The previous section identifies that fundraisers aim to establish what they describe as personalised relationships with givers as an effective means to solicit repeat gifts from a loyal corps of long-term givers to the organisation, as well as establish a more sustainable voluntary income stream. However, what is absent from these discussions is an acknowledgement of the large number of gift relationships and solicited gifts that are needed to fund even the smallest of non-profit organisations on a continuous basis. For example, the organisation participating in this study that is the most diminutive in terms of budget and staffing, relies on the gifts of over 400 individuals to generate a voluntary income of just over £115,000 per annum. Fundraisers, thus, need to develop the means to service the requirement each donor may have associated with their gift, whether large or small, in a way that encourages as many individuals as possible to continue participating in the gift relationship with the charity of their choice (Waters, 2016; Sargeant & Jay, 2014).

Much of the fundraising literature referred to in this study suggests that the most common way to achieve the above is to create tiers or categories of donors based on their current giving levels or where within the donor pyramid or donor development ladder they may be situated, as well as their perceived future capacity to give. The goal of creating such tiers or divisions, as Lainer-Vos (2014) terms them, is to create "socially meaningful groups of the right size" that are more easily managed on a larger scale, especially when attempting to manage gift relationships with large numbers of individual donors (p. 473). Once a donor's status is ascertained they are placed into the relevant giving programme or tier. The level and type of personalised communication and reciprocity that each donor receives is then tailored accordingly to their positioning within a particular tier. In this way, fundraisers are able to routinise as much of their communications with donors as possible. Analysis of fundraisers accounts of the ways in which they establish and manage subsequent gift

relationships with donors chimes with strategies suggested in these fundraising "how to" texts. What is revealed is a distinct, yet varied set of approaches in response to the need to manage the vast array of relationships needed to sustain a comprehensive fundraising strategy, whilst attempting to meet the varying expectations donors may have associated with their gifts. Upon an analysis and mapping of these approaches, it became possible to identify some overarching and common relationship management practices across various fundraisers' descriptions of their relationships with donors and, thus, to group relationship building strategies into four broad categories of relationship types (see Figure 1 below).

Yet, it is important to note that evidence of these relationship types emerged across and within the narratives of individual fundraisers, some working in the same organisations. Thus, in each organisation the existence of a reciprocal gift relationship spectrum can be identified and mapped. Where donors are situated in the spectrum depends on the scale of the donor's current gifting or, in the case, of many fundraising teams the future gifts anticipated from the donor, as well the donor's own approach to his/ her giving. Across the spectrum the authenticity and level of intimacy within the gift relationship ranges from one of distant communication to one where the fundraiser and giver develop a close friendship. This results in the routinisation of much of the relationship management for donors' giving at a smaller scale in order to manage these large numbers of relationships. However, fundraisers also consistently reflected on the often very individualised approach to fundraising, over and above these routine communications, that they find themselves having to engage in, in order to keep some individual donors on board and encourage continued and larger gifts. Thus, as Evelyn, trusts and major donor fundraiser from Clear Passage, explains:-

> *"It is very much seeing how it goes and trying to develop individual relationships with these people in whatever way they want to have a relationship with us."*

What is revealed is a more variegated understanding of the level of intimacy imbued into gifting relationships that is not reflected in the academic philanthropic and fundraising literature and research. In this literature there is a tendency to present givers' level of relationship with charitable organisations as either highly routinised and impersonal, in the case of most givers; or highly individualised and personalised as in the case of major donors

and wealthy philanthropists (for example, Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009; Elder-Vass, 2015; Silber, 1998). Drawing on the stories of gift management relayed by fundraisers in combination with selected fundraising management texts, this research suggests that there is less of a clear dichotomy.

Instead, within this study four broad types of simulated reciprocal gift relationship surface. I term these as: (1) 'intimate reciprocal'; (2) 'personal reciprocal'; (3) 'distant reciprocal', and (4) 'transactional'. Each of these are briefly described below. The four types of relationship are neither deterministic or incontrovertible in that they do not have tight boundaries but do represent the main relationship types identified within the empirical data, as well as the corresponding levels of reciprocal interaction and intimacy that can be expected within each. However, it is important to note that as with any relationship, these relationship types are often in flux, and as such, they are described by fundraisers and donors alike as changing and growing or diminishing over time, as both donors' and fundraisers' circumstances may change. Relationships may also contain elements of any of the relationship types and are, thus, sometimes difficult to position as they span the boundary between two types. Additionally, each of the types described here does not seek to nor can represent a complete overview of relationship characteristics. Instead each individual reciprocal gift relationship is positioned along a spectrum of these types, is subject to change and can occupy varying positions across the spectrum as represented in Figure 1 below and Table 8 on page 118.
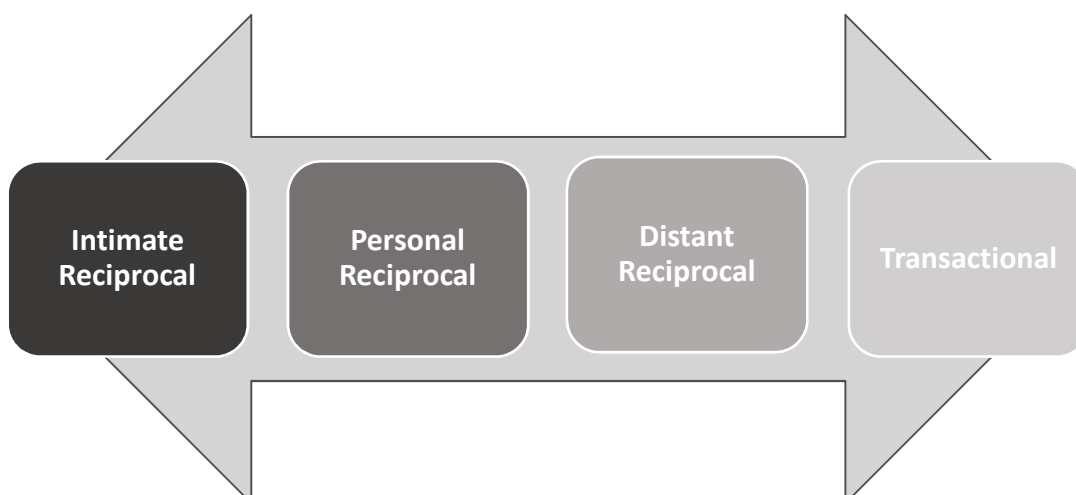
Figure 1: Reciprocal Gift Relationship Spectrum

1) **'Intimate reciprocal' relationships** are deemed to be those that most closely resemble natural social relationships within fundraisers' accounts of the types of connections they develop with donors. Where they occur, these relationships are described by fundraisers as friendships and often with great fondness. Interactions within these relationships are characterised by less formality than those further across in the spectrum, with fundraisers describing more spontaneous, ad hoc communications commonly attributed to friendships or close social relationships such as the sending of holiday postcards; visits to each other's homes; the exchange of small personal gifts and courtesies; and out-of-office hours phone calls and emails to discuss projects and so forth. Eugene, from faith-based international development organisation Save the World, provides a typical description of these relationships:

> *"Our whole approach as a team is so relational. So actually it's not just someone who we phone up just once a year saying we need £10,000. Actually, we are taking that donor on a journey. And I say the word donor, probably because I am being a bit guarded. You know, I genuinely see some of the donors I hold relationships with as friends. I look forward to seeing them, I look forward to spending time with them. I know about their family, I pray about them. And they know about my family. It truly is a relationship, so when something happens; it's not something like they are going to cut their losses and go."*

These relationships also require a corresponding amount of intense emotional input, thought and follow-up actions characteristic of gifting relationships between closely tied individuals, which many fundraisers in the dataset found difficult and time-consuming to manage on a larger scale. As a consequence, these relationships appear to mostly exist with those donors who give large gifts and on a regular basis. In other words, these relationships appear to be reserved for what authors such as Odendahl (1990), Schervish (2006); Ostrander (2007) and Hanson (2015) term "elite" philanthropists or donors with greater socio-economic capacity. This would both reflect the theories within the gift literature that individuals are more prone to invest more emotionally in relationships which are of greater value (Ibid; Hochschild, [1983] 2012; Gouldner, 1973); as well as

the unavoidable fact that a fundraiser's primary indicator of success is related to the ultimate value of the donations and gifts he or she can secure (Waters, 2016; Sargeant & Jay, 2014).

Only nine of the 26 fundraisers interviewed for this study described having a close relationship with at most a handful of donors; and most often only one or two (see Table 8). Five of these fundraisers are major gifts fundraisers in large and major organisations. The adoption or reservation of these close reciprocal relationships, may also be indicative of fundraisers' response to the approach to giving and greater expectations that givers from upper-class backgrounds may have of recipient organisations (Odendahl, 1990; Silver, 2007). Yet two of these fundraisers described having close, intimate relationships with donors who gave substantially less and did not appear to be elite donors, but rather long-term or original supporters of the charity. In both these cases, the fundraisers were sole fundraisers in small organisations with fewer donors, and with only one or two major donors to speak of. Notably, secondary analysis of donors' accounts of giving reveals that donors are more likely to describe similar intimate relationships, if any at all, as resting with a staff member, usually senior, or member of the charity's leadership such as a trustee. Yet only one non-fundraising staff member, the CEO at veteran and armed forces support charity, Forces for All, described having any meaningful relationship with donors. Thus, indicating a far more complex and differentiated perception of the nature and importance of these relationships amongst different actors within the mediated gift field that becomes relevant in discussions about the less visible nature of the fundraiser's role in section 5.4 later in this chapter and in Chapter 7.

2) **'Personal reciprocal' relationships** were the most talked about relationship fundraisers established with donors and appeared to be the type of relationship that fundraisers aimed to achieve for as many donors as possible. All bar one of the fundraisers participating in the study describe managing at least a few personal reciprocal relationships with donors. In the exceptional case, the fundraiser was engaged primarily in community fundraising, managing a series of mass participation events. Seven fundraisers describe holding less than five personal reciprocal relationships with donors.

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One of these fundraisers was new to her role and, as such, had not had the time to establish many relationships. Another managed the fundraising function for the entire organisation and, therefore, had limited capacity to manage many close relationships. The remaining five were engaged in community and events fundraising that does not lend itself well to developing a great number of personal reciprocal relationships.

Once again, these relationships appeared to be reserved for higher value donors or donors who were deemed to have the capacity to eventually give a substantial donation. Fundraisers often remarked that donors who gave larger gifts both expected and were entitled to more in return for their gifts in terms of feedback and access to beneficiaries, staff and charity leadership. However, in smaller organisations or organisations that did not have mass solicitation programmes, such as arts organisation Tunes, these relationships appeared to be the dominant relationship type, varying only in frequency of contact which was determined by gift size. Donors within this relationship type had access to beneficiaries, senior and front-line staff and other donors at events or visits to projects. The exception being in smaller organisations such as prisoner and ex-offender support charity, Breaking Free; or in organisations with new or emerging major gifts programmes such homelessness charity, Roofs, where donors giving at all levels were invited to most events attended by both beneficiaries and/ or senior staff. This, of course, may also reflect the small donor pool of these organisations, as well as the nature of these causes, which previous studies have found to be less likely to attract larger donations from donors in certain social sub-strata, unlike arts organisations such as Tunes, which were characterised by an absence of donors giving smaller amounts (see Odendahl, 1990; Body & Breeze, 2016; Hanson; 2015; Reich, 2006) .

Interactions within this relationship type appeared far more formalised, planned, and largely initiated by the fundraiser. For example, fundraisers described planned cycles of phone calls and personal emails; the setting up of formal meetings with staff and/ or beneficiary representatives; and regular invitations to events at which donors could meet charity leadership, experts in the field or beneficiaries. At this level, communications were characterised by a combination of face-to-face encounters and personalised written feedback in the form of bespoke proposals and reports. Overall,

these relationships manifest as requiring the most planning and maintenance, as they were tailored to meet the expectations of a fairly large number of donors at varying levels and who expected a wide-ranging combination of personalised communications and feedback from the organisation from monthly updates and invitations to quarterly events to just the receipt of a personalised thank you letter and personalised feedback on how a gift was being spent once or twice a year.

3) **'Distant reciprocal' relationships** appear to form the basis of most of the organisations in the dataset's large-scale fundraising programmes, though only eleven of the fundraisers interviewed engaged directly in these fundraising processes. Relationships at this level are characterised largely by written, printed or electronic communications, punctuated by intermittent personal contact via telephone and email, as well as invitations to some events. The type and frequency of communications received were tiered according to gift size (potential and existing) or the size of the organisation's donor-base. Thus, in organisations with more donors, those classed as mid-value donors (see Table 6 in Chapter 4) would receive personalised thank you letters and communications; be given opportunities to specify which projects or programmes their gifts would support; would receive more frequent, tailored feedback and invitations to more events; as well as small token gifts such as Christmas cards, messages from beneficiaries, and so forth. Donors giving less, would more likely receive quarterly feedback and newsletters, Christmas cards, and occasional invitations to events. These relationships involve very little to no interaction or contact with beneficiaries or staff, except at special events. Notably, this form of relationship was absent from the two smallest organisations, who did not have the financial resources and access to databases and other software needed to create and manage tailored mass communications such as those described above but do have the time, staff and volunteer resources to engage more directly with givers.

4) **'Transactional' relationships** are noteworthy, as they were universally described by fundraisers as non-desirable and representative of solicitation practices that sat uncomfortably with almost all of the participants in this study. There appeared to be an overwhelming consensus amongst the fundraisers in this study that there exists a

universal obligation to adequately acknowledge any charitable gift received and provide the minimum of reciprocation in letting givers know how their gift has been used. Caroline, head of fundraising at Forces for All, provided one of the most forceful statements to this end:-

> *"Well, I have a very strong view that any charity does have a moral obligation to tell people where their money is going. And I don't think it actually should matter whether the gift is £10 or £10,000 or £100,000; there's still a moral obligation to be transparent about where the money is going. I think the way you communicate that story obviously differs quite considerably based on the level of giving."*

Thus, even at the most transactional end of the spectrum there was an attempt to provide something to donors in return for their giving such as mass produced thank you letters or annual newsletters. This reflects Waters (2016) observation that "fundraisers have a variety of communication channels to provide the donor of even the smallest annual giving contribution some level of individual attention" (p. 435). Thus, transactional relationships in this research are characterised by less personalised and tailored communications, and more by routinised, automated, and mass produced thank you letters, leaflets and updates. Donors within these relationship types are not likely to interact directly with anybody from the organisation, and especially not beneficiaries. As expected, these communications were largely reserved for those donors giving lower-level one-off donations or very small regular donations. In spite of their unpopularity, these relationships seem to form the mainstay of fundraising for smaller donations for almost all the organisations within the study. In many respects they seemed unavoidable, given the numbers of donors involved at this level.

Several additional findings emerge from the analysis and establishment of the existence of the various relationship types above. The first builds on ideas within the gift theory literature in Chapters 3 that there exists a wider range of gift relationship models (Elder-Vass, 2015; Moody, 2008) that generate differing reciprocal expectations and obligations, which are situationally and contextually defined (Moody, 2008). This section supports the idea that philanthropic gift relationships can and should be analysed as a particular form of

reciprocal gift exchange that should be analysed in the same manner. Secondly, unlike the dichotomous approach that tends to be adopted in many analyses of philanthropic gift and fundraising relationships, this research suggests that the quality of these reciprocal relationships is not quite so easily delineated according to the amount that is being given, but also in how the gift is managed and set up, and the potential value with which the relationship is viewed by particular fundraisers within the particular context within which he/ she is soliciting gifts. In this way, this research provides evidence to counter existing narratives that there are always two different and separate fundraising processes to be contrasted against one another and shows that the level of intimacy and "genuine-ness" of a gift relationship has more to do with size and history of the organisation; the approach and capacity of the fundraiser; as well as the perceived financial capacity of each giver.

Furthermore, when the various relationship types adopted by individual fundraisers in relation to the donors with whom each one works is mapped as in Table 8, the data indicates that most of the participants in this study work primarily at the cusp of personal/ distant relationships types. However, fundraisers' accounts also suggest that the majority of lower-level donors' gifting generate a distant reciprocal or transactional relationship with the organisation to which they give. This suggests that non-profit organisations and fundraisers struggle to disentangle socio-economic class from the philanthropic relationships that they establish with donors – in that those who give more or are identified to have the capacity to give more are prioritised for more personalised relationships by fundraisers.

This finding opens up conversations about the extent to which fundraising fulfils what is often presented, as noted in Chapter 2, as a neutral and technical undertaking that merely facilitates the transfer of voluntary gifts from the public to non-profit organisation. More pertinently, this leads to questions about the extent to which fundraisers' practice may contribute to existing inequalities of access for givers of charitable gifts. The data from this study suggests, that whilst lower-level donors to smaller organisations may be more involved and included in the work of the organisation, the vast majority of donors unable to give substantial gifts are apparently excluded from direct, relationships with the non-profit organisations to whom they are giving. The reasons that underpin this are complex and tied

up with fundraisers' capacity and the organisational contexts within which each fundraiser operates and forms the basis of discussion as this thesis progresses. However, the findings in this section suggest that in spite of the existence of a more variegated relationship spectrum, the greater one's capacity to give, the greater one's access to the benefits of giving remains.

Table 8: Reciprocal gift relationship spectrum per fundraiser

Donor Type	Fundraiser	Size of Organisation	Realtionship Spectrum			
			Intimate	Personal Reciprocal	Distant Reciprocal	Transactional
Major donor	Kate	Large	■	■		
	Frieda	Major		■	■	
	Eugene	Major	■	■	■	
	Anne-Marie	Large		■	■	
	Anna	Major		■		
Major/ mid-value donor	Heather	Super-major	■	■		
	Georgina	Large		■	■	■
	Paige	Large			■	■
	Diane	Large		■	■	
	Victoria	Large		■	■	
	Evelyn	Medium		■	■	
	Catherine	Major		■	■	■
Mid-value donor	Alison	Super-Major	■	■		
Mid-value/low-level donor	Sarah	Large		■	■	
	Susan	Large			■	■
	Stephen	Medium/ Small	■	■	■	■
	Megan	Medium/ Small		■	■	■
Low-level donor	Rachel	Major			■	■
	Bruce	Major			■	
	Anita	Major			■	■
	Rose	Major			■	■
	Lisa	Large			■	■
All	Caroline	Major			■	■
	Lucy	Large		■	■	
	Penny	Large		■	■	■

From within fundraisers descriptions of reciprocal relationship types emerges a narrative or conceptualisation of an "ideal" fundraising relationship within which fundraisers describe the ways in which they aim to most effectively and equitably construct and maintain reciprocal gift relationships with their various donors. The modelling of this "ideal" reciprocal relationship in the remaining sections and chapters of this thesis will assist with locating where tensions, conflicts and problems may arise in fundraisers' attempts to secure sustainable voluntary income streams for the organisations for whom they work. In this

way, this thesis can begin to explore how actors within the mediated gift field position themselves in relation to each other and what impact their behaviours and reactions may have on the gifting process and wider field. An analysis of these processes will allow for a further consideration of the ways in which fundraisers struggle to "disentangle" income and class from philanthropy as those giving larger gifts are looked after better and appear to have more say in what their gifts will do and achieve (Silver, 2007).

5.3   Constructing a model gift relationship in two phases

As observed in chapter 3.4 the chief difficulty that fundraisers face is that most donors do not have a naturally occurring social relationship with either the non-profit organisation or the beneficiary group – they are strangers with no social ties to the organisation or beneficiary that would oblige giving past the initial altruistically or otherwise motivated gift. However, there is increasing evidence within philanthropic studies and reports on donor behaviour that there is often a desire on the part of donors to feel and find some connection to the cause or group to whom they are giving (for e.g. Harrison, 2017; McDonald et al, 2011; Okten & Weisbrod, 2000; Schervish & Havens, 1997). This requires that some sort of social bond be actively constructed with the donor, especially since the giver is unlikely to receive a tangible return of their gift. This research suggests that the establishment of a repeat giving relationship, of whichever of the types identified in section 5.2, requires that organisations need to move beyond providing donors with "signals of trustworthiness" (Greiling, 2007, p.3) to mechanisms that work towards bolstering the social, psychological and symbolic benefits of giving outlined in the philanthropic giving motivation literature such as social connection, approval, a sense of giving back, and the receipt of the gratitude of those who have received the gift (Andreoni 2006). This is something that the majority of fundraisers in this research seemed to instinctively recognise, whether this be because of an innate grasp of the norm of reciprocity or as a result of training and socialisation within the fundraising environment in which "nurturing relationships" with donors is understood to be part of best practice (McDonald et al, 2011, p. 167). Whatever the reasoning, fundraisers' narratives tended to centre on the ways in which social bonds with donors can be more effectively fostered. What emerges then from the data is a description of gift solicitation that incorporates two interconnected phases of interaction that enable the fundraiser to build and manage what is described in this study as

simulated reciprocal gift relationships between the donor and charity – in other words fundraisers seeks to establish and maintain relationships between donors and not for profit organisations that mimic direct reciprocal gifting relationships between closely tied individuals. This involves a complex, time-consuming process that involves far more than asking for a gift or facilitating the receipt of a charitable donation. Instead there is the cultivation of cyclical relationship of give and take that seeks to enrich the donor's experience whilst meeting the financial needs of the organisation.

5.3.1 Solicitory gifts

The concept of cultivating a relationship is not absent from the fundraising "how to" literature. In fact, cultivation is a central element of the four-phase fundraising or donor cultivation cycle which many fundraisers described as basing their ideal fundraising approach on. CASE (2013) provides an outline of these four phases, which is summarised below:

1. Identification: - identifying who within the pool of potential givers known to or connected in any way to the charity (i.e. those who have given a small donation, as well as those within the organisation's various networks) can be asked to give and in what way they should be asked.
2. Cultivation: - the process of establishing a connection or relationship between the giver and the organisation by engaging them in what the organisation does and seeks to achieve, so that they feel more inclined to give.
3. Solicitation: - asking the giver for a specific gift.
4. Stewardship: - thanking the donor through acknowledging their gift in various ways and then entering into a renewed process of engagement and cultivation for the next solicitation and gift.

The aim of the cultivation phase of the cycle is to gently bring a donor to a point where a request for a gift can be made, and the donor feels they have acquired enough information to make a gift. This phase is aptly described by Heather, major donor fundraiser at County University, as a period of "*warming up and friend-raising to the point where we could then make the major asks*". Fundraisers consistently describe cultivation, which can sometimes

last up to several years as donors ideally are moved up and across the gift relationship spectrum, as an intense period of intentional relationship building built on a conception of give and take which is not captured within descriptions of fundraising in the "how to" and much of the academic literature explored in previous chapters as a one-way communication from fundraiser to donor.

More importantly, this is a period in which the fundraiser attempts to establish a sense of what kind of giving identity the donor wishes to establish, on the basis of which a reciprocal relationship can be constructed. The fundraiser actively seeks to draw the giver into a gift exchange cycle (see figure 1 below) through a series of invitations to events, more intimate meetings, repeated acknowledgements of any smaller gifts or fundraising activities the donor may have participated in; intermediary smaller asks for money as well as time, advice and expertise; and token return gifts to the donor, such as Christmas and birthday cards– all tailored to fit with and feed into the image of the donor the fundraiser refines during this process. Simultaneously, this period of cultivation and relationship building allows for the education of the donor about what is needed and wanted by the organisation, in terms of size of gift and the kind of work the organisation needs to be funded. The cultivation process also allows the donor themselves to "try out the relationship they might have with the organisation", either with test gifts or through a process of information gathering or waiting to see what the organisation offers (Cluff, 2009, p.377). An example, from Heather above demonstrates how, after an initial absence of existing relationships led potential donors to question why they were being asked to give to the university, she and her team over a period of two years were able to construct enough of a connection to encourage some of those same potential donors to eventually give: -

> "We saw many, many people [at the beginning of the campaign] who just said
> no. 'You know I have not been in touch with the organisation for the last
> twenty years, why would I want to be in touch now? Why would I want to give
> you some money? We understand the case for support. We believe in it,
> because we're professionals and understand the work being proposed, but
> why would I want to give to you?' However, having followed them up and kept
> up with the regular newsletters and little drip feeds of information some of

those people we saw right in the early stages who said 'I will never give you any money" have turned around and are now giving £1000."
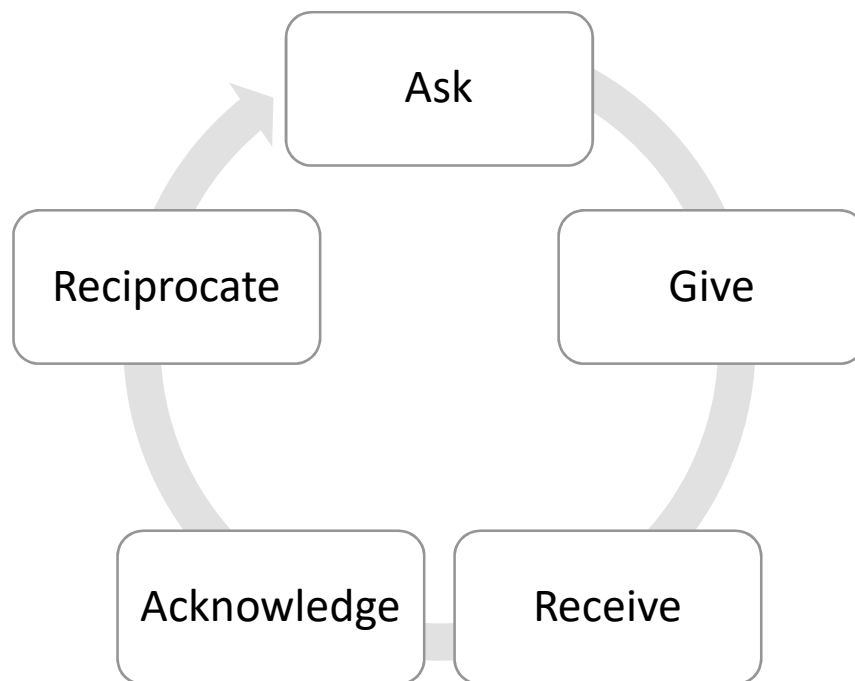
Figure 2: Reciprocal Gift Cycle

The intention is to establish what feels like – and in some cases is - a personal relationship and connection between the donor, organisation and its beneficiaries; and for the donor to feel like they are an important, if only a small, part of the organisation and the programmes it runs. This intention and some of the activities involved in implementing it, is captured in ideas expressed by Eugene, major donor fundraiser at Save the World : -

"*If they are already giving… which some of them would be. Especially in the wake of a disaster…. People are identified in the wake of a disaster [mass appeal] where they might have given, and we say: 'Look, we would like to use it for this specific project… We would love to keep you informed about that, because you have given us a significant gift. Is that ok? '. And then we can build the relationship from there. But otherwise, if it is more someone who is giving say a couple of hundred pounds a month, regularly giving. Or even less, but we know they have got potentially more. Then it might just be gently building the relationship. Sending them an event invite and just saying: 'Look this is happening in your area. Would you like to find out*

more? You have been supporting us for a long time. ' And then with the

event invite, even if they don't come to the event, there is a reason to call

them and say: 'I wondered if you got the invite?'."

However, what also emerges from Eugene's description of the cultivation process above, is the idea that at the very beginning of the relationship where fundraisers are interacting with a large number of givers, the cultivation and relationship establishment process includes the mass mailings, direct debit giving, and big events fundraising often critiqued in the literature concerned with the marketisation of philanthropy (see for example, Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009). However, as Eugene indicates, the giving relationship often cannot even be kickstarted without the identification of the individual donor's motivations and interests that have been signalled through a response to more impersonal appeals and transactional approaches. A similar finding emerges from Lainer-Vos's (2014) study of fundraising amongst diasporic Jewish communities, that the first gift made on the back of mass, often impersonal appeals provides valuable information about the giver and his/her expectations (p. 472). Consequently, a distinction is made by fundraisers between direct marketing and fundraising, where marketised fundraising approaches are used to trigger donor motivations to generate one-off gifts that are positively viewed and utilised by fundraisers as what Mauss ([1954] 2011) describes as solicitory gifts – gifts that signal the intentions of the donor and what he or she expects or wishes to obtain from their giving (p. 25). Mass appeals also serve to inform the public and potential new givers about the kind of gifts that organisations are seeking and who the recipients of those gifts may be, thus, indicating where a connection or future relationship may lie. Fundraising, in this way, can be viewed as a process and set of rituals which convert those solicitory gifts into a longer-term gift cycle, thus transmuting direct marketing into a process that fundraisers in this study felt more closely resembled fundraising, as opposed to awareness raising or "*sales*". Alison, high-value gifts fundraiser as Paws for All, for example, explains it is terms of a "journey":-

"It reminds me last year, we were in lots of meetings in which you would see

this diagram, which showed the donor journey as: starts as a member,

receives some appeals, makes a £250 donation to one of the appeals, is

cultivated by the mid-value team, who realise actually that they are

considerably wealthy. They're invited to a major donor event where their

interests are investigated and they are moved up. They're constantly moving

up - gently up the levels and with the end goal the legacy."

This quote also highlights how the aim is for the giver, over time, to be drawn into an increasingly more personal relationship not only with fundraisers, but with other givers as well, whilst being encouraged to give larger and larger gifts. This is achieved through informal encounters between donors at events, as well as more formalised approaches such as patron and giving programmes where donors are encouraged to join in giving "clubs", which actively seek to create a sense of connection between donors themselves. For example, at arts organisation Tunes, fundraisers use the language of family to create this idea of connection and relationship: -

> *"Though we call it the patron programme, we always refer to it as the Tunes*
> *family of supporters. It is that sort of emphasis on being part of a family and*
> *they come into the corporate bar and they get to know each other.* "(Sabine,
> fundraising & membership administrator, Tunes)

In this way, fundraisers build Titmuss' (1973) "community of strangers" that includes the giver, the fundraiser, members of staff and fellow donors (cited in Silber, 1998, p.139). All these interactions serve to introduce and familiarise each of the actors within the gift cycle to each other, whilst enabling the fundraiser to establish the giver's identity in relation to the organisation both in terms of understanding and meeting the donor's needs as well as influencing the donor's giving tendencies to best fit the needs of the organisation. Thus, this initial phase of the gift cycle shapes how both givers' and recipients' identities are perceived by each party, by revealing to the fundraiser something about the donor's tastes, financial resources, altruistic tendencies and whom the donor believes the most important beneficiaries of their gift should be. In return, the fundraiser seeks to educate and shape the donor's perceptions of the beneficiary and the work of the organisation to ensure that future, more significant gifts meet the needs of the organisation (Schwartz, [1967]1996; Komter, 1996; Breeze, 2017). It is through the interactions within this phase that givers and fundraisers negotiate the relationship they wish to establish. Also, it is through this relationship that fundraisers create the conditions for and implicitly secure the giver's

permission to ask for the actual gift that is sought and, most importantly, the longer-term gifting commitment that is desired.

5.3.2 Reciprocal gifts

When speaking to givers about their giving in the 2011 study first discussed in chapter 3.3, McDonald et al find that donors have strong expectations of receiving something in return for their gifts to charity, even though these are left largely unexpressed by donors. As outlined in the same section, this thesis adopts a conception of reciprocation as not just an objective exchange of material gifts, but also of regard, emotion, identity and meaning (Gouldner, 1973; Offer, 1997; Ungureanu, 2013). As such, this thesis takes a view of reciprocity similar to that of Gouldner (1973) and Moody (2008) in which reciprocity is cognitively defined by the participants within a gift exchange. However, it is also important to note that forms of appropriate reciprocation are constrained by the context in which the gift exchange takes place. (Moody, 2008; Komter, 2007; McDonald et al, 2001; Hochschild, [1983]2012). Thus, what counts as reciprocity requires creative communication and interpretation by those individuals participating in any particular gift exchange and, therefore, needs to be empirically and contextually determined.

My data reveals that fundraisers are acutely aware of donors' unexpressed expectation of reciprocity to the extent that participants consistently express the belief that if donors are to be encouraged to enter into an ongoing gift cycle such as the one described above, they require confirmation that both their initial motives for giving are justified and their desire to help is being fulfilled. In order to achieve this, participants suggest that givers need to know what their previous gifts *have* done in conjunction with what a new gift *will* do. This requires not only that the donor be thanked for their gift but is also given feedback on what that gift has been used to pay for; as well as how it has been received by the intended beneficiaries. Becky, fundraising support officer from a large international development organisation provides an explanation of what purpose the feedback serves: -

> "It [regular feedback] keeps the donor engaged with the project. So, if you can
> send them a report and then you can say, by the way, the project is extending
> this year into this district or village, then they are more likely to give in the
> next year, because they were inspired by what they have read… and get that

sense of feeling that: 'well I can see the joy that, that's given or I can see the

difference that has made to somebody'."

Here, Becky points to the dual purpose of offering the donor something in return for their gift. The first is to keep the donor interested in the work of the organisation for which ongoing funding is being sought. The other, more important purpose is to create a sense of a connection between the donor and a specific group of beneficiaries, so that the giver begins to feel obliged to give again in order to maintain and build on the link.

Notably, both Becky and other fundraisers in this study are careful to underline that the reciprocation must be appropriate to the individual donor, the level at which they have given and the programme or set of beneficiaries to whom they have given. Thus, at a basic level, reciprocation may include a simple thank you letter and regular acknowledgment of the gift received. This is followed by an invitation to remain in touch and seeking the donor's permission to keep them informed about the work to which they have contributed[2]. More textured and tailored forms of reciprocation include invitations to special events; access to beneficiaries themselves whether face-to-face or through other means of communication; access to staff members or specific skills and expertise; opportunities to engage directly in the work of the organisation itself; and in many instances friendship and connection with other donors, as well as project staff and charity leadership.

The aim of any reciprocal interaction is to keep communication between the charity and donor going and to keep the channel open for another ask, and of course, another gift. As Waters (2016) notes the level to which a fundraiser can keep the donor engaged and interacting with the organisations will determine the success of their fundraising efforts, rather than how many direct solicitations and one-off gifts he or she may secure (p. 435). As such, fundraisers believe it is important that donors feel they have a personal relationship and connection with the organisation in which repeated interactions and communication can be justified and tailored. Also tailored reciprocal tools, such as those outlined above allow for the fundraiser to constantly

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[2] This is both in terms of complying with current data protection law (GDPR regulation), as well as respecting the donor's wishes as part of the relationship building process.

renegotiate the level of involvement and financial level of the gift that the donor wishes to make. Thus, reciprocity, however it is perceived by donors, is employed here by fundraisers to varying degrees as a means to not only "initiate social interaction", but also serve to, as suggested by Gouldner (1973), define and develop "a differentiated and customary set of status duties" unique to the gifting relationship that the fundraiser is seeking to establish (p. 252).

This section identifies how the data collected for this study illustrates the work undertaken by fundraisers in proactively creating the circumstances in which there are as many opportunities for reciprocal interaction between the non-profit organisation and the giver as possible. The aim of these repeat communications that invite a response is to ensure that all the unexpressed expectations that a donor may have in relation to their gift are met and serviced, whilst subtly setting up the obligation to continue the relationship with another gift.

Such findings suggest that whilst many theories of gift exchange and reciprocity tend to focus on the gift giving relationships between closely tied individuals, they can also be usefully applied to the relationships that fundraisers seek to build between givers and non-profit organisations, as was proposed in chapter 3.3. Fundraisers create and develop relationships in which supporters begin as strangers to the organisation, and through a series of intentionally manufactured reciprocal interactions develop a relationship with the organisation that leads to repeat cycles of gifting and reciprocation. The desired goal is the establishment of something approximating a real relationship between the fundraiser and giver. And it is through this relationship, whether real or simulated or conducted via a fellow staff member or trustee, that fundraisers aim to provide the giver "with acceptance and appreciation" for their monetary gift, thereby, drawing givers into a longer-term cycle of gifting and re-gifting - through the social mechanism of reciprocal gift exchange (Dalsgaard, 2007, p. 109).

5.4   Fundraisers as exchange partners

Yet a recurring concept to emerge from both the primary and secondary data collected for this research is the idea, articulated by fundraisers, that donors give because they wish to

be part of *"something that is bigger than them"* (Simon, CEO at Dreams and former fundraiser). By way of explanation, studies into donor and giving behaviour indicate that givers use gifts to express something about themselves and the way they feel about the imagined recipient of their gifts (Schwartz [1967] 1996; Silber, 1998; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2007; Breeze & Lloyd, 2013). Reanalysis of donors' descriptions of their giving for this research supports these findings, for example, donors often used terms like *"I would love to be in a position to be a true philanthropist"*; *"I feel that I'm making much more of a difference"* or *"I would hope to achieve great things"* to refer to how they wish their giving to be viewed. By the same token, fundraisers expressed an obligation to make sure that donors understand how it is that their gifts have facilitated these desires. To so do, fundraisers narratives revealed a process whereby they build on the perceptions of the beneficiary that donors express holding within their interactions with each other and actively seek to create a sense of a connection between the donor and that beneficiary, as the most effective means to communicate or confirm that the donor's ambitions for the gift have been fulfilled. Throughout these communications, fundraisers proactively use the language of social connection, friendship and family, thereby discursively confirming, at least, the symbolic relationship between donor, organisation and beneficiary that they feel the donor is seeking and opening up the channels to confirm that the donor is now contributing to a greater cause.

However, it is important to note that it is fundraisers who solicit, accept and reciprocate the gift; fundraisers who acknowledge the gift whether directly or by proxy; fundraisers who report back to the donor. Both fundraisers and donors describe very little direct interaction between beneficiaries and givers despite the narrative of connection described above. And where there is, it is in highly managed circumstances in which the fundraiser is usually present. This reflects the reticence on the part of organisations, observed by Clohsey (2003) and Cluff (2009), to allow donors to become too involved with either beneficiaries or non-profit's decision-making for fear of allowing what he terms "institutional surrender", or more specifically the altering of an organisation's mission and approach in order to secure a donor's gift. (p.128). A further argument suggests that this approach protects often vulnerable beneficiaries from becoming the "objects" of the donor's gaze, as well as to protect end recipients' dignity and privacy. Fundraisers in this research suggest that this

close management of the donor-beneficiary relationship also serves to avoid inappropriately setting up the expectations of beneficiaries and donors alike. For example, Becky explains why fundraisers at Save the World guide and manage the interaction between givers and ultimate recipients:

> *"We have a system and it is set in place in part to protect donors, but also to protect beneficiaries. Because we don't want them to go into a village and say to a beneficiary: 'Let me come and sort your problems out. What are your problems? We'll help you sort them out'. Promise that and then never be able to get the funds in order to come back and deliver it."*

However, as necessary as it may seem, this protection of the organisation's beneficiaries, mission and donors alike risks divorcing the giver from the impact of their gift and diluting the narrative of connection and solidarity with beneficiaries. Fundraisers often expressed the fear that a sense of disconnection or being held back from any interaction with the intended recipients of their gift, would instil what Schwartz ([1967] 1996) describes as an "element of hostility" into the giving relationship (p.77). In which case, the donor, as McDonald et al's (2011) findings suggest, will simply stop giving and seek more satisfactory recognition and acknowledgment elsewhere.

Fundraisers, therefore, actively seek to counteract any such risk of alienation by constantly constructing the connected donor-beneficiary narrative both discursively and by practically enacting the reciprocal gift relationship, described in this chapter, in which the donor's desire to help particular recipients is proactively affirmed. In this way fundraisers establish themselves, much like the nurses in blood banks who Dalsgaard (2007) describes as undertaking similar work to fundraisers in facilitating donations, as "exchange partners" between the giver and non-profit organisation (p.102). In both creating and managing opportunities to solicit, receive and reciprocate the financial gifts provided by givers they relieve the organisation and beneficiary of the obligations that are now inherent in this constructed reciprocal gift relationship. However, unlike the nurses in Dalsgaard's (2007) blood banks, fundraisers do not seek to "supplement an imagined relationship to imagined recipients" to themselves (p.109). Instead fundraisers work to ensure that the relationship is perceived by the giver as one directly between the donor and the beneficiary or those within the organisation who make decisions or deliver their gift directly to the beneficiary,

such as the nurses at St. Sebastian's Hospice or musicians at Tunes and Breaking Free. Jane, fundraiser at See Again, expresses this desire in terms of removing herself and her team from the donor's view:-

"Once a support group is established, we would invite them [donors] to go along to our events - we do roadshows. So we had a couple of donors come along to our roadshow in Glasgow this year, which helped set the scene for another [ask we made] this year. How do we manage that? I mean if they want it, we will make it happen. As long as it is a reasonable request. It doesn't happen often and that's why we offer it, because we want to bring them closer, we want to bring them as close as possible to the beneficiaries and the work they are funding and take ourselves out of it as far as we can."

This certainly builds on assertions made by donors in this and other studies involving donors, that the desired relationships are those with the beneficiary, non-fundraising staff such as those working on the front-line and those leading the charity as these are often seen as more direct representatives of the beneficiary and the work being carried out by the organisation (see for e.g. Harrison, 2017; Breeze & Lloyd, 2013).

In doing so, the fundraiser builds a narrative for the giver of connection to the beneficiary, whilst ensuring that the reciprocal obligations attached to the gift do not fall to or impact the beneficiary. This is an important tool in the fundraiser's range of reciprocal strategies, in which fundraisers divert the attention of the donor to the stranger whose life they are changing away from the economic transaction and associated administration, that forms the basis of their gift. Thus, the aim is to lead the giver to believe that their relationship lies with the beneficiary, the staff member working directly with the beneficiary, or individual making the decisions. However, in the day to day administration and management of the gift donors engage and interact with the fundraiser. For example, Anna, a fundraiser at a charity serving past and present members of the armed forces, explains how she sets up and manages various relationships with donors and staff, in particular:

"My role, as I see it, is kind of backstage. It is doing the preparatory work; it's making sure that we really understand them [givers]; and we are communicating with them in the right way; we are creating the right opportunities to engage with the charity. Making sure that the people that are

interacting with them who are the board, the CEO and senior staff are fully briefed on this particular individual. So, the fundraiser's role is critical, and the donor or potential donor will for sure have some interaction with them. And in some cases, they may close the deal. But it's more likely to be, more common to be, one of the senior team that would be doing that."

Thus, we see multiple layers of relationship developing, where the fundraiser manages the set-up and day-to-day running of the relationship, whilst other actors believe the relationship to lie elsewhere. Fundraisers are gift administrators and modulators of the emotion and meaning involved in gift giving. They see to the backstage and less glamorous elements of maintaining the gift cycle. In this way, fundraisers begin to emerge as skilled social actors such as those described by Fligstein (2001); Granovetter (1983) and Hochschild ([1983] 2012) who seek to assess the interests, motivations and behaviours of various individuals with little or no connection to each other, and manipulate the rules and social norms within the mediated gift field, to encourage them to co-operate in the gifting process.

5.5   Summary

This chapter has explored fundraisers' understandings of the philanthropic gift relationship and their perceptions of their role within it. The findings suggest that current portrayals of philanthropic relationships as being either highly routinised and transactional or highly personalised and exclusive are unnecessarily dichotomous. Instead there emerges a spectrum of relationships within the mediated gift field in which the type of gift relationship that exists between donor and organisation is determined by the position of both the donor and the fundraiser within the mediated gift field; the size of the non-profit organisation receiving the gift; the number of relationships managed by each fundraiser; as well as the value of the individual donors' gift. How these elements are combined in turn determines the types of gifting benefits each donor is able to access.

In exploring these various relationship types, this chapter has established that there is an idealised Maussian-like reciprocal gift cycle at play within the mediated gift field, that is actively constructed by fundraisers working in tandem along the reciprocal relationship

spectrum in which various reciprocal tools are employed in order to maintain ongoing gift relationships between donors and non-profit organisations. Fundraisers position themselves as exchange partners within these reciprocal gift relationships as a means to mediate and manage the reciprocal obligations, expectations and simulated and variegated relationships that are established between fundraisers, donors and staff in the process of constructing the gift cycle. This suggests that the fundraising process can be understood within the context of models of charitable and philanthropic behaviour first explored in Chapter 3 in which philanthropy is modelled as a positional social relationship (see, Ostrander & Schervish, 1990; Schervish & Havens, 1997; Musick & Wilson, 2007; Elder-Vass, 2015). In these models, the ask or invitation to participate takes place as a result of the interactions of the social relationships within which donors are embedded or positioned. What this chapter illustrates is that in the absence of direct natural social relationships fundraisers attempt to mimic such social connections in a way in which the ask is appears to be a natural occurrence rather than a specific moment or one-off trigger of a donor's inherent altruistic tendencies. Furthermore, it is suggested that a far more complex gift exchange process is established that instead of removing the obligations that come with the gift, redefine and reaffirm Mauss's ([1954] 2011) original observation of the three-fold gift cycle to give, receive and reciprocate. However, they do so in a way that diverts, rather than removes, reciprocal obligations away from the beneficiary to the fundraiser.

Once it has been established that philanthropic and fundraising relationships are structured around asking, giving *and* reciprocating the roles that other actors implicated in the now obligatory reciprocal relationship such as staff and beneficiaries fulfil, and the ways in which they contribute to or reproduce the gift cycle can be explored in the chapters that follow. However, this chapter has also mentioned the emergence of an ideal gift relationship that fundraisers work towards and the creation of personalised objects and moments around which such relationships are built, but has failed to address how this is achieved, which will now be interrogated more fully in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6: Making presents

Chapter 5 discussed the reciprocal nature of the philanthropic gift to charitable organisations and the variegated reciprocal gift relationships that fundraisers aim to actively construct and maintain. This chapter will further develop the concept of the actively constructed reciprocal gift relationship and consider the ways in which fundraisers create and define the corresponding constructed gift cycle identified in chapter 5.3 (p. 127) using the resources and narratives available to them within the mediated gift field in a bid to construct the "ideal" reciprocal relationship. In doing so, this chapter will consider how fundraisers seek to make complex organisational strategies and distant beneficiaries accessible to donors, and how this process provides for reciprocal interaction and narrative construction that transmutes what presents externally like an economic transaction into a gift that has value, purpose and meaning above and beyond that of the monetary donation. Finally, this chapter begins to explore the tensions that emerge within the field both between fundraisers and donors, as well as fundraisers and their non-fundraising colleagues, as fundraisers try to construct what this thesis acknowledges are cognitively defined as "ideal", and thus, contested reciprocal relationships.

The discussions that follow in this chapter draw on data from the secondary analysis of donors' previous descriptions of their gifting, as well as fundraisers primary accounts collected for this study to describe the ways in which fundraisers aim to construct and maintain what they perceive as the ideal reciprocal gift relationship (see section 5.2 for more detail). These accounts of the fundraising process are compared with those of non-fundraising staff as a means to expand and provide further examples to aid these discussions. In doing so, this chapter will explore in more depth the following for inter-related themes to emerge from the data: -

1. The object of the charitable gift is not a fixed, tangible thing making giving, reciprocity and the establishment of a gift cycle a complex, contested task.
2. As such, like the reciprocal gift relationship, it too is constructed and given corporeality by the fundraiser; its nature and parameters are negotiated both with non-profit staff and donors.

3. Gifts are personalised according to fundraisers' perceptions of donors' tastes, interests and capacity, as well as the depth of relationship and subsequent giving the fundraiser and non-profit organisation are seeking to establish.

4. Gift reciprocation is a complex task, involving maintaining a delicate balance between the needs of the giver and the organisation, as well as the correct timing between asking and reciprocation, which is contested by fundraisers, donors and staff.

6.1   The want of a tangible gift

Research outlined in the preceding chapters has highlighted the problem of what Lainer-Vos (2014) terms "the want of a tangible return for handing over money" to charitable organisations (p. 475). This is coupled with the reality that direct reciprocation between the giver and the ultimate recipient – the organisation's beneficiary – is often neither possible nor desirable within the context of giving to charitable organisations. Yet reciprocity has been found to induce repeat gifts (Mauss [1954] 2011; Komter, 2007); and research such as that conducted by McDonald et al (2011) and Bekkers & Wiepking (2007) has found that donors do attach reciprocal expectations to their gifts, whilst seeking to satisfy their desire to act altruistically. At the very least, participants in this research, as well as other studies on donor behaviour, suggest that givers need to know that their gift has been received; will reach their intended recipient; and achieve the outcome for beneficiaries that they have envisaged. In addition to this confirmation of receipt and the ultimate impact of their gift, donors express needing to know that their gift will satisfy the more elusive social and psychological needs that may have motivated their gift (McDonald et al, 2011; Barman, 2007). Findings from these studies are supported by the secondary donor data, where donors accounts suggest expectations of feedback, as well as displays of gratitude and regard for their gifting, which are extrapolated further in chapter 7.1, but are noted here for context. There, therefore, emerges a clear obligation placed on the recipient organisation to provide a tangible and clear form of reciprocation to donors if they are to be encouraged to remain committed to a repeat giving relationship with an organisation. In short, their continued commitment needs to be repeatedly validated and affirmed. However, according to studies such as that conducted by Breeze & Lloyd (2013,) and Harrison (2017), this reciprocation is unlikely to be identified or expressed as being necessary or desirable by the

donor, who also wishes their giving to appear unprompted, altruistic and free of expectations of return. In reciprocating the gift, fundraisers must be careful to avoid any insult towards the donor by not undermining their more benevolent intentions with an inappropriate level of recognition and feedback if future channels of interaction are to remain open and positive. And, as McDonald et al (2011) point out, it is up to the organisation's fundraisers to determine how much, when, where and which formats constitute appropriate levels of reciprocation (p. 177).

The aim, therefore, of the rest of this chapter to is demonstrate the ways in which fundraisers seek to create more tangible means of providing a reciprocal gift for donors that moves beyond relying on Andreoni's (1990) "warm-glow" effect, whilst maintaining the narrative of the altruistic, obligation-free gift, as they encourage donors to remain loyal, long-term supporters. In order to accomplish this, the chapter builds on the concept first raised in chapter 5.3 that fundraisers need to be both explicit and specific about what a donor's monetary gift will acquire on behalf of the beneficiary. There is an attempt to illustrate, that whilst the charitable gift exchange presents as a transfer of money from the donor to the non-profit organisation, what emerges from this research, from both donors' and fundraiser's perspectives, is that the more important element of the gift is the outcome or gift that the donor is seeking to appropriate on behalf of the beneficiary. In doing so, this chapter revisits the literature and gift theory discussed in Chapter 3 to refocus the discussion that follows. Firstly, it centralises Mauss's ([1954] 2011) assertion that "for a gift to be made, there must be presupposed an object or service which creates an obligation" (p. 49). Secondly, the chapter builds on Krause's (2014) concept of "projectization" to provide a lens through which to explore how non-profits transform core elements of organisational strategies such as materials, labour, desired outcomes and beneficiaries into "projects" or commodities that can be paid for or purchased by institutional donors. However, this chapter will progress these arguments to demonstrate how through a process of re-interpretation and re-framing these commodities are transformed by fundraisers into the "presents" that are appropriated and given by individual donors and that are central to the gift exchange (Chevalier, 2014; Mauss [1954]/2011). The argument is, that once it is recognised that givers are seeking to use their donation to appropriate a gift to be given we can examine these as presents and their constitutive parts in those terms. At the heart of

this argument is the idea first discussed in chapter 3.3 that, like reciprocity, the gift is cognitively defined as such by those participating in the gift exchange (Komter, 2007; Chevalier, 2014; Ungureanu, 2013). What is being appropriated by givers are not, as Krause (2014) observes "pots and pans, or tents and food, but the act of giving" and what they receive in return is the affirmation that their giving has contributed to the achievement of their own understandings of better outcomes for recipients (p. 876). Thus, what we see emerging in subsequent sections of this chapter is a process of reframing by fundraisers that leads to the transformation of the organisation's activities and beneficiaries into personalised presents, which are used to make corporeal the reciprocal gift relationship they seek to establish.

Chevalier (2014) argues that "objects given as presents are already involved in a process of appropriation: from the moment a donor chooses an object" (p.61). However, this argument presupposes the existence of "an object" that can be appropriated. Yet, the problem with the third-party gifting characteristic of philanthropic giving is that in many respects, the physical thing that exchanges hands is the monetary gift that the donor gives to the recipient organisation. However, a concept that emerges from both the literature reviewed, as well as the primary and secondary interview data collected for this study is that the giver is appropriating a gift that is delivered by a third party, the charitable organisation, that is not necessarily an object, but rather the donor's vision of the public or specific beneficiary's good (Payton & Moody, 2008, p.13). Cluff (2009) observes donors want "to be part of *shaping the solution*" (her emphasis) to the beneficiaries' perceived problems (p.373). This view is reflected in the major donors' secondary accounts accessed for this research, who as originally noted in chapter 5.4, repeatedly express a desire to "*make some kind of difference*", "*tackle a problem*", or "*affect many lives*". Yet, as one major gifts fundraiser observes, these expressed ambitions are fundamentally not a tangible object the donor can hand over to the recipient, but rather an idea – a set of feelings about a good outcome secured and passed onto a third party - thereby making the act of giving to charity a tricky task: -

> **"***It is quite hard to give - it is more about feelings because it is not a product. You don't have a physical thing you can hold, so you can't feel yes I have spent my money well.***"**

To overcome this inherent intangibility of the gift, fundraisers in this research consistently expressed a necessity to establish and maintain a sense of what that gift appropriated and then given is, in ways that can be measured and more clearly delineated.

Notably, previous studies on donor behaviour identified in previous chapters (Breeze, 2012; Breeze & Lloyd, 2013; Harrison, 2017) as well the secondary analysis of donors' interviews, highlight donors' descriptions of the strategies they adopt for satisfying these criteria. These include making a clear decision for themselves about what social, physical, economic and psychological outcomes they are seeking and for what types of recipients. Donors' decisions about how these are likely to be most effectively met are influenced by various elements ranging from cause to size of the charity, as well as the issues that most interest and motivate the donor. Philanthropist, Fran Perrin, offers this advice to prospective givers on determining who or what to give – a sentiment that is repeated by many of the donors' interviews analysed for this study: -

> "If I was asked to advise someone else starting out in philanthropy, I would say: find out what you are passionate about and really work out why you want to tackle that particular problem. As a donor it's too easy just to respond to requests, but you need to ask yourself: why this and not something else?"
> (quoted in Breeze, 2012, p. 23).

What this and other similar statements in the donor data demonstrate (see for example pages 167-170) is that donors' giving decisions are largely interest-based and reflect the donor's own passions and aspirations and agency, rather than the needs of specific beneficiaries. Research conducted by Breeze (2010) supports this finding, which finds that most of the donor respondents in her study, "*whatever their wealth level*, seek to align their interests with their charitable giving and use their donations to pursue their passions, preferences and personal involvement" (p.49) (emphasis added).

At a secondary level, especially for major donors, but also found to be the case for those giving smaller amounts (Sargeant, 2001; Nichols, 2004), givers express wanting to support a specific piece of work or activity that has distinct boundaries and in which they can identify the specific impact their giving will make within a specific time-frame for a particular

recipient beneficiary or group of recipients. Philanthropist, Mary Cornish provides some examples of what donors may be looking for: -

> *"We don't give unrestricted funding, we prefer to fund projects with an identifiable price tag - like a summer playscheme for example. If an applicant can't show the project is separately run and controlled within the umbrella of their organisation, then we'd say no - however good it looks."* (quoted in Breeze, 2011, p. 3).

This, of course, varies as donors are motivated and driven by the differing tastes and interests identified above. However, the quote above provides a rather apt summary of the expectations many donors express associating with their gift (see for example McDonald et al, 2011).

The fundraisers interviewed for the current study generally recounted an acute sensitivity to givers' desires to understand what charities actually do with their gift – whether it be their lower-level donors or major philanthropists. For example, Caroline, head of fundraising from Forces for All, as observed in Chapter 5.2 frames this sensitivity as a moral obligation and constitutive of two different types of communication: -

> *"Well, I have a very strong view that any charity does have a moral obligation to tell people where their money is going. And I don't think it actually should matter whether the gift is £10 or £10,000 or £100,000; there's still a moral obligation to be transparent about where the money is going… But I think that's slightly different to having that knowledge in place before you perhaps approach a donor with a very specific request."*

In this extract Caroline points out that donors need to be provided with two distinct pieces of information. The first is the detail of what their gift will purchase in the first place. The second, is confirmation that the acquisition of the proposed item or service has actually taken place and has served its intended purpose.

As such, this research reveals a common narrative thread within fundraisers' accounts of a perceived obligation, as Hyde ([1979] 2012) suggests, to "differentiate what is undifferentiated" and communicate the worth of the gift as a means to provide substance to any gift solicitation and potential long-term gift relationship. In doing so,

they describe "the project" or "theme" as the most appropriate means of creating this understanding and developing the "*pieces of work*", to cite the phrase used by Ben Goldsmith in Breeze (2009, p. 16), that many donors themselves express wanting to support. The aim of the following sections in this chapter is to explore and demonstrate what fundraisers do to develop these "projects" and "themes" with a view to understanding how fundraisers perceive these processes as contributing to the goal of establishing and maintaining the reciprocal gift relationship and ongoing gift cycles.

6.2   The Gift Package - Adding boundaries and value to the gift

Whilst previous research such as that by Breeze (2010) noted in the previous section, highlights how donors rationalise, control and place boundaries around their own giving, findings from this study reveal a corresponding process of framing and boundary setting at the level of gift solicitation by fundraisers both in response to what they believe donors are seeking to give to and as a way to shape and solicit gifting that will support the organisation's complex and ongoing needs. This invites us to reconsider existing assumptions about the degree to which non-profit operational strategies, fundraising practices and donors' own philanthropic activities coalesce, as well as work at cross-purposes to each other. Additionally, this allows for an analysis of the tensions and conflicts that may arise within the mediated gift field as a result, which is discussed later in this and subsequent chapters.

Almost all the fundraisers interviewed for this research described a process of reframing and breaking down the work of an organisation into blocks of manageable information for the giver, beyond those set out within each of their non-profit organisations' respective strategies. Many fundraisers argued that the complexity, size and ongoing strategic work of these organisations could be overwhelming and inaccessible to potential givers. For example, head of individual fundraising at St. Sebastian's Hospice, notes of their annual income targets: -

> "Because actually I think going out saying we need to raise £11 million per year doesn't cut it for people, because it sounds too big. They want to know what their little bit will do."

Other fundraisers suggest that the long-term, ongoing nature of many of their charity's services do not lend themselves to providing donors with a sense of contributing to a piece of work or a specific outcome for particular beneficiaries. Victoria, major donor and legacies fundraiser at sight loss charity, See Again, tries to explain the difficulty: -

> "A lot of the support services we supply are ongoing and we have been doing them for years. Which is good, so they have got that tried and tested longevity. We know that they work. But to package that up, if you like, to a major donor and say: 'would you like to put £50,000 into our helpline?' They would be saying to us, 'well what's new, what new thing are you going to do? What difference is that £50,000 going to make?'."

More specifically fundraisers seemed consistently concerned with the idea that givers are often not very familiar with the work that is being carried out by the organisation and need guidance as to where to place their gifts. These expressed concerns reflect Barman's (2007) findings that whilst donors may have a clear vision of what they consider to be the public good, they often "do not possess a clear sense of how to best facilitate [their version of] the public good" (p. 1445). As noted in section 6.1 above, givers often claim to be overwhelmed by the volume of and, at times conflicting, information available regarding charities and engage in their own strategies to overcome this; drawing on their own personal preferences, passions and social backgrounds to shape their gift purchases (Breeze, 2010). As philanthropist, Herta von Steigel, notes :-

> "You need to educate yourself. In this country alone, there are over 180,000 charities. Anybody who has a little bit of money is inundated with requests and most of us don't have the time to filter through that." (quoted in J.P.Morgan, 2010, p. 13)

Yet, even once a donor has chosen a cause or charity to support, how, when and where their gift is needed and may be utilised by the non-profit organisation is not always self-evident. To address this, fundraisers explain how they offer ways to reduce and manage the decision-making processes for the donor by breaking down larger existing and previously planned operational programmes and projects into smaller blocks of work and delineating what each block will achieve. In this way, fundraisers explain aiming to build up and assign

specific meaning and value for smaller pieces of work that can be presented as complete projects with a set price tag and tangible outcomes. The purpose of these projects is to give the donor an "in" - a way of wading through and categorising all the work that the organisation does and can achieve. The project provides the donor with a story about what he/she will be appropriating and, thus, giving to the recipient, as well as what it will achieve or address in the beneficiary's life in practical and tangible ways. In other words, the project enables the fundraiser to delineate where and how the donor's monetary contribution will add value to the work of the non-profit organisation. In many respects, the packaging of work into what Cluff (2009) terms "chunks" (p. 373) aims to save the giver in terms of mental labour by reducing the amount of information he/ she has to grapple with in order to make a giving decision. What is important to note is that these projects differ from those in organisational strategies and business plans, in that they represent the story, developed ex-post, about the organisation and beneficiaries that fundraisers feel will appeal most to particular types of donor whether they be specific donors or a segment of the organisation's supporter base. By doing this, fundraisers use stories in a similar fashion as Chevalier (2014) describes gift appropriation between closely tied individuals to "highlight certain 'objective' aspects of the gift, donor or context", as means to allow the donor to transform their monetary donation into a personal gift to a distant recipient (p.59).

This research identified that approaches to such story-based "projectization" – to borrow Krause's (2014) term from her study of institutional donors, and apply it to individual donors, which are the focus of my study – differed both across the sample of organisations, as well as within organisations. Four of these approaches are explored more in depth here. These activities were closely related to the gift relationship type and size of gift being sought and whether the organisation was strategically more focussed on securing restricted or unrestricted funds. Thus, at a basic level and as an initial example, where organisations are dependent on a large number of smaller gifts from multiple individual donors and seek to secure largely unrestricted funds or funds for ongoing or difficult work, fundraisers describe working with non-fundraising colleagues to identify what donors' smaller financial gifts will secure in terms of actual items, staff time or specific expertise. For example, Evelyn, fundraiser from Clear Passage, which runs a telephone helpline, explains: -

"So, we know how much running our helpline costs... We have been able to allocate those costs, which is brilliant. We have been able to put together projects. I am, at the moment, working on calls that we took in the last financial year and all our costs associated with that. It costs £9 per call pretty much. Just to be able to have that number [to give to donors]."

A similar approach is adopted by several of the organisations in the sample, especially those with ongoing services such as helplines, skills training, support groups and health care that may prove difficult to differentiate and objectify.

An alternative strategy and second example approach is adopted by organisations who run several programmes of work or projects in several locations. For example, Catherine, high value gifts fundraiser at St. Sebastian's, describes creating what she has named the "bedside fund" which provides funds for ad hoc equipment repairs and furniture for the hospice for which she raises money. By creating a fund with a name and a specific purpose, Catherine aligns donors' general and often smaller gifts, that would not ordinarily cover an entire project or object, with a specific desired outcome that does not necessarily have to be met within the short term or have a specified monetary value but is not a nameless gift. Thus, what the donor is purchasing is not a specific tangible object but a contribution to softer outcomes such as skills acquisition; personal development and empowerment – or in the case of St Sebastian's the comfort of their patients. In this way Catherine has created an object that can be named and given and has both meaning and value that is not purely economic, thus transforming a monetary donation into a gift or "object" that can be appropriated by the donor. The same principle is used by other fundraisers in other organisations. For example, at Save the World, similar funds are created to which donors can give small amounts, but which create an idea of the type of thing or service the donor's gift will contribute to. Thus, the organisation has four major funds delineating the type of work that the organisation carries out. These include programmes of work that provide clean water and sanitation to beneficiaries; protect, feed and educate vulnerable children; tackle environmental degradation; and work towards food security for vulnerable populations. In short, the fundraiser seeks to not only distinguish the gift by attaching it to a specific outcome or difference, but also by creating a direct link between the value of the monetary gift with the value of the "thing" appropriated. Thereby directly linking giving

activity with an outcome that fundraisers perceive the donor envisaging. Thus, as Catherine's colleague, Rose, notes it's about "*trying to make donors feel that their money isn't going into a big pot*".

However, the third example and most common approach is to break down larger distinct, timebound organisational programmes or projects into smaller sections or phases of work with their own associated tangible outcomes. Penny, head of fundraising at conservation charity, Free Space, explains : -

> "*So somewhere like the [river name], for instance, we [Free Space] can then go ok in the next five years we want to achieve a higher percentage over that acreage of land rich for wildlife. And so, we have measurements like that which is fine because it means that we can either buy land when it comes up or we can influence landowners…. So, from a fundraising point of view, we can be creative, and we can take a section of land and go right these are the changes that we are going to physically make. So, you will see physical change [within a specified period of time].*"

The point is to distinguish the gift that can be appropriated by demonstrating what is unique and noteworthy about the piece of work that fundraisers are seeking a gift for, how much it will cost, when success will be achieved and what that may look like in a way that reflects what is known about the donor's perception as closely as possible.

The use of packaging a non-profit organisation's work into smaller "chunks" or distinct projects, as described in the examples above, is not a finding unique to this study. Indeed, as observed previously, this tactic is observed as good practice in many fundraising management texts ranging from Cluff (2009) to Sargeant & Jay (2014). This may indicate that "projectization" forms a dominant logic within the mediated gift field and shapes its overall income generation practice, whether seeking gifts from institutional donors, or individuals. Many fundraisers certainly felt, as did some staff, on the back of what they perceived fundraisers tell them, that this is what made for good fundraising. For instance, Karl, CEO at Forces for All, observes:-

> "*I am told people like supporting projects and this is the way we have to go.*"

Laura, frontline service delivery manager at international development charity Save the World, expands on this idea: -

> "*We are told by fundraising that our supporters want to know where the money goes and that they want stories of impact. Because it's not sufficient anymore to say we built sixty toilets. What we need to show is that six months later that they were being properly used, and that it is has actually reduced open defecation long-term. Because building a toilet doesn't mean to say that anybody is going to use it.*"

In the extract above and her continued discussions regarding fundraisers' push towards developing bespoke projects to present to donors, Laura, also identifies that funding secured on the back of these projects tends to be more restrictive in terms of where and how donors' gifts may be spent. Additionally, project-based funding is more demanding in terms of providing feedback to donors over extended periods who are expecting evidence of particular, and often long-term, outcomes and impact. In this regard, this research reveals that the apparent loss of control and flexibility that projectization, thus, represents is often resisted by non-profit leadership and service delivery practitioners seeking to maintain the autonomy and independence of their organisations to spend incoming resources where they see fit, whilst limiting the influence over strategy of any one donor. This finding chimes with both academic and practitioner research and literature that suggests that unrestricted funding is viewed as far more desirable and sought after by non-profit organisations, as they maintain control over where and how income is spent and, thus, the implementation of organisational strategies (see for example Saxton & Wallace, 2018; Barman, 2007).

This reticence to "hand over" too much control to donors, on the part of non-fundraising staff, requires creative approaches by fundraisers who still wish to build long-term gift cycles with donors, yet without losing the autonomy to spend funds as needed. For example, Karl from Forces for All above, goes on to note:-

> "*We always make the unrestricted ask, but they [donors] often ask well what is it that you have got that we can support. So, it largely comes down to interpretation. I usually look to Anna [major donor fundraiser], who is a pro at this sort of thing. We used to worry that we needed to come up with lots and lots*

of projects, but we just don't have them. And I was resisting it. I would rather

turn the conversation to how you can help our work generally."

In this extract Karl, highlights the competing demands from charities for the flexibility and autonomy that unrestricted income provides; with those of donors who wish to support an identifiable piece of work and have their own influence in determining and contributing to outcomes for beneficiaries through restricting their giving to specific projects or programmes of work. Karl expresses the desire to maintain the organisation's autonomy, whilst finding a mechanism to continue the conversation and relationship with donors. However, Karl also notes that the aim to balance autonomy with continuing to engage donors has required the organisation's fundraisers to develop an alternative approach to satisfying donors' perceived demand to support "projects".

Yet, in spite of staff like Karl's desire to avoid projectization, there remained a perceived obligation from the fundraisers at Forces for All, and similar organisations within the sample, to produce a coherent story or set of stories that replicate the structure of projects for the donor out of the organisational mass of work. In these instances, fundraisers adopted a fourth example approach to projectization in which they sought to delineate meaning either from identifying specific themes or streams of work to which donors' gifts could be assigned, or to raise money around the social value the organisation claims to bring to a specific group of beneficiaries. For example, in the case of arts organisation Tunes, fundraisers talk about the orchestra being a community education facility, thereby portraying the cost of running the orchestra and maintaining its buildings as assets that benefit a wider community other than just their audience members or players. In the case of organisations such as Forces for All and Roofs, thematic outcomes for beneficiaries are the focus. Thus, fundraisers focus on concepts such as reducing social isolation for veterans, or providing access to employment for homeless individuals, rather than the cost of purchasing specific items and/ or services like the toilets mentioned by Laura above. Consequently, what becomes the thing offered for appropriation is the change, and the social transformation of the beneficiary or their circumstances in a way that matches up with what fundraisers interpret is the kind of gift the giver wishes to give. As Odette, grants manager at Forces for All, puts it:

> *"We have to sell them the difference we want to make and that we need them [donors] to come on the journey with us."*

No matter the approach to dividing the organisation's work up taken by fundraisers, what results overall is a process of fundraisers seeking to the materialise - or as Gouldner (1973) terms it the "thingafication" of the - gift through a clear narrative relayed by the fundraiser. For Diane, a major donor fundraiser at See Again, it's about identifying what the donor's aspirations are and outlining how the work that the organisation is doing will meet those aspirations. This means making clear decisions about what stories and narratives with regards to the value and meaning of the work they are funding, are relayed to donors:-

> *"Again, it's inspirational. If people think that their donation might fund a really important stem cell or genetic research project, it's quite inspiring for them. I suppose it is also slightly more difficult to make a compelling ask out of a support service."*

Thus, the value of the gift options presented for appropriation are not necessarily determined by their economic value, but rather in terms of the meaning that fundraisers hope donors will assign to them.

6.3   The Personalised Gift - Selecting stories for inclusion or exclusion

The discussion and exploration of the strategies fundraisers adopt in creating packages of work for donors to fund in the preceding sections identify not just how fundraisers reframe and reinterpret organisational needs, but also allows for an exploration of the ways in which they actively select for inclusion or exclusion which organisational and beneficiary "stories" donors hear and, thus, fund. Fundraisers in this research consistently expressed the notion that some work and beneficiaries are understood to be more attractive to donors and, therefore, easier to fundraise for than others, often terming this *"fundraisable work"*. Body and Breeze (2016) note that there is a general perception within the non-profit sector that some causes are more difficult to engage donors with and propose that organisations have several means to overcome this problem through re-framing the cause and its beneficiaries to "both capture donors' sympathies and appeal directly to donors' personal tastes" (p.67). This is supported by Hansen (2017) who finds far more agency on the part of charitable organisations than much of the existing literature reviewed in Chapter 2 suggests, with

regards to the ways in which fundraisers choose to depict and frame opinions of beneficiary groups, as they seek to anticipate or mitigate any perceived stigma with which beneficiaries would be approached or described when writing appeals. However, this research reveals not only how meaning is reframed, but also finds an active process of exclusion or inclusion of certain beneficiary groups and activities from interactions with donors. This appears to be based not only on how fundraisers perceive that donors imagine beneficiaries, but, additionally on whether they will be able to access the corresponding material and ongoing co-operation of staff and access to beneficiaries with which to construct the packages of work needed to stimulate a longer-term relationship and affirm this image.

Frieda, major gifts fundraiser at Save the World provides a description of what her and her team look for in a project:-

> *"So fundraisable work - something that we can really measure the outcomes. I think, sometimes we [fundraisers] can see work is absolutely brilliant, but unless we know how we are going to collect the information afterwards, then it raises a question about what you can feed back to your supporter [donor]. Somewhere where we know we have got good communications. So, a country representative who responds to us with updates and stories and prayer points. That's a winner for us, because that actually means we can communicate that to our supporters effectively and they know what's happened. It's about keeping people in the loop. Those [front line staff] that are happy to do meetings… where possible, we want to know that there is a track record so that we're not exposing our supporters to too much risk in terms of where their money is going."*

What Frieda highlights here is the primacy fundraisers place on establishing and cultivating the gift relationship. Thus, fundraisers will present donors with organisational work that they feel will engage the giver over a longer period of time than just that of the lifetime of any current organisational project or annual budget round. This results at times, in the exclusion of certain projects or in other instances, pushing for the inclusion into certain gift packages the donor's input or elements that the fundraiser feels will appeal to a particular donor or group of donors. This is justified by fundraisers within the parameters of the language of the reciprocal gift relationship where success is the securing of the gift , the gift

relationship and ongoing gift cycle. As Anne-Marie, major donor fundraiser at Roofs explains, when talking about her previous fundraising experience at a local theatre:

> "Initially there was some resistance to do that from the theatre director because he was like, no these are the plans. You can't have a donor coming in and saying, well I prefer that colour on the wall. But actually, there were times when that worked really well, and we secured a major donation from that person because they had been listened to and they had been part of evolving the plans."

For Anne-Marie, what was most important was not only that the funding for that particular project was secured, but also that she had the material with which to establish a potential reciprocal and ongoing gift relationship. She goes on to explain how this initial gift relationship, where there had been a sense of give and take in the process in which she could engage the donor, had led to a long-term giving relationship between that particular donor and the theatre with multiple large monetary gifts over several years. However, Anne-Marie's story also identifies the tension that this process generates between front-line staff and fundraisers over how fundraising best serves the needs of the organisation; and what is often interpreted by non-fundraising staff as the undue power and influence donors are often perceived to have. Fundraisers often expressed a recognition of this tension and felt pressure to address these issues in ways that constrain and/ or limit their capacity to build relationships with donors. As Anne-Marie goes on to note:

> "I think in that sense, it would be great if you could work [with donors] in that way all the time. The reality is that there are needs of the organisation that must be met. It's a quite delicate balance, isn't it?"

However, what becomes clear from accounts such as Anne-Marie's, is that fundraisers take a longer time horizon than non-fundraising staff with regards to gift solicitation. Whereas operational staff are focussed on funding current programmes of work or annual organisational strategies and budgets, fundraisers, who have their eyes set on establishing the long-term gift cycle in which several gifts will be given over several years and which may also take several years to establish, will accept or even encourage smaller gifts and/ or funding of a less urgent project in order to set reciprocal interactions in motion. This may even include the exclusion of work that

they feel will not appeal to donors. In this research, a certain level of conflict between fundraisers and staff was revealed. The latter were concerned that certain work goes unfunded and unrecognised, and that often too much control and influence was ceded to individual donors as a result. Laura, frontline services delivery manager, provides as example from Save the World:-

"Partnerships [the major gifts fundraising team] when they are going to an individual donor, even if they're not asking for that particular country, that's what is at the top of their minds. And so, they [the donor] will go for: 'I would like my money to go to India, because I've seen this great article [in organisation's donor newsletter] about trafficking.' Trafficking is not our core business but ignited somebody within the global fundraising group to talk about it, to feature it. But there are repercussions to that, because it also shifts the budget or shifts the funding in a way that we have not decided on strategically. And so, what I constantly battle with is that fundraisers go out, get excited by a project. They've seen it. And they, therefore, want to bring in the money for that project. But that doesn't necessarily look at the funding as a whole and how it's disenfranchising other projects."

Fundraisers are not oblivious to this problem and, at times, expressed concern that their focus on one stream of work versus another may lead to skewed understandings of the work of the organisation and leave some projects, even the organisation's main focus, under-recognised and underfunded. An example from Diane at See Again highlights this concern:-

"There's a slight misconception out there about what we do. I met one of our pledger's [legacy donor] the other day who had, had a conversation with a colleague on the telephone and I followed it up with a face to face meeting. The conversation that she had, had with my colleague was focussed on research and how brilliant she thought research was. When I went to meet her, I said:- 'I understand the gift is for research'. And she said:- 'Well I haven't actually specified that, but I had assumed that it would go to research'. So I think there is a slight misconception on the part of our donors, which I don't think we have done very much to redress specifically, that all the donations they give us go to

research. … rather than our support services and the helpline and our
counselling, and obviously our running costs and our groups and that sort of
thing."

Yet despite the awareness of the risk of misconception, fundraisers' accounts such as Diane's suggest that fundraisers struggle to overcome this tension. As such fundraisers' perceived obligations to provide donors with suitable gift packages that will continue to engage the donor's interest in the organisation to stimulate repeat gifts remains the overriding driver of their selection and refinement of gifts for donors, rather than the meeting organisational desire for securing unrestricted, flexible funding that can be spent "*where the need is greatest*" (Karl, Forces for All). Thus, this thesis returns to questions of the capacity of fundraising and thus, non-profit organisations, to provide a neutral conduit for the transfer of gifts from giver to intended, but unknown beneficiary first raised in Chapters 2.2 and 5.2 (Steinberg & Powell, 2006; Titmuss, 1973; Healy, 2014).

6.4   Impact, Gratitude, Regard and Time as Reciprocation

Following on from the question above, this research demonstrates how the packaging of the gift becomes a central feature of fundraisers' reciprocal activities, whilst interrogating the effect of these activities beyond their efficacy in maintaining relationships with donors and generating repeat gifts. The tools of reciprocation, first highlighted in Chapter 5, are easily identified within fundraisers' descriptions of what they do to "steward" gifts given to the organisation as well as in the "how-to" fundraising literature explored in the Chapters 2 and 3 to encourage reciprocal interaction between the donor and the organisation (e.g. Burnett, 2002; CASE, 2013; Sargeant & Jay, 2014). These include, but are not limited to:

- acknowledging the receipt of donors' gifts;
- thanking donors for their gift in writing, via telephone and face to face;
- outlining the connection between the donor's gift and the long-term difference their gift has contributed to making;
- making sure donors are informed as to how their gift was spent and in the manner in which they expected;
- creating opportunities to connect with those to whom they feel they are giving, as well as those who carry out the work;

- treating the donor with respect;

- ensuring that the donor's gift is spent on the activities that the donor outlined; and

- providing timely and regular feedback on the work that their gift contributed towards.

In short good stewardship and donor retention is a process in which gratitude for the donor's gift is displayed, regard for the donor is expressed and the value of the gift to the intended recipient repeatedly confirmed through a series of actions and activities similar to the "courtesies, entertainments, rituals… and feasts" Mauss ([1954]2011) describes as an integral part of the reciprocation of the gift given (p. 3).

In terms of providing opportunities for reciprocation, the constructed gift package, from the fundraiser's perspective, provides the material needed to meet the giver's desires to achieve impact and transformation from the donor's perspective in terms of all the reciprocal tools outlined above. The gift package allows for regular feedback on the donor's gifts in the form of written reports and newsletters that can be tailored to meet specific donors' – both individuals or segments – needs and expectations. The gift package additionally provides opportunities around which donors can be engaged directly at events to hear and see what the organisation has achieved, in visits with staff members, and opportunities to meet with beneficiaries. These visits, events and reports are structured around the original story included in the gift package. In this respect, the gift package provides the narrative material used to both discursively and tangibly convey the gratitude, regard and feedback that the donor seeks, which further enables and entrenches the discourse of relationship and connection that fundraisers utilise as a means to maintain the narrative of the reciprocal gift, with varying degrees of success.

Nevertheless, a tension emerges between meeting the obligations of the gift set up in creating the gift package and displaying gratitude and regard whilst maintaining the idea of the altruistically given gift, reflecting the "cultural conflict" at heart of any gift exchange of that between "altruism and reciprocity", within the narratives of both donors and fundraisers (Moody, 2008, p. 141). Two clear findings transpire from analysis of interviews with donors conducted by other researchers regarding this tension. The first, which is repeatedly identified throughout this thesis, is that donors seek to make a significant

difference and a real impact for which they desire evidence and acknowledgement from the charity to whom they give. The second is the desire for their donations to be understood as gifts freely given without any expectation of return either in terms of physical or status benefits.

These two desires provide an example of the paradoxical nature of the gift or what Derrida (1991) terms the impossibility of the gift (see also Barman, 2017; Ungureanu, 2013; Hyde [1979]2012). Derrida (1991) argues that a gift cannot occur without a reciprocal interaction of some sort, but as soon as reciprocity does occur, and the gift is acknowledged, the altruistic intentions at the heart of the gift are annulled as the giver is now gaining both recognition and the status of being altruistic from his or her giving. Similarly, Mauss ([1954] 2011), in his original conception of the gift cycle suggests that for the giver or donor to feel that it is worth their while to remain within the gift relationship he or she needs be assured that gifts are received in the spirit in which they are given in terms of what the donor sought to achieve with their gift. In response to these contradictory demands placed on the gift, fundraisers in this study focussed heavily on trying to balance out this paradoxical need to develop a means to capture the spirit of each donor's gift by demonstrating the ways in which the donor's intentions for the gift had been met, whilst continuing to honour the altruistic tendencies behind the gift. This manifests in the struggle to ensure that fundraisers maintain the narrative of ongoing relationship, whilst addressing the more transactional need to provide evidence of the material outcomes the donor has appropriated and gifted to the beneficiary identified in section 6.2.

As such, the research reveals a conflict between meeting what can be seen as the contractual obligations that the gift package sets up – for example the purchase and supply of a tangible item or service - versus meeting and addressing the social, psychological and emotional ambitions donors have for their gifts. Philanthropist, Mary Cornish, provides an example of what this conflict may look like:-

> *"We always ask recipients how they will measure the impact of the grant: we*
> *don't want to know about bums on seats, we want to know what difference it*
> *will make. There are so many immeasurables but organisations have to try and*
> *find some way to measure what they're doing. For example, we fund a project*

that cares for people who live on the streets and they define success as their

users still being alive in the morning, which puts it into stark relief. To some

extent we all know we're playing a little game. We're asking for information that

we know is almost impossible to give and they know that too, but they know

they've got to give it to us."

This extract illustrates what both donors and fundraisers in this study acknowledge - that what donors no matter the size of their actually want to know at some point about is how their visions of the public good have been achieved and how that services their need to feel connected, special and contributing to some greater good; and for their gift to be acknowledged as having been given with no expectation of a "material return" (Rosso [1991] 2016, p. 235). A rather simple and effective way of demonstrating both types of impact is the provision of regular feedback and reports, whether highly individualised or for wider segments of donors, that demonstrate what has been purchased in terms of material objects, services and the time of experts, as well as how these elements have contributed to achieving outcomes such as more empowered beneficiaries; more secure livelihoods; better community relationships; safer environments and so forth.

However, participants in this research expressed concerns about the increasing reliance within the sector on reports containing only what Simon, CEO from Dreams, describes as "*hard data*". Whilst, it was acknowledged that the collection and evaluation of such data may well be contributing to greater efficiency, transparency and accountability within the non-profit sector, it is often perceived to be misunderstood and does little to provide an adequate reflection of the "good" or "something greater" that has been achieved. More importantly, in the context of creating and maintaining ongoing gift cycles, hard data and impact measurements may even provide donors with the opportunities to exit the gift relationship either feeling that they have not achieved their goals or that the organisation is not capable of delivering the impacts that they are seeking. Simon from Dreams goes on to provide an example of how this may play out: -

"This is a very small example. So, we had a recent evaluation of a particular

project that said there wasn't any impact on attainment for this particular

project. There was impact on all the softer skills, but there wasn't any impact on

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attainment. And because of that - so I am really transparent about that, which is

a good thing - the donor that we were talking to stopped talking to us."

Philanthropist, Mary Cornish, provides an example from a donor's perspective:-

"It's just about keeping an eye open, not so much for people spinning a yarn but

for where the impact might be pretty minimal – like reaching just one person,

and then it's up to us to decide if that's still worth funding."

Thus, whilst feedback and impact reporting remain an important element of reciprocation, fundraisers in this study described a reticence to rely on hard data and impact measurements as a sole means to provide suitable and adequate reciprocation of the donor's gift. Instead fundraisers subtly seek to manipulate and utilise the time in between reports to engage the donor in interactions in which *gratitude* for the gift received and *regard* for the donor's actions, rather than impact, are displayed. These are tied up with what appeared to be fundraisers' implicit understanding of the role of adequate expressions of gratitude and regard in engendering more gifting, and more importantly the "right" or permission to seek additional gifts from the donor.[3] Expressions of gratitude and regard are identified as key drivers of gifting behaviour within both the philanthropic and gifting literature (e.g. Simmel [1950]1996; Sargeant & Shang, 2012). Additionally, previous research has highlighted the expectation on donors' behalf that such gratitude and regard will be offered to them in some format (Breeze & Lloyd, 2014; McDonald et al, 2011). What is interesting in this research is how fundraisers take the expression of this gratitude and regard on as both a moral obligation, as well as instrumentally necessary in order to keep the gift cycle going. For example, Becky, proposal writer from international development organisation, Save the World, provides a good explanation of the complex nature of expressions of gratitude and the difficulty in determining what these expressions should contain: -

"I think the thing is if you give a gift to somebody, you give it to the person and you

know the person and you get that sense of not gratitude - I don't know. But that

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[3] This is outside of meeting the regulatory requirements of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) to seek permission to use an individual's personal details to contact them or send them information regarding the charity. Rather this "right" to ask refers to the permission granted and created through social interaction and the nature of the relationship (Fundraising Regulator, 2018b).

sense of feeling that: 'well I can see the joy that, that's given, or I can see the difference that has made to somebody'. But when that gift is given from a donor to beneficiaries that they are never going to meet - probably never going to meet - it is so far removed that I think some kind of thanks [is needed]. Somebody somewhere along that line still needs to acknowledge that gift and give something back. Something like: 'here is this person who has been delighted with the money that has been given because it has changed their life in some way'. They need to have a sense of impact, I think. And so that's [the fundraiser's] role because they are the first person in line."

Thus, as Becky's quote above reflects, when trying to create ongoing reciprocal gift relationships fundraisers' stories of gift solicitation imply that they seek to take care that the gratitude and regard expressed produces the impetus for the donor to remain interested in seeking out any further positive affect their gift may produce for both themselves and the intended recipients of the gift. Derrida (1992), in describing the paradox of the gift, proposes that the expression of gratitude and regard risks cancelling out the obligation to continue the gift cycle. Thus, both he and Hyde ([1979] 2012) argue once gratitude for a gift has been displayed, any reciprocal obligations on the recipient have been addressed and the gift adequately acknowledged. Yet, as noted in Chapter 3, it is unrequited gratitude and/ or regard that drives the continuation of the gift cycle (Simmel [1950]1996, Gouldner, 1973). As such, fundraisers implicitly seek not to dispense of the imbalance in obligation that an unequal gift exchange would generate, but rather to maintain it as a means to encourage further gifting from individual donors. Thus, fundraisers describe using the notion of unequal reciprocity displayed *over time*, of which many were acutely aware, to induce "a certain amount of ambiguity as to whether indebtedness has been repaid", as well as to develop a relationship with donors (Gouldner, 1973, p.248).

In this way, we see fundraisers trying to actively engage donors in cycles of ritual exchange that as noted in the introduction to this section resemble Mauss's ([1954]2011) description of the multiple rounds of prestation and counter-prestation

within a gift cycle. The fundraiser as exchange partner (see Chapter 5.4) expresses verbal or written gratitude at the point of receiving the gift; then will host the giver; will praise the generosity of the giver publicly, and expound the virtues of the gift given; will offer other small tokens of gratitude to the giver; and most importantly offer the donor opportunities to engage with staff, experts in the field, beneficiaries and other donors. Derrida (1992) notes that it is in this ritualistic exchange of pleasantries over time that the cycle of economic exchange is disrupted, and the gift becomes recognised as possible. It is in this time that fundraisers describe actively constructing and maintaining the narrative of the gift. A successful mediated gift exchange is, thus, not merely an exchange of two equivalent objects of value, but a reiterative process or series of social exchanges that takes place over time in which the recipient organisation and beneficiary's regard for the donor is communicated, and hopefully the donor's trust in the organisation to deliver his/ her particular vision of the public good is built. Consequently, the mediated gift exchange becomes a cycle that is increasingly difficult for the donor to extract themself from if they are not to be seen to be reneging on their commitment to the organisation and the beneficiary. Thus, in this way, the strategy of simulating a reciprocal gift relationship seeks to secure the "holy" grail of the long-term, committed supporter.

However, a further tension emerges in the data between the differences in perspective adopted by fundraisers and donors regarding the perceived commitments and benefits sought by the donor from their philanthropic giving; and the balance fundraisers seek between maintaining an ongoing gift cycle and meeting the donor's needs and interests. Secondary analysis of donors' interviews identifies the idea that givers may be loath to fund work that would enter them into long term ongoing gift cycles from which there is no obvious exit point and in which they would be obliged to continue giving to the same project or programme. Whilst many of the major donors expressed a desire in interviews to develop long-term relationships with recipients of their gifts, most expressed a corresponding desire for time-bound projects or programmes, coupled with expectations that their giving to those projects will stop at some point and that they will move on to give to a different project or different organisation. This offers an advance on the theory proposed by Andreoni et. al. (2011) that not only do givers avoid being asked for a charitable gift, but

once they have given avoid continuing the relationship by maintaining as much control over the types of gift given and the obligations that a long-term reciprocal gift relationship would tie them to. In other words, there is a need to balance donors' desire to acquire the status and symbolic benefits that the narrative of the gift relationship provides, without the obligations that a long-term gift relationship would require. What remains is the desire on the part of donors to have an understanding of, and to control the boundaries of their giving. Within this context the project or packaging up of the work gives a distinct time-boundary to the gift that is employed in differing and often competing ways by donors and fundraisers respectively.

To reiterate, a gift package is framed as a piece of work that will be completed within a certain time period and the outcome will be the purchase of an item or a service which will result in the difference sought by the donor within that period. However, and of note for this study, the framing of the gift as being completed within a certain time frame is utilised as a signalling tool, from the fundraisers' perspective, that the gift has a limited life span and time-limited value; *and that another gift will be sought*. Thus, whilst donors appear to be using time-bounded packages of work to find ways of limiting or controlling the obligations involved in longer-term gift relationships, fundraisers seek to utilise these as a means to encourage the donor to remain within the relationship and seek out opportunities to solicit further gifts. Eugene, major gifts fundraiser from Save the World, provides an example of this thinking: -

> *"Because if we've got a donor who wants to give £10,000 and, obviously, that donor wants a relationship, and if we can report back on that relationship at three months and then at six months and say look here's a story and here's an update, then we know that our relationship with the supporter is only going to increase and their giving is going to increase in time. Or it's not going increase, but it is going to keep with us. "*

Eugene speaks here about how the packaging of work not only imbues a gift with a sense of timing – there will be something to report on in three and six months' time - thereby overcoming the problem of givers needing to see the impact of their giving within a shorter time period than ongoing services provide, but also that there is an expectation of an ongoing gift relationship in which reciprocal gift exchanges are committed to. Additionally,

this builds in opportunities for reciprocal interactions, as well as times and events at which to express and display gratitude and regard.

An interesting finding in relation to the reciprocal relationship types identified in Chapter 5 that is worth noting at this juncture is the attempt by fundraisers within the sample engaging with greater numbers of donors and with donors from a distance, to situate the gift within similar gift cycles. Fundraisers working with large numbers of lower-level givers describe establishing cyclical communications alternating between solicitation, expressions of thanks and gratitude, both written and verbal, and regular feedback. The mechanisms for this vary from annual fundraising events to a cycle of regular appeals and newsletters. What is central to these approaches is an attempt to replicate the process outlined by Eugene above, whereby givers are asked to give and then receive feedback at regular intervals of what their gifts have been assigned to and the impact that these gifts may have had. Thereby, instituting the cycle of communications that Waters (2016) and Burnett (2002) identify as vital to the establishment of long-term reciprocal gifts relationships with donors across the spectrum. Fundraiser, Victoria, provides an example of the approach taken at See Again:

> *"So, we've got generic thank you letters that say 200 people get diagnosed every day, but we manage to help this many people through our helpline; this many people through our support groups; you know that sort of thing. So it's a little bit about how your money has been used. So regular donors, four times a year, they get [newsletter name], but there's also a magazine …. called [magazine name], so what's new in research and the things we have funded. So that's the sort of thing we might send once a year."*

What remains noteworthy for this research, and is a key finding, is that these cyclical communications are used to manipulate timelines as a means to engage donors in longer term gift relationships, which both previous studies on giving behaviour as well as some of the donors' accounts in this study, suggest donors may resist entering into (Burnett, 2002; Nicholls, 2004; Andreoni, et al, 2011) . Reciprocity within these relationships, thus, resemble what Moody (2008) describes as "expressive performances" or "communicative acts" (Ungureanu, 2013) of each party's current status and expectations from within the mediated gift cycle.

6.5   Concluding comments

In this chapter I have demonstrated how fundraisers actively and intentionally construct "objects of the gift" from the resources available within the mediated gift field as a means to "materialise" the reciprocal gift relationship they seek to establish with donors (Chevalier, 2014, p.60). Krause (2014), whose argument I employ to demonstrate this process, outlines how non-profit organisations create projects or packages of work as commodities that can be presented to institutional donors for purchase. She notes that whilst these packages are not things in and of themselves, "they can be *treated* as things" (p. 40) (her emphasis), that arguably can be appropriated and given to a third party. In this chapter we find fundraisers who work with individual donors engaging in similar processes to create gift packages that serve two purposes. In the first instance, they serve to produce a defined piece of work or project that the giver can identify with from the complex mass that is a charitable organisation's work. More importantly, the gift package provides the base material with which the reciprocal gift relationship can be constructed by producing a narrative around which the gift relationship can be structured. In creating smaller chunks of work with distinct values, the fundraiser creates an object which a donor can appropriate and give to a distant recipient, whether it be tangible items or services, or the softer outcomes donors repeatedly express wanting to give or achieve for beneficiaries. Further, by setting up a gift package with an agreed outcome to be reached within a given time-frame, the fundraiser puts in place the objects around which the means to reciprocate the donor's gift and then re-engage the donor in the next, overlapping round of gifting. In this way, the idea of a gift relationship that is not just centred around the exchange of money or a single gift purchase is established. The economic transaction at the heart of the charitable gift becomes less important, and the narrative of the gift can take hold.

What emerges is a picture of fundraising as not only gift solicitation but, as a process where fundraisers seek to create meaning and connection where it did not previously exist between givers and distance recipients. At the heart of the process is the evocation of an object to which the language of the gift adds meaning and which the donor can be seen to appropriate on behalf of the end recipient. However, this is not an unproblematic undertaking. Whilst the packaging of work into bespoke projects delineates meaning for the

donor it often does so in ways that do not align with the non-profit organisation's overall wider strategy by emphasizing particular pieces of work above others. This has implications for how individual organisations may conduct their work on behalf of their beneficiaries when donors restrict funding and thus the types of work the organisation has the resources to implement. Additionally, by reframing the meaning and the value of the gift to fit that which the fundraiser perceives the donor feels is most valuable, the solidaristic nature of the gift exchange is fundamentally altered leading to the exclusion of some beneficiaries and their stories from the gift relationship.

It is important not to lose sight of the recognition of philanthropic giving as a highly personalised and individualized activity that reflects donors' own agentic capacities, personal tastes, preferences and understandings of what constitutes "good work"; and which determine the direction of their giving (Krause, 2014; Salamon, 1992; Barman, 2017). However, this chapter recognizes and further argues that philanthropic giving is not entirely unprompted, as studies cited in Chapters 2 and 3 identify solicitation as a key driver of giving (for e.g. Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011). Gifting decisions are typically made in response to information about non-profit organisations; their work and the populations they serve - information that this chapter finds is shaped and manipulated by fundraisers as they attempt to make and personalise the presents that they imagine givers wish to give. In doing so, this thesis furthers both Krause (2014) and Barman's (2007) arguments that the fundraising tactics employed by organisations can contribute to controlling and limiting donors' freedom of choice as to where to place gifts. As such, this research highlights far greater agency for individual fundraisers, than the literature explored in the introductory chapters to this thesis indicates, as they actively select and shape organisational narratives and seek to control the information with which donors make gifting decisions.

Chapter 7: The Laboured Gift

This chapter draws together the key findings from Chapters 5 and 6 and attempts to explore them within the context of the mediated gift field. As outlined in Chapter 3, this concept draws on the work of Krause (2014), Barman (2007) and Dalsgaard (2007) to define the arena in which fundraisers' practice can be situated, as well as to identify the other actors within this arena that orient and shape fundraisers gift solicitation practices. Building on from the description of fundraisers' approach to gift construction and reciprocation, in Chapter 6, this chapter will examine the labour involved from both fundraisers and these actors in creating these reciprocal gifts. In doing do, it includes the voices of both fundraiser and non-fundraising participants, as well as findings from the secondary analysis of donors' interviews to expand and discuss the picture of the mediated gift field that emerges. Additionally, the chapter draws upon a range of gift theories, fundraising texts and philanthropic literature in unpicking and exploring the application of the concept of a wider, more complex philanthropic field to this empirical study of fundraisers' practice.

Explored in more depth over the following sections, the chapter presents three factors that the findings of this study suggest play an integral role in determining the nature of relationships within the mediated gift field:-

1. The positioning and actions of donors, staff and recipients (in relation to the concept of the reciprocal gift relationship).
2. The reframing of fundraisers as socially skilled gift managers.
3. The implications of the variegated approach to reciprocal gift relationships.

7.1   Defining the mediated gift field: identifying key actors

Chapter 3 proposed that an analysis of how fundraising practice influences and shapes both philanthropic gifting and the practice of non-profit organisations would benefit from developing a view of the philanthropic world as a mediated gift field – in which givers, fundraisers, non-profit and recipients were all actors in their own right. This would allow for a consideration of how the expectations and actions of one set of actors influence the actions of others in the field. In turn, I argue that this facilitates a move away from previous

dyadic and subjective considerations of charitable giving and considerations of fundraising as a technical task but rather to understand it as a social relation. The particular strength of this approach with reference to the research questions is that it allows for a significant focus on the practice of fundraisers, but also on the relationships, interactions between and particular agency of other actors in the field. Additionally, moving the level of field of study to that of non-profit organisations as individual mediated gift fields, assists with identifying patterns of behaviour across and within individual mediated gift fields (Vaughan, 2008).

 In doing so, as a researcher, I have been enabled to consider how the practices, and social narratives of fundraisers may impact the shape of philanthropic giving and the ways in which they drive repeat charitable gifting to their own organisations. In Chapter 5 this research has found that in their efforts to establish a corps of loyal, repeat givers fundraisers pursue "the ideal gift relationship" – that of the personal reciprocal relationship. Chapter 6 considered the effort and labour, on the part of fundraisers, that goes into producing and materialising this ideal gift relationship. In the process, I have identified the role of both donors and staff in producing the objects – namely the gift package and personalised gift – around which these relationships are actively constructed. The following sections briefly consider the position of each of these actors within the field and identifies further contestations and implications that these may produce and the impact these may have on fundraisers capacity to maintain and increase gifting from individuals to non-profit organisations.

7.1.1   Donors' unexpressed gifting expectations

Secondary data analysis of donor's accounts, within the theoretical framework of this thesis, confirms previous research findings, as well as the concept within prior analyses of generic gift giving that purchasing a gift is "truly *work* "(Chevalier, 2014, p. 57, Mauss [1954] 2011; Schwartz [1967] 1990). McDonald et al (2011) suggest that philanthropic gift giving can be viewed as a way of "expressing a form of moral individualism" (p.9). Yet, what also emerges is the idea that givers need to work hard to find and secure gifts that meet their particular conception of what society should or could be; and accordingly, what they believe the recipient of their gift is most in need of (Chevalier, 2014; Silber, 1998; Moody, 2008). Major donors' accounts from this research abound with descriptions of the labour and effort

involved in defining what kind of gifts they wish to give; identifying the recipients they wish to give to; and then ensuring that their gifts fulfil both their needs and the social impact that they are seeking. These accounts chime with research by Breeze (2010) that finds that, no matter what their level of wealth or at what level they give, givers to charity engage in a similar amount of mental and emotional labour in choosing where to place their charitable gifts. By way of example, philanthropist John Stone describes the process he and his family have engaged in, in seeking projects to fund that align with his gifting interests and outlook:-

> *"We really started with a blank piece of paper. We sought advice… [which] got us thinking about how we could achieve the biggest effect with the money we had. We developed some criteria for our giving… and we decided to focus on three areas… our 'pilot portfolio' of ten projects includes investments in organisations that are small, medium and large because we decided to experience being involved in all types of charities. We have enjoyed a wonderful time… visiting our first ten projects. We are now deciding which we should support… as a result of seeing their work."* (quoted in Breeze, 2008, p. 6).

Notably, John Stone's quote above, whilst outlining the labour involved in choosing where and what to give, also highlights the ways in which many donors express gaining great rewards from their giving whether it be the general sense of well-being gained from doing a "good" thing; a sense of giving back to society; social approval; joy; relationship and connection with beneficiaries or others working towards the same conception of the public good as they are, which chimes with findings in similar studies into the motivations for philanthropic and charitable giving (e.g. Breeze & Lloyd, 2013; Bekkers &Wiepking, 2007). As John Stone remarks above, *"we have enjoyed a wonderful time"*, other donors in the sample used terms to describe the satisfaction gained from giving such as:-

> *"It is wonderful to hope that I will have made a difference."*
>
> *(*Heather Beckwith in Breeze, 2010, p. 15)

Dr James Martin suggests that giving has, for him, brought a much wider impact:-

> *"It [giving] has been the most exciting and fascinating opportunity and it has changed my life for the better."* (quoted in Breeze, 2010, p. 19)

Whereas Mike Oglesby (quoted in Ibid, p.25) builds on the idea that making a difference brings a further sense of achievement:-

> *"There is no doubt that on a personal level it is extremely satisfying to feel that you are making a difference and to see very real results."*

As does Andrew Wates (quoted in Breeze, 2011, p. 28):-

> *"The satisfaction doesn't come from giving the money away but from seeing the impact it has had, knowing that a small amount of money has changed lives in some way"*

Interestingly, when these donors accounts are re-analysed within the particular interpretative lens of this study in terms of seeking to understand what donors *expect* from *organisations* these same givers express a desire to *keep experiencing* this "warm-glow"; and describe how they seek out repeat gifts, new projects, impact and expect both feedback and interaction with organisations in order to meet this desire (Andreoni, 1990). For example, philanthropist Dr James Martin, quoted above, goes on to say:-

> *"When something [you give to] is successful, you want to increase its success… it's far better to spend it [your money] whilst you are alive because you can be involved and make sure it is being spent well. In my old age I will enjoy meeting with, and talking to, all these brilliant people that are involved with the James Martin 21st Century School [which is funded by Dr Martin]"* (quoted in Breeze 2011, p. 19).

Thus, it can be reasonably extrapolated from secondary analysis of donors' accounts of their gifting, as McDonald et al (2011) repeatedly note, that philanthropic givers do want and expect tangible displays of gratitude and regard in return for their gift, that will materialise and affirm the intangible social and psychological rewards that their gifts may generate and "it is up to the organisation to find out what" these materialised returns may be. (p.177).

In relation to these findings, this research presents in Chapters 5 and 6 fundraisers' descriptions of how they interpret what these expectations are and the ways in which they respond in order to fulfil these often unexpressed and undefined expectations. At the heart of these activities is the goal of encouraging the donor to stay with them and their cause, rather than seeking these rewards elsewhere. As such they seek to make the "hard work" of choosing a repeat gift easier, by providing tangible evidence of the achievement of their rewards, as well as social connection and new ways to service these desires in the form of

renewed and revitalised gift packages developed from the charity's wider strategic framework. The result is the idealised reciprocal gift model outlined in Chapters 5 and 6, as fundraisers seek to fulfil these key reciprocal expectations that come from donors' descriptions of their giving. However, when matched with fundraisers' narratives and the behaviours of other actors, especially staff and recipients, within the field, key areas of alignment and contestation that both constrain and provide opportunities for action by fundraisers in their stated goals of establishing the ideal reciprocal gift relationship begin to develop. Thereby providing avenues to further explore fundraisers' capacity to influence donors' giving behaviour and the ways in which donors' gifts can be and are spent by the non-profit organisation.

7.1.2   Detached and ambivalent non-fundraising staff

As observed in Chapter 6 and section 7.1.1 above, the constructed reciprocal relationship and associated gift packages generate a sense of obligation expressed by fundraisers to provide givers with constant feedback on the gift sought and given, as well as access to staff and beneficiaries as means to simulate and construct the relationships that donors expect from their gifting. To ensure the authenticity of these approaches, fundraisers in this study consistently described the need to elicit project data, stories, and non-fundraising staffs' (especially senior and project experts) participation in maintaining the narrative of connection between givers, the organisation and its beneficiaries. This is described as an ongoing process, that requires persistent chasing and input from fundraisers, as well as a certain level of tact and diplomacy. For example, Susan individual and major donor fundraiser at Roofs observes: -

> "Sometimes they [non-fundraising staff] see fundraising as a little bit of an annoying group of people: - 'Oh god, they're wanting to know this; they're wanting to know that'. So as long as we try and explain why we want it and what we are trying to do, people usually sort of go: - 'Oh yeah, alright then, I can see why you need this', and will sort of get back to me on things. But yes, sometimes we can be seen as the little jack russells that just won't go away."

A number of fundraisers participating in the study identify a similar tension to that described by Susan above, in which they feel that they are often perceived as overly

demanding by non-fundraising colleagues. Indeed, fundraisers' concerns that non-fundraising staff and charity leadership generally have a misconception of the inputs required in terms of relationship building and nurturing is to a large extent reflected in non-fundraising participants' apparent detachment and ambivalence towards these elements of gift solicitation. In some instances, this ambivalence is indicative of the nature of the non-fundraising participant's role and their positioning in the organisation in relation to fundraisers and in terms of the size of the organisation. For example, two non-fundraising staff participants are human resources managers in a large and a major organisation with little requirement to participate in the fundraising process attached to their roles. Where staff do describe more involvement and engagement in fundraising they are either involved in front-line work that could be seen to rely on the financial resources secured by fundraisers such as direct service delivery to beneficiaries; or engaged in work that could be viewed as mutually contributing to the fundraising process such as marketing and public relations or proposal development.

In these latter cases, non-fundraising staff are able to justify and rationalise the extra work involved in providing project data and information to create the gift packages needed by fundraisers, when viewed as a means to resource the work that they sought to do, as well as improve their own service to beneficiaries. Ruby, head of operations and volunteering at See Again, explains what she perceives to be the link between the requirement for project data to improve service delivery and the way this also services the fundraising team's needs: -

> "It [fundraisers' information and impact data requests] is a blessing in disguise, because it enables me to be able to get on and support this huge team I look after and reaches many people... Because then we can say, this is the impact that we have made on these people, which I believe ultimately will empower the submissions that the fundraising teams are making to grants and trusts and other donors."

Non-fundraising front-line staff , like Ruby, often express an enthusiasm for participating in the fundraising process with regards to providing information and stories with which fundraisers construct gift packages. However, significant tensions were revealed in staff and fundraisers' assessments of what work or services are most needed or valuable to the

organisations' recipients. As such what types of information are necessary and what stories should and could be relayed to donors, as well as the timing of gift solicitations remain highly contested issues, as seen on page 150. This often gives rise to tensions within the field as staff and fundraisers negotiate which projects require funds to be secured via fundraising - and subsequently what sort of information is needed when and where - as fundraisers work to the differing time-frames and demands of service-delivery in the case of non-fundraising staff and charity versus those embodied in the constructed gift cycles in which fundraisers operate. Susan, fundraiser from Roofs, provides an example of how fundraisers' and non-fundraisers' differing time-scales and perspectives of what activities are most suited to fundraising may manifest:-

> *"Our reserves are looking very healthy, so they're [charity leadership] saying we should invest in it now and it will go up in value. Which is great, and we need the property, but Anne-marie [fellow fundraiser] and I are like: 'Wait! There's this big window where actually we could bring in half of that money without having to use our reserves if you can give us three years or something like that, we might be able to make a dent in it'. As opposed to us just buying the property and then trying to retrospectively fundraise against that. It won't have half the impact... in terms of engaging givers."*

An additional and related finding regarding non-fundraising participants' understanding of fundraising, is the differing perspectives of staff and fundraisers with regards to the importance of maintaining ongoing relationships and communications between the donor and the organisation and, more importantly, the extent to which staff are required to participate. Non- fundraising staff often do not recognise either the need for or importance of ongoing feedback and direct reciprocal interaction between themselves and the donor between requests for gifts, something that fundraisers insist is vital to maintaining relationships with givers. For example, CEO Simon at Dreams, relays a very different understanding of the link between nurturing and developing ongoing relationships with donors and the ask than that of Dreams' sole fundraiser:-

> *"Yeah, and [ask the donor] for something very, very specific. So, they [the donor] don't really seem ... you read all the blurb on the issue of fundraising being about nurturing your major donors and this that and the next thing. But it doesn't always*

work - it's not quite - I don't find it really works like that. So, we do keep in contact with our donors, but with this particular group of donors by asking them to buy a table for a tiny grant at our dinner and then they come and donate on the night - they are totally signed up for that. But if I went and said right: 'this is our vision, we want to expand'. I think it would be very hard to get the meeting to give that kind of pitch to them."

On the other hand, Paige head of fundraising at Dreams, highlights the importance of ongoing stewardship and relationship from her perspective:-

"So one of the things I'm looking at is how we can establish… a process of not only making an ask of a donor but stewarding that relationship and also having reporting back for them and repeat engagement. For me a [good] major donor programme is when it's kind of an ongoing thing, as opposed to a donor coming and saying: 'I've got £10,000 to give you, what would you like?'… which for me is much more transactional… you can't expect someone just to do that without any relationship to the organisation."

As a result of these differing understandings of what is needed in terms of investing in relationships with donors, non-fundraising staff interviewed for this study were fairly consistently reticent to get involved with the relationship building elements of fundraising apart from volunteering at events or engaging in face-to-face meetings when specifically asked to do so. Fundraisers in the study report an even greater resistance to becoming involved in ongoing relationship management on the part of trustees and senior volunteers, with a few notable exceptions.

Fundraisers often tried to rationalise this behaviour, expressing a recognition that frontline, project and senior staff and charity leaders are simply not as connected to donors as fundraisers are and have other, more pressing priorities related to meeting beneficiary need. Correspondingly, fundraisers tend to express a strong obligation to ensure that they take on the direct responsibility for controlling and managing the relationships that they have established with donors, often leading to a sense that frontline staff were actively discouraged in engaging with donors, without a fundraisers' input. Frieda, major donor fundraiser from Save the World, explains: -

"If you lose trust in the relationship, you lose the supporter, you lose your £50,000 that might be coming, who is managing that relationship? It was the fundraiser. Who has got the income target? It's the fundraising team. And I know that as fundraisers, you feel that. So, can feel quite protective of your relationships because you know that if your relationship is damaged in any way. If you don't have control of that relationship - that sounds quite harsh in some ways, so I am not sure control's the right word. But if you don't have control and something happens that you were unaware of and you lose that support, everyone comes to you to ask you where is that money? They don't go to the country director who might have had a conversation or a programme lead who influenced in the wrong way, but the fundraising manager managing the relationship."

Interestingly, a number of non-fundraising staff note fundraisers' tight control of the fundraising process and relationships with donors as the reason they remain uninvolved or disinterested in fundraising. Some even feel actively withheld from direct interaction with donors by who they feel are overzealous fundraisers. Paul, national volunteering manager at See Again, describes his experience in the following way:-

"I think the relationship management stuff is hard to talk about anyway from a fundraiser's point of view, but also trying to understand it [is hard] for other members of staff… Some fundraisers in my experience tend to go well: 'they are the donor, so we [the fundraisers] are the people they need to talk to.' And they have a good old chat – that's part of the role. But then what happens when that donor wants to support us in some other way? I get the value fundraisers bring to the organisation, but they still take too much of a stance that this is my role and that is your role."

On the other hand, fundraisers expressed great frustration that their colleagues often did not recognise the level of engagement, commitment and planned interaction invested in these relationships. They often described feeling that they, and the givers with whom they often established close relationships, were viewed as "*pots of money*" by non-fundraising staff (Becky, fundraising support officer). As a result, fundraisers often described themselves as having to constantly "*educate, mentor … and cajole*" (Heather, major donor fundraiser,

County University) other staff members into participating in the giving relationship, especially in those within the gift relationship that require more sustained, personal and face-to-face input. To do so, fundraisers describe how they mimic and piggy-back on the approaches employed in building relationships with givers to conjure up a very human vision of the giver and, thus, the cooperation and participation of their non-fundraising colleagues in gift relationship construction and maintenance. Fundraisers describe intentionally seeking out and establishing relationships with key non-fundraising staff members to advocate for greater interaction between staff and the giver. These non-fundraising staff are often encouraged to meet with donors and share their own personal stories with them. In faith-based organisation, Save the World, non-fundraising staff were asked to pray for givers at weekly staff meetings. In others, front-line and senior staff are asked to consider how they can assist in giving decisions and be present when meeting beneficiaries. At arts organisation, Tunes, artists are encouraged to take time out to meet and build relationships with the givers who have sponsored them and to be part of the teams that host givers at various events. In organisations such as Save the World, Forces for All and St. Sebastian's givers themselves are encouraged to visit staff and share their gifting stories and experiences at events with other potential donors, as well as staff. In encouraging colleagues to participate in these ways, fundraisers draw on many of the narratives used to affirm the value of givers' gifts to construct a corresponding narrative of the very human and generous donor who is deserving of the time, attention and relationship being asked of the non-fundraising staff member.

This research, thus, reveals that, as fundraisers are mediating the meaning of the gift and creating a sense of relationship and connection between the organisation's beneficiaries or worker and the donor; they describe themselves as simultaneously having to engage in as much labour to mediate and demonstrate the value of the donor's gift to frontline and senior staff in order to sustain ongoing and effective reciprocal relationships. However, this process requires that fundraisers maintain control and oversight over staff-donor relationships and interactions, leaving many staff feeling excluded and disconnected both from the organisations' financial supporters and many of the funding decisions related to the work they carry out.

7.1.3 Missing end recipients

Krause (2014) identifies two major ways in which non-profit beneficiary groups are viewed; either "entirely separate" from or "entirely the same" as the organisation (p. 43). In other words beneficiaries are viewed either as clients in receipt of a service that the organisation delivers or as representatives and/or participating members of the non-profit organisation. Both conceptualisations acknowledge that beneficiaries are the *end* recipients of the work and services of the non-profit organisation and, thus, the intended recipients of the institutional grants and, for the purposes of this study of individual gifting to non-profit organisations, philanthropic gifts secured through the organisation's fundraising efforts. This research, however, identifies a similar shift to Krause (2014) in how beneficiaries are perceived and subsequently presented in the course of selecting and presenting of the gift package (see Chapter 6.2) to individual donors, where beneficiaries become part of the "product" presented to donors for appropriation. An understanding of how this shift occurs is aided by a reminder of the idea raised in Chapter 5.4 of the fundraiser as the donor's active exchange partner, where the fundraiser takes on the obligations of the constructed reciprocal gift cycle whilst establishing a narrative of the direct link between the donor's gift and the distant beneficiary. When viewed within the context of the production of gift packages investigated in Chapter 6, this research finds that this narrative of the direct connection between donor's giving activity and beneficiary becomes part of the "object" appropriated by the donor.

Beneficiaries that are presented to donors are hence carefully selected according to the criteria fundraisers determine may appeal to particular donors' sensibilities regarding suitable beneficiary need and how this will appeal to donors' vision of the public good. These needs and the ways in which donors can meet them are emphasized, whilst elements that are deemed unpalatable, inappropriate, unpopular, or simply difficult to explain are de-emphasized. Fundraisers consistently spoke about selecting the right beneficiary for the right donor or group of donors. For example, community fundraiser, Anita, describes how Forces for All represent their various beneficiary groups: -

> *"It depends on the audience to be honest. For example… if I was asking*
>
> *someone in the general public, …. they wouldn't particularly want to know that*

we've just paid some money that has gotten serving forces a nicer carpet and

nicer seats…So from the public's point of views - we are not misleading; we say

we spend money on all these things - but we would probably focus a little more

on or give case studies of somebody who was injured and who's had support

from the charity. Or somebody who yes, he is away on deployment for nine

months, but they have a severely disabled child and highlight the support we

have given to that child. So, it's different messaging to different audiences. "

The extract above provides an example of how fundraisers highlight certain things about beneficiaries or particular types of beneficiaries to align with recipient characteristics that they perceive are more likely to trigger specific donors' empathy and, thus, the motivation to give. What is noteworthy is how much influence fundraisers' own views, understandings and "implicit assumptions" about the social positioning of both the donor and the beneficiary, have in this process (Hansen, 2017, p.27). As such, fundraisers often reflect how this process contributes to meeting their own expressed obligation, first identified in Chapter 5, to protect beneficiaries both from potential exploitation and/ or disappointment, as well as misappropriation or misrepresentation by portraying end recipients with as little stigma as possible.

Yet, these beneficiaries do not stand alone when creating the narrative of the gift to be appropriated. What they receive and the outcomes and change they represent are equally important; and together they form part of the wider objects of the gift that fundraisers seek to construct. This is not to say that beneficiaries do not receive any benefit from the donor's gift. However, what is important to note here is that even the benefit received by the recipient becomes part of the final object that the donor can appropriate for the beneficiary. Analysing beneficiaries as part of what defines and gives parameters to the gift package, invites us to consider the consequences of the process of transforming recipients into objects of the gift. At the most basic level, as identified in the extracts above, this process invariably leads to the exclusion from gift narratives of beneficiary groups that are deemed as unpopular; lacking in qualities that would invite empathy on the part of the donor; or including characteristics that fundraisers perceive may be viewed with some negativity by donors (Hansen, 2017; Krause, 2014).

Simultaneously, however, some recipients are required to contribute to and work to maintain the narratives of the imagined beneficiary yet have little say in how they are represented and in what ways they will contribute. Instead, beneficiaries are used as a means to affirm and represent the image of the recipient that the fundraiser is trying to convey by participating as ideal representatives of recipient groups at events; providing the content for gift packages in terms of stories and images; engaging with donors who visit projects; and in many cases perform for donors at concerts and events such as the one described by Stephen, fundraising manager from Breaking Free :-

> *"But for us, it [beneficiary performances in prison] is a really powerful thing to take people to because that's it, that's the heart of our work. In the starkest environment sometimes.... each concert is different, depending on who is putting it on. The last one I went to they called it like Karaoke Classics or something like that. It was a very clever way of hiding the fact that people weren't that good. But the great thing about that, is that another wing came in to watch and it also gave them permission to join in. So, you actually really had this kind of joyous atmosphere in this really stark surrounding. People would open up their hands in the air and you would see all the self-harm kind of things on their arms. And just this crazy contrast, which I think is really powerful for people to see."*

There, thus, can be identified in fundraisers' account of donors' interactions with beneficiaries, a sense of the beneficiary as being an actor within the mediated gift field that is merely observed or "gazed upon", a passive recipient of the gifts that are directed towards them from distant generous donors via the non-profit organisation.

Ultimately, however, the tightly controlled image and managed interactions with beneficiaries' results in the exclusion of most end recipients from participating directly in the reciprocal gift relationship. As such although beneficiaries undoubtedly do receive benefit from donors' gifts, they do not participate in decisions about what kind of benefit they will receive, or the conditions under which they will receive them. Most notably, however, they are also excluded from the benefits that the social connections and solidarity that are established between givers and recipients in face to face giving cycles (Komter, 1996).

7.2   Fundraisers as socially and emotionally skilled gift exchange partners

Drawing on the analysis of donors', non-fundraising staffs' and recipients' behaviours and positioning in relation to fundraisers' approaches to gift solicitation and relationship management, this chapter finds that not only do fundraisers take on responsibility for determining and meeting the reciprocal expectations of donors, but they also actively corral and direct staff, trustees, volunteers and recipients into participating in the performances and rituals related to creating and maintaining multiple reciprocal gift relationships. Fundraisers in this study seemed to have an intuitive sense of the rules and norms surrounding reciprocal gift relationships – especially with regard to the requirement to display and convey the correct emotions and feelings associated with gift giving. McDonald et al (2011) and Breeze (2017) in their study of interactions between major donors and fundraisers report similar findings that fundraisers reflect an implicit understanding of emotional drivers of the gift exchange and a talent for activating these emotions to maintain gift cycles within the mediated gift field gained both from the training and socialisation associated with their own position within the mediated gift field (see Chapter 5.3). Berking (1999) identifies gratitude as "the emotional norm institutionalized in the gift-giving form of interaction" (p.21). The centrality of gratitude both in the establishment and the maintenance of any gift cycle was first noted by Simmel ([1950] 1996) who identified the emotion as the inner "moral force that brings us to return the gift" given (Komter, 2007, p. 103). In other words, it is the internal feeling of gratitude that prompts a recipient of a gift to engage in and repeat any reciprocal activity. However, in order for this inner gratitude to function as a reciprocal gift, it must be both appropriately displayed and then interpreted as a sincere display by the person to whom the reciprocation is directed (Hyde, [1979]2012; Komter, 2007; Gouldner, 1973; Berking, 1999). This is a principle that fundraisers repeatedly expressed throughout this study, that the ability to be grateful and gracious is often viewed as a virtue within the profession. For example, Heather major gifts fundraiser at County University, when describing what attributes she believes make for a good fundraiser notes:-

> "*I think there are some people who are more natural at it than others. In our own department, I would pick out those who are natural and who have a sort of natural ability to be polite and to be respectful and to be thankful and grateful to the donor.*"

However, this chapter identifies two key issues related to fundraisers' bid to facilitate the expression of gratitude and regard to donors. The first is that the "gratitude that matters" (Lainer-Vos, 2014, p. 468) - i.e. that of the end recipient imagined by the donor and or those who work with the recipient - is not expressed or displayed by the end beneficiary either because they are distanced and often kept very much apart from the donor in the case of recipients (see section 7.3.1) ; or they do not have nor seek a direct relationship with the donor and are therefore largely ambivalent about the need to express gratitude in the case of staff and trustees (see section 7.1.2). Secondly, as further observed in section 7.1.2, a culturally inappropriate reciprocal expression of gratitude risks being perceived as the end of the gift cycle by the original giver, either because they understand the obligatory expectations they had when giving to be dispensed with or because the display has been considered inappropriate or insincere (Hyde [1979]2012; Derrida, 1992; Komter, 2007). As noted in Chapter 6.3 the process of determining what displays of gratitude and regard matter is achieved in what are essentially highly unequal relationships. It is after all the donor who decides whether the right kind of, and adequate amount, of gratitude has been displayed in order to satisfy their expectations, as well as to prompt an additional gift (see also Moody, 2008; Ostrander & Schervisch, 1990). In this instance, it remains up to the recipient, or in this case, the fundraiser as the recipient's exchange partner to determine what levels and activities are appropriate, as it is unlikely that donors will give expression to these needs, even if they are actively aware of what they may be (Moody, 2008; Dalsgaard, 2007; McDonald et al, 2011). The problem, thus, for fundraisers is "how to create and sustain the appropriate feeling" of gratitude and regard within themselves, and those with whom donors interact, in order to ensure that is it displayed and communicated in a way that will encourage further gifting from the donor and keep the gift cycle going (Hochschild ([1983] 2012, p. 138).

In her study of the nature of the fundraising profession, Breeze (2017) suggests that the work fundraisers carry out can be framed both as emotion and gratitude work. In her analysis Breeze (2017) employs sociologist, Arlie Hochschild's (1979), theory of emotion work to frame an understanding of what fundraisers say they do to ensure that they

manage to overcome the limitations outlined above and engender and display the correct amount of gratitude to maintain the appropriate reciprocal balance within the mediated gift field. Hochschild (1979) uses the term emotion work to describe the conscious effort that an individual engages in to engender the appropriate emotion or feeling to match a particular situation. What counts as appropriate emotion or feeling, and more importantly what is likely to be interpreted as a sincere display of the appropriate emotion is determined by the social rules and expectations surrounding the situation or social interaction that is taking place – in this case the gift exchange. For example, feeling happy at weddings or, in the case of giving, feeling grateful for a gift received is the socially accepted and appropriate feeling. However, the level to which that feeling is expressed and in what ways is determined and interpreted on an individual cognitive and cultural level (Hochschild, 1979; Bolton, 2005; Moody, 2008). Hochschild's (1979) theory is useful in that it highlights the work that goes into not only managing one's own feelings, but also the work involved in engendering and sustaining the socially and culturally appropriate feeling in others, as well as the ongoing labour required in displaying such feeling in the appropriate manner at the appropriate time to the appropriate individual (Bolton, 2005). Breeze (2017) builds on this theory to suggest that we can begin understand that fundraisers are involved in a "labour of gratitude" which Hyde ([1979] 2012) identifies as being central to the gift in order to maintain the reciprocal gift relationship by taking on the burden of repeatedly expressing the gratitude of recipients, whether they be the ultimate beneficiary or the non-profit organisation, over a protracted period of time (p. 41).

Chapters 5 and 6 identify how fundraisers establish themselves as donors' exchange partners and take on the associated obligations of the mediated gift, especially that of the expression and display of the gratitude and regard. However, what emerges from this study is the extent of the implicit and explicit labour that goes into displaying gratitude; and more notably the social and emotional skill involved in determining what counts as appropriate displays of gratitude within the numerous and varied reciprocal gift exchanges that fundraisers feel responsible for maintaining. Two subtle, but notable processes from this part of the data analysis emerge at this point. Not only do fundraisers recount how they take on the burden of determining and displaying adequate and appropriate gratitude on behalf of the recipient non-profit organisation and its beneficiaries, they also spend time

building up and describing the gratitude they personally feel towards donors. Fundraisers across the sample relayed how they felt donors were particularly deserving of these feelings of gratitude. Thus, fundraisers describe expressing both the apparent gratitude of the beneficiaries of the gifts they have secured from donors, but also a genuine feeling of gratitude that they have developed towards the donor. It could be argued, as Dalsgaard (2007) does, that this obligation is a manifestation of what fundraisers consider to be their professional responsibility. However, fundraisers also recount establishing close relationships with givers in which they begin to identify with what they believe to be "the sacrifices of the donor" (Dalsgaard, 2007, p.106). This bears out, in descriptions by fundraisers, of givers as not being vastly wealthy or giving gifts that go beyond what they initially intended. Several interviewees go as far as to describe the gifts given as "sacrificial". In this regard, we observe fundraisers engaging in a process of "deep acting" described by Hochschild ([1983]2011) as the changing not only of one's external actions and environment as a means to display emotion (referred to Hochschild as "surface acting"), but also the internal corralling and control of the way one actually feels to ensure the sincerity of an emotional display such as gratitude (p.36). This requires a level of emotional input, management and reflection on the part of the fundraiser that goes well beyond developing mere written and verbal expressions of thanks, as noted by Heather on page 179.

Hence, fundraisers express their own moral obligations to *feel*, as well as display gratitude themselves towards donors and how they seek to manage their own emotions in order to ensure that the gratitude and regard experienced by donors is indeed sincere. Stephen, sole fundraiser at small prison charity, Breaking Free, tries to capture his sense of obligation to the donor and how he nourishes and manages his feelings and the way he coveys them: -

> "This role has definitely brought me closer [to donors]. I think it has made it more
>
> personal. Because I think when I write a letter now, I think if my Mum read
>
> this how would she react, which I think is a good way of thinking generally…. it is a
>
> bit personal and you are thinking actually that the majority of these people [i.e.
>
> donors] know us quite intimately, like a family member connection or are involved
>
> in the cause. I think I've felt a bit more exposed as a fundraiser in that sense, as I
>
> think my actions, because it is just me I am a bit more accountable for what
>
> happens."

In a similar manner, fundraisers also relay feeling the obligation to control and minimize any negative feelings towards donors or colleagues that donors may be exposed to and which could risk compromising the gift relationship. To the point, that even in interviews, fundraisers quickly return to what they perceive is a positive, gratitude-filled narrative when discussing processes that had gone wrong or had displeased them in some way. A story relayed by Heather, from County University, provides an example: -

> "So for me, I have to keep the outward focus to all the donors, that you're all smiley and you're all jolly, when behind the scenes sometimes things weren't quite as easy. One of the things that happened just before the public launch, the restructure took place and we were issued all these papers. The following evening we had to go and launch at the top of the Gherkin, the whole of the [fundraising] campaign. So from a morale point of view, on those four staff, it was very, very tough, To actually say: 'Look I know we have just been dealt all these papers, please just park it. Come on we're gonna raise the game; we're gonna go out there, we're gonna just storm this launch. We're gonna smile. We've got everything in place and everything is as best and as brilliant as we can get it.' It was a fantastic evening and people are still talking about it today."

Yet, fundraisers also often talk about feeling disappointment that staff and charity leadership do not seem share these feelings of gratitude and consequent obligation that such gratitude would generate to participate in maintaining good donor experiences and the narrative of connection with the beneficiary and organisation that donor's seek. What is worth noting at this juncture is that fundraisers consequently express feeling an obligation to either engender these feelings of gratitude within staff or failing that to take on the burden of their gratitude and emotion displays as well. Thus, we see a process whereby fundraisers not only take on the burden of displaying and expressing the gratitude of recipients and the organisation, but also engaging in the emotional labour of attempting to engender feelings of sincere thanks not only within themselves, but also non-fundraising staff as they seek to co-opt them into maintaining an ongoing gift cycle. Where this fails, fundraisers describe taking on the burden entirely, or directly managing and overseeing any contact or interactions between staff and donors. This provides a possible contributory

explanation for the views formed by some non-fundraising staff of fundraisers as being overly demanding or territorial about donor relationships.

An added complication from the fundraisers perspective and drawn out in section 7.1.1 exploring donors' own agency and expectations in relation to their giving is that different individuals gain a sense of regard and recognition in ways that are inherently tied to the donor's social identity both in the real world and the giving identity that he/she is seeking to carve out for themselves, and thus, vary greatly. The problem is, is that even if donors themselves are clear about what sort of recognition and regard they are seeking and expecting, it is highly unlikely that they will communicate their expectations to fundraisers (McDonald et al, 2011). This is tied up with the paradox at the heart of the philanthropic gift, which this study has regularly identified - that it is driven both by altruistic and self-interested motivations - which fundraisers seek to both manipulate and keep in balance in order to maintain an ongoing gifting cycle (see for example Bekkers & Wiepking, 2007, McDonald et al, 2011). However, this often leaves fundraisers questioning whether the recognition they do provide is either enough or too much. For example, Georgina, major gifts fundraiser at Tunes remarks:-

> "I mean so much of what we do [in terms of expressing gratitude and regard] is a little bit intangible to know exactly… if we do actually acknowledge them [donors]."

In this study, it emerges, how misunderstood and under-recognised this emotional aspect of the fundraiser's practice is, both in donors' accounts in which fundraisers are generally absent, as well as those non-fundraising colleagues accounts who appear to be largely detached from the fundraising function of their respective organisations. Various theorists from Simmel ([1950] 1996) to Hyde ([1979] 2012) and Berking (1999) highlight the importance that emotions such as gratitude and regard play in maintaining gift cycles – gift exchange is emotional work. A continuous, ongoing and successful gift cycle presents a careful and skilful management and display of emotions and maintenance of a sometimes fragile and tenuous gift exchange relationship. Within analyses of generic gift cycles the focus is on how individuals manage their own feelings. This chapter reveals the requirement for fundraisers not only to manage and work on their own feelings and emotions, but to also

to engender, manipulate and manage these emotions in others – namely donors and fellow charity workers in order to achieve the ideal reciprocal gift relationship. From the consideration of the positioning of other actors in relation to fundraisers within the mediated gift field in this chapter there emerges an understanding of fundraisers as operating both as socially and emotionally skilled gift exchange partners and managers of the gift solicited from donors and directed towards remote beneficiaries.

7.3   Industrial fundraising vs elite relationships – an oversimplification?

Chapter 5 identified four broad types of simulated reciprocal gift relationships from fundraisers' descriptions of their practice. The identification of these relationship types has been key to singling out the dominant description of the ideal model of reciprocal gift relationship that fundraisers generally seek to work towards and that has been further analysed in Chapters 6 and 7. However, it is important to acknowledge that the highlighting of relationship types, and the subsequent focus on the construction and management of the ideal reciprocal relationship is to a large degree a simplification of a complex set of points and ideas brought together for exploratory and analytical purposes. This point also reveals one of the limitations of particularly the donor data sourced for this study – and consequently many of the previous studies that seek to understand what givers gain and expect from their giving, which is the overwhelming focus on the gifting motivations and practices of the wealthiest donors (Breeze, 2017; Schervish, 2006; Odendahl, 1990; Hanson, 2015; Silver, 2007). The same focus on the donors of the largest gifts is also reflected in the responses of fundraisers in this study who largely talk about relationships with what they term "high value" to major donors and the extra labour that goes into maintaining relationships with these donors and what they perceive to constitute the ideal gifting relationship.

This could be attributed to the idea that these substantial gifts are framed to a large extent, both within the new data gathered for this study and the fundraising management literature, as being the most desirable and transformative of philanthropic gifts – often representing the apex of giving and fundraising models such as the donor pyramid or fundraising ladder, which depict givers as giving and engaging with the organisation at ever increasing levels over a period of time, thereby providing a stable and increasing income

stream (see Appendix F.). The second contributing factor is, as pointed out above, that the gifting practices of wealthier philanthropists tend to be the most visible and easily accessible for philanthropy and charitable giving scholars; and represents the research and learning that many fundraisers draw on to shape and frame their own strategies and practices (Sergeant & Shang, 2014; Burnett, 2002; Breeze, 2017). A final contributory factor related specifically to the findings of this study is the strong identity fundraisers delineate for themselves as moral guardians of the gift relationship, as outlined in the previous sections of this chapter. Subsequently, they may have avoided speaking about and describing implementing and managing what many described with derision as undesirable transactional gifting relationships or differentiating between givers.

However, as this chapter highlights, simulating and building genuine personal reciprocal relationships is burdensome emotional work. Berking (1999) has observed the closer and more intimate the gift relationship the more "time and effort that someone puts into interpersonal exchange becomes larger, the display of thanks is required to be longer and more intense" (p. 22). Correspondingly, the data shows that organisations rely on numerous gifts from numerous individuals rather than a small group of major donors to secure the financial resources they need. Both Chapters 4 and 5 observe that only 12 of the 26 fundraisers interviewed were responsible for fundraising from what these organisations termed major donors; the remaining fundraisers were engaged in fundraising from low level givers and the community; with five focussed solely on fundraising from low level givers and the community (see Tables 6 and 8). As such, it is worth reiterating that even the smallest organisation within the dataset managed gifting relationships with over 400 donors. It is no surprise, therefore, that given the emotional nature of, time, and resources needed to achieve and maintain the desired number of reciprocal relationships, fundraisers describe how they seek out various means to routinise many of the reciprocal elements involved; and the subsequent development or sliding into more transactional type relationships the larger the donor pool becomes and the more stretched any individual fundraisers' emotional and social capacity becomes. It is additionally important to hold in mind the finding in Chapter 5.3.1, of the sometimes pivotal role that routinised and transactional fundraising approaches play in identifying and recruiting donors with little or no initial social connection to the non-profit organisation. However, this chapter

subsequently finds, in light of the multiple and complex relationships that fundraisers manage, many lower-level donors simply remain at the transactional end of the relationship spectrum, as fundraisers focus their efforts on securing the largest gifts possible from a smaller pool of wealthier donors.

Nevertheless, there remains a strident and consistently expressed desire on the part of fundraisers across the sample to enhance routinised donor experiences and avoid slippage into completely transactional relationships in which the focus becomes asking for gifts, rather than establishing mutually beneficial relationships that can be developed and grown over time. Victoria, legacies and individual donor fundraiser from See Again, provides a good example of the approach taken by fundraisers in the sample, to achieve this: -

> *"I sort of slightly introduced a sort of structure around how to do it. We record if someone is an enquirer or a pledger or a giver... One of their mailings per year they might get a specially tailored letter to go with it. This year or the year before, we invited them to the special donor lunch. So, there's some level of interaction. If they let us know [about intended future gifts], we will send an acknowledgement and we will try to treat them a bit differently. But it is all time and resource. It is not quite consistent just yet. The intention is there to have all these little streams so they get special mailings; they get a covering letter that says [it's special]; the gift gets acknowledged at different times [throughout the year]."*

A further notable finding to emerge from a consideration of relationship types, is the manner in which fundraisers use differing levels of reciprocal relationships as a way to distinguish particular gifts and donors from others, as both a means to convey regard and recognition, but also to encourage new gifts as well as additional or larger gifts from existing donors. Thus, fundraisers utilise different levels and quality of reciprocal gifts to "dramatize" the boundaries between and across different types of givers, and subtly utilise the pressure of peers to generate ever increasing gifts (Schwartz, [1967] 1996, p. 79; Silver, 2015). At arts organisation Tunes, for example, this is achieved through the creation of a tiered patron programme in which donors are placed within a specific giving tier which includes elements such as more or less interaction with artists, access to rehearsals and special performances,

as well as acknowledgement of their gift in programmes and other written materials the more substantial their annual gift. The aim is to identify some gifts as more meaningful or valuable than others, without compromising or devaluing other gifts, or prompting the termination of any other gift relationship, whilst also providing incentive for individual donors to increase their own giving.

One of the interesting phenomena to emerge from the data, is that donors too seem to have an expectation that gifts will be delineated and distinguished, the more substantial they become. Whilst there may not be an expectation of recognition or regard at the point of giving, meeting senior staff and beneficiaries, and having their gifts publicly (yet subtly) acknowledged, as well as accessing "behind the scenes" sort of experiences become an expected part of the way in which fundraisers and charities will express their regard for the donor and recognise their gift whilst maintaining the narrative of the gift given with no strings attached. Philanthropist Lloyd Dorfman provides a good example of this socialisation and the kinds of reciprocation particularly larger donors come to expect: -

> *"The Abbey recognises that we are supporting them to enable them to build a new museum and gallery, so why wouldn't they want to establish strong relationships with their donors and invite them to special occasions?... I know that charities do need to hold these fund-raising events to tell people about their work and build their networks, so we do go to some we're invited to. But the best experiences are normally the special 'money can't buy' ones – for example, my wife was invited to sit and watch a ballet at the Opera House from the wings, which is a very special experience if you're a supporter and love ballet."* (quote in Breeze, 2016 [online]).

As such, an expectation is created of formal recognition and acknowledgement through physical counter-prestations such as repeat thank you letters, donor acknoweldgement lists, newsletters, reports and good administration of the gift, but also through formal and informal occasions in which the donor is hosted and physically welcomed by representatives of the organisation or gets to meet with beneficiaries. However, in a bid to distinguish gifts and fulfil donors' expectations of due recognition for their giving, this study also demonstrates the ways in which fundraisers also begin to delineate some gifts and donors

as "more deserving" than others. Thus, the greater the economic value of the gift, the greater access to benefits, more senior staff or a "better" service the donor receives. Once again this is something that donors certainly, those giving larger gifts come to expect. For example, major donor Liz Bramall, explains how she and her husband have different expectations depending on the size of gifts given in economic terms: -

> "We wouldn't normally visit charities that are only asking for a one-off donation of £5,000 or £10,000, but we do visit those we support on a regular basis or to whom we give larger amounts. The visits are partly about making funding decisions, but we also get so much pleasure from seeing the results of our contributions." (quote in Breeze, 2012, p.27)

However, a number of fundraisers in the sample express some discomfort at this process in which it appeared that wealthier donors are treated with more care than others, resulting potentially in the inappropriate acknowledgement and reciprocation of smaller gifts from donors of more limited means. Becky, from Save the World, provides one of the most eloquent expressions of this concern: -

> "But even say a donor who gives £6,000 versus a donor who gives £10,000 a year. Just that £4,000 difference. It may not be much to the £10,000 a year donor to give that extra four, but that one who gives £6,000 a year, it may be so sacrificial. Why does that £6,000 not get the same service level as the £10,000? You know, why there is there a cut off level at £10,000? I mean, that it is a bit flexible in our team. And why when we are looking at people to contact and invite to things, do we tend to focus on those who can give the most? Ideally, as a charity, we would be offering that level of service to everybody. But then the man hours that you would need. It's all such a way off, isn't it? How do we keep our running costs at a good level - not taking too much of the gifts that are given on staffing and [administration]?"

Yet, as Becky observes towards the end of the extract above, fundraisers feel somewhat restricted to this approach both in terms of what they have to offer donors and in terms of their own emotional capacity to maintain multiple relationships. The aim is to encourage increasing numbers of donors to stay within the reciprocal gift relationship and to feel

obligated to give ever increasing gifts to the organisation as fundraisers feel pressured to secure ever increasing income targets. Given the context within which fundraises operate many feel that all they have got to give these donors is differing levels of regard, recognition and access to relationships and interactions with staff, trustees and beneficiaries, which means that some givers will simply receive more back for their giving than others; as individual fundraisers' emotional, social and physical capacity is limited and further constrained by the positioning of other actors within the mediated gift field. Fundraisers narratives abound with the desire to better thank and acknowledge givers across the board, as well as encourage them to continue giving to the organisation, whilst appearing to prioritise the needs and expectations of the wealthiest donors. Thus, this thesis comes full circle to the questions first raised in Chapters 3, 5 and 6 of the level to which fundraising organisations are effective in providing socio-economically neutral and obligation free conduits through which to channel free gifts from those who have to unknown strangers.

7.4   Summary

Drawing on the findings of previous chapters, this chapter has sought to situate and understand fundraisers' practice in relation to other actors – namely donors, staff and beneficiaries – within the wider mediated gift field. The chapter highlights the social skill and emotional labour required by fundraisers in meeting and mediating the various expectations and responses of each of these actors in order to keep the reciprocal gift cycles at the heart of their practice going. In conjunction with the findings in Chapters 5 and 6, the findings of this chapter suggest fundraisers and, thus, the organisations they raise funds for may have far greater agency in determining and managing the nature of the relationships they have with individual donors than is traditionally recognised. As noted in previous chapters the argument presented by many that non-profit organisations may be losing the capacity to shape their own practice due to the undue influence of donors or that they are compromising their moral standing through the implementation of questionable "industrial" mass fundraising techniques can be considered too simplistic (see for example Hanson, 2015 and Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009). Instead this research suggests that the response of fundraisers, their level of social skill, emotional capacity and the specific context within which they operate play a significant role in shaping the gift relationships that fuel the undertakings of the non-profit sector. This ability or the agency of fundraisers to influence

what sort of relationships donors have with non-profit organisations raises several questions for consideration that will be addressed in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Implications for Practice

This concluding chapter summarises the arguments presented throughout the thesis and reiterates the key findings in order to draw final conclusions about fundraisers' impact and influence in gifting practices within the non-profit sector in the UK. It discusses those findings in relation to the research questions, notes study limitations, and comments on the conclusions drawn in relation to fundraising practice. Finally, the chapter concludes with a reflection on how the findings of this research may contribute to current theoretical conceptions of gifting to strangers via organisations and proposes some lines for future research.

This study explores the nature of the role that fundraisers play in shaping giving in the charitable sector arguing that fundraising and its social impact is largely underexplored and under theorized both within academic and policy debates. In this sense this thesis has fulfilled several objectives: -it adds to a sociological understanding of fundraising and giving to non-profits; it has introduced and applied alternative concepts to understanding the task of fundraising which has allowed for a closer exploration of the social role and influence of fundraisers; and offers insights into fundraisers' everyday working lives. Rather than being a neutral, technical task of sourcing income or facilitating the gifting practices of donors, fundraising in this study has been found to be one element of the wider social relations at the heart of philanthropic and charitable behaviour. The study has drawn on three main sources of data, including :- fundraisers' descriptions of their everyday practices and interactions with donors and non-fundraising colleagues within the organisations for which they work; discussions with some of their non-fundraising colleagues; as well as secondary analysis of existing data from interview with donors. The findings that emerge from this research have produced some new and original insights, which contribute to a deepening knowledge of gift solicitation practices within the non-profit sector.

To conclude this thesis will restate the questions posed in Chapter 1 that have framed the research overall:

How do professional fundraisers influence the ways in which charitable gifts are solicited and managed in order to meet beneficiary need?

1. What are the everyday solicitation practices that fundraisers engage in, whilst seeking to secure the funding needed to meet beneficiary need?

2. How do fundraisers interact with organisational colleagues to develop these solicitation practices?

3. In what ways do fundraisers influence how gifts are used to meet beneficiary need?

4. How does an analysis of fundraisers' gift solicitation and management practices contribute to our understanding and perceptions of contemporary gift practices?

With these questions in mind, sections 8.1 and 8.2 will provide a summative overview of the answers to these questions. Section 8.3 will continue the process started in theses section by drawing together the wider conclusions about fundraisers and the gift reached throughout the empirical chapters and considers how these depart from current portrayals of the part fundraising has to play within philanthropic giving and the activities of charities. Finally, section 8.4 will outline the theoretical contribution associated with the research findings, before considering the limitations of this current piece of research, the possibilities for future research and drawing this study to a close in sections 8.5 to 8.7.

8.1   Fundraising is more than asking for money

The association between donors' gifting decisions and the solicitation practices of non-profit organisations has been the subject of substantial scrutiny in the thesis. The literature review chapters at the beginning of the thesis noted that wider research suggests that most philanthropic gifts are prompted in some way (Breeze, 2017), leading to a focus on the act of asking as a key trigger of giving to charity (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2007; Bryant et al, 2003; Adloff, 2016). Whilst the current study continues to acknowledge the significance of asking and direct solicitation in driving charitable giving, this research has identified that the task of fundraising constitutes far more than asking for monetary donations or awareness raising. By speaking directly with fundraisers about their day to day practices and what they relay they have to do to secure philanthropic and charitable gifts, a descriptive account of the myriad of tasks that constitute fundraising practice has been compiled and analysed in this

study. A key finding to emerge from these descriptions is that the overall aim of fundraising is to establish ongoing gift relationships between individual givers and the non-profit organisation to aid both the solicitation of new gifts, as well as to generate additional, repeat gifts from what fundraisers and non-profit organisations hope will be increasingly loyal and involved givers. Key to this approach, is the understanding on the part of fundraisers that individuals rarely give to recipients where there is little or no social connection, and are even less likely to engage in repeat gifting if the initial gift has not created a sense of solidarity or connection with a real or imagined recipient. Which supports findings in similar studies seeking to understand repeat charitable gifting and volunteering (McDonald et al 2011; Sargeant & Shang, 2010; Schervish & Havens, 1997; Yörük, 2009).

This finding has enabled the identification and analyses of patterns of practice, both actual and aimed for, within the framework of what this study has identified as reciprocal relationship building and the establishment of ongoing gift cycles in which fundraisers seek to simulate reciprocal gift exchange similar to that described by Mauss ([1954]2011) between givers and distance beneficiaries in which both parties give and receive. Thus, this thesis argues that whilst fundraisers may be accomplished at any number of technical tasks related to gift solicitation, the real accomplishment and value of their work lies in their capacity to create and maintain the appropriate emotional climate in which reciprocal gift relationships can be perpetuated.

Four broad approaches to reciprocal gift relationship management have been identified in fundraisers' narratives which form a spectrum of relationship types that exist between donors and non-profit organisations, and that are bracketed by impersonal transactional and highly personalised relationships at either end (see Figure 1 on p.116 and Table 8 on p. 127). Transactional gift relationships are viewed as the least desirable of these relational approaches and correspond to fundraising approaches critiqued in the media and many academic studies (highlighted in Chapters 1 and 2) in which donors are repeatedly asked to give one-off gifts with little relational interaction with the organisations they are supporting or the beneficiaries to whom their gifts are expressing solidarity. At the other end of the spectrum relationships are described as intimate, yet rare and largely reserved for philanthropists giving the largest gifts to each non-profit organisation with a few exceptions.

The identification of a spectrum of reciprocal gift relationship types has served two purposes in this research. The first has been to open up conceptualisations and understandings of fundraising approaches to allow for a consideration of a wider set of gift solicitation practices. Secondly, it has provided for the modelling of an ideal gift relationship that fundraisers participating in this study claimed to work towards – one in which sustained, long-term relationships that involve back and forth tailored and increasingly personal interaction *with* and between givers and the organisation are established over time and across the relationship spectrum.

Fundraisers' narratives were dominated by the labour and effort that goes into achieving and sustaining the ideal gift relationship, which was explored more closely in Chapter 6. The process focuses on what this thesis has termed "making presents" appropriate for each donor no matter where they fall within the reciprocal relationship spectrum that includes tasks categorised as those that create opportunities to solicit gifts and tasks that provide for the reciprocation of donors' gifts. The process of "making presents" involves creating multiple stories about the gifts that donors are appropriating for recipients, as well as building and sustaining a continued narrative of relationship, gratitude for the gift received, regard for the donors' actions, and the value and importance of the donors' gift in recipients' lives. Once constructed these stories are discursively conveyed through various means such as proposals, newsletters, reports, thank you letters, events, personalised email communications, and as much face-to-face communication as is possible. At the core of these narrative and discursive constructions are fundraisers' own perceptions of what donors wish to receive from their gifting and their interpretations of who or what the donor may imagine the end recipients of their gift are or need. As such, we see a process whereby fundraisers emphasise some narratives above others in order to match what they believe will prompt donors to remain engaged in the gifting process and to whom donors' feel they are gifting. In this way, fundraisers embark on a process of deciding which organisational and beneficiary narratives are included and excluded from interactions with donors, thereby, limiting the gifting options presented to donors and unintentionally suppressing some recipient stories in favour of those deemed to better meet donors' expectations.

8.2 Fundraising is a complex set of social relations

This thesis has further argued that to fully understand the nature and impact of gift solicitation a consideration of the experience of not only fundraisers but those with whom they work in the proposed mediated gift field is necessary, as these actors shape the contexts and form the social structures within which fundraisers operate. The application of the concept of the mediated gift field, a wider conception of the philanthropic space, that includes various actors such as donors, fundraisers' colleagues (including charity leadership) and recipients has allowed for an exploration of those with whom fundraisers work in establishing and maintaining gift relationships with donors. In doing so this study identifies fundraising as a complex social relationship in which fundraisers operate as exchange partners and socially skilled managers of the sought-after reciprocal gift relationships described in the paragraphs above.

Central to this conception of fundraisers and the mediated gift field, has been the finding that donors seek connections, solidarity and relationship not with fundraisers, but recipients, front-line delivery staff, experts, artists, and charity leaders – in short donors wish to be viewed as contributing to and participating directly with the cause, it's beneficiaries and those who are seen to work towards implementing the mission of the charity. Indeed, donors within this study were found to rarely acknowledge or even recognise the role of fundraisers in their philanthropic relationships and decision-making processes. Donors' accounts focus on their interactions with non-profit beneficiaries, staff, leaders and experts, and in some cases, fellow donors. Yet their accounts also suggest that many of the tactics that they employ in choosing where to give rely strongly on the information and interactions that fundraisers described producing and stage-managing. Simultaneously, donors' accounts contain strong expectations that they will have the opportunities to either interact with front-line staff, trustees, experts and beneficiaries - or hear these particular individuals' stories in as direct a fashion as possible - but seem not to recognise that the facilitation or responsibility for arranging and managing these interactions lies mostly with fundraisers in their corresponding descriptions of stewarding donors' gifts. This research finds that fundraisers actively build on this apparent lack of active cognisance of their role, as they seek to minimise their own image and presence in their carefully constructed and managed relationship narratives in order to simulate this

desired direct donor-beneficiary connection and seek to enable the idea of the unprompted, altruistic and solidaristic gift.

Simultaneously, fundraisers depend on the input and co-operation of non-fundraising colleagues to create and maintain these relationship narratives, both in terms of providing the information with which to construct the gift story, but also to participate directly in interactions, and at times closely managed direct relationships, with donors. However, the research reveals a general ambivalence towards the fundraising process on the part of non-fundraising staff and trustees who tended to both misunderstand the nature of gift solicitation and the types of relationships required to maintain cycles; and to feel largely excluded from an organisational process over which they have little control or input. To overcome this ambivalence fundraisers describe how they utilise many of the narrative constructions and relationship building techniques used to encourage donors to give, as a means to persuade, inspire and cajole staff and trustees into to participating in gift making and maintenance processes, as well as relationships with donors. Thus, we see fundraisers' employing just as much social skill in creating and sustaining the correct emotional climate and narrative with their non-fundraising colleagues, trustees and volunteers, as they do with donors.

However, staff and charity leaders' general lack of enthusiasm or awareness of the need for direct engagement means that this aspect of fundraisers' practice goes largely unacknowledged, remains invisible, and is poorly considered and accounted for in organisational income generation strategies, which focus on the technical aspects of the task. This leads to many fundraisers feeling solely responsible for bearing most of the burden of not only soliciting gifts but stewarding the relationships that will ensure the continuation of the gift cycles that provide the financial resources for these organisations. This also leads to contestation between fundraisers and front-line staff about which projects and streams of work provide more value to the organisation and its beneficiaries, as fundraisers focus on constructing narratives that will engage donors over a longer time period, whilst staff concentrate on finding what they believe to be obligation-free financial resources needed to deliver current programmes of work and services to meet immediate beneficiary need. The perceived conflicting demands of meeting and servicing donors'

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longer-term expectations versus meeting pressing beneficiary and organisational needs, often leaves fundraisers feeling under-resourced and not able to adequately meet the reciprocal obligations inherent in constructed gift relationships. This commonly results, as identified to Chapter 7, in fundraisers rationalising their relationship building tasks; leading to practices such as tiered giving programmes and the routinisation of many of relational interactions for the majority of donors giving at lower levels, which have implications for the ways in which fundraisers shape both the demand-side and the supply-side of non-profit sector.

8.3 Fundraising risks contributing to social distance and donor inequity

A key argument in this thesis has been that fundraisers have far more agency in influencing donors' giving behaviour and charitable practice than the extant academic literature suggests. In investigating the nature and extent of this agency my study has identified the ways in which fundraisers adopt strategies of reciprocity to encourage givers to engage in ongoing cyclical gift relationships with the non-profit organisations they chose to support. Within these strategic approaches to gift solicitation and management fundraisers aim to both affirm and influence donors' giving identities and own agency with regards to their giving; as well as add tangibility to the solidaristic aspirations that givers may have associated with their gifts. However, more notably my research has identified three distinct ways in which this type of relational fundraising approach may also represent an exclusionary and limiting practice both for recipients and givers, which are discussed in greater depth in the following paragraphs by contributing to:-

1. the uneven distribution of financial resources across the sector;
2. the unintended exclusion of some givers from the benefits of giving in favour of wealthier donors with greater capacity to give; and
3. the exacerbation of social distance between philanthropic donors and end recipients.

8.3.1 Limited donor choice and philanthropic particularism

Chapter 6 identifies the "gift package" as fundraisers' primary gift solicitation and reciprocation instrument. Fundraisers in this research are seen to engage in a process of

breaking down the overall work of the non-profit organisations they work for into smaller narrative packages – what Cluff (2009) calls "chunks" and Krause (2013) terms "projects" - that relate to what fundraisers determine are donors' capacity to give in financial terms, as well as the level of engagement with beneficiaries or non-profit staff and leadership the donor may be seeking and the kind of impact the donor envisages achieving with his/ her gift. These are presented to donors as bespoke gifts with tangible outcomes that donors can appropriate on behalf of and "gift" to end beneficiaries, much like the "presents" and "counter-presentations" that form the basis of more traditional gift exchange models in the gift literature (Chevalier, 2014; Mauss, [1954] 2011). Fundraisers approach the packaging of work as a means to attract donors' attention and then to provide guidance to donors as to where best to place their gifts. Additionally, "gift packages" and corresponding feedback and reciprocation mechanisms are used to manage donors' expectations and to subtly influence the donors' emerging preferences and tastes over time. In this way, this thesis argues, fundraisers assist donors and organisations in discursively and narratively transmuting the economic exchange of the donation into a gift.

Two consequences of this transmutation were also identified in the research, which this thesis suggests may have wider implications for our understandings of philanthropic choice and its impact on the non-profit sector and merit further consideration. In the first instance, fundraisers make choices about which elements of the non-profit organisation's work are most suited to "making presents" and suitable gift packages, and actively exclude those elements and stories that they feel will not appeal to donors. This results, as this research finds, in donors being presented with a limited number of reinterpreted and reframed narratives of the work of the organisation that fundraisers seek to control. The argument presented here is that this undoubtedly contributes to constraining donor choice as observed in section 8.1, as donors rely in part on the incomplete information and re-framed narratives thus presented to them to make their gifting and re-gifting choices. It also, in many instances, mediates donor influence to those aspects of the organisation's work that donors fund; and only in terms of the specific impact that donors seek to achieve. This is particularly so for those donors to the right of the reciprocal relationship spectrum who may give less or who have established distant reciprocal relationships with organisations, as reciprocal interaction, as well as donor involvement, is both limited and highly routinised.

The second and related consequence of "making presents" has a dual impact of contributing to uneven distribution of philanthropic resources, whilst entrenching misconceptions amongst givers of the nature and parameters of non-profit organisations' work and missions, and, thus the nature and distribution of beneficiary need. As fundraisers become more selective about which organisational narratives will appeal to donors, the findings from this study suggest that the result is the skewing of philanthropic gifting towards those causes and projects contained within the narratives with which donors are made most familiar, as a result of fundraisers' efforts. Simultaneously, as both fundraisers and staff from a number of charities in this research observed, over time the entrenchment of existing or development of new misconceptions amongst givers as to the breadth, depth and primary focus of organisation's work, has often led to excess funding for some strategic programmes and beneficiaries; and depleted, or in some cases no, budget for subsequently less visible programmes.

Arguably these findings provide further evidence for the already recognised and theorised problem of the uneven distribution of funding that a reliance on philanthropic gift giving can produce (Salamon, 1987; Reich, 2006; MacKenzie, 2012; Coltfelter, 1992). However, whilst previous research considers the effects of distribution that philanthropic particularism – i.e. donor preference and control as to where donations are placed - inflicts across the non-profit sector (e.g. Barman, 2007; Ostrander; 2007; Daly, 2011; Kendall, 2003), my research suggests that fundraising practice may contribute to these processes from *within* non-profit organisations, as some organisational and beneficiary stories simply get told more than others.

8.3.2   *Gift size and limited reciprocal gift relations*

In his exploration of the relationship between gift giving and identity, Schwartz ([1967] 1996), observes that gift exchange serves to emphasize boundaries between social groups in terms of who is included within the gift relationships and who is excluded from both the material and social benefits of particular gift cycles (p.79). The following two sections (8.3.2 and 8.3.3) identify two ways in which this thesis finds that fundraisers' gift construction and relationship management practices contribute to the dramatization of these boundaries.

Cluff (2009) observes that it is common practice for "most organisations [to] set a financial level for gifts – above which the donor is considered a major donor, below which he or she is not" (p.373). She contends that this poses a fundamental problem in engaging donors, as they are often not given the opportunity to give larger gifts or even asked to, once classified. Cluff's (2009) observations are corroborated by the findings of this study which identify how the depth and quality of reciprocation and engagement a giver receives is determined by their perceived capacity to give or the actual level of their gift. Thus, wealthier donors with the capacity to give larger gifts are more likely to be engaged in personal reciprocal relationships with NPO staff and fundraisers, whereas those who give less will be subject to more routinised interactions such as annual appeal letters and generic newsletters. Whilst there was a consistently expressed desire to move donors "up" a level no matter their gift size, the research equally highlights that there are limitations to how many personal relationships any one fundraiser can build and maintain. Many of the fundraisers interviewed in this study express corresponding unease that this kind of relationship is essentially being purchased by donors or is only offered to those givers in a socio-economic position to either give substantially or with social links to those who can. Yet, most fundraisers felt constrained in their power to address these issues or change their practices given stretching income targets and their limited capacity to extend the emotional labour of managing multiple reciprocal relationships to hundreds, sometimes thousands of donors giving small, but regular amounts. This repeatedly raised the question throughout this thesis about how the construction of tiered reciprocal relationships might contribute to existing social inequalities and exclusion within the philanthropic and non-profit sectors – if those who are perceived to give less are asked less often to give, or their giving goes unreciprocated or underacknowledged and they are excluded from the benefits of giving such as social connection with fellow givers; those working in non-profit organisations and even beneficiaries.

8.3.3   Social distance between givers and recipient beneficiaries

Closely related to questions about the capacity of current fundraising practices to "disentangle" (Silver, 2015) the benefits of philanthropic giving from socio-economic class and status, Greiling (2007, in McDonald et al., 2011, p. 164) highlights the social distance

inherent in the non-profit sector where those "who finance the services are also often not present when the service is provided". The gift literature suggests the gift, whether it takes place via organisations to strangers or in close relationships, serves to reduce social distance by creating social cohesion and solidarity (e.g., Titmuss, 1973; Komter, 1996). This research demonstrates, however, that whilst the mediated gift certainly creates *a narrative of a social bond and solidarity* between the giver and the beneficiary, the primary gift relationship exists between the fundraiser and the giver, even if it is misrecognised by donors and non-fundraising staff. Additionally, the findings from this research suggest that to a large extent the beneficiary becomes part of the object of, rather than a participant in, the gift cycle. This study concludes that fundraisers, in effect, establish another layer of separation between the recipient and the giver in their role as gift exchange partner between the donor and the non-profit organisation. In the attempt to balance donor "dominance" and divert obligations of the gift away from beneficiaries, this thesis suggests that fundraising practice may risk further excluding vulnerable and excluded populations from the potentially beneficial social bonds involved in direct gift exchanges (Komter, 1996; Clohsey, 2003). Thus, the question is raised as to whether current methods of fundraising inadvertently contribute to widening the gap between those who have and those who do not.

8.4   The mediated gift and fundraising as a reciprocal social relation

The use of gift theory and the application of the conception of wider field of gift giving as it is used in this study is a relatively new theorisation of fundraisers and their practice that yields a number of strengths. The conceptualisation of Daly's (2011) "philanthropic world" as a wider mediated gift field that includes donors, fundraisers, organisational staff and beneficiaries has provided a space in which to analyse the relationships between donors and fundraisers; donors and non-profit organisations; and donors and charity beneficiaries. It has allowed for the examination of a single actor's range of activity, such as the gift solicitation and management practices of fundraisers, whilst holding onto a sense of the impact of this activity on the specific organisational and philanthropic field in which it takes place. More importantly, in the context if this study, conceiving of donors, fundraisers, non-profit staff, charity leadership and beneficiaries as actors within specific overlapping

mediated gift fields has facilitated a corresponding move away from considering fundraising as a one-way communication from non-profit organisation to donor; or as charitable and philanthropic giving as a one-way isolated response to this communication. Furthermore, including philanthropic practice in a wider field has extended existing studies of donors' motivations to give and how these can be shaped and manipulated by various communication tools to generate philanthropic gifts; to include a consideration of how social relationships and interactions between actors within the field can shape and guide giving within this specific arena of practice.

Within this mediated gift field, both social-organisational approaches to altruism and theories of gift exchange have provided a metaphoric lens through which to view and analyse fundraisers' relationships with donors and other actors in the field, most notably their non-profit colleagues. However, this study has also provided a comment on the current status of theories of the gift, particularly giving directed towards strangers. It has invited us to expand our conceptions and understandings of various types of gifting and reciprocal models. In doing so, it situates itself within the small canon of studies that seek to capture and analyse these wider gift practices and forms with a view to understanding the role each of these plays in shaping our society (see for example Elder-Vass, 2015 & Moody, 2008). To this canon, this study proposes a further iteration of the gift – that of the mediated gift exchange. In doing so, it encourages a move away from debates within studies about philanthropic and socio-organisational giving as being either wholly altruistic or self-interested to studies that seek to understand how these contemporary gifting practices – especially to distant strangers - create and recreate inequities and exclusion, as well as opportunities to challenge the status quo. But in doing so, this study has called for an acknowledgement that gifting to strangers via non-profit organisations is not just about how these organisations "structure, promote and make logistically possible" communicative acts of solidarity between donors and distant beneficiaries in the form of gifts (Titmuss, 1973, p. 387; Silber, 1998; Ungureanu, 2013). These organisations do far more than create neutral conduits and structured spaces through which these gifts can move. Rather, I argue, the specific practices that these organisations need to engage in order to function may have a greater impact on gifting practices that merit greater recognition and more detailed research.

This research uncovers a far more complex gift exchange process within the mediated gift field that instead of removing the obligations that come with traditional gift exchange, redefines and reaffirms Mauss' ([1954] 2011) original observations of the three-fold gift cycle - to give, receive and reciprocate - and locates them within the non-profit organisations that facilitate gifting to strangers. In contrast to the assertion within traditional, social-organisational theories such as those proposed by Titmuss (1973) and Silber (1998) that gifting to strangers via organisations removes the reciprocal burden, this study finds that gifting processes within the non-profit organisations with the mediated gift field diverts, rather than removes, reciprocal obligations from the beneficiary to the fundraiser. In the process, fundraisers position themselves as exchange partners who mediate and manage the obligations inherent in the gift exchange between donors, organisational staff and beneficiaries. However, this research suggests that this mediation of reciprocal obligations serves to exclude both recipients and less wealthy donors from the social benefits and connections that scholars such as Gouldner (1970) and Komter (1996) suggest reciprocity both facilitates and enhances. As such, this study not only contributes to empirical studies that seek to identify and account for alternative reciprocal models such as Moody's (2008) serial reciprocity. It also proposes an additional model of mediated reciprocity in which reciprocity is managed and enacted by an intermediary within the gift relationship that diverts reciprocal obligation away from the gift recipient. This, in turn serves to extend current understandings of the ways in which reciprocity is directed and diverted by non-profit organisations may create and recreate social imbalances and exclusions.

8.5   Study limitations

The interpretivist, qualitative methodology employed in this thesis was defended and discussed in Chapter 4, at which point some of the limitations of the approach were considered. Nevertheless, further reflection of the overall progress of the study has highlighted additional, more specific limitations related to the three data sources and sample drawn on for this research. The ways in which these have impacted the study and the conclusions reached are outlined over the following paragraphs.

Chapter 4.3.2 outlined the enforcement of a sampling criteria framework during the recruitment of fundraisers to secure as representative a sample as possible within a small, qualitative study (see Appendix A.). However, although this ensured a fairly even spread of fundraisers working in organisations of differing sizes with incomes above £150,000 per annum, there is a notable absence of fundraisers from smaller organisations. Whilst, this is representative of the fact this study focused on the practice of paid, professional fundraisers; it does mean that this study cannot speak to the fundraising practices and strategies and subsequent constraints and opportunities experienced by smaller, volunteer run organisations or organisations in which paid staff cover numerous activities, including fundraising.

Relatedly, the sample of fundraisers is generally representative of what Breeze & Jollymore (2015, p.7) describe as the "normative social background of fundraisers" as noted in Chapter 4.5. As such, the final sample of fundraising participants does not reflect a diversity of social backgrounds in terms of gender, age, social class and ethnicity (see Table 3 on p. 94). Once again, the aim was not sto gain insight into fundraisers' particular socio-economic backgrounds, but rather to the range and diversity of fundraising practices across various cause types and size of non-profit organisations. However, it is worth noting that the sample of fundraisers was both predominantly female and Caucasian which raises interesting questions for further lines of research as to the implications and potential impact of a largely feminized and homogenous workforce in terms of ethnicity and socio-economic background.

In a like manner, the purposive sampling of participants focused on the recruitment of fundraisers for the study. The recruitment of non-fundraising staff members, subsequently, relied on a snowballing approach, whereby fundraisers who had participated in the study were asked to recommend and recruit members of staff with whom they worked. The result is a far smaller sample of non-fundraising staff participants than fundraisers, which can make no claim to representativeness in terms of the kind of working relationship they had with fundraisers or job role. However, these interviews are not intended to be generalizable. Rather, they were intended to give insights into existing fundraising practices

and how they may be perceived, interpreted, accommodated and constrained by non-fundraising staff members. In this way, non-fundraising participants' accounts contributed to a picture of the contexts and organisational and social structures that may both have constrained and enabled fundraisers overall practice.

The limitations and disadvantages of secondary analysis of interviews with donors for previous studies were considered in chapters 4.2.2 and 7.3, but are worth re-iterating here, as this impacts both on questions of future fundraising practice posed in the conclusion to this thesis, as well as avenues of further research suggested in section 8.6 below. Glaser ([1962] 2012) and May (2011) highlight the limitations of using secondary data in terms of not being in control of the content of the data or the manner in which it was collected. This has borne out in this study in that all the donor interview data is from interactions from major donors and large philanthropists – or to make use of Hanson's (2015) description again "elite donors" (p. 501). However, as observed in section 7.3 this study included and intentionally sought to understand the fundraising practice of fundraisers working with donors large and small. There is, therefore, a gap between the existing donor data and the newly collected fundraiser data collected for this study. As noted previously, this generally reflects the tendency for philanthropic studies, especially those within the sociological and anthropological fields, to focus on the giving behaviours of elite donors (for example Schervish 2006 & Odendahl, 1990). Even when considering collective giving such as giving circles the focus is on those givers with greater economic capacity to give (see Eikenberry, 2008). Studies focusing on smaller, regular donors tend to focus on how donations are directed and rely on large quantitative surveys and experiments to establish possible motivation and triggers for gifting, which were not deemed suitable for an interpretative, qualitative research strategy (Bekkers, 2005; Charities Aid Foundation, 2018; Okten & Weisbrod, 2000). Additionally, these are also composed of raw data that the researcher was not able to access. It has, therefore, not been possible to draw confident conclusions regarding the giving behaviour of wealthier donors with the capacity to make larger gifts, in comparison to those donors giving smaller amounts, and the degree to which these correlate with or depart from the conclusions about donor behaviour in relation to fundraising practice that have been reached within this particular study. Usefully perhaps, the behaviours those giving smaller gifts to charity appeared to be interpreted as fairly

consistent with those of major donors within fundraisers' accounts across the sample – i.e. often reflecting many of the same motivations and expectations as those of major donors. As such, an analysis of their giving and perceptions was possible along these lines. However, questions remain as to whether donors across income brackets, as well as the reciprocal gift relationship spectrum do indeed view their gifting relationships in the same manner and the degree to which this may impact on the earlier conclusions drawn about social distance and inequality amongst donor populations in section 8.3.

Worth noting here too, is the absence of direct discussions of the fundraising role within the secondary donor data used in this study. As was observed in chapter 4.2.2, this data was collected primarily as a means to explore donors' understandings and perceptions of their gifting decisions and behaviours. Thus, direct questions about the fundraising role are generally not included or answered within this data, which has undoubtedly affected the outcomes of this particular study. As with the nature of the donor sample, lack of questions about fundraising practice and consequent absence of the fundraising role within donors' narratives have led to only a partial understanding of donors' perceptions and attributed meanings to their relationships with fundraisers and, thus, the organisations they give to. Thus, issues of under recognition of the role of fundraisers in their gifting practices risk being over-stated. The points raised in the two preceding paragraphs certainly presents a further line of future enquiry and clarification, as will be suggested in the following section.

8.6   Future research directions and projects

Creswell (2007) observes that "perhaps qualitative studies do not have endings, only questions" as social research serves to highlight what we don't know, as well as further avenues of inquiry (p.27). Certainly, the implications for practice and questions about our understandings of intermediaries in the mediated gift exchange identified in Chapter 3 and then again here in sections 8.3 and 8.4 have demonstrated that fundraising is a field ripe for study, especially from a sociological perspective. Much can be learned not only about fundraising, but also the study of fundraising and fundraisers has the potential to widen our thinking and perspectives on philanthropy, giving, the third sector and charity. In undertaking this study, I have identified a number of other areas of research that relate to

but fall outside the remit of this particular project. However, I believe they may prove useful for pursuing in the future: -

- Throughout this thesis, the absence of the voice of "ordinary" donors' giving at lower levels, in correlation with the absence of direct questions about these donors' understandings of the fundraising role have been observed. This research suggests that their experience of fundraising and their interactions with fundraisers may be qualitatively different from those who have the capacity to give larger gifts and may have implications for philanthropic and charitable practice that have not been identified within this study. As these donors form the mainstay of the UK's giving public and as observed in the current study form the basis of most non-profit's donor pool from which larger donors are sourced (Charities Aid Foundation, 2018), their experiences of their interactions with fundraisers and what contributes to their continued giving certainly merits further research and study.

- Similarly, this study has been limited to the exploration of the practice of professional fundraisers. Thus, the investigation has focused on the fundraising activities of organisations generating in excess of £150,000 per annum, which means the income generation activities and experiences and the impact the fundraising practices of smaller organisations have on gifting practices have not been considered. Yet, as with "ordinary" donors, the voluntary sector in the UK consists primarily of small, volunteer run organisations and groups who are largely dependent on voluntary donations and gifts (NCVO, 2015). Several research questions emerge from this line of enquiry: - How do these organisations fundraise? Who takes on responsibility for establishing and maintaining gifting relationships within these groups? And how do these practices shape the way these organisations function and deliver services to beneficiaries?

- The findings from this study confirm that fundraising is a profession that is dominated by women. Indeed an increasing number of scholars and fundraising researchers have observed what has been termed the "feminization" of fundraising (Dale, 2017; Perry, 2013; Breeze, 2017). Certainly, this study has produced several findings to support this finding, including the demographic make-up of the sample of fundraisers interviewed for

this study (only 3 were male) and the identification of fundraising as the emotional work of establishing and maintaining relationship - work that is often categorised as women's work. As Dale (2017) notes existing studies into this phenomenon are largely concerned with issues of status inequities and the wage gap that the classification of fundraising as women's work can generate. Within the context of the current study, issues pertaining to how the perception of fundraising as emotional women's work may impact on the types of gifting and philanthropic relationships that are established and the consequences for how these are regarded by givers, recipients and non-fundraising colleagues arise. How do these differ from the relationships that male fundraisers establish, if at all, and what can be learnt about the nature of philanthropic relationships from these comparisons?

- Whilst I pursued this research to achieve a PhD, my research thus far has opened up several opportunities to share findings with other academics in the philanthropic and third sector studies arena; as well as with fundraising and non-profit practitioners. Research findings have been presented at eight international conferences that draw together both researchers and practitioners in the philanthropic and non-profit fields. Additionally, I have participated in and delivered a number of practitioner workshops and seminars. Additional impact has been achieved through the design and delivery a series of seminars to charity finance professionals through the Charity Finance group on how to work more effectively with fundraisers and integrate their respective practices in a more coherent manner. This process and the corresponding findings in this research that indicate differing understandings of the exact nature of gift solicitation between fundraisers and their non-fundraising colleagues, have piqued an interest in developing fundraising training and teaching for those who are required to engage with fundraising professionals as a way to develop more ethical and co-ordinated approaches.

8.7   Closing comments

The aim of this study was to learn about and begin to contribute to improved understandings of fundraisers' practice. This research has been conducted within a context where fundraising and philanthropy scholars such as Breeze & Scaife (2015) predict that there will be ever more demand for fundraisers as the wealthy demand more opportunities

to give. By way of contrast other scholars such as Bekkers & Wiepking (2005) and Sargeant (2017) suggest that fundraising is under threat as more givers, especially those giving smaller gifts - and as this research suggests those who may feel the most distance between themselves and the non-profit organisations they give to - seek to engage in more direct and more intimate ways with distant recipients, than the traditional fundraising methods investigated here can accommodate. Certainly, recent years have seen an exponential growth in online fundraising mechanisms such as crowdfunding and fundraising through social media, that appear to enable these potential givers to both give and interact directly with the beneficiaries of their choice. Fundraisers, therefore, find themselves in a context where, as Turner (1991) eloquently suggests, they "may want to think about the assumptions they are making and the values they are inscribing into their practice" in deeper and more specific ways (p. 49), if their practice is to remain relevant to the populations they currently claim to serve in terms of facilitating and enabling their generosity.

This thesis contends, however, that what fundraisers do continues to matter – not just in terms of raising money for good causes that ostensibly contribute to a better life and empowerment for those unable to participate directly in many gifting practices, but as this research has highlighted how they change the narrative and control access to and, thus, shape the giving behaviour of those who do have the capacity to give to strangers. This calls not only for more reflexive practice on the part of fundraisers and the non-profit organisations for whom they work, but also for more research to aid a deeper understanding of the impact their practice has on donors, non-profit organisations and the beneficiaries they seek to serve.

The final note of this research brings us back to the question of what purpose fundraising serves and what is the specific role of the fundraiser within non-profit organisations is. If we accept the normative narratives within both the philanthropic and fundraising management literature that the role of the fundraiser is to facilitate the altruistic tendencies and acts of generosity of donors with the capacity to give, then the overall finding of this research that fundraisers create the *idea of solidarity and connection* between givers and beneficiaries, can be seen as inherently good. However, the hope expressed by Ostrander and Schervish

(1990), that philanthropic givers and the recipients of their gifts could come together to co-create more equitable interactions, seems rather utopian given that this research suggests fundraisers also serve as gatekeepers of this idealised gift relationship. As such, this research finds, that fundraisers unintentionally also facilitate the exclusion of the "average" donor and the recipients of their gifts from this relation. In doing so, the discussions in this thesis raise key questions about the level to which fundraisers can disentangle class and inequality from the philanthropic process and encourage and enable giving from wider society. As a researcher and a practitioner this constitutes a vital challenge worth pursuing and presenting to non-profit, philanthropic and fundraising colleagues and scholars seeking to improve the efficacy and impact of their practice on improving the outcomes and opportunities for the vulnerable and excluded populations they claim to serve.

Appendices

Appendix A: Sampling Matrix

Participant	Role	Seniority	Cause	Org Size	Service area
Tunes					
Kate	MD	Exec			
Georgina	MD/Mid	Senior	Arts	Large	Regional
Sarah	Mid/ Low	Junior			
County University					
Heather	MD/Mid	Middle	Education	Super-Maj	Local
Dreams					
Paige	MD/Mid	Senior	Children & Young People	Large	National
Save the World					
Frieda	MD	Senior	Int dev & disaster relief	Major	International
Eugene	MD	Middle			
Paws for All					
Alison	Mid	Junior	Disability	Super-Maj	National
Roofs					
Anne-Marie	MD	Exec	Homeless people, housing, refuges	Large	Regional
Susan	Mid/ Low	Exec			
See Again					
Lucy	All	Exec			
Jane	Trusts	Senior	Disability	Large	National
Diane	MD/ Mid	Senior			
Victoria	MD/Mid	Middle			
Forces for All					
Anna	MD	Middle			
Rachel	Low	Middle	Social Welfare	Major	National
Bruce	Low	Middle			
Anita	Low	Junior			

Caroline	All	Senior			
Breaking Free					
Stephen	Mid/ Low	Senior	Prisoners, Ex-offenders	Medium	National
Clear Passage					
Evelyn	MD/Mid	Middle	Disability	Medium	National
St Sebastian's Hospice					
Rose	Low	Senior	Hospitals & hospices	Major	Regional
Catherine	MD/Mid	Senior			
Breath					
Megan	Mid/ Low	Senior	Physical & Mental health	Medium	Local
Free Space					
Penny	All	Senior	Conservation/ heritage	Large	National
FAA					
Lisa	Low	Middle	Social welfare	Large	

Appendix B: The Participants: Fundraisers and Non-fundraising Staff

Organisation	Participant	Role
Tunes – regional professional and community orchestra	Kate	Corporate, major donor & trusts fundraiser - Head of Department
	Georgina	Individuals (HNW); major donors & legacies fundraiser
	Sarah	General fundraiser – junior member of staff
	Sabine	Administrator for membership & fundraising teams
County University – major regional higher education institution	Heather	Major donor fundraiser
	Mariah	Researches potential donors for fundraising team
	Fiona	Manages contacts database for organisation
	Paige	Major donor & general fundraiser

Dreams – medium sized national youth development organisation	Simon	Chief executive & previous organisation fundraiser
Save the World – major international development organisation	Frieda	Major donor & trusts fundraiser – Group Manager
	Eugene	Major donor fundraiser – Team Manager
	Becky	Researches and writes project proposals and reports for fundraising teams
	Laura	Manages frontline service delivery processes, services and budgeting
Paws for All – major national disability charity	Alison	Mid-value donor fundraiser
07: Roofs – regional homelessness charity	Anne-Marie	Corporate, trusts & major donor fundraiser - Management
	Susan	Individuals(community) & major donor Fundraiser- Management
	George	Human resources director
See Again – national sight loss advice and research charity	Lucy	Legacies & trusts fundraiser – Head of Fundraising
	Jane	Trusts fundraiser
	Diane	Major donor & legacies Fundraiser
	Victoria	Major donor & legacies Fundraiser
	Ruby	Manages frontline service delivery and volunteers
Forces for All – national social welfare charity	Anna	Major donor fundraiser
	Rachel	Individuals (community) fundraiser
	Bruce	Individuals (payroll & regular) fundraiser
	Anita	Individuals (community) fundraiser
	Caroline	Head of Fundraising
	Debbie	Manages contacts database for organisation – including donors
	Toni	Assistant to the marketing team
	Brendan	Manages public relations and media function for organisations
	Odette	Manages grant-making and frontline service delivery for organisation
	Karl	Chief Executive

Organisation	Participant	Role
Breaking Free – national charity delivering services in prisons	Stephen	Trusts; individuals (community & regular) Fundraiser
	Louisa	Manages office and finance functions for organisation
	Pamela	Chief Executive & major donors
Clear Passage – national hearing loss advice and research charity	Evelyn	Trusts & major donor Fundraiser
	Paul	Manages volunteers and support groups across country
St. Sebastian's – regional hospice	Rose	Individuals (community & regular) & corporates fundraiser – Management
	Catherine	Trusts & major Donors
	Matthew	Humans resources and volunteer manager
Breath – local charity providing support to families with chronically ill children	Megan	General fundraiser
Free Space – regional nature conservation charity	Penny	General fundraiser
FAA – national social welfare charity	Lisa	Individuals (community) - also marketing

Appendix C: The Donors (per data source)

Philanthropy Impact UK		
Alan Hodson	Kavita Oberoi	Roshni Nadar
Caroline Pfohl-Ho	Liz Earle	Serge Raicher
Dame Vera Lynne	Lyn & Trevor Shears	Sheetal Mehta
Dame Vivienne Duffield	Marcelle Spiller	Sigrid Rausing
Darcy Bussell	Mia Morris	Sir Ian Wood
David Gold	Mike Dickson	Sir Peter Lampl
David Robins	Nick Marple & Sophie Roberts	Sir Ronald Cohen
Diana Barran	Nicolas Ferguson	Sir Trevor Chinn
Doug Miller	Nigel Morris	Sir Vernon Ellis
Esther Coplowitz	Paul Barry-Walsh	Stanley Fink
Gordon Roddick	Peter Saunders	Stephen Viederman
Herta Von Stiegel	Polly Mclean	Tarek Ben Halem
James Timpson	Rachel Dove	Ted Turner
J.K. Rowling	Ram Gidoomal	Ton Hughes-Hallett
John Pontin	Rod Alridge	Tony Blair
John Wates	Renu Mehta	Yann Borgstedt

Splendid Torch		
Ben Goldsmith	Jessica Sweiden	Martin Stanley
Edward Whitley	Kristian Parker	Winsome McIntosh
Jamie Arbib	Harvey Jones	

Coutts Million Pound Donors Report 2008 – 2017		
Alec Reed	Guy Readman	Martin Smith
Andrew Wates	Heather Beckwith	Mary Cornish

Barrie Wells	Jack Petchey	Michael Oglesby
Dame Stephanie Shirley	Jamie Coop-Hohn	Niklas Zennstrom
Dr James Martin	Jimi Heselden	Richard Ross
Fran Perrin	John Stone	Sarah Butler-Sloss
Frederick Mulder	Liz & Terry Bramwell	Trevor Pears
George Kaikis	Lloyd Dorfman	

Appendix D: Participant Information Sheet

Investigating the role of fundraisers in managing gift giving in Non-Profit Organisations : August 2016

University of
Kent

You are being invited to participate in a series of interviews with fundraisers and their colleagues across the UK charitable sector. These form part of a doctoral research project funded by the European Research Council that seeks to investigate how fundraisers work with their organisations to raise money for their causes.

Before you decide if you want to take part or not, it is important that you understand what this project is about and what will happen if you agree to take part.

What is this project about?
Whilst there is a growing literature exploring charitable and philanthropic giving, there is little information on the actual workings of the fundraising process *within* non-profit organisations. Aside from texts that explore the impact of specific fundraising mechanisms, very little is understood about the ways in which fundraisers go about their work and the impact they have on organisational practice, aside from the provision of financial resources.

By interviewing fundraisers and those they work with about their everyday experiences and ways of working, this research aims to contribute to the development of a better picture of how fundraisers employed by non-profit organisations interact with the increasingly regulated and professional organisational structures within the charitable sector; and interrogate how this may impact on the aims and purposes of non-profit organisations.

What will participation entail?

The study will include interviews with fundraisers working in UK charities - large, medium and small - with varying degrees of experience at different levels of seniority, as well as those who work most closely with them. I will ask to interview you at your place of work (though it is recognised that this will not always be possible). During the interview I will ask questions about what you do day to day, who you work with and where you fit into the organisation you work for, as well as the difference you feel you and fundraising makes. Each interview will last about an hour or longer if you have a lot you wish to share.

What will happen to the information?
Each interview will be recorded and then transcribed and saved under a pseudonym (for both you and your organisation) to a single pc to which only I, the researcher, will have access. All data will be anonymised so that individual fundraisers, organisations, donors and/ or beneficiaries cannot be identified. Where interviewees are quoted directly every effort will be made to ensure that no confidential information is included in the quotation. On completion of the study, the anonymised transcripts will be made available for archive and re-use for further research via the UK Data Service (see https://www.ukdataservice.ac.uk/about-us for further information).

On completion of the study, all those who have participated in the study will be provided with a brief report outlining any findings of note. It is also hoped that the findings will be presented at a suitable Institute of Fundraisers event.

About me
Prior to beginning this research I had a 15 year career as a fundraiser. In 2014 I realised that we know very little about what fundraisers do and why and decided to complete a PhD to begin to find out why and contribute to improving our understanding of this growing and increasingly important profession.

Please do contact me should you wish to participate and with any questions at:
Lesley Alborough
Email: lja24@kent.ac.uk
Telephone: 07958 169443.

FUNDRAISING AND THE GIFT CONSENT FORM

Title of project: Fundraising and the Gift: Investigating the role of fundraisers in managing gift giving in Non-Profit Organisations

Name of investigator: Lesley Alborough

Participant Identification Number for this project:

Please initial box

1. I confirm I have read and understand the information sheet dated August 2016 for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

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

3. I understand that my responses will be anonymised before analysis or direct quotation. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses.

4. I agree to take part in the above research project.

<table>
<tr><td>_____</td><td>_____</td><td>_____</td></tr>
<tr><td>Name of participant</td><td>Date</td><td>Signature</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>_____</td><td>_____</td><td>_____</td></tr>
<tr><td>Name of person taking consent</td><td>Date</td><td>Signature</td></tr>
</table>

(if different from lead researcher)

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

<table>
<tr><td>_____</td><td>_____</td><td>_____</td></tr>
<tr><td>Lead researcher</td><td>Date</td><td>Signature</td></tr>
</table>

Appendix F: Donor Pyramid and Donor Development Ladder

The *Donor Pyramid* and *Development Ladder* models (see Figures 2 & 3 below) have become widely accepted and recognised elements of classic fundraising management theory. The premise behind these models is to show that once a giver has been recruited by a charity, he/ she "can be cultivated over time and their contribution to the organization can be grown" (Sargeant & Jay, 2014 p.167). In this way, once an individual gives their initial gift – usually a small amount of cash given in response to a mass appeal of some description – he/ she can be encouraged to give more and more; and more regularly, thus, moving up "the scale of support to ultimately become a major giver" or even leave a legacy to the organisation (Ibid, p.168).
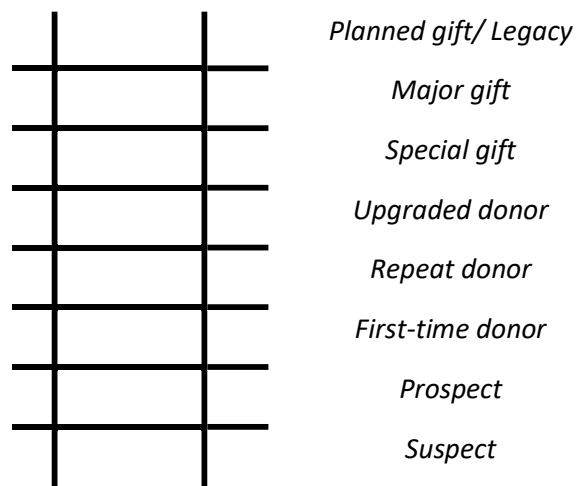
Planned gift/ Legacy

Major gift

Special gift

Upgraded donor

Repeat donor

First-time donor

Prospect

Suspect

Figure 3: The Development Ladder (Source: Sargeant & Jay, 2014, p. 16)

Legator

Major giver

Committed giver

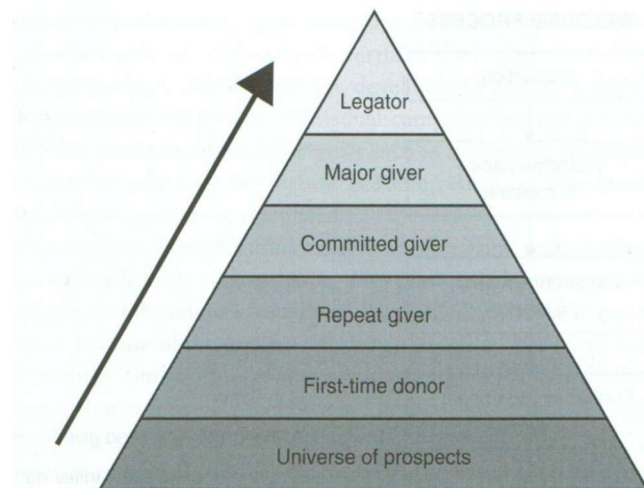Repeat giver

First-time donor

Universe of prospects

Figure 4: The UK Donor Pyramid (Source: Sargeant & Jay, 2014, p. 168)

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