UK UNIVERSITY FUNDRAISING: AN ANALYSIS OF INEQUALITY AND ITS PERPETUATION

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Abstract

Inequality in UK society has emerged as one of the key themes in contemporary British politics, despite more than 50 years of government policy geared towards its reduction. UK universities have been tasked with the societal mission of enabling social mobility and reducing inequality, and their number, and the size of their student bodies has grown significantly since 1992. Neoliberalism has marketized and largely privatised the UK higher education sector, yet it attracts more than £1billion in philanthropic support annually. Much work has been done in the US to understand universities, philanthropy, and the process of raising funds. This study presents the results of the first academic work to examine how private philanthropy acts at universities in the UK, and how it impacts their function in society.

Using publicly available information for the sector, and by examining in depth 11 universities of greatly differing heritage and wealth, this study uses quantitative and qualitative techniques to elucidate and explain the degree of inequality present among UK universities, and philanthropy's role in its genesis and perpetuation. It identifies a link between university reputation and ability to attract philanthropic support, and explains how elite universities are able to apply their very large philanthropic incomes to enhance the endowments of personal capital of their students, thereby maintaining their dominance over other, less well endowed, universities. It critically reviews how universities view philanthropy and how fundraising functions are constituted in university organisations. By identifying and challenging the myths of university functions and fundraising, it explains why government policy has not succeeded in replicating US levels of philanthropic support for UK universities. Applying Bourdieusian sociology, new institutional theory and the strategy literature, this study enhances our understanding of how social processes act to conserve the status quo, even as powerful actors seek to enact change.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the empirical context for this thesis and explains the importance of undertaking research on UK university fundraising. It briefly describes some relevant developments in UK society, and then summarises key information from government and other sources to describe the importance of UK universities and their fundraising activities, and why these constitute an important domain for scholarly enquiry. Finally, it outlines my thesis objectives and the structure of the remaining chapters of this work.

1.2 Why this topic, and why now

In June 2016, after this study was already underway, the UK unexpectedly voted to leave the EU. While a full explanation of the factors that drove the electorate's decision is still emerging in the press and academic literature, initial analysis of the demographic profile of "leave" and "remain" voters revealed a clear distinction: leave voters were older, poorer, less educated, more socially conservative, and more likely to live in an economically disadvantaged area of the UK than remain voters (Ford, 2016). Leave voters cast their votes in protest at the values of the dominant social elite, and press coverage rationalised the referendum result as resulting from economic inequality in UK Society (The Economist, 2016; Hervey and Scott, 2017). Even before the referendum, however, academic studies acknowledged that economic inequality had been growing in Western societies, while governments have been attempting to enact policies to decrease it (Piketty, 2014). In the 2016 referendum result, it seemed that the political consequences of inequality in the UK were being directly and acutely felt.

Since the 1963 Robbins report, the UK government has been seeking to increase provision and broaden access to higher education in the UK, with the result that more than 45% of young people currently enter higher education (Crewe, 2013). Gaining a university degree has been promoted as a ticket to social mobility, although some academic studies cast doubt upon this (Bourdieu, 1996a). In the UK in the 20th century, no decrease is seen in earned income inequality, and only limited intergenerational mobility occurs (Piketty, 2014). It seems that social inequality is persistent, and, as yet, the social experiment of expanding higher education provision to encompass a larger proportion of the population in the UK has not yielded the desired results, as the recent referendum results speak to a society that is segmented by, among other factors, educational attainment.

Further, universities differ significantly in their prestige and reputation, and as a consequence, the value that society places upon their activities differs. The REF, TEF and various university ranking tables are designed to enable parents, prospective students, academics, and funding councils to gauge the relative merits of the different institutions, and to create competition for students and research funding. Oxford and Cambridge ("Oxbridge"), followed by the Russell group, tend to lead in ranking measures. The visibility and prominence of their graduates in leading positions in UK public life suggests that attendance at the "right" university increases one's chances of becoming a senior civil servant, MP, Prime Minister, CEO, or, indeed, Archbishop of Canterbury. Leading universities continue to attract students predominantly from the upper echelons of UK society (BBC News, 2017), and thus are suspected of perpetuating inequality in society, rather than reducing it.

From an economic perspective, there are currently 161 universities in the UK, generating collectively £34.7bn in income, and educating 2.28 million students. They are viewed as a strategic asset, both because of their ability to produce graduates and research to help drive the UK's economy, and because they contribute £10.8bn to UK export earnings, through the fees received for educating overseas students (Universities UK, 2017b). Universities represent a significant segment of the UK economy, allow the UK to project "soft power", and are thus of considerable public interest. The Brexit vote has created uncertainty about the future of UK higher education, including about universities' ability to attract overseas students and academics, to secure research funding, and to continue to play a leading role in the UK's economy (Universities UK, 2017a).

UK universities, with the exception of a few "for profit" institutions such as the University of Buckingham, are legally constituted as "non-profit" organisations. As such, they are active in soliciting philanthropic support and enjoy the tax advantages that come with having charitable status (The Buzzacott Charity Team, 2010). Overall university funding has changed dramatically in recent years, with funding for many UK students shifting from the public purse to the individual (once they earn enough) as fees have been introduced and loans have replaced grants for living expenses (Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), 2012). Further, as UK university income from tuition fees and education contracts has grown, grant funding to UK universities has actually declined in real terms, leading to concerns about long term financial sustainability (Universities UK, 2014b). Philanthropic income, including both direct financial support and income from endowments, appears to be an attractive component within the context of university funding. It represents an income stream that is not subject to the winds of political or fiscal change, and in the case of endowment income, may continue in perpetuity without requiring much further action on the part of universities. As I will explain, the UK government has endeavoured to encourage UK universities to develop their sources of philanthropic income, largely by promoting a US-based model of leading practice (Squire, 2014), although the results achieved vary greatly between institutions.

Of all types of charities, UK universities attract the greatest number of large (>£1million) philanthropic gifts, with the greatest proportion going to Oxford and Cambridge. In 2015, 65 donations of more than £1million were made to UK universities, totalling £485million. (Coutts & Co., 2016). From the latest Ross-CASE survey results, the total of donations (of all sizes) to universities is expected to exceed £1bn in 2017 (CASE Europe, 2017). Giving to universities is clearly attractive to donors, and universities are a significant destination for philanthropic funds in the UK.

Further, examination of the Charity Commission's website reveals that UK universities and Oxbridge colleges have some of the largest endowments of any type of charity in the UK[1], and income from them, for those institutions fortunate enough to be well endowed, may be considerable. For example, in the year ended 31/7/2013,

[1] The Charity Commission website lists top UK charities, and latest endowment values may be viewed by selecting "Investments" in the drop down box at http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/SectorData/Top10Charities.aspx [Accessed 3/4/2018]

St. John’s College (Oxford), with a large endowment comprising a portfolio of properties and securities, was able to derive nearly 65% of its annual income from these sources (University of Oxford, 2014). English charity law allows Oxbridge colleges, some of the wealthiest charities in the UK, not to consolidate their philanthropic income or endowment values with their universities’, and so the statistics that suggest that income from university endowments and investment is approximately 1% of total university income do not reveal the full picture of university finances, and do not adequately characterise the inequality that appears to exist between universities in their ability to attract and accumulate philanthropic support (Universities UK, 2014a; Universities UK, 2014b). Further, studies of US university endowment values find that the largest endowments grow at a faster rate than smaller endowments, suggesting that philanthropic income and endowment income may represent an enduring and increasing source of advantage for some universities (Piketty, 2014; Piketty, 2016). However, no academic study has yet fully quantified the magnitude of philanthropic income, or examined its role for UK universities.

UK universities may therefore be understood as economically and societally important institutions, whose mission includes the reduction of inequality in UK society. They are leading recipients of philanthropic support, and appear, in some cases to be benefitting from large philanthropic and endowment incomes, although the true magnitude of these is obscure. Very little is known about how philanthropic income acts at an institutional or individual level, or what its role may be in perpetuating inequality between universities, or their graduates. There are thus three interlinked areas that this thesis is seeking to explore: the role of philanthropic income at UK universities with regard to their missions, objectives, and operational needs, how universities organise to enlist philanthropic support, and how university philanthropic income acts in UK society. Exploring these questions will allow a critical evaluation of the role of university philanthropic income in the perpetuation of inequality in UK society, a topic that will surely continue to be of considerable importance for future policy development.

1.3 Scope of enquiry and general approach

This thesis examines the domain of “fundraising”, also known as “development” or, more recently, as “advancement”, in UK universities (Worth, 2016). These terms will be used interchangeably throughout this work, as indeed they are by practitioners themselves.

Fundraising is the practice of soliciting support, both financial and non-financial, from philanthropic sources, such as private individuals, trusts, foundations, and corporations. Fundraising generates money, which may be applied immediately for the benefit of the university, or accumulated and invested to create an “endowment”. A university’s philanthropic income thus comprises both immediate funds raised, and income arising from its endowment. Philanthropic income is distinct from the income that universities garner from other sources (government funding bodies, research grants and contracts, student fees, accommodation and catering, consulting, hosting conferences etc.) and has the attractive quality of being largely unrelated to services provided, and so may be raised and applied at the discretion of university management.

Of necessity, this study is a mixture of analysis of variance and of process. As historical data sources were found to be limited in their availability, and finding university staff with a long enough service record to provide accounts of how fundraising has evolved over a long period proved challenging, this study focuses on the origins and causes of variability in university fundraising. It adopts a comparative multi-case method - selecting for intensive study 11 university cases from a possible 161 - from as wide a range of heritages and missions as possible. The study cases include ancient universities, other universities that were established before 1992, former polytechnics, universities offering traditional academic curricula and those with a vocational focus, collegiate and non-collegiate universities, universities with large and small student intakes, universities that have long experience of fundraising and those new to it, and English and Scottish universities.

Individual cases have been contextualised using publicly available materials - university and development strategy documents, annual reports and accounts, campaign materials, university websites etc. Semi-structured interviews for the study were conducted with 30 individuals at the 11 universities over the period October

2016 - June 2017. The individuals comprised leaders of development offices, development and fundraising staff, senior academics with a role in fundraising, university leaders and administrators, and, when appropriate, representatives of Development Trusts. Where possible, additional proprietary documents were collected as supporting material. As participants in the study were guaranteed anonymity, care has been taken not to reveal sensitive or competitive information, or to describe sources in a way that would enable them be identified.

1.4 The structure of this thesis

Following this chapter's introduction to this thesis' context and scope, Chapter 2 situates the work within the context of academic literature. It briefly reviews the literature about the role of universities in society, and existing literature about universities and philanthropy, highlighting how little is currently known about philanthropy and fundraising at universities in the UK. It critically evaluates scholarly work to date, uncovering a lack of theorisation, and establishing the need to broaden the scope of enquiry. The objectives of this thesis are to enhance our empirical understanding of UK university fundraising and to offer a contribution to theory development, and Chapter 2 synthesizes potentially useful theories drawn from sociology, new institutional theory, and strategy into a theoretical framework, with which study findings will be analysed and evaluated. It concludes by defining the research questions that will be addressed in the rest of this study.

Chapter 3 sets out the ontological and epistemological positioning of the study, and justifies and describes the methodology and methods used to create this thesis. It discusses ethical issues, how they were addressed, and how study data will be managed.

Four empirical results chapters follow: Chapter 4 presents findings from analysis of sector-wide information and the cases of this study to characterize the current "state of play" in fundraising at UK universities. It quantifies the degree of inequality that exists and explains how this has arisen. Chapter 5 explains how UK universities conceive of philanthropy, and how they integrate it into their overall strategies. It quantifies the impact of philanthropic income, and explains its role as a driver of inequality among universities. Chapter 6 analyses UK university fundraising organisations and critiques the role of professional bodies in their development. Finally, Chapter 7 analyses how elite institutions deploy capital reserves in fundraising, and how this entrenches and perpetuates their advantage, and that of their graduates.

Chapter 8 summarises the key findings of this thesis and articulates its scholarly and practical contributions. It discusses the limitations of this study, and defines an agenda for future research.

Chapter 2 Literature review, theorisation, and research questions

2.1 Introduction

This study seeks to contribute to our understanding of philanthropy at UK universities in the wider context of UK society. It defines fundraising to be a function of universities, enacted within their organisations. University organisations are embedded in the wider context of British society and its institutions, and are assumed to possess the agency required to formulate and pursue strategies to achieve their objectives. Further, fundraising relies upon the philanthropic practices of individuals in society, and thus, there is a relationship between the agency of individuals, that of university organisations, and the wider institutions of society.

This study draws upon philanthropy and neoliberalism literature, and leverages Bourdieu's sociology, new institutionalism, and business strategy to create its framework of enquiry. There is an extensive literature on the history of UK universities, and a number of largely untheorized empirical studies of university fundraising have been published, mostly of US universities. These are incorporated into this review where they are relevant. Actively selecting literature to be joined when attempting to construct intertextual coherence is an important part of crafting a theorised storyline for academic writing (Golden-Biddle and Locke, 2007), and this chapter selects from, and then summarises, these disparate literature sources. It presents a review and critique of empirical literature that encompasses, firstly, UK universities in society, secondly, the role, purpose, and extent of philanthropy and fundraising at universities, and thirdly the micro-foundations of individual philanthropic behaviour. It then presents a theoretical framework for these three interlinked domains of study, locates this study's work within it, and concludes by defining the research questions that this thesis will address.

2.2 Universities and society

Higher education, as part of a highly evolved technological society, is understood as a specialised institution of that society, and is charged with the preservation and transmission of culture, including highly prized beliefs and intellectual skills (Halsey, 1961). It is also understood as an institution that both socialises individuals, and selects those best qualified to hold elite positions (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008). This traditional social democratic view of higher education sees it as a component of a society which includes a State that represents the interests of the population a whole, and as a critical enabler of the development of a modern economy (Halsey, 1961). Access to higher education should be equally available to all, and should be based upon merit, talent, or motivation (Naidoo, 2004), in order to produce educated individuals who will realise their full potential, and make the greatest possible contribution to economic prosperity. Higher education is thus understood as an engine to increase social mobility for the less privileged and reduce social inequality. With this understanding, UK government policy since the 1963 Robbins Report has been predicated on a commitment to grow capacity in UK universities to enhance the skills of the future workforce, and to enable the UK to compete internationally. Demand for graduates has risen since 1963, and social expectations, especially for women, have radically changed (Crewe, 2013).

From the 1980s onwards, neoliberalism shifted the relationship between higher education and the State away from one of “light touch” influence (the universities had autonomy to determine their own priorities and direction) to one of oversight, with the State being increasingly focused on “value for money” in public expenditure. Neoliberalism constituted a change in the material and social relations of UK society, which introduced notions of a competitive market driven by demand, target setting, the rigorous use of metrics as a way to deliver accountability, and new opportunities for profit (Ball, 2012; Taylor, 2013). In 1997, the Labour government identified “fair access” to university education across the social spectrum as a critical enabler of social mobility, and the coalition government (2010-2015) continued this policy (Crewe, 2013). Outreach to socially disadvantaged and underrepresented groups has been encouraged as a way of expanding the participation of these groups in higher education.

Academic literature on the function of higher education in society recognises two competing theorisations: liberal or re-allocative theories, which seek to explain higher education processes as mechanisms to enhance human capital, promote civic values, and develop and open and meritocratic society, and reproductive theories which seek to account for how education processes reproduce dominance and privilege, inculcate a dominant ideology, and prepare students for differentiated positions in the capitalist economy and social structure (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008). Bourdieu is a reproductive theorist, and his work on education in France reveals that what is presented as a liberating force ("l'école libératrice") which will increase social mobility is, in fact, a conservative one (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 32). His work shows how education perpetuates an essentially arbitrary cultural scheme, which, although it is presented as being grounded in technical selection and academic structures, is in fact based upon power, and serves to reproduce the structures of wider society (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Naidoo, 2004). His empirical work on the elite universities of France, the "grandes écoles", confirms the reproductive nature of education and how it covertly legitimates an essentially arbitrary set of social structures, thereby ensuring the perpetuation and reproduction of the status quo, and preserving the family status of French elites throughout history (Bourdieu, 1996a; Bourdieu, 2014). Work in other societies has confirmed the essential role of universities in reproducing class structures (Naidoo, 2004). Despite the best efforts of successive UK governments to broaden access to higher education, inequalities in access to higher education due to social class and race remain (Reay *et al.*, 2005; BBC News, 2017), and students from less privileged backgrounds may struggle at elite UK institutions because of lack of familiarity with prevailing social rules (Reay *et al.*, 2009).

Universities are understood by Bourdieu as having a high degree of autonomy and independence from political and economic forces, and are assumed to generate their own values and behavioural imperatives (Naidoo, 2004). However, the UK State has sought to enact policies to encourage philanthropic support of universities, as, inspired by the success of US universities, it attempted to persuade universities to embrace endowment building as a route financial independence (HM Government, 2003), administered a capacity building program for university fundraising functions (Department for Education and Skills, 2004; Higher Education Funding Council for

England (HEFCE), 2012), and funded a matching scheme for voluntary giving at English universities (Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), 2012). Consistent with a neoliberal ideal, such interventions were designed to promote philanthropic income as an income stream that an entrepreneurial and marketised university should be seeking to grow, as it moved away from being reliant upon State funding of research and student education.

Understandably, privatization and the marketization of the university sector have changed the behaviours of students and their parents, who increasingly behave as savvy and informed consumers, seeking value for money, and product “guarantees”, with fundamental implications for the pedagogical relationship that exists between student and faculty (Maringe, 2011; Busch, 2017). Universities have responded by adopting the trappings of private enterprises, such as mission statements, branding, and public strategy documents (Barnett, 2011; Chapleo, 2011; Clegg *et al.*, 2011; Sauntson and Morrish, 2011; Carter, 2013; Busch, 2017). Further, universities have been subject to the pressures of globalisation and internationalisation (Marginson, 2006; Ball, 2012; Marginson, 2012). Recognising that markets for students, staff, knowledge and information now operate globally, UK universities have begun to assess their performance with international comparators (and Times Higher Education have begun to feature global, rather than merely UK, rankings) (Jones-Devitt and Samiei, 2011; Taylor, 2013). International agreements and practices, such as the Bologna Process to standardise qualifications and transfer credit across the EU, were signed. Finally, many universities have sought to establish overseas campuses to extend their capacity to deliver education to key markets and encourage more overseas students.

In summary, the function of universities in UK society has changed as a result of government policy, which has been informed firstly by social democratic and subsequently by neoliberal influences. Despite government attempts to use universities as a tool to decrease social inequality, higher education may act covertly to perpetuate it. Neoliberalism has transformed the organising principles of UK universities to focus on performance, the supply of a product or service to customers, and the utility of supplementing university income using philanthropy, thereby changing the institutional logic of higher education in society (Friedland and Alford, 1991).

As I will show, most academic studies of universities and philanthropy have examined US universities and society and the behaviour of US donors. Later in this thesis, I will show that much UK practice has been influenced by a belief that US practices are readily portable to the UK. While the US may be understood to be broadly culturally similar to the UK (Hofstede, 2001), and the institutional logics of their polities may be similar (Jepperson, 2002), a single untheorized and lightly referenced paper challenges the view that the UK simply needs to emulate the US in how it conceptualises and operationalises university philanthropy. It describes how fundamental differences in the two societies impact fundraising, with US society believing that private solutions to social ills are most important and that goods and services to meet social needs should be provided privately, whereas in the UK, the responsibility for such provision lies with the government (Proper, 2009). Proper thus argues that a difference in social expectations and norms has influenced public attitudes to fundraising at universities. Proper identifies the UK's stricter privacy laws, fewer tax incentives, lack of traditional alumni loyalty, and different attitudes to "proper and seemly" motives to giving (my words) as challenges for UK university fundraisers (Proper, 2009). Institutional theorists understand that significant differences arise between societies because of differences in the regulatory, normative and cultural-cognitive characteristics of their institutions (Scott, 2014). Interpreted using Scott's framework, Proper's findings argue that the UK is in fact rather different to the US, and make a compelling case for examining UK university fundraising as a phenomenon situated distinctively in UK society. This study addresses this gap.

2.3 Universities and philanthropy

Organisationally, UK universities are private organisations, as they are not owned or operated by the State, although they are still funded to a significant degree by public money. They are constituted as charitable enterprises and thus lack a motive to produce pecuniary returns for shareholders. Unlike most other charities, however, they also function in a market place, where, as I will show, they are potentially competing for students, research funding, and talented academics. The classical view of the economic theory of private, profit-making firms is, however, of limited use in understanding their behaviour (Winston, 1999), although they should be able to act with agency to formulate strategy, and as I will show, are acutely aware of their competitive environment.

Universities, understood as a distinct class of organisations situated in society, have chosen to engage in fundraising activities by creating and resourcing development offices, whose objective is to raise philanthropic funds to support their university. Table 1 summarises academic papers which examine university fundraising at an organisational level. These studies were selected because they are directly relevant to the UK, or have featured in the bibliography of a UK government report (Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), 2012), indicating that they may have influenced UK government policy, or because they have a citation count on Google Scholar that indicates that they have contributed, albeit modestly, to our academic understanding of university fundraising organisations.

					University Characteristics					Fundraising Organisations and Practices			
Author(s)	Year	Region	Citation count (1)	Institutions studied	Number of alumni	Reputation and prestige	Entry tariff	Endowment funding	Attention to student experience	Fundraising Resources	Professionalization of fundraising	Alumni relationship building activities	Alumni solicitation activities
Perez-Esparrells and Torre	2012	UK, Spain	20	Cambridge University, University of Navarre	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	-
Daly	2013	UK	15	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-
Warren, Hoyler and Bell	2014	UK	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-
Warren, Hoyler and Bell	2016	UK	1	Not applicable (study of CASE)	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-
Leslie and Ramey	1988	US	209	Not specified	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

					University Characteristics					Fundraising Organisations and Practices			
Author(s)	Year	Region	Citation count (1)	Institutions studied	Number of alumni	Reputation and prestige	Entry tariff	Endowment funding	Attention to student experience	Fundraising Resources	Professionalization of fundraising	Alumni relationship building activities	Alumni solicitation activities
Harrison, Mitchell, Peterson	1995	US	148	18	-	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	-
Baade and Sundberg	1996	US	178	370	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oster	2001	US	21	938	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Cunningham and Cochi-Ficano	2002	US	125	415	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lindahl and Conley	2002	US	95	Not applicable (literature review)	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	X	X

					University Characteristics					Fundraising Organisations and Practices			
Author(s)	Year	Region	Citation count (1)	Institutions studied	Number of alumni	Reputation and prestige	Entry tariff	Endowment funding	Attention to student experience	Fundraising Resources	Professionalization of fundraising	Alumni relationship building activities	Alumni solicitation activities
Ehrenburg and Smith	2003	US	66	60	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Oster	2003	US	17	938	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Gunsalus	2005	US	31	195	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-
Gottfried and Johnson	2006	US	27	117	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	X
Liu	2006	US	21	161	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Sun, Hoffman and Grady	2007	US	84	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-

Author(s)	Year	Region	Citation count (1)	Institutions studied	University Characteristics: Number of alumni	Reputation and prestige	Entry tariff	Endowment funding	Attention to student experience	Fundraising Organisations and Practices: Fundraising Resources	Professionalization of fundraising	Alumni relationship building activities	Alumni solicitation activities
Terry and Macy	2007	US	32	196	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-
Gottfried	2008	US	13	1422	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lee	2008	US	8	147	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Levine	2008	US	32	58	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X
Proper, Caboni, Hartley and Willmer	2009	US	12	274	X	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	-

Notes
(1) Citation count from Google Scholar as at 22/2/2018

Table 1: Organizational-level studies and factors examined

Four studies of UK university fundraising organisations have been published. In a lightly referenced study, Pérez-Esparrells and Torre compare and contrast fundraising at Cambridge University in the UK, with University of Navarra in Spain. It is unclear what data was used or how it was gathered, as no details are given. The analysis presented is limited in scope, and its academic contribution unclear. None the less, the paper highlights the immaturity of fundraising in the sector, and some of the key common empirical characteristics of the two programs that the authors link to their success: the importance of creating and communicating a culture of philanthropy, the creation of a professional fundraising organisation within the university, the importance of donor stewardship and accountability, and the need to establish and exploit the universities' international reputation and presence (Pérez-Esparrells and Torre, 2012). Warren, Hoyler and Bell's review of alumni and other publications at two English universities highlights the tactics that universities are using to communicate the purpose and success of their fundraising efforts, thereby increasing their visibility. They identify the importance of CASE as a professional association and a means to circulate knowledge, and the celebration of philanthropic donations as a means to enhance the success and geographic reach of universities (Warren *et al.*, 2014). In a subsequent paper, the same authors explore the role of CASE and other professional networks in the emergence of "university development" as a profession. They interview the development directors at a sample of UK universities established during the 1960s, and highlight the practice and limitations of knowledge exchange between professionals who must simultaneously cooperate and compete (Warren *et al.*, 2016). Finally, the formation of professional identity for development directors has been studied at established and 92 universities (Daly, 2013). Fundraising at UK universities may thus be seen to have been little studied, and there remains a wide scope for a contribution to knowledge in analysing the extent and organisation of UK fundraising functions, the work that they do, and the degree to which they differ from one another.

Table 1 analyses a large number of empirical, quantitative US studies, which examine the relationship between the characteristics of universities and their ability to raise funds, and the constitution and practices of the fundraising organisations themselves. Unsurprisingly, US universities with larger numbers of alumni relative to the size of their student body receive higher levels of giving from their alumni, as well as higher foundation and corporate giving (Ehrenberg and Smith, 2003). Several papers explore the relationship between the reputation and prestige of an institution, and its ability to attract philanthropic support (Leslie and Ramey, 1988; Baade and Sundberg, 1996; Liu, 2006). They identify academic reputation, a university's ability to set a high entry tariff for students, and expenditure on teaching as key factors in predicting alumni support (Baade and Sundberg, 1996; Cunningham and Cochi-Ficano, 2002). Interestingly, a university's ability to attract donations from sources other than alumni - from individuals who are not alumni, or from foundations and corporations - boosts alumni donations too. This phenomenon is termed "crowding in", and is speculated to result from alumni interpreting non-alumni private donations as a signal of university quality (Gottfried, 2008). Having a large endowment has a significant and positive impact on US alumni giving rates, implying that alumni prefer to give to an institution that other people are also willing to support financially (Gottfried and Johnson, 2006; Liu, 2006; Terry and Macy, 2007; Proper *et al.*, 2009). Being possessed of a rapidly growing endowment causes adverse reactions among US donors, "crowding out" donations (Oster, 2001; Oster, 2003). Endowment growth is positively correlated with institutional entry tariff, research and development expenditure, tuition revenue and the alumni giving rate (Lee, 2008). Higher levels of endowment wealth are associated with higher levels of giving from all sources (not just alumni), creating a "virtuous" circle by which wealthier US universities become ever richer over time (Ehrenberg and Smith, 2003). Finally, creating the conditions to enhance the student experience, such as having a low student to faculty ratio, and a high proportion of students living on campus, is found to predispose students to developing a greater degree of affinity with their school and promote alumni giving (Gunsalus, 2005). Studies in the US thus suggest that the characteristics of a university are an important factor in its ability to attract philanthropic support. The size of the datasets in most studies in Table 1 indicate that findings should generally be reliable and generalizable within a US social context, however, institutional theory questions their applicability in the UK (Scott, 2014).

Table 1 analyses studies of university fundraising organisations, and their alumni engagement practices. Unsurprisingly again, resources applied to fundraising, measured as the staff size of a development organisation and total spending on alumni relations, are positively correlated with total funds raised (Harrison *et al.*, 1995; Proper *et al.*, 2009). US fundraising has become increasingly professionalised, with universities having a clear understanding of the skills and experience required in their development organisations (Lindahl and Conley, 2002). The importance of creating positive alumni experiences is highlighted, and alumni relationship-building activities, such as parties, reunions, newsletters and solicitations, are found to produce engaged alumni, who are more likely to donate (Gottfried and Johnson, 2006; Sun *et al.*, 2007; Levine, 2008). These findings are consistent with those correlating the post-university experience of alumni with propensity and capacity to give that I will describe in section 2.4.

Thus, studies to date have examined how universities enact fundraising as part of their organisations, their practices, and how the characteristics of universities influence their ability to attract philanthropic support. A single study, again US-based, has examined how philanthropic funds, once raised, are utilised by universities (Ehrenberg and Smith, 2003), by examining the relationship between the wealth of an institution (measured by endowment size) and how philanthropic funds raised are spent. Allocating spending between the broad categories of current expenditure (where funds are spent immediately they are raised), buildings and equipment (capital projects), and building their endowment, the study finds that higher levels of endowment wealth per student result in a greater share of annual giving being directed towards building the endowment (Ehrenberg and Smith, 2003). This study begins to address a notable gap in the literature: namely our poor understanding of how universities view philanthropic income and its purpose, and how they choose to utilise it. Such choices may impact their role in society, influence their position relative to other universities, and act upon their student bodies. This thesis offers a contribution to building our understanding of how university philanthropic income acts at the level of society, the university, and the individual student.

2.4 The individual, philanthropy, and universities

A very large academic literature exists in the domain of individual generosity and philanthropy spanning history, economics, social psychology, anthropology and sociology. Broadly speaking, in most UK historic sources, individual philanthropic giving is seen as an altruistic act associated with religious duty (Jordan, 1959; Owen, 1964; Prochaska, 1990; Bremner, 1994; Gray, 2015), a civic duty of the more affluent to support the less affluent (Bradley, 2009; Gray, 2015), or secular humanitarianism (Owen, 1964). A more recent survey of 500 academic papers on philanthropy confirms altruism as a contemporary motivator, but also highlights opportunities for the individuals to receive benefits in return for a donation, the potential of philanthropy to enhance the donor's social standing, and to improve their self-image (Bekkers and Wiepking, 2007), thereby broadening our understanding to include factors that may benefit the self. Psychological researchers have identified an instinct that emerges in middle adulthood, termed "generativity", to care for and invest in forms of life and work that will outlive the self (Kotre, 1984; Mcadams and Destaubin, 1992). This may be readily linked to investing in enduring philanthropic works, and the leaving of philanthropic legacies to charitable causes. Studies in the US of the giving behaviour of the wealthy have also confirmed that such donors not only give, but also receive benefits from the charitable organisations they support, and that they are especially attracted to support elite causes that validate their identities as elite actors (Ostrower, 1995). Further work extends the concept of benefit to donors still further by proposing a model of capital exchange between donor and charitable organisations that ultimately results in capital enhancement for the philanthropist (Harvey *et al.*, 2011). The motivation of individual donors may thus be seen to be complex, and to include factors which are self-interested as well as altruistic.

Universities, however, represent a distinctive class of charitable organisation. They are in the business of educating students, for many of whom their university education is transformational, and has the potential to build an enduring affinity with their university, grounded in a (generally) multi-year experience in the early and formative years of their adult lives. Universities therefore have, in their alumni, a "naturally occurring" constituency of potential donors, which they have built up as a result of executing their charitable missions. This distinguishes them from other types of charity, which must find creative and effective ways of identifying and building affinity with potential donors, without the benefit of this early and influential contact. A single review has attempted to develop a theoretically-informed understanding of the “specific case” of US alumni giving motivation (Mann, 2007). Consistent with the wider philanthropy literature, it finds that alumni may be motivated by altruism, reciprocity, the expectation of receiving direct benefits, feeling a connection with their university, or an understanding of the utility to the university of their gift. It does not, however, connect university practices to alumni behaviour, or examine the wider social processes that may be occurring.

As I will show, a proportion of philanthropic funds raised by some UK universities originates from their alumni. University fundraising as a profession had its origin in the US, where alumni donations constitute the largest proportion of annual donations received, when compared to contributions from other individuals, foundations, and corporations (Ehrenberg and Smith, 2003). Given this importance, it is unsurprising that numerous studies have been carried out with the objective of understanding alumni giving behaviour. The maturity of US university fundraising organisations compared to the UK has resulted in most studies being of US universities.

Table 2 summarises studies of alumni giving which were selected for inclusion because they are included in the bibliography of a recent UK government report (Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), 2012), and because their Google Scholar citation counts indicate they have contributed, at least modestly, to our academic understanding. The table includes the single UK study of alumni giving (Belfield and Beney, 2000). These studies are based on quantitative analysis of historic data and have the goal of formulating general rules about alumni giving behaviour, and making predictions about effective tactics that development professionals can employ to control future results. This is consistent with a classical positivist paradigm, although authors rarely make this explicit (Lincoln et al., 2011). These studies present a challenge to synthesize into a cohesive picture, as they are grounded in specific and often narrow empirical contexts (such as a single university), and utilise different constructs.

					Alumni Characteristics							Experience while Students			Post University Experience	
Author(s)	Year	Region	Citation Count (1)	Institutions Studied	Gender	Age	Religion	Social ties	Subject Studied	Level of degree	Part time/ Full time	Financial support	Extracurricular Act.	Affinity forming	Ongoing contact	Income
Belfield and Beney	2000	UK	118	2	X	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Okunade, Wunnava and Walsh	1994	US	121	1	X	X	-	-	X	X	-	-	X	-	-	-
Willemain, Goyal, Van Deven and Thukral	1994	US	54	1	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Harrison, Mitchell and Peterson	1995	US	148	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	-

					Alumni Characteristics							Experience while Students			Post University Experience	
Author(s)	Year	Region	Citation Count (1)	Institutions Studied	Gender	Age	Religion	Social ties	Subject Studied	Level of degree	Part time/ Full time	Financial support	Extracurricular Act.	Affinity forming	Ongoing contact	Income
Okunade and Berl	1997	US	112	1	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	X
Clotfelter	2001	US	129	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	X
Wunnava and Lauze	2001	US	132	1	X	X		X	X	-	-	-	X	X	X	-
Cunning-ham and Cochi-Ficano	2002	US	125	892	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-

					Alumni Characteristics							Experience while Students			Post University Experience	
Author(s)	Year	Region	Citation Count (1)	Institutions Studied	Gender	Age	Religion	Social ties	Subject Studied	Level of degree	Part time/ Full time	Financial support	Extracurricular Act.	Affinity forming	Ongoing contact	Income
Briechle	2003	US	8	1	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clotfelter	2003	US	233	34	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	X
Ehrenberg and Smith	2003	US	66	60	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Monks	2003	US	205	28	X	X	-	-	X	X	-	X	X	X	-	X
Hoyt	2004	US	47	1	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	-	X	X	X

					Alumni Characteristics							Experience while Students			Post University Experience	
Author(s)	Year	Region	Citation Count (1)	Institutions Studied	Gender	Age	Religion	Social ties	Subject Studied	Level of degree	Part time/ Full time	Financial support	Extracurricular Act.	Affinity forming	Ongoing contact	Income
Gaier	2005	US	113	1	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	X	-
Marr, Mullin and Siegfried	2005	US	87	1	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	X	X	-	-	-
Taylor and Martin	1995	US	108	1	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	X	X
Sun, Hoffman and Grady	2007	US	84	1	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	-
Terry and Macy	2007	US	32	196	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-

					Alumni Characteristics							Experience while Students			Post University Experience	
Author(s)	Year	Region	Citation Count (1)	Institutions Studied	Gender	Age	Religion	Social ties	Subject Studied	Level of degree	Part time/ Full time	Financial support	Extracurricular Act.	Affinity forming	Ongoing contact	Income
McDear-mon and Shirley	2009	US	53	1	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	X	-
Weerts and Ronca	2009	US	91	1	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	X	-
Wunnava and Okunade	2013	US	9	1	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	X

Notes
(1) Citation count from Google Scholar 22/2/2018

Table 2: Individual alumni giving studies and factors examined

Table 2 summarises their findings using a simple conceptual model developed for this study. The model is consistent with a strictly positivist paradigm, and postulates that the total funds raised from alumni giving at a particular university reflect both the propensity of alumni to make a gift, and their generosity. Propensity is measured by the alumni giving participation rate or the probability of any given alumnus being a donor. Generosity is measured by the size of the gift made. Both propensity to give and generosity are postulated to be related to the personal characteristics of alumni, the experience they had as students, and their experiences after graduation. In some instances, aggregation of the findings of studies yields results that appear to be generally consistent. For example, in one US study alumnus age is identified as a significant predictor of giving behaviour: alumni who give are predicted to grow their annual gifts until approximately age 52, thereafter they level off, before declining after retirement age is reached (Okunade *et al.*, 1994). Others find a similar pattern, but with increases potentially occurring until much later in life (82 years) (Willemain *et al.*, 1994; Wunnava and Lauze, 2001). Further studies concur, and find that age is the most significant predictor of alumni donation, and young alumni are generally giving at a low level, presumably because older alumni possess greater wealth and therefore the have a greater capacity to give (Okunade and Berl, 1997; Monks, 2003; Sun *et al.*, 2007). In other instances, US study findings are contradictory: some studies find that alumni who participated in at least one extra-curricular student activity during their undergraduate years show a higher propensity to give (Clotfelter, 2001; Monks, 2003; Gaier, 2005; Wunnava and Okunade, 2013), while in others, the converse was found to be true (Weerts and Ronca, 2009). Alumni who participated in extracurricular activities also more generous.

The single UK study analysed in Table 2 examines alumni data from two anonymised UK universities (Belfield and Beney, 2000). Its findings partly agree with the US: graduates of certain subjects (law and medicine) are more likely to give than others (education and social sciences), although this effect is more marked at one institution than the other; giving generally increases with alumni age, before plateauing at age 66 or 61 (compared to 52 in the US (Okunade *et al.*, 1994)); married alumni are more generous than unmarried. In other areas, their findings conflict: in the UK, females are more likely to give, in contrast to the US, where they were less generous (Ehrenberg and Smith, 2003; Gaier, 2005; Sun *et al.*, 2007; Terry and Macy, 2007), or no gender-based difference was found (Okunade *et al.*, 1994; Wunnava and Lauze, 2001; Monks, 2003; Marr *et al.*, 2005; McDearmon and Shirley, 2009).

To summarise, our understanding of individual motivations for philanthropic giving has widened to encompass self-interested factors as well as the traditional view of philanthropy as motivated by altruism. The specific context of individuals giving to universities has been extensively studied, primarily in the US. Most work to date has consisted of quantitative studies of alumni giving behaviour based upon historic data. The fact that the findings of such studies may be neatly fitted into the reductionist model of that I postulated when organising my review of alumni giving literature in Table 2, indicates that a simplistic and mechanical view of university fundraising predominates in the literature, based on limited factors that are assumed to apply in all contexts. However, many of the studies in Table 2 are conducted at a single university, casting doubt upon the generalisability of their results outside of their immediate study context. Further, such studies also do not produce research that would constitute a reliable basis for comparing fundraising at different universities. Contradictions in the studies' empirical findings suggest that no universal "law of alumni giving" has yet been formulated, and the paucity of replication studies seems to suggest that few researchers have yet been brave enough to test their constructs outside of their original context. Viewed from the positivist perspective of most of the studies, they have not succeeded in identifying, and controlling for, all the variables that bear upon the situation.

In summary, this chapter has briefly reviewed current literature on universities and their role in society, our understanding of philanthropy and fundraising at universities, and donor behaviour. This review has highlighted that most work has been done to study US universities, with very little completed on UK institutions, thereby neglecting to incorporate into our understanding an appreciation of how societal differences between the US and the UK may act upon fundraising. This is surely a significant gap in the literature, rendered all the more important by the observation that UK government policy and the understanding of some practitioners, as I will show, seems to be predicated upon an assumption that UK fundraising should be influenced by US practice.

Further, many studies are of single universities or small samples, calling into question how generalizable and reliable their conclusions may be outside of their immediate study context. Current literature has focussed upon giving by alumni and presents an essentially narrow and deterministic view of university fundraising works: solicit your alumni base, engage with them appropriately, and philanthropic contributions will surely follow. How large these philanthropic contributions will be is determined by the size of the alumni base, how engaged, and therefore likely to contribute, alumni are, and how large their capacity to give is. Current literature has not fully examined the factors that may influence giving to universities by individuals who are not alumni, foundations or corporate donors.

Current studies give little consideration to the capacity of organisations to influence university fundraising by making deliberate and purposive choices, such as decisions about how to enact fundraising, what to fundraise for, and how to spend the funds raised. No UK study has as yet considered how accumulated historic philanthropic wealth, in the form of endowments, may be used by those institutions fortunate enough to possess it. These choices are likely to be instrumental in explaining how and why inequality has arisen between different universities' ability to attract philanthropic funds, a subject on which current university fundraising literature has limited contribution to make.

Many of studies cited in this chapter are lightly theorised, where they are theorised at all. This is consistent with the overall observation that theorisation in philanthropy studies is not fully developed, and limited progress has been made thus far (Bekkers and Wiepking, 2007). Defining theory as "…a statement of concepts and their interrelationships that shows how and/or why a phenomenon occurs" (Corley and Gioia, 2011), helps to clarify the basic requirements which constitute theory. Work to date has focussed on describing the phenomenon of university fundraising in terms of what is happening, for example, who is contributing and how much, and which fundraising practices seem to produce superior results, rather than the processes which underlie the phenomena observed.

It is with these shortcomings in mind that I have adopted a different approach in this study, based upon a wider scope of investigation that will consider a broader range of factors – structural, organisational, strategic – with the aim of developing a more comprehensive and convincing explanation of the phenomenon of UK university fundraising. The study will examine donor behaviour, UK university fundraising organisations, and the relationship between fundraising and university missions, with the overall objective of explaining the role of fundraising in creating and sustaining the inequality that exists among UK universities, and their graduates.

2.5 Theoretical framework and research questions

This section describes the components of a theoretical framework that will be used in the study. It identifies and defines key theoretical concepts, and how they relate to one another. These key concepts will then be used to frame the study's research questions, and, in the chapter that follows, the overall research design. The challenge for a study like this is to frame its work at the collective (organisational) level, while acknowledging that actions at the micro or individual level represent a fundamental structuring force. Further, organisations, such as universities are situated in a wider society, and theoretical framing needs to account for the liminal phenomena that occur at the boundary between an organisation and its broader social context. Accordingly, this study will draw upon sociological theory, with the intention of examining both individual and organisational levels and their interplay. It also draws upon institutional theory to understand how conservative forces act, and upon business strategy to understand the agentic role of universities and fundraising, and how change may occur.

Universities represent a set of organisations undertaking a broadly similar set of research and teaching activities, and fundraising is a function that is part of their administrative activity. A cornerstone of my theoretical framework addresses the system of relations between these organisations, and for this I will be drawing upon field theory. Three variants of "field" are commonly used in the sociology of the non-profit sector: Bourdieusian, New Institutionalist, and, more recently, strategic action fields (DiMaggio, 1991; Fligstein and McAdam, 2012; Thomson, 2014). In this study, I will be examining and explaining the inequality in the fundraising ability of UK universities, which is linked to their position relative to one another, so have elected to use Bourdieusian theory, which conceptualises a "field" as a social space in which power differentials between actors are the key driver of social action at the intermediate level of society (Barman, 2016). Universities are therefore understood as being embedded in a field, which is characterised by complex relations of power with other universities (Naidoo, 2004), and is subject to external political pressure, such as neoliberalism or the desire to pursue social justice by expanding access to higher education (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008; Ball, 2012; Crewe, 2013; Taylor, 2013). Bourdieu emphasises the analytical distinction between the structure of the distribution of power within a field, and interactions between organisations in a field (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008), thereby focussing attention on the systems social relations that pertain. This will be a focus of the analysis of this thesis.

Bourdieu uses different metaphors for “field” at various points in his career, describing it variously as a region of social space in which conflict occurs, a “battle field”, or in which a game is played. a “football field”, or as analogous to a field in physics, which may be loosely defined as a region of space over which the effects of force may be felt or measured (Thomson, 2014). Each of these metaphors has certain characteristics in common: the emphasis on boundaries, with a distinction between conditions within and outside the field, the notion of struggle, actors inside the field playing according to rules with the intention of winning, forces acting within a boundary to influence behaviours, events and outcomes, and there being something at stake that it is worth playing for.

Possibly his clearest and most pragmatic (from a research perspective) exposition of the notion of a “field” was given in Bourdieu’s 1992 University of Chicago workshop, in response to a question, as:

> “…a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of the species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology etc.)” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 97)

Here, Bourdieu is focussing on the internal characteristics of a field as a system of social relations. Some actors dominate others. Each actor is endowed with specific resources (termed “capital”) that dictate their relative positions within a power hierarchy, and determine how successful they are at reaping the benefits of being part of the field. Field are not immutable, and field conditions may change suddenly, such as when 1992 Higher Education Acts expanded the number of universities in the UK, and university funding changed in the late 1990s and 2000s.

Bourdieu uses capital as the structuring concept for describing fields as social spaces in differing empirical contexts - the social space of academic faculties (Bourdieu, 1988), social positions and lifestyles (Bourdieu, 1984), and, most significantly for this study, the social space of higher educational institutions (Bourdieu, 1996a), thereby confirming its utility as a theoretical construct applicable not just to individuals but to organisations as well. Actors possess both economic capital (defined to include wealth, income and property) and cultural capital (defined to include knowledge, culture and educational credentials) (Bourdieu, 1986). Taken together, these two forms of capital make up the total quantity of capital possessed by an actor, and the relative proportions of each will vary between actors, allowing the "dominant" to be distinguished from the "dominated" (Swartz, 1997). A third form of capital is "social capital", which comprises acquaintances, social networks and social skill (Swartz, 1997).

Bourdieu recognises a fourth type of capital -"symbolic capital" - which is a form derived from the first three, the possessors of which may legitimately demand recognition, deference, obedience or the services of others (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Harvey *et al.*, 2011). It is "denied capital" in that it disguises the underlying interested relations as disinterested pursuits, and is present as a component of "symbolic power", or "world-making power", which is the capacity to impose and legitimate actors' vision of the social world and its divisions (Swartz, 1997). Misrecognised systems of social relations therefore signal the presence of symbolic capital, and the imposition of particular world view by dominant actors, which is a key mechanism in preserving their dominance in a field. Symbolic capital is postulated to include reputation, which is an economic concept defined as a generalised expectation about future behaviour or performance, based on collective perceptions of past behaviour and performance. It is based upon real or perceived differences in quality or merit that generate earned, performance-based rewards (Washington and Zajac, 2005; Deephouse and Suchman, 2008). Finally, organisations competing in the same field would seek to distinguish themselves from one another by means of symbolic position-taking in the way that they define their missions and the services they provide, and they would do so relationally to one another (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Field structure can thus be understood in terms of quantities of capital possessed, or by the position-taking of actors within it. I shall explore the relationship between university symbolic capital and economic capital, and use quantities of capital and relational position taking to understand the structure of the university field in Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis.

Individual universities vie with one another for philanthropic support, research and other funding, students, and talented academics, and are embedded in a society whose expectations of higher education are continually reassessed and redefined. The formulation of strategy has long been understood as a response to such competition and change, and as a way of securing an enduring competitive advantage (Porter, 1985; Clegg *et al.*, 2011). Recent work has focussed on understanding how distinctive or unique organisational competencies may constitute a basis for competitive advantage that will endure, because they are difficult or impossible for others to imitate or copy (Kay, 1993; Teece *et al.*, 1997; Teece, 2009). For universities, organisational competencies will include assets such as the skill and renown of their academic research and teaching staff, their campus facilities, and their network of social relationships (Bourdieu's social capital). It would be expected that universities will focus management attention on, and dedicate resources, such as those produced by university fundraising, to the acquisition and retention of such assets, and that, as a result, university strategies will reflect both the uniqueness of their current situation, and a tailored set of priorities and projects designed to deliver superior performance. Further, research has highlighted that successful organisations are ambidextrous, and are able to focus simultaneously on exploiting current capabilities, while exploring, and ultimately developing, new competencies (Raisch and Birkinshaw, 2008; Raisch *et al.*, 2009). Finally, the practice of strategy is understood to take place within a field in which diverse actors produce and consume strategy, and which includes not just the organisation itself but state institutions, consulting firms and gurus (Whittington *et al.*, 2003).

Both strategy formulation and the taking of positions are deliberate acts of agency on behalf of an organisation, but which are initiated by individuals. Agency may be understood as a chordal triad, sounding simultaneously to produce an overall effect that is the product of all three elements, albeit in different relative quantities in any specific empirical instance of action. Firstly, the iterational element refers to the selective reactivation of past patterns of thought and actions, which contribute to the stability of identities, interactions and institutions (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). This contributes to the maintenance of the status quo. The second element, the projective element, encompasses the imaginative generation of possible future trajectories of action, in which actors may creatively reconfigure received structures of thought and action in relation to hopes, fears and desires for the future (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). This element opens up the possibility of change and the ability of actors, through purposive action and choices, to change the trajectory they are on. Finally, the practical-evaluative element entails the capacity of actors to make practical and normative judgements about possible alternative trajectories of action, in response to emerging demands, dilemmas and ambiguities occurring in the present (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). This element allows actors to respond sensitively to the context in which they find themselves, and to apply their experience and skill to shaping their future trajectory. Chapter 5 analyses UK university strategy, and explains the role of human agency, fundraising and philanthropic income in strategy realisation.

If carefully crafted strategy may be understood as a potentially disruptive and transformational force (Carter *et al.*, 2010), then institutional theory may provide insights into why organisations in society may exhibit conservative behaviour, so that the status quo is maintained. DiMaggio and Powell’s much cited work on organisational isomorphism suggests that organisations become increasingly similar to one another, even as they attempt to differentiate themselves within a field. They are subject to coercive processes, stemming from political pressures from governments and from cultural expectations. Mimetic processes are a response to uncertainty in a field, and normative processes act primarily as result of professionalization (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Changes in field conditions imposed by the UK State, the emergence of university fundraising as a profession in the UK, and the establishment of CASE as a professional body and source for “leading practice”, are all factors that would potentially lead to the development of rationalised myths. These may result in isomorphism and organisations deciding to decouple what they actually do from what they are required to be seen to be doing to conform (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Boxenbaum and Jonsson, 2008). Further, cooperative coalitions of professionals, such as CASE, are theorised to have their own internal power dynamics (Huxham and Vangen, 2000) and to seek legitimacy as a way of securing other resources (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Suddaby *et al.*, 2017). They also need to establish themselves as competent, credible, and believable in order to achieve performativity to influence practitioners in the field (Mueller, 2017). Chapter 6 analyses fundraising functions within university organisations, and critiques the role of CASE.

As I have described, universities compete with one another, and their success (or otherwise) may be postulated to be related to their reputations (Bourdieu's symbolic capital). It is likely that wealthy donors will favour UK universities with superior reputations when choosing an institution to support, as they have been shown to do in the US (Ostrower, 1995). Similarly, families and potential students will be likely to weigh the reputation of a university when applying, and employers may weigh university reputations when making graduate recruitment decisions. Students ultimately graduate and become alumni, whose economic capacity to support their alma mater is linked to their employment prospects, and their earnings potential. The links between university reputation (symbolic capital) and economic capital of alumni are explored in Chapter 7.

Further, both organisational and individual actors possess capital, and this study will be examining the transfer of capital from organisation to individual, and vice versa. Bourdieu's sociology provides a tool for linking individual behaviour and practice to the social structures of organisations and wider society with what he terms "habitus" (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Habitus is a system of social arrangements, occurring in a particular organisational or societal context, that acts upon individuals to shape current and future practices (Bourdieu, 1977). Habitus, as a shared experience, also produces "doxa", the intuitive knowledge that individuals possess about how things do, and should, work (Deer, 2014). Such knowledge may be explicit or implicit, remaining unarticulated and pre-reflexive. Doxa often manifests itself as a set of unspoken, unexpressed assumptions about what constitutes valid and legitimate action (Deer, 2014). It is interesting to note the covert nature of "doxa", and the assumption that skilled actors have a finely developed sense of what is permissible and acceptable, even if they will not, or cannot, explicitly articulate the rules that they play by. Bourdieu understands that the practices of individuals, such as alumni giving, result from the interplay of their exposure to habitus, their capital endowments, and prevailing field conditions (Bourdieu, 1977; Maton, 2014), and I shall be using this construct to analyse fundraising and philanthropy at elite UK universities in Chapter 7.

In summary, the objectives of this study are to analyse and explain the phenomenon of fundraising at UK universities, its role in society, and its micro-foundations in individual behaviour. Accordingly, this thesis will address the following summary research questions:

1. What is the current “state of play” in UK university fundraising, and how has it arisen? - Chapter 4
2. How do UK universities conceptualise and enact philanthropy as part of their overall strategy? - Chapter 5
3. What fundraising capabilities do UK universities possess, and how do they differ from one another? - Chapter 6
4. How do UK universities leverage their endowments of capital in fundraising? - Chapter 7

Chapter 3 Research design and methods

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 describes and justifies the research approach adopted in this study of UK university fundraising. It reviews the metaphysical assumptions that underpin the work, and how they influenced its methodology and choice of methods. It outlines a two-phased study design, and the methods used in each. It provides an account of the study's research process and procedures, some of the challenges encountered as work progressed, and how these were addressed. An overview of the study's data is presented, and this is critically evaluated with regard to completeness. Finally, the ethical position of the researcher is explored, and the key practical issues of anonymity for study participants and data management are discussed.

3.2 Study ontology and epistemology

This thesis is underpinned by the constructivist ontological premise that reality in the domain of university fundraising is the product of the mental constructions of knowledgeable actors in the field, including university development professionals, university leaders, and philanthropic supporters. As such, there is no single version of reality, but instead it is created inter-subjectively through the meanings and understandings developed by these actors, and by this researcher when she interacts with them in the social world (Lincoln *et al.*, 2011). Developing an understanding of social reality requires interpretation, and both the researcher and the actors in the field are situated in the "lifeworld" of language and socio-historical understanding (Angen, 2000). There is, therefore, no objective point of view outside of the social context from which an observer may establish what truth is. Indeed, all interpretations of reality need to recognised as situated in temporal and social contexts, and therefore may be open to re-interpretation (Angen, 2000).

Epistemologically, new knowledge presented in this thesis has resulted primarily from my interactions with actors in field - in interviews and other related correspondence - but also secondarily from hermeneutics - specifically, the interpretation of the meanings of domain-specific texts , such as strategy documents, annual reports and financial reports. The approach I have taken generally begins with hermeneutics, then proceeds to attempt to develop an understanding of actors' individual realities dialectically, in the expectation that findings will emerge from this dual-track research process (Lincoln *et al.*, 2011).

3.3 Study objectives, methodology and overall research design

The research questions for this study define the domain of its enquiry as the social space of university fundraising. The study's objectives are to analyse, understand, and interpret the meaning of the phenomena discovered. Methodology is defined as a way of thinking about and studying social phenomena (Corbin and Strauss, 2015), or a combination of techniques used to inquire into a specific situation (Easterby-Smith et al., 2015), and the methodological choices presented here reflect the constructivist ontological and epistemological positions adopted in this study (Easterby-Smith et al., 2015).

In Chapter 2, field theory was identified as an overarching theoretical concept to be used in this study. In discussing methodological considerations for field-based studies, Fligstein and McAdam contend:

> "Quantitative techniques allow us to observe many groups over long historical periods. They allow scholars to observe the emergence of political coalitions and incumbent-challenger structures and observe how these structures can remain stable over time. They also provide for how shocks to such structures can be absorbed or force transformation of the field. Qualitative studies provide us with dense accounts of how individual fields evolve. They provide a [sic] grounds for directly observing the role of the state and law, the use of resources and position, and the ability to identify critical actors in the formation of strategic action fields. These techniques operate in a complementary rather than a contradictory fashion." (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012, pp. 198-99).

The authors identify roles for both quantitative and qualitative research methods in field-based studies. Quantitative analysis is useful for describing the dynamics and interrelationships for the set of actors that comprise a field, and introducing a temporal dimension to describe how the system of social relations changes (or does not!) over time. Accordingly, quantitative methods will be used to analyse the "state of play" in university fundraising and how it has arisen in this study's first research question. Quantitative analysis of the whole field of universities is supplemented by a qualitative analysis of findings from the universities participating in this study, to explain the social processes that produce the quantitative findings.

Qualitative analysis is appropriate for producing deep accounts of how fields evolve, and the social processes involved. It is useful to explore the meanings and significance of the actions of skilled social actors, who are situated within their specific social contexts, so that social processes are revealed. Qualitative techniques, applied to data gathered for the universities featured in this study, provide insights to address how UK universities understand and enact philanthropy as part of their strategies, how they have established their fundraising capabilities, and how they leverage their endowments of capital. A theoretically-informed approach to understanding the history of university development has been adopted, where applicable, consistent with contemporary practice in business history and sociology (Carter and McKinlay, 2013; McKinlay, 2013a; McKinlay, 2013b).

One of the debates in contemporary qualitative research revolves around the degree to which a researcher should enter the field with or without pre-conceived ideas, informed by prior research (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2015). Indeed, as a practical matter, it is difficult to imagine how one might design a study without at least some knowledge of prior work, or the world in general. How else would one know that the topic was worthy of investigation, or identify lacunae to be addressed so that one was not duplicating the efforts of others? I have therefore adopted a pragmatic and flexible approach to building understanding prior to entering the field, drawing upon insights from both technical and non-technical sources, and academic, grey and practitioner literatures.

The work of this study thus comprised two phases: firstly, a preliminary phase whose objectives were to build my understanding by analysing the field of all UK universities, the social relations within it, and what was known already about fundraising. Specifically, this phase identified the dominant and subordinate actors, and described the evolution of the field over the period 1989 - 2014. Analysis was quantitative, based upon data derived from publicly available historic documents, and used descriptive statistics to analyse field-level phenomena. Findings from this phase informed the design of the second phase of work, and permitted subsequent analysis to be situated accurately within the wider social context of the field. Findings from this first phase of work, augmented with those from the second, are presented in Chapter 4.

A second phase of work was then undertaken to develop an understanding of the socially constructed experiences of actors, and their basis of knowledge. With such a large field of study, and the constraints imposed by having limited study resources, only a selection of actors could feasibly be included in the study. The findings from the preliminary phase of work were used to identify and select universities from dominant and subordinate positions in the field for intensive study. This phase of work was designed as a multi-case study, using a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques to explore phenomena. Findings from the second phase of work are presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

The preliminary phase of work was largely completed before beginning work on the second phase, which was carried out in the period October 2016 - June 2017. The following sections present and justify the methods chosen, and the research and analysis processes for each phase of work.

3.4 Phase 1: Profiling the field of UK universities and fundraising

A key research objective for this study was to understand how university fundraising and the field of universities has evolved over a historical period. This study was concerned with the evolution of university fundraising since the exogenous shock of the 1992 Higher Education Acts. It was therefore temporally bounded, with the points of greatest interest being: the most recent date for which complete data was available at the start of the study (2014), 1992 and the period immediately afterwards, when the new universities were being established, and 1989, which represents a baseline for understanding the state of the field before any 92 Acts-related changes occurred. Taking a 25 year view (1989 to 2014), and commencing before the 1992 Acts, allowed for any field level changes to occur, and their impact to be fully realised.

Fundraising is understood as a function of UK universities, and development organisations are organisational units inside the formal bureaucratic hierarchy of their institutions. I have already identified in Chapter 2 that the evolution of such organisations may be related to the evolution of the field of universities, and that this latter may be characterised by the quantity and type of capital resources possessed by higher educational institutions.

In order to describe the "state of play" and relative positions of universities in the field at any point in time, their degree of dominance and power was defined and measured. As described in Chapter 2, Bourdieu considers that conflict forms the basis of all social arrangements, and consists in the struggle for symbolic as well as physical resources. Actors possess both "economic" capital (wealth, income and property) and "cultural" capital (defined to include knowledge, culture and educational credentials) (Bourdieu, 1986; Swartz, 1997). For the field of universities, I postulated a set of measures of power and dominance as follows:

- Economic capital, as accumulated financial resources, in the form of aggregated university endowments, and the ability to derive an income from endowments to supplement other forms of income
- Symbolic capital as reputational or status measures, comprising UK and global university rankings

As a practical matter, historic information about endowments and income was discovered in the annual reports and accounts filed by universities and colleges. University rankings were taken from the earliest authoritative source, the Times Higher Education rankings.

Data collection proceeded by obtaining from HESA the dataset of university filings for the years 2009/10 through 2013/14 for all UK universities. This became the source for 2014 data. Most university and college websites had pdf documents available for download for the previous few years' annual reports and accounts. This study, however, was interested in financial information from the years ended 1989 and 1992/3/4, the era before the internet and Adobe Acrobat. Historic documents from universities that existed in 1989 and 1992 were obtained by issuing Freedom of Information requests (under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act 2000) for the annual reports and accounts for the relevant years. For new universities created by the 1992 Acts, I requested these documents for the first year in which they were officially registered as a university. In some cases this was 1992, but more frequently 1993, and occasionally 1994. In most cases, university websites had an email account to which requests were submitted. Some required completion of an online form. Oxford and Cambridge colleges, being constituted as independent charities, produce their own annual reports and accounts, and again, only recent years were available for download from the internet. Accordingly, I issued Freedom of Information requests to individual colleges via email.

Although the Freedom of Information Act requires a response to requests be provided within 30 days, many institutions did not respond within this prescribed time frame, and I initiated follow up, in three cases needing to raise a formal complaint when my follow up was ignored. In total, 320 individual email threads were generated to collect what data was available under the Freedom of Information Act. Each thread contained a minimum of three emails, and many had significantly more.

While most universities provided the information free of charge, in some cases, institutions levied a nominal charge for furnishing it. If this was less than £20, then I paid to obtain data. Quoted charges, however, ranged up to £280 (Queen Mary, University of London) to retrieve material from their archive, scan and send a copy. I could not justify this expense within the overall objectives of the study, so these data points are missing from the data set. Cambridge colleges responded individually to requests. When I issued Freedom of Information Requests to Oxford Colleges, however, I received a response from the Director of Conference of Colleges Secretariat that accounts for the colleges were bound into “Blue Books” and available to borrow via an interlibrary loan from the Bodleian library. I initiated the interlibrary loan process via Newcastle University library, only to discover, after two months of waiting and negotiation, that the Bodleian does not in fact allow these materials out on loan, and they could only be consulted in person. Accordingly, I visited the Upper Reading room of the Bodleian library on 30th January, 2017 and photographed the contents of the Blue Books for 1989 and 1992 with my digital camera. The Durham colleges that exist as independent colleges (St Chads and St Johns) are constituted as companies. Their annual accounts were obtained from the archive at Companies House for the nominal fee of £3 per document.

The following table summarises responses received to Freedom of Information Requests, and the completeness of the dataset for this study at each of the key temporal reference points:

Year ended	1989	1992	2014
# Universities	60	99	161
# Complete data points	46	86	161
% of field covered	77	87	100
Reasons for missing data:			
- Refusal to respond to FOI request	1	1	-
- Accounts unavailable because lost/destroyed	4	4	-
- Accounts unavailable for other reason	6	6	-
- Accounts do not contain necessary disclosures for analysis	3	2	-
Total missing data points	14	13	0

Table 3: UK Universities' historical data set statistics

Times Higher Education rankings were first published in 1992, after the first wave of polytechnics were granted university status. I obtained a copy of the original "Good University Guide" from1993 from a rare book dealer (O'Leary and Cannon, 1993). 2014 ranking data was taken from the 2016 edition of the guide (O'Leary, 2015).

Data was loaded into Numbers (the Apple spreadsheet package), either electronically, in the case of HESA data, or by keying in manually in the case of pdf files or paper documents. Data cleaning consisted of simple checksum procedures, such as cross checking totals, to eliminate errors where data had been manually keyed, and critical review of coding and outliers to confirm validity. Data was organised with universities as rows (records), against which data items were recorded (attributes). HESA's "institution id" was used as the primary key for data entry for records. This is a unique identifier assigned to a university, and allowed data to be compared across years when universities had changed their names, which occurred frequently, or had merged with others.

Over the 25 year period of study, the layout, format and content of university financial statements and their disclosures have varied as different accounting standards have been introduced and adopted. In order to facilitate meaningful comparisons, financial statement information from 1992-4 and 1989 was re-cast into the format prescribed by the 2014 HESA submissions. This involved scrutiny of individual institutions' financial statements and their associated disclosure notes. In 1989, three institutions, and in 1992-4 two institutions, published financial statements that contained insufficient information for this process to be completed.

College financial statements have also varied in their prescribed format over the 25 year study period. Both Oxford and Cambridge universities have historically adopted their own reporting layouts, formats and disclosure requirements. These differ from each other, from year to year, and from the prevailing accounting standards in use by other types of charity. The limits imposed by the information available have constrained the analysis that I was able to perform, as is summarized in the following table:

Analysis Year 2014	Universities	Oxford Colleges	Cambridge Colleges	Durham Colleges
Endowment Size	Completed	Completed	Completed	Completed
Income Analysis	Completed	Summary analysis only possible	Completed	Completed
Analysis Year 1992	Universities	Oxford Colleges	Cambridge Colleges	Durham Colleges
Endowment Size	Completed	Oxford Colleges did not prepare balance sheets = no data!	Cambridge Colleges did not prepare balance sheets = no data!	Not possible to determine based on information disclosed
Income Analysis	Completed	Summary analysis only possible	Not possible - accounts not in Income / Expense format	Not possible to determine based on information disclosed
Analysis Year 1989	Universities	Oxford Colleges	Cambridge Colleges	Durham Colleges
Endowment Size	Completed	Oxford Colleges did not prepare balance sheets = no data!	Cambridge Colleges did not prepare balance sheets = no data!	Unable to identify endowment on balance sheet
Income Analysis	Completed	Summary Analysis only possible	Not possible - accounts not in Income / Expense format	Not possible - accounts not in Income / Expense format

Table 4: Summary of financial analysis performed for the study

Records with missing attributes were excluded from the relevant analyses, and no attempt was made to interpolate or estimate attribute values. For all data points, the completeness of the university data sets for 1989 and 1992 was 77% and 87% respectively (see Table 3) and was judged sufficient to produce meaningful and reliable results, even absent the missing data. Furthermore, it should be noted that the valuation basis for endowments changed from historic cost to market valuation during the period 1989 to 2014, removing the ability to perform valid longitudinal financial analysis. Cross-sectional comparisons of different universities or colleges for a given datum year, however, are valid.

Inequality in the field was quantified using the Gini coefficient, a statistical measure of inequality in a population. The Gini coefficient may range in value from 0, implying perfect equality and all members of a population possessing the same resources, to 1, representing perfect inequality and a single member of a population having all resources, while all the others have none (Black et al., 2012). Gini coefficients were calculated using the formula from the United Nations Economic Commission on Europe's Canberra Group Handbook on Household Income Statistics (available from: http://www.unece.org/stats/groups/cgh.html page 78 Accessed 21/1/2016).

For university ranking data, the population of universities in the field grew from 99 in 1992 to 161 in 2014. I used deciles to segment the rankings in order to allow comparisons between populations of different sizes to be validly made. I analysed movements between deciles to identify any significant risers and fallers, considering a change in decile of two of more in either direction to be significant. I considered movement of a single decile could be attributed to stochastic effects or changes in the ranking framework.

3.5 Phase 2: Multi-case study

This phase of the study sought to understand how and why the current level of inequality has arisen within the context of UK university fundraising. It examined how knowledgeable actors in the field conceived of the role of philanthropy and fundraising, how they organised their activities, and how they socially constructed their work. Consistent with Bourdieu's emphasis on the primacy and analytical distinctiveness of social structures and power relations, it focused on an examination of the structure of the distribution of resources between organisational and individual actors, rather than their interactions (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). It analysed objective indicators of the position of organisations, such as their size and philanthropic funds raised, and of individuals, such as salary or state honours granted. It also analysed indicators of position-taking, such as organisational mission or academic subjects offered, or patterns of individual charitable giving (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Enquiry into the domain was situated in the current temporal context - it examined current practice, acknowledging that, while actors are possessed of cumulative experiences that inform their current dispositions and agency (habitus), they would be unlikely to be able to account for the past actions of others, especially where they were new in their roles. This phase of the study was designed as a multi-case study, and used qualitative techniques based on grounded theory in analysing data.

Yin recommends case methods as being appropriate when a researcher is investigating the causation of contemporary events, and has no control over the context of events, or when the boundaries between the phenomena being investigated and the context are not clear (Yin, 2013). Case methods are especially recommended where there may be many variables involved in causation - such as those relating to how a university defines the purpose of its fundraising, how it organises resources dedicated to it, its heritage and approach to recruiting students, the types of fundraising and development engaged in, or the nature and number of the potential philanthropic funding sources it engages with (Yin, 2013).

The "case" will be taken as the unit of analysis for this study (Yin, 2013). A case broadly equates to a university, and the development activities it performs. Cases are situated within specific geographical contexts, which include the different home nations of the UK, and regions within them. The social contexts of cases are characterised by their heritages, the mission of their university, their relations with the communities they operate in, and relations with their alumni and other donor bases, all of which were examined to answer the research questions formulated in Chapter 2. As a practical matter, case analysis was focussed on the current temporal frame, because preliminary investigations indicated few archival materials existed, and current incumbents in leadership positions within university development organisations had typically not have been in post very long, as will be shown in Chapter 6.

Multiple case or comparative case studies yield evidence that is more compelling, and therefore more robust, and have the potential to develop theory by recognising the patterns of relationships among constructs across cases (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007; Yin, 2013). As university fundraising has been shown to be an area that has been under theorised, using a multi-case design created an opportunity for a theoretical contribution from this study. A multi-case design would also produce findings that were more likely to be generalizable (Yin, 2013; Taylor and Søndergaard, 2017), and improve upon the UK studies listed in Tables 1 and 2 in Chapter 2, which have so far have been designed as studies of single universities or small samples. Knowing that inequality was present among universities, I selected an initial target list of cases which exhibited maximum variation in heritage and fundraising performance, as measured during the previous phase of work. A preliminary list of 12 target universities was defined to include both elite UK universities, a sample of eight of the established universities, and a sample of two 92 universities. I was expecting that findings within each group of cases would sometimes be similar (replication), and that there would also be significant variation in findings between groups of cases that would be explainable by theory, and this did indeed prove to be the case (Yin, 2013). This study design is also consistent with a "maximum variation" case selection strategy as a way to understand the significance of various circumstances (how and why) for case process and outcome (Flyvbjerg, 2011). As the study progressed, the case target list was revised for practical reasons, because some universities declined to participate in the study and substitutes were identified. When became clear after initial analysis of data that no new findings were being discovered as additional cases were added to the study, the decision was taken to finalise the list of cases and declare fieldwork complete. In the terminology of grounded theory, theoretical saturation had been reached (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Corbin and Strauss, 2015).

The final cases included in the study were as follows:

- “Elite” Universities - 2 cases, the dominant players in the field (Cases A and B)
- “Established” Universities - 7 cases, drawn from universities founded before 1992 (Cases C to I)
- “1992 Universities” - 2 cases, drawn from the pool of universities that were polytechnics before 1992 (Cases J and K)

The peculiar organisational structure of the collegiate universities means that a researcher needs to examine both their centralised development functions, and also those present in their colleges. There are thus three cases in this study with two levels of analysis (college/university), which were combined when performing analysis to provide a holistic institution-wide view of the case.

In total, study data includes 11 cases, which are profiled anonymously in Table 5:

		Case Profile
Elite Universities	A	An ancient university with a collegiate structure that has benefitted from philanthropy for many centuries. Organised as a centralised development office, with additional development offices in each college, its development function consists of more than 340 staff, raising more than £200 million each year. There is a set of established protocols for approaching donors and supporters, and the university and its colleges benefit from the income from huge endowments, which are some of the largest in the UK. Over the past 25 years, the university has maintained its position at the top of national and global league tables, and it continues to focus on its history and academic excellence in its current campaign for philanthropic funds. While not having formally changed its development structure recently, this university has recently recruited development staff from the US. The university is currently engaged in a major campaign.
	B	A collegiate university with an ancient heritage and a very large endowment pool. Organised as a centralised function for the university, with additional development resources in its individual colleges, this university created its first development function in the early 1990s. Protocols exist to determine how donors are approached. Since the restructuring of its development function four years ago, the university has been recruiting staff from the US and Canada. At the time of my study, there were more than 280 staff engaged in development across university and colleges, and together they raise more than £200 million every year, with approximately 50% of this coming from philanthropic sources unconnected to the university. The university and, its colleges, are currently engaged in a large scale campaign. The university continues to feature at the top of UK and international university rankings.

		Case Profile
Established Universities	C	An ancient, research-intensive university with a substantial endowment pool, highly ranked in the UK. The university's development office was first established 30 years ago. The current leader of the university's development organisation arrived 18 months ago, and at the time of my study, was in the process of crafting a development strategy, establishing fundraising priorities, and restructuring the development office, which comprises approximately 55 staff, raising £16 million each year. The current development leader is sceptical about the value of campaigns, and has never, in a long career in UK university development, participated in one. The university has a separate development trust, whose purpose (and, by implication, future) was being reviewed during the period of this study.
	D	An ancient, well ranked, research-intensive university, where there has been an alumni relations function since 1987. Having had a "false start" in development in 1990, the current development organisation was created in the mid 1990s. The current leader of development has held the post for 12 years, and has worked at the university in various roles for 30 years. At the time of the study, the university was preparing for a large capital campaign to upgrade and expand its campus, and a restructuring of its development organisation was underway, but only partially complete. The development organisation comprises 56 staff, who raise approximately £10 million annually. The university has a separate development trust, whose assets are consolidated with the university's for reporting purposes.
	E	Founded originally in the 19th century, this research-intensive university retains its collegiate structure. While development has mostly been centralised, a small number of development staff are still part of college organisations. The current development leader, recruited from outside the UK four years ago, was in the process of revising the university's development strategy at the time of my study. The development organisation comprises 31 staff, raising approximately £10.5 million per year.
	F	With a venerable heritage stretching back to the 19th century, this well-ranked institution first established a development office in 1998. After several false starts, including a failed campaign, the current development leader was brought in 18 months ago with a remit to transform the organisation and re-establish its credibility within the university community. At the time of my study, a revised development strategy was being prepared, against a backdrop of possible cuts in the development budget, and a directive from university leadership to refrain from submitting investment requests. The university currently has approximately 8 development staff, who raise about £1 million annually.

		Case Profile
Established Universities	G	An ancient, research-intensive university with a regional civic mission. Its development office is the longest established of all cases in my study, having been first set up in 1982. The current development leader has been in post for 5 years, having worked at the university for a total of 18 years. At the time of my study, the university was in the preliminary “silent phase” of a campaign. Their development organisation consists of 24 staff, raising £9 million per year. There is a separate and autonomous university development trust, whose function is to support the work of the university.
	H	Granted university status in the 1960s, this research-intensive university has a regional civic mission. During the course of my study, a new Vice Chancellor was appointed. The university has had a development organisation since 1998, but has yet to have a campaign. A new head of development was appointed 2.5 years ago with the remit of transforming the function. The development function was reorganised two years ago, and currently comprises 22 staff, raising approximately £6 million per year. There is a separate and autonomous development trust that supports the university financially, and holds endowment assets of approximately the same size as the university itself.
	I	Founded in the 1960s, this university has a technological and entrepreneurial focus. Having first created a development organisation in 1992, the university has a history of successful campaigns. The leader of its development organisation has been in post for 4.5 years. 18 development staff currently raise approximately £3 million per year. The university is very proud of the fund it has created using philanthropic sources to assist early stage businesses with accessing start-up capital.

		Case Profile
92 Universities	J	A former polytechnic that was granted university status by a 1992 Higher Education Act. Its mission today is to be focussed on business and the professions, while engaging in relevant research. Describing themselves as "a post-92 with some ambition", they claim to have the highest entry tariff of their 1992 peer group. After several false starts at development, its current organisation was only created three years ago. For the last two years, it has been led by a marketing professional. The development organisation was restructured two years ago, as part of a cost reduction program. The university has yet to build an endowment. At the time of my study, there were 7 development staff, raising £700k per year, primarily from corporate sources.
	K	A former polytechnic granted university status bya 1992 Higher Education Act. The university aspires to have international reputation for academic excellence, and focuses on the student and learning experience, which it underpins by research, and enterprise. Since its creation in 1992, it has risen by two deciles in UK university rankings. The university's development function was established in 1998, and during the period of my study, was re-branded and re-organised, with a new leader being installed. This new leader expressed a desire to take a lower risk approach to building out the development function. At time of the study, 3.5 development staff were raising approximately £200k per year.

Table 5: Study case profiles

Grounded theory is an appropriate technique for understanding the process by which actors construct meaning out of their intersubjective experience (Suddaby, 2006) and it is this method that will be used to develop knowledge from the multiple cases included in this study. Grounded theory is also a means to develop theory by examining the same event or process in different settings or situations - the "comparative method" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). As such, it is a useful way of identifying and matching patterns between cases and groups of cases, to support explanation building, and ultimately theory development (Taylor and Søndergaard, 2017). This study uses contemporary grounded theory techniques designed to build rigour into its results, as I will later describe (Gioia *et al.*, 2013).

An objective of the study was to understand the social experiences of participants with regards to research questions that had been formulated as a result of a preliminary review of the literature. Interviews are recommended as an appropriate method when the aim of the research is to develop an understanding of the constructs that agents use as a basis for their beliefs or opinions about a particular topic, where the logic of a situation is not clear, such as when attempting to rationalize the behaviour of an agent's fundraising organization or university, or where the subject matter is highly confidential or commercially sensitive, as it would be for information about donors, who is being asked, or who gives (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2015). While the broad scope of the enquiry was defined by the research questions, I wanted to allow the flexibility for individuals to express their personal perspectives, and draw in areas of their social experience that they believed to be germane to my enquiries, but which I may not have explicitly asked about. I therefore selected semi-structured interviews as an appropriate format. I prepared a generalized set of "plain English" questions, based upon my preliminary research questions, to guide the discussion, and included them in the participant guide (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2015).

This preliminary interview question set comprised:

1. ABOUT HOW YOUR UNIVERSITY SEES DEVELOPMENT AND FUNDRAISING
    a. What is the history of development and fundraising at your university?
    b. How does your university view fundraising today? What is its purpose or objective?
    c. Do you have a formal fundraising strategy and, if so, how was it created?
    d. If you have a formal fundraising strategy, how is it used?
    e. Who are you competing with for donor support?
    f. How are the levels of resources devoted to university fundraising determined?
    g. How is development and fundraising overseen inside your university?
2. ABOUT YOUR DEVELOPMENT/FUNDRAISING ORGANISATION TODAY
    a. How does your organisation fit inside the university's overall structure?
    b. What work does your development/fundraising organisation do today?
    c. How is your development/fundraising organisation structured and resourced?
    d. How are staff recruited and trained?
    e. What role do alumni/academics play?
    f. What role do professional networks play in what you do?

Providing these questions in advance set expectations about what we would talk about in the interview, and allowed interviewees to collect their thoughts prior to our meeting. As most of the interviewees were busy professionals, and my time with them was going to be limited, sharing this information in advance enabled the conversation to move swiftly to the topics of interest. However, I was concerned that, by forewarning participants in this way, I was allowing them the time to formulate their answers, and potentially limiting the candour that I would otherwise have experienced in their responses. In practice, this did not seem to be an issue. My wrap up question at the end of the interview was, "Is there anything else you think I should know?", which was met with a reply of "I think I've told you too much already!" on more than one occasion.

Corbin and Strauss describe the process of constant comparison as one where "…data are broken down into manageable pieces with each piece compared for similarities and differences" (Corbin and Strauss, 2015, p. 7). As the study progressed, I reviewed the results from the first few cases, and grouped similar items together under preliminary conceptual headings. This allowed interview questions to be refined to reflect my developing understanding. In later cases, my questions focused less on organizational structures and the work of organisations, where the concepts were clear and consistent across cases, and limits of variability were straightforward to establish, and more on social relations and how interviewees and their staff related to donors, university leadership, and their peers.

Access was initiated at most institutions with the assistance of supervisors or via my own contacts. Preliminary introductions were made via email, letter or phone, with the objective of being referred to the head of the relevant development organization, usually with the blessing of a senior academic at the institution. Once I had the email address of the head of the development organization, I held a preliminary meeting, in person where reasonably possible, otherwise by phone. At this meeting, potential participants received a study information document and a copy of the consent form (Appendices B and C) to review. These preliminary meetings were an opportunity for me to explain the study's objectives and protocols, and for potential participants to pose any questions. After addressing these, I secured consent to participate, and, in some cases, identified other individuals at the university to approach to participate. I then proceeded to schedule in person visits to conduct the study's interviews.

A key ethical principle of the study was to guarantee anonymity for study participants and their universities. As I would say when the subject was raised in the interviews, "If I quote from anything you say today, it'll be 'development professional at university X said…'". That said, as work progressed, it became clear that many of the interviewees knew each other and, on more than one occasion, when I walked into a participant's office for the first time, I was confronted with, "It's OK, I know you went to see my mate X over at university Y last week". My standard response was to smile and say, "So, from my perspective, this is an anonymous study, and the key thing is that you don't hear about my other visits from me!"

I requested access to confidential documents from participating universities in advance of the interviews. These documents included their organization charts and job descriptions for staff, any strategic plans for fundraising and development, and any chartering documents for governing bodies associated with development. Requesting these documents in advance allowed me to prepare for the interviews and ask well-targeted questions, informed by what I had already learned from the pre-reading. As, in many cases, I was only granted an hour of time by interviewees, it enabled me "fast path" to a discussion of key questions, without needing to spend precious time on establishing basic facts, thereby enhancing the likely information content of transcripts when it came to the analysis phase of this study.

Signed consent forms (Appendix C) were obtained from all study participants, either via email in advance of interviews, or at the start of the meeting. Interviews were recorded using an Olympus LS-12 digital recorder, or, when this device failed unexpectedly during one visit, using Smart Recorder 3.2 software on my MacBook Pro. Interviews were transcribed by a transcription service. The service produced a very accurate record of the words spoken, but I still found I needed to review the transcripts in detail, while listening to the audio, to confirm names and technical terms, and to punctuate appropriately. While human beings do not naturally speak in full, well-structured sentences, I considered it important to try to punctuate accurately to reflect the sense of what was being said. This was a judgement call on my part. I did not change any words, but did adjust punctuation to reflect fully the meaning that seemed to be being conveyed, and described in Bourdieu's paper on interviewing (Bourdieu, 1996b).

After each interview, I sent a "thank you" email within 24 hours, and set the expectation that a draft transcript of the conversation would follow. Draft transcripts were returned to the interviewees for their review. In some cases, they made minor factual adjustments along the lines of, "Actually, it's X members of the governing body, not Y. I misspoke". These changes were accepted and became part of the data for the study. In one case, an interviewee requested to withdraw from the study after being sent her transcript. The study's consent form includes a commitment that a participant may do this, without stipulating a reason. Accordingly, I deleted her audio recording and transcript file. While she offered no reason for her request, and I was prohibited from asking by the terms of the study, I suspect her withdrawal was related to the comments she made about how she built profiles of donors - a subject that has been under increased scrutiny by the new Fundraising Regulator and has been the subject of recent guidance. Her description of her activities would potentially conflict with this guidance. One study participant, a very senior academic of some renown, declined to be recorded. I took notes during the conversation, and produced an interview summary immediately after the meeting. In some instances, where an interview had gone well, I enlisted the help of the interviewee by requesting that they suggest additional individuals to “round out my understanding” of development at their institution - usually a senior academic who took an interest in fundraising and excelled in this area, or an academic or university executive who had helped define development strategy, or determine what was fundraised for. Thus, for certain cases, a second round of interviews was carried out, following the protocol described above.

One of the potential challenges with the study was always going to be dealing with a cadre of interviewees whose work entails meeting with donor prospects in order to solicit financial contributions. Generally these prospects are elite and super-elite individuals, and a key part of interviewees’ work involves profiling donor prospects to determine their capacity to give. Experienced interviewees would therefore be attuned to signals of status and prestige from the people that they meet. My own experience in consulting suggested that most people are most comfortable interacting with those who appear similar to them (homophily). There is also an implied potential status difference between the “visiting academic”, even if she is technically a student, and an interview subject. Bourdieu has eloquently described the difficulties created in the power dynamic of the social relations of an interview, and I have attempted to be cognizant of these when I was planning how I would present myself at each of interviews for this study (Bourdieu, 1996b). Broadly speaking, my tactics were to attempt to match my dress and demeanour to the context of the interview: for elite interviews (VC and executives) and elite contexts, I was dressed for business. For the post 1992 institutions, jeans and boots matched the dress code of their professional staff and allowed me to blend in with the environment. For other contexts, I chose mid-range outfits, “business casual”.

In each interview, I attempted to adopt the stance of “active and methodical listening” (Bourdieu, 1996b), whereby I would ask simple questions, allow the interviewee to respond, and then seek elaboration and clarification, by prompting, where necessary. My goal was for the interviewee to do most of the talking, and to establish sufficient trust that they would offer thoughtful and candid responses. The fact that several of them made comments that they labelled “off the record”, while I was recording, would suggest that I achieved some success in this. Several interviewees also felt comfortable enough to offer unsolicited comments on recent political events, such as Brexit, the election of Donald Trump, or Scottish independence, and the impact on their social realities.

A total of 30 individuals were interviewed as part of this study, producing approximately 188,000 words of transcript. Interviews typically ranged from 45 minutes to 2.5 hours in length, and were carried out in the period October 2016 - June 2017. All interviews were carried out in person, except for one, where a senior development professional was travelling and only available by phone. Most interviews were one to one, but two were with multiple individuals, at the behest of the lead interviewee, who wanted their staff to be present. Most individuals were interviewed once, however, in one instance, I returned to do a second interview with a newly arrived development director who, during the period of fieldwork, was re-writing a development strategy. This enabled me to gain a deeper understanding of the individual’s perspective, as it evolved. Table 6 which follows, summarises the interview data set for this study.

	Elite Universities		Established Universities							92 Universities		Total
Case	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	
Development Director	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
Other Development staff		4			4				3			11
Vice Chancellor										1		1
Senior Academic							2	1			1	4
Director-level university administrator										1	1	2
# individuals interviewed	1	6	1	1	5	1	3	2	4	3	3	30
Transcript word count	12,220	31,020	16,920	16,450	9,870	10,026	26,790	14,664	25,380	13,160	11,280	187,780

Table 6: Summary of interviews and interview transcript data set

To facilitate data analysis and management of data, interview transcripts, together with contextual information, including my supplementary field notes, university strategy documents, development strategy documents, and organisation charts, were loaded into nVivo, either by directly uploading in electronic form, or by the creation of “external documents”, where material existed as paper documents only and was not easily scanned. Documents were coded at Case nodes (A - K), and a preliminary coding of content was performed using “descriptive coding”.

Descriptive coding assigns labels to summarise content into topics and is recommended as especially helpful when dealing with a variety of data forms, as in this study (Miles *et al.*, 2014). A preliminary list of descriptive topic codes was developed inductively based on the questions posed during the interviews and the discussions that resulted, and data was divided into “chunks”, consisting of a sentence or paragraph, and coded against this. In so doing, the list of topics was refined and expanded to include all topics that would likely prove relevant for a subsequent wave of analysis. Codes were grouped according to their relevance to the study’s research questions, applicability to describing the context of the case, or to other unplanned miscellaneous topics that had arisen in the course of the interview, such as Brexit and the election of Donald Trump, that were not originally in scope for the study. Chunks of data were permitted to be coded against multiple descriptive topic codes, in recognition of the fact that people often transition from one topic to another within a few words or sentences. The final list of descriptive topic codes comprised 65 codes, and performing the exercise, while time consuming, allowed me to become very familiar with the scope and content of the data I had collected. At the end of this first phase of descriptive coding, study data in nViVo had been organised into a three dimensional view , with data coded by case, descriptive code, and research question, as illustrated in Figure 1.

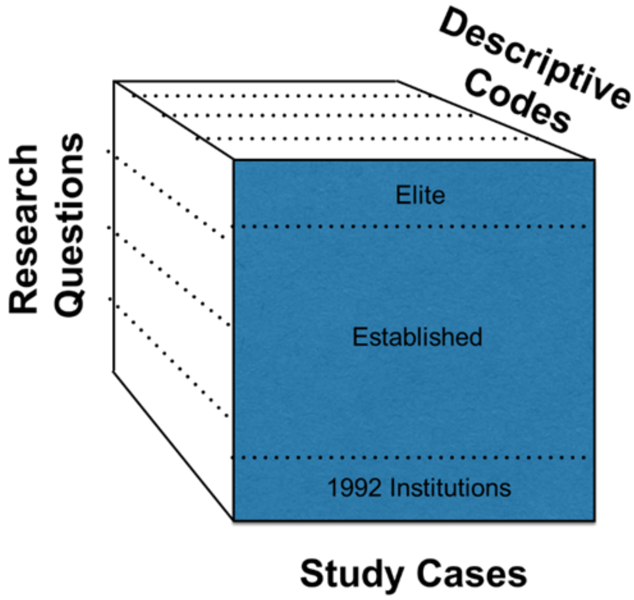

Figure 1: Preliminary coding of study data using descriptive codes

A second phase of analysis was then carried out using a grounded theory-based approach. Concepts are sets of words used by a researcher to stand for the interpreted meaning of a chunk of data (Corbin and Strauss, 2015), and were developed inductively by abstraction of meaning from study data. My first step was to review material for each research question/descriptive code combination, and develop a set of first order concepts, expressed in the language of the interview participants or authors of documents (Gioia *et al.*, 2013). These first order concepts were then aggregated into categories (themes), expressed in more abstract and generalised terms defined by the researcher (Gioia *et al.*, 2013). Themes were organised into the finding tables which this thesis uses to present it results. Because this study is designed as a multi-case study, and patterns of similarity and variance are of great significance in drawing its conclusions, the analysis of findings in Chapters 4 - 7 is largely presented as tables which link first and second order concepts to case groupings. In instances where there is a pattern of difference between case groupings, tables are organised by firstly case grouping, then by concept. An example is shown in Table 12. In instances where a pattern of similarity is seen between case groupings, tables are organised firstly by concept, then by case grouping. An example is shown in Table 13

3.6 Ethical issues

Four areas are of particular concern for the researcher when designing and conducting research: gaining informed consent, whether or not harm comes to participants, invasion of privacy, and deception (Bryman and Bell, 2011). I shall address each of these in turn.

The Participant Information document (Appendix B) and the study consent form (Appendix C) were shared with all potential participants at the university cases in the study, and they were given an opportunity to ask questions during my preliminary meeting with them. A principle established at the start of the study was that signed consent forms would be obtained from all individuals who agreed to participate. As participants were all high-status professionals, or senior academics, concerns about capacity to consent and power imbalance with the researcher were minimal.

A key component of the study's ethical position was to anonymise the identity of study participants and their university, so that they could not be identified. The objective of this was to prevent harm to individuals or their universities, a key risk identified at the start of the study. As the study progressed, it became clear that this safeguarding would be critical, as interviewees expressed their opinions on politics, their university leadership, their peers etc. It also became more problematic, as it emerged that it would be very difficult to disguise the identity of their universities completely. There are only two universities in the UK that feature at the top of world rankings, only three that have a collegiate structure, and only six "ancient" universities in England and Scotland. Using any of these factors as descriptors would hint strongly at a university's identity, yet these very factors were likely to be important when examining variance among cases.

A balance thus needed to be struck between safeguarding participants' anonymity and being able to meet the objectives of the study, which would likely require critical analysis of material with respect to university status, heritage and structure. Accordingly, I have adopted the following conventions for describing participants in this thesis, and in any subsequent publications. Firstly, participants are generally identified by role only: "development director" or "senior academic". Secondly, where it is relevant to the argument being made, and only where it is relevant, participants' universities are identified by case grouping only: “development director at an elite university”, “senior academic at an established university”.

The information collected during the study is not personal in nature, so there are few privacy concerns for participants, and a preliminary set of study objectives were shared with participants in the Participant Information document. These objectives did not change over the duration of the study, and accurately reflected the intent of the researcher in carrying out the study.

3.7 Study data management

The constraints imposed by the guarantee of anonymity for case study participants impose practical restrictions on the storage and dissemination of study data. This section summarises the data the study has produced and how it will be stored and handled after the study is complete.

This study has generating the following types of data items:

1. Electronic copies of university and college accounts and annual reports (in .pdf format or as photographs in .jpeg format)
2. Interview recordings in .wav or .smrd format (to be kept confidential)
3. Interview transcripts in Microsoft Word (to be kept confidential)
4. University development contextual materials - strategy documents, organization charts, job descriptions, operational plans, governing body charter documents etc. (to be kept confidential, where not in the public domain)
5. Meeting and contact notes (field notes) in Pages format (to be kept confidential)
6. Study analysis files in Numbers or Excel format (potentially needing to be kept confidential, where they identify individuals or institutions)
7. The nVivo database (to be kept confidential)

All material is stored on Newcastle University infrastructure, either in the personal storage to which only I have access (item types 4, 5 and 6) or in my directory in the Business School's Research Data Warehouse (item types 1, 2, 3, and 7). Items 3, 4, 5, and 6 are also stored on my laptop, on which the hard drive is encrypted. Dropbox was used as a convenient tool to exchange files with the transcription service. Dropbox is vulnerable to hacking, and its servers are located in the US, outside the reach of EU privacy legislation. My response to this risk was to minimize the time that sensitive files were located in shared Dropbox folders, and to delete all files after use.

One of the guarantees given to study participants has been that they will be anonymous and data will be held securely. Because of these guarantees, I will be unable to make data types 2-7 publicly available at the end of the study. Type 1 data items are publicly available, so it will be theoretically permissible to make them available for other researchers to use.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the study, and linked these to its methodological approach, and choice of methods. It has argued for combining quantitative descriptive methods for understanding the evolution of the field as the study's context, with qualitative enquiry for multiple cases as a rational approach to meeting the study's objectives. An account has been given of the processes and procedures followed in performing the study, and some of the challenges encountered along the way have been presented and discussed. This chapter has considered practical matters, such as ethics and data management. Relevant literature from the scholarly discourse on research methods has been cited to justify the decisions taken by the researcher.

Chapter 4 University symbolic and economic capital in fundraising

4.1 Introduction

Bourdieu's view of fields sees them as loci of struggles for power, in which actors compete to increase their total capital and establish themselves as dominant (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Thomson, 2014). Competing for resources, and taking account of the actions of others, is the defining criterion for being located in the same field (Scott and Meyer, 1991; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Being dominant accords actors the ability and unchallenged right to impose their world view upon those whom they dominate (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Economic capital is the key enabler of this process, as it is readily convertible, firstly, into cultural and social capital, and ultimately into the symbolic capital which dominant actors require as a signifier of their status within the field (Bourdieu, 1986; Harvey *et al.*, 2011). Bourdieu understands that being in possession of symbolic capital entitles an actor to make demands of others, including, potentially, for resources to boost their economic capital (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). This chapter examines the role of symbolic and economic capitals in the field of universities and how it acts in university fundraising. It describes how knowledgeable actors understand the relationships between economic and symbolic capital, and how conversion between forms occurs. It presents evidence of distinctive patterns in socially-situated understandings that are common to all cases, and also evidence of division between elite (£200 million + philanthropic income per year), established (£1 - 17 million philanthropic income per year), and 92 (<£1 million philanthropic income per year) universities. Evidence will be presented that finds commonalities in the distribution patterns of symbolic and economic capital among UK universities.

The quantitative research underpinning this study uses two measures to describe the relative positions of organizational actors within the UK university field: university rankings, as a measure of reputation associated with organizational symbolic capital, and endowment size, as a measure of historically accumulated organizational economic capital. In this chapter, I present the results of this quantitative analysis of symbolic and economic capital, highlighting the extreme inequality in economic capital resources among organizational actors, and how this has persisted over the period 1989 to 2014. I then present findings from my qualitative work that explain how knowledgeable actors in the field perceive and understand the role of the two types of capital. I will examine how these actors understand their relations with others in the field, by describing their understanding of competition for philanthropic funding. From these findings, I conclude by describing how the presence and conversion of economic and symbolic capital have contributed to the inequality within the field. Accordingly, this chapter seeks to address the following research questions:

- What is the current “state of play” in UK university fundraising and how has it arisen?
    - Which universities have been most successful attracting philanthropic support?
    - How are the reputation of universities and their ability to attract philanthropic support linked?
    - How do knowledgeable actors at UK universities understand their relations with others in their field?

4.2 Organisational symbolic capital

Symbolic capital encapsulates the power and dominance of a university, and may be understood using reputational or status measures (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). In the UK, a leading reputational measure is *The Times* university ranking table, first compiled for 96 institutions after the 1992 Education Acts were implemented. The rankings were intended to inform potential students, their parents, and employers of university graduates, and may thus be regarded as an influential measure in UK society (O'Leary and Cannon, 1993). Compiling *The Times* rankings was taken over, and enhanced, by *Times Higher Education* (“THE”), and publication of the “Good University Guide” based upon them is an annual event. In 2014, rankings were prepared on a global basis by THE, so the reputation of universities in different countries can be compared.

Table 7 lists the 20 highest ranked universities in the UK in 2014, showing their global and UK rankings, their 1992 ranking, and their institutional heritage. Leading the 2014 rankings are Oxford and Cambridge, which in addition to being ranked at the top of the table for the UK, also feature at the top of global rankings. Below them are the UK's research intensive Russell Group universities, other ancient universities and universities founded in the 19th and early to mid- 20th centuries. No institutions created by the 1992 Acts, or thereafter, feature in the top 20. In fact, in 2014, these institutions feature towards the bottom of the rankings and therefore do not enjoy the same degree of esteem as other institutions.

Institution	Global Ranking 2017(3)	UK Ranking 2014(1)	1992 (2)	Institutional heritage
University of Oxford	1	1	=1	Ancient foundation (1167)
University of Cambridge	4	2	=1	Ancient foundation (1209)
Imperial College	8	3	3	Civic university, founded in 1907
University College London	15	4	4	Founded in 1826
London School of Economics	25	5	=5	Founded in 1895
The University of Edinburgh	27	6	=5	Ancient foundation (1583)
King's College London	36	7	15	Founded in 1829
University of Manchester	55	8	=11	Civic university, founded in1903
University of Bristol	71	9	=11	Civic university, founded in 1909
University of Warwick	82	10	=8	Founded in 1965
University of Glasgow	88	11	17	Ancient foundation (1451)
University of Durham	96	12	=11	Originally founded in 1832, became separate university in 1963
University of Sheffield	109	13	=19	Founded in 1905
University of St Andrews	110	14	=19	Ancient foundation (1410)

Institution	Global Ranking 2017(3)	UK Ranking 2014(1)	1992 (2)	Institutional heritage
Queen Mary University of London	113	15	39	Founded in 1887
University of Southampton	121	16	=11	Founded in 1952
University of Exeter	126	17	36	Founded in 1955
University of York	129	18	=8	Founded in 1963
University of Birmingham	130	19	16	Civic university, founded in 1900
University of Leeds	133	20	23	Civic university, founded in 1904

Notes
(1) From the "Good Universities Guide", 2015 edition
(2) From the "Times Good Universities Guide", 1993 edition
(3) From the THE website https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2017/world-ranking#!/page/0/length/25/sort_by/rank/sort_order/asc/cols/stats accessed 15/6/2017

Table 7: 20 highest ranked UK universities

It is striking how little movement there has been at the very top of the UK rankings in the period 1992 to 2014: the top six have maintained their positions, with limited movement only occurring within the top 10 at the 7th position and below. To understand fully the degree of mobility and change in university rankings across the whole UK university sector, I used deciles to segment the rankings to allow comparison between fields of different sizes in 1992 and 2014. The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 8 and 9, which list institutions that have risen and fallen by two deciles or more in the rankings. For the population of 92 institutions that feature in both sets of rankings, only 19 institutions have significantly changed their rankings. Risers in Table 8 are predominantly former polytechnics that have generally moved from low ranking positions in decile 10 to higher positions. Most fallers in Table 9 are universities founded in the 1960s, with the exception of Sheffield Hallam, which was previously a polytechnic. York University is the only institution previously to feature in the top decile that has significantly fallen in the rankings. The picture to emerge from these findings is, generally, one of stability at the top of the field. Limited movement in rankings, and by implication esteem and reputation, has occurred in the middle of the field. Greatest movement has occurred in the lowest deciles, where a number of former polytechnics have achieved moderate to good improvements in their rankings in the period 1992 - 2014. This suggests that the more highly ranked institutions have entrenched their positions, even as lower ranked institutions have been in contention with one another lower down the field. Thus, the hegemony of the elite has been maintained over the period 1992 -2014, and, as I will show, elite institutions are also those in receipt of the greatest philanthropic support. In the remainder of this chapter, and in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, I will demonstrate how philanthropy acts as a conservative mechanism to maintain stability for the dominant actors in the field of higher education.

	UK Rankings			
Institution	1992 Decile	2014 Decile	Change in Decile	Institutional heritage
Queen Mary University of London	5	2	+3	Founded in 1887
University of Exeter	4	2	+2	Civic university, founded in 1955
Queen's University of Belfast	6	4	+2	Civic university, founded in 1908
Anglia Ruskin University	9	5	+4	Polytechnic granted university status by 1992 Act
University of Plymouth	9	6	+3	Polytechnic granted university status by 1992 Act
Oxford Brookes University	8	6	+2	Polytechnic granted university status by 1992 Act
University of Huddersfield	10	8	+2	Polytechnic granted university status by 1992 Act
University of the West of Scotland	10	8	+2	Founded in 2007, predecessor institutions dating from the 19th century
Bournemouth University	10	8	+2	Polytechnic granted university status by 1992 Act
University of Lincoln	10	8	+2	Polytechnic granted university status by 1992 Act

	UK Rankings			
Institution	1992 Decile	2014 Decile	Change in Decile	Institutional heritage
University of East London	10	8	+2	Polytechnic granted university status by 1992 Act
Teesside University	10	8	+2	Polytechnic granted university status by 1992 Act
Glasgow Caledonian University	10	8	+2	Polytechnic granted university status by 1992 Act

Table 8: UK university rankings: Risers

Institution	UK Rankings 1992 Decile	2014 Decile	Change in Decile	Institutional heritage
University of York	1	3	-2	Founded in 1963
University of Bath	2	5	-3	Founded in 1966
Loughborough University	2	5	-3	Founded in 1966
University of Surrey	3	5	-2	Founded in 1969
University of Bradford	4	8	-4	Founded in 1966
Sheffield Hallam University	8	10	-2	Polytechnic granted university status by 1992 Act

Table 9: UK university rankings: Fallers

The limited movement observed also speaks to the apparent difficulty of achieving positive change within the ranking framework. The THE rankings are a composite of nine measures - teaching quality and the student experience, research quality, undergraduate entry standards, student-staff ratio, services and facilities spending, the percentage of students completing their studies, the percentage of graduates achieving a good class of degree, and graduate prospects (O'Leary, 2015). Any attempt to improve ranking scores would most likely be predicated upon achieving an improvement in multiple measures, and the linkage between achieving this, and the application of economic capital is easily postulated. Hiring more teaching staff, attracting highly regarded researchers, investing in campus buildings, and providing more student support would all likely produce an improvement in ranking measures, and all require significant financial resources to achieve. It is unsurprising, therefore, that universities would be actively engaged in raising funds from philanthropic sources to augment their income from teaching, research, conferences, and other activities. To do so would increase the economic capital available potentially to be converted into symbolic capital (Harvey *et al.*, 2011).

In summary, analysis of THE rankings yields the insight that symbolic capital is clearly present in the field of UK universities, and varies in quantity significantly between institutions. Elite universities have succeeded in maintaining their dominant positions in the field of higher education over a long period of time, and only limited change is seen in positions lower down the field. In the next section. I will examine the understanding of knowledgeable actors at the cases featuring in this study of how symbolic capital influences university development activities.

To understand how knowledgeable actors conceptualise and employ symbolic capital, I explored three areas where Bourdieu's theorisation predicts that it should be both present and influential: firstly, in cultivating donors, where the status or esteem associated with the possession of symbolic capital would influence how a university's requests for support would be viewed by donors, as described in a US study of wealthy donor behaviour, which found donors give preferentially to elite institutions (Ostrower, 1995). Secondly, I examined the role of symbolic capital in influencing the magnitude and degree of support that universities might legitimately and feasibly be able to request, and thirdly in the ability of a university to attract experienced development staff (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008).

Experienced development directors in all case groupings were clear in articulating the influence of ranking and status measures on donor behaviour. At an elite institution, which is currently able to attract £200 million in annual philanthropic support, including more than £100 million from donors who are not previously connected with the university, an experienced development director observed:

> "And that's 20 years of professional experience working with both alums and non-alums giving. Non-alums give to you because you have best in class research in a particular area that they care about, whether that's Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease or some kind of random, you know….Whatever their interest is, right, and maybe we have the right protein folding researcher here that they just love, and can go and fund. But that's why the non-alums give; they don't give for any other reason other than excellence."

Implicit in this understanding is a bifurcated model of individual giving: alumni and non-alumni behave differently, and give for different reasons. Non-alumni are motivated by their interests, and by the desire to support “best in class” research and “excellence”, clearly indicating a preference for associating themselves with a well-regarded institution. This belief is echoed by the chief operating officer at the same elite university:

> “I would say most of the donors I work with are non alumni, in my case, many international donors. They’re often people or organizations who are philanthropic and want to support excellence to make a difference somewhere. That’s the primary driver in my experience.”

Once again, a knowledgeable actor is confirming the importance of “excellence” as being the key characteristic of their university in appealing to philanthropic supporters in pursuit of their desire to “make a difference” (Maclean *et al.*, 2015). Bourdieu associates symbolic capital with “world-making power” (Swartz, 1997), and it clear that that, in the understanding of senior development professionals, there is a link between being perceived as “excellent”, and the ability to attract the attention and support of individuals and organisations pursuing potentially world-changing research agendas. A development director with over 30 years of experience, at an ancient and highly ranked established university, described how they presented their university to potential philanthropic supporters:

> “I focused on the global standing and the history of the institution, but that definitely gives us a significant head start. There is a certain type of donor who likes to be associated with places that have that long history and distinguished history, and [the university], where it’s helpful, should play to that.”

Here, prestige and heritage, as signifiers of venerability, are clearly understood as appealing to potential donors. This development director understands how these qualities can be a source of advantage when playing the game of university fundraising. Even at lower-ranked universities, which cannot claim to be “generally excellent”, the ability to present themselves as “excellent in parts” is understood to be a critical factor in attracting philanthropic support:

> “So, to give you an example we did a big campaign around disaster research. It was something that was prominent in the press, [the university] is very good at it from a research point of view. We launched a campaign for it in an institute that the university wants to support and we covered both of them off.” Deputy director for development at established university

> "Our biggest donor in the US is the Hilton Foundation, Conrad Hilton Foundation who has no alumni connection. We met through, very fortuitously through, a visiting research fellow who knew someone who knew someone but our pitch there was around research excellence. And they genuinely believed we were the best in the world in a particular area and went with us." Deputy director of development describing how their established university leveraged their reputation in a bid for research funding from a foundation

In both these instances, development professionals are associating their university's reputation for exceptional performance in a bounded area of academic research with their success securing philanthropic funding for those areas. They believe that it proved helpful in convincing potential supporters, either via newspaper coverage or in the course of their interactions with donors.

Universities engage in large scale efforts to secure philanthropic funding called "campaigns". A campaign is a focussed fundraising effort with defined objectives, specific deadlines, and most significantly, financial goals (Worth, 2017). A key step in creating a campaign is determining the size of the financial target, which represents the total amount of money that a university will be seeking from donors in the campaign's timeframe. By launching a campaign and associating a financial target with it, universities are publicly asserting that they have a legitimate right to request resources from others. This is a bold move and requires confidence in an institution's status and reputation. In 2016 in the UK, two elite universities (Cases A and B) were engaged in campaigns with targets greater than £1 billion. Another established case was engaged in a much smaller campaign, and two further established cases were in the preliminary phase of a campaign (the "silent phase"), where they were privately soliciting support, before setting a financial target and "going public". Discussions with their development leaders indicated that likely targets for these two campaigns would be in the £100 million range, an order of magnitude smaller than the elite cases. None of the four remaining established universities, and neither of the two 1992 universities, were contemplating a campaign in the foreseeable future. The role of symbolic capital may also be seen in the process of executing a campaign as lower ranked universities may proceed cautiously: Cases D and G, in their campaign silent phases, are typically endeavouring to secure approximately 50% of any target before making their public announcement, as a risk mitigation strategy. Such caution appears appropriate: the development organisation at Case F is still recovering its credibility after a campaign that was failing to reach its target had to be publicly, and embarrassingly, cancelled, thereby negatively impacting the institution's reputation and eroding its precious symbolic capital. Setting a campaign target at an appropriate level requires skill and judgement on behalf of an institution and its development staff. It also requires an understanding of the institution's symbolic capital as a source of power in its relations with donors: elite institutions, as I have shown, are possessed of greater symbolic capital, and this legitimates, and renders feasible, higher expectations regarding campaign targets. Established institutions, with more modest reserves of symbolic capital, are setting targets far smaller than the elites, and take care to preserve what symbolic capital they have. Those institutions in this study with limited symbolic capital are hesitant to embark upon campaigns, or have simply chosen not to participate in campaigns at all. The two £1bn+ campaigns underway in the UK in 2016 contrast with 38 $1bn+ campaigns underway in the US (Foundation™, 2017). Many of these are at globally lower ranked institutions than those featured in this study, indicating that, despite the apparent ambition and success of the UK's elite universities, supported by the high regard in which they are held globally, the UK sector overall appears to be unable fully to leverage its symbolic capital in donor relationships.

A final area in which a university's reputation exerts an influence is in its ability to attract well qualified and experienced development staff. It is notable that, of the of the seven development staff interviewed at elite universities, three had moved to the UK from the US, and one from Canada. An American development director with almost 30 years in the profession described what had attracted them to move to their current university in the following way:

> "[The university]! It was an opportunity to work for a world-renowned institution that is making contributions to the world, that has ground-breaking research, that has academics and students all doing things that really make a difference globally, and has tremendous impact. From that wide variety, there was no question in my mind that we could entice, encourage donors to become engaged and to match their philanthropic passions with the needs of [the university]."

Here, the reputation and standing of the university are identified as making it attractive to a potential employee, but they are also understood as a critical factor that would enable the university to be successful in attracting philanthropic support, and that would ensure the prospective employee would be successful too. A similar response was forthcoming from a development director with more than ten years' experience at an established university, describing their reasons for taking their current role:

> "…but I could see from the Ross-CASE returns that [the university] wasn't performing particularly strongly in fundraising, and I couldn't quite understand why. We have a medical school, very, very highly regarded medical school, and I could see from… the more I read about the university, the more potential that there was to really make a big impact… and here I am!" Development director

Again, an anticipated link between a university's reputation ("excellent in parts" at the medical school) and its ability to raise philanthropic support is understood, and the apparent historical inability to capitalise on this is identified as a career opportunity for the development director. In both instances, symbolic capital, in the form of a university's reputation, is identified by development directors as a key factor in choosing their employer, as they seek to associate themselves with a well-regarded institution and ensure personal success. Less highly ranked universities in the study seemed less well positioned to attract well qualified staff. At a 92 university, I met a leader of development who had prior fundraising experience in other non-profit sectors, but not in higher education. At the second 92 case, development was being led by a professional with broad and deep expertise in marketing, but limited specific university development experience. In these cases, being possessed of a much smaller quantity of symbolic capital seems to have limited the 92 universities' ability to attract candidates with directly relevant experience.

4.3 Organisational economic capital

Bourdieu's definition of economic capital comprises wealth, income and property (Bourdieu, 1996a). University endowments represent historically accumulated pools of wealth, derived from philanthropic income. They are typically invested in a portfolio of stocks, bonds, land, and property to produce an income for their institution. An examination of the magnitude of endowments and their income allows classification and characterisation of the distribution of this component of economic capital among UK universities.

Table 10 presents the twenty largest endowments in the UK, including, where applicable, the endowments of university colleges and development trusts. A development trust is charity whose mission is to provide financial and other support for an associated university. Once again, at the top of the table are Oxford and Cambridge, whose aggregated endowments are an order of magnitude larger than that of Edinburgh, in a distant third place. Their colleges are, in aggregate, better endowed than their parent universities, and hold some of the largest endowments of any type of charity in the UK. This must be regarded, in many cases, as an artefact of history reflecting their foundation and subsequent endowment by wealthy individuals. Cambridge's wealthiest college, Trinity, with an endowment valued at £850 million in 2014, was founded by Henry VIII after the dissolution of the monasteries. Oxford's wealthiest, St. John's, with an endowment valued at £400 million in 2014, was founded in 1555, and subsequently handsomely endowed by the Rawlinson request in the 18th century (Rouse Ball, 1899; Rawlinson, Pre-1923). Of the twenty best endowed universities, thirteen also feature the top 20 rankings (Table 7), suggesting a relationship between symbolic and economic capital, and that possession of one form would tend to imply possession also of the other. Of the former polytechnics granted university status in 1992, most languish at the foot of the endowment league table, just as they feature at the bottom of the THE rankings: five out of the 38 92 universities reported zero endowment value in 2014, and 22 have endowments valued at less than £1 million. Thus, just as the THE rankings reveal their limited symbolic capital, 1992 Act institutions are also seen to have very limited economic capital in the form of endowments, further supporting a relationship between a lack of symbolic and a lack of economic capital.

	2013/4 Endowment Valuations in £ Millions			
Institution	University	Colleges	Total	Institutional heritage
University of Oxford	706	3,540	4,246	Ancient foundation (1167)
University of Cambridge	1,303	2,596	3,899	Ancient foundation (1209)
University of Edinburgh	298	-	298	Ancient foundation (1583)
University of Manchester	174	-	174	Civic university, founded in 1903
King's College London	163	-	163	Founded in 1829
University of Glasgow	158	-	158	Ancient foundation (1451)
University of Liverpool	142	-	142	Founded in 1903
University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1)	108	-	108	Founded in 1963, after separation from the University of Durham
Imperial College	98	-	98	Civic university, founded in 1907
London School of Economics	97	-	97	Founded in 1895
University of Birmingham	92	-	92	Civic university, founded in 1900
University College London	91	-	91	Founded in 1826
University of Reading	90	-	90	Founded in 1926
University of Durham	67	7	75	Originally founded in 1832, became separate university in 1963

Institution	2013/4 Endowment Valuations in £ Millions University	Colleges	Total	Institutional heritage
Royal Holloway and Bedford New College	74	-	74	Founded in 1886
University of London	73	-	73	Founded in 1836
University of Leeds	66	-	66	Civic university, founded in 1904
University of Surrey	55	-	55	Founded in 1969
University of Bristol	55	-	55	Civic university, founded in 1909
Queen's University of Belfast	52	-	52	Founded in 1908
20 Largest UK University endowments	3,962	6,143	10,105	
All UK University endowments			10,962	

Notes
(1) Includes Development Trust endowment of £50 million

Table 10: 20 best endowed UK universities

Table 10 describes an overall situation in the sector where the twenty wealthiest universities are in possession of 92% of all UK university endowment wealth, resulting in an extreme Gini coefficient of 0.935. These study results point to extreme inequality of economic capital among universities: the greatest part of all wealth is concentrated at just two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, with other well-ranked institutions forming a group that lags these leaders by an order of magnitude, and 1992 Acts institutions trailing distantly behind.

To describe the evolution of this inequality, Table 11 presents the evolution of university economic capital and the income it produces over the period 1989 to 2014, for universities of different heritages. Recognising that Oxford and Cambridge are endowed with quantities of economic capital that far exceed others', they are considered separately from other universities established before 1989. The 1992 Acts institutions are considered as a group, recognising that they share commonalities, such as having previously been funded by Local Education Authorities, which did not endow them at the time of their foundation. A final group of institutions, founded since the 1992 Education Acts, completes the picture of all UK universities. As historic data for colleges and trusts is not available, Table 11 contains university data only.

Institutional Grouping	Endowment value £ million (1) 1989	1992-4	2014	Endowment and investment income (1) £ million 1989	1992-4	2014	% of total income from endowment and investments (1) 1989	1992-4	2014
Oxford/Cambridge	n=2 mean = 123	n=2 mean = 165	n = 2 mean = 1,004	n = 2 mean = 7.3	n = 2 mean = 18.0	n = 2 mean = 44.3	n = 2 mean = 5.70	n = 2 mean = 8.38	n = 2 mean = 3.54
Others established by 1989	n = 44 mean = 5.7	n = 48 mean = 8.2	n = 59 mean = 42.4	n = 44 mean = 0.8	n = 48 mean = 1.4	n = 59 mean = 3.4	n = 44 mean = 1.30	n = 48 mean = 1.48	n = 59 mean = 1.22
Created by 1992 Acts		n = 36 mean = 0.05	n=38 mean = 1.2		n = 36 mean = 0.02	n = 38 mean = 0.8		n = 36 mean = 0.05	n = 38 mean = 0.51

Institutional Grouping	Endowment value £ million (1) 1989	1992-4	2014	Endowment and investment income (1) £ million 1989	1992-4	2014	% of total income from endowment and investments (1) 1989	1992-4	2014
Created post 1992 Acts			n = 62 mean = 3.4			n = 62 mean = 0.3			n=62 mean = 0.89
All Universities	n = 46 mean = 10.6	n = 86 mean = 8.4	n = 161 mean = 29.6	n = 46 mean = 1.0	n = 86 mean = 1.2	n = 161 mean = 2.1	n = 46 mean = 1.49	n = 86 mean = 1.05	n =161 mean = 0.95

Note : (1) This table presents university data only (no colleges.) Historic data for college endowment values and income is not available, as these were not required disclosures in historic accounts. See Table 4.

Table 11: University economic capital 1989 - 2014

In Table 11, mean endowment values have increased in value over the period 1989 to 2014, for all types of universities and for all points in time, as financial markets and property values have risen, and additions have been made to endowments. Oxford and Cambridge's endowment values have been, and continue to be, an order of magnitude larger than those of any other group. Institutions founded before 1989, which include the four ancient Scottish universities, are the next wealthiest group. The universities created by the 1992 Acts are in possession of the smallest endowments of any group, smaller even than those institutions founded subsequently. This last group includes prestigious specialist institutions, such as SOAS (£32 million endowment), the Royal Academy of Music and Royal College of Music (£30 million endowment each), and the Courtauld Institute (£25 million endowment). Taken together, these findings suggest that prestige and reputation, rather than the age of an institution, are the most important factors in building endowments and accumulating economic capital.

Endowments are typically invested in order to produce an income, and Table 11 presents a summary of investment income arising from endowments and other investments for universities of different heritages, both in terms of absolute income value, and as part of the mix of university income sources. As would be expected, endowment and investment income is broadly proportionate to the value of the assets that generate it. Further, Oxford and Cambridge have the highest combined endowment and investment incomes of any type of university at all points in time, followed by the other universities established before 1989. The 1992 Act institutions have less endowment and investment income than universities founded later, as might be expected from the results for endowment values. As a component of the overall funding for universities, endowment and investment income is consistently small, although, once again, Oxford and Cambridge, are benefiting from deriving the greatest proportion of income from this source. Endowment and investment income is beneficial to universities as it arises independently from their other income sources. They receive it irrespective of how many fee-paying students they admit, how many research contracts they win, and how many summer conferences they host. Furthermore, it is a source of funding that may be applied at the discretion of university management, and has the potential to be used strategically to further university goals, and enhance organisational symbolic capital. Chapter 5 will examine in more detail how universities use philanthropic funds and the income from their accumulated economic capital to these ends.

To understand how universities themselves conceive of the role of economic capital in the form of endowments, I drew upon documentary sources and interviews for the cases in the study. The annual report of a development office of an extremely wealthy college at an elite university, offered the following commentary:

> "The investment objective of the College's endowment is to maximise its long-term real income growth, achieved by investing in property and global equities…This strategy allows the College to provide an enduring source of income to maintain standards of excellence across teaching, research and pastoral support."

The college is stating that the function of its endowment is to produce a consistent and secure income stream, which can then be applied to achieving "excellence" in its operations, thereby enhancing its symbolic capital. The temporal frame of reference is also clear: at an institution that has existed for many centuries, the intention is to perpetuate and grow its future endowment income, presumably so they can continue with practices that have proven effective thus far in building and maintaining their reputation for excellence. This report is sent out annually to alumni and other donors, so apparently all parties are aware of the college's deliberate strategy.

Unsurprisingly, interview participants at well-endowed elite universities were reluctant to discuss endowment building, although the development director at a college at an elite university offered the following commentary on how their very large endowment impacts their ability to solicit philanthropic support from alumni:

> "Now, one of the benefits of that, which some people don't realize in terms of fundraising is a good thing, is that that endowment funds the operations of the college. It funds the salaries, it keeps the lights on; it does all the things that donors would rather not do with their money. They'd rather give to scholarships, they'd rather give to students, they'd rather give to building projects. They don't want to know that their £10 a month is just paying an electric bill, and so the endowment actually allows us to say, 'Your money goes to where you want it to go to', because that's all taken care of."

While acknowledging the role of endowment income in underpinning college operations, having a large endowment allows the college to focus on seeking philanthropic support to enhance the student experience (scholarships, nice buildings). These types of projects not only work to enhance the college's reputation among prospective and current students, but they appeal to alumni donors as well, as it is clear how their support is having an impact.

At most established universities, development directors acknowledged that they were building endowments opportunistically "where we can" and for specific purposes. "We are endowing at the moment, because scholarships and postdocs are very valuable to be endowed", said one development director, demonstrating an understanding of how deploying economic capital would enhance their student experience.

In summary, the economic capital represented by endowments is very unequally distributed among UK universities and there is a clear pattern in the hierarchy of wealth. Oxford and Cambridge possess the greatest proportion of all endowment wealth, with other universities being much less well endowed. 1992 Acts institutions are very poorly endowed, if at all. This distribution pattern has persisted over the duration of the study, suggesting that building economic capital is difficult. Those institutions that are fortunate enough to benefit from the income from large endowments are applying it, deliberately and thoughtfully, either directly, to bolster their reputations, or indirectly, to cover operating costs so that philanthropic income can be dedicated to this. In this way, economic capital helps build symbolic capital, creating a mutually reinforcing relationship that results in the highest ranked universities also, generally, being the best endowed.

4.4 Competition in the university field

The field of universities is a social space in which universities may compete against one another for resources, such as research funding, well qualified students, talented academics, and, potentially, for philanthropic support. As has been shown, the universities in this study vary considerably in the levels of philanthropic support they are able to attract, and this has been shown to be related to the quantity of symbolic capital they possess, in the form of rankings and the reputation they claim for "excellence", in whole or in part. Of particular interest, however, is how experienced social actors in university development organisations understand the boundaries of the arena in which they compete, their position relative to others in the field, and the beliefs they have about the degree to which they compete (or do not) with others, as these provide insight into the boundaries and conditions within the university field (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Experienced development professionals will have formed these beliefs in a practical context, and they will underpin the “rules” that they believe that they are playing by (Bourdieu’s “doxa” (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Deer, 2014)). These rules constitute an important part of the social reality of knowledgeable actors in the field.

Table 12 presents representative quotes organised by university grouping and theme from the study’s case interviews, in response to my direct question about competition, and also to an indirect one about whom they benchmark themselves against in the Ross-CASE survey (Gioia *et al.*, 2013). The answers to both questions reflect organisational position-taking by universities within their field (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). The Ross-CASE survey of UK university fundraising activities has been conducted annually since 2008 by the CASE (CASE Europe, 2017). Each annual survey seeks information about the financial and operational results of fundraising at UK universities. Participation is voluntary, and participants receive individualised benchmarking feedback. All eleven cases in this study have chosen to participate. In the course of the study, I found that survey results were often used to bolster credibility in internal reports prepared for university management: at Case C, a university development director was using Ross-CASE results to support the business case for a new development strategy; at Case F, a development director was using Ross-CASE results to argue for greater investment in development resources; at Case H, the development director was using the university’s results to demonstrate that operational progress had been achieved. Development practitioners themselves clearly value the survey and the practice of selecting a peer group to be benchmarked against compels development directors to contemplate which other universities would constitute, in their view, valid and meaningful comparators. This indirectly signals whom they believe they are competing against.

Elite Universities	
Global competition	"Yes, there's definitely lots of competition I would say. It's probably a good thing. So I think Oxford in the UK, Cambridge and Oxford are probably the leading fundraising operations and I would say our competitors are in North America. I think increasingly in Asia, in particular Australia, that they're investing heavily in their fundraising operations...So we should not be complacent." Chief of staff "No, I mean certainly, when we're benchmarking ourselves, we are obviously looking at [the other elite case], but really benchmarking to the US and maybe one or two others." Chief of staff "First of all, with the really significant philanthropists, we're all fishing in the same pool. I mean, my team walked out of a meeting with one of our alums to [the other elite case] walking in the door to meet with them, so, I mean, let's not kid ourselves. We're all chasing the same 50 billionaires at the top 10 universities in the world, whether they're an alumnus of your institution or not…" Director of development
Established Universities	
Competition unimportant	"To be honest I never really think much about the competition, because I think… I just think the vast majority of people under give, and what our role is, is to make people feel good about any giving that they're doing, and actually encourage them to think about it in a different way. So, of course there is competition. So, many of our alumni have got more than one degree from different institutions, and I think the most competitive area is with charitable trusts, which are bombarded from all sides of course." Development director "I've never really had a sense of competition. I think, you know, the team as a whole would say that. I feel as if with trusts and foundations, you're there to meet their stated aims, and their goals, and what they're trying to achieve. With alumni, if you… if an alumnus pitches up and giving a huge gift to Edinburgh or to Cambridge it's because there's something there that interests them… but no, I don't feel particularly in competition." Development director

Established Universities	
Alumni giving	"…they aren't challenged because you have your own alumni pool who are so invested in your institution. So, the real areas for competition are around that corporate sector, and then the trusts and foundations." Development director "It's not that common, though, for someone to have two degrees from two different Scottish institutions. Your alumni are your alumni and they feel strongly about you." Development director "I think affinity is definitely where you did your undergraduate qualification..." Development director
Proximate geographic competition	[On whether there is competition] "I think from other universities, no. So, [a 92 institution located in the same city] has a very small team, and they're not particularly active with major donors. I think where they have good connections, arguably in some cases much better than we have...." Development director "They wouldn't compete with us in lots of the areas… I mean they don't compete with us. I know they've got health sciences, but it's kind of a vocation. It's nursing and physiotherapy, pharmacy, and things like that. So in terms of the medical research, they wouldn't compete." Senior academic, and trustee of a university's development trust, describing competition for philanthropic funds with a 1992 university that is located in the same city as their university "I've got someone who actually called me up this week and has a family foundation, has supported [another university in the same city], the medical school, for the past three years, and he said, 'Actually, I liked your proposal and I think now it's time I supported [this university].' But I can see in a few years' time he may then go back to [another university in the same city] and support them. It doesn't preclude anything and sometimes you've got to wait your turn" Development director "So, I don't think we have as much competition as if you were sitting in London for example." Development director

92 Universities	
Perceived non-existence of competition	"I don't think that I think about in terms of the competition for seeking the philanthropic support. I think about it in terms of, is our offer for what we're trying to raise money for attractive; and if it is, is there competition in that sense?" Development director. "In terms of individual alumni I think there's a huge potential to cultivate that activity because people do have a strong affinity with the university. It's that we have not actively engaged with those people to date and I don't see that necessarily there's a conflict with those individuals, with other institutions that they've then gone on to do a master's degree with or an undergraduate degree with." Development director

Table 12: Competition between universities in raising funds

Table 12 shows a clear pattern of responses that is differentiated by the type of case. Elite cases A and B see themselves as competing domestically with one another, but also with a select few other universities around the world - "the Top 10"- especially in the US. Here we see symbolic capital in action globally: only the highest ranked institutions worldwide are considered to be "on the radar" for the elite cases, and they are unconcerned about UK competition, other than from each other. For them, university fundraising is very clearly a competitive business, and they welcome competition as a "good thing", implying they have confidence in the ability of their university to compete, and are taking a distinctive and dominant position in the field (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Their reputations mean they have access to the world's richest philanthropists, and they expect to be competing for their attention with a small number of other institutions only. In summary, elite cases are competing globally with a small number of other prestigious institutions for philanthropic support, and are able to leverage their symbolic capital to access what Bourdieu termed "the field of power" (Bourdieu, 1996a; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Maclean *et al.*, 2014). Elite cases A and B are raising more than £200 million per year in philanthropic funds, so their confidence in their own capacity to engage successfully with elite philanthropists appears justified, and confirms their ability to convert their symbolic capital into financial support.

Established cases present a more complex picture. Several interviewees appeared bemused by my question about competition, and this is revealed in the initial uncertainty they express about whether there really is competition, or whether competition is worthy of their consideration. Upon further reflection, development directors acknowledge that competition does in fact exist for their universities in fundraising from alumni with multiple degrees, and from charitable trusts. Understanding potential supporters' perspectives is believed to be important - "meet[ing] their stated aims", having "something here that interests them"- as is the process of engaging with emotions to build relationships with them -"mak[ing] people feel good about…. giving". Both of these factors imply that fundraising efforts would need to be tailored to the specific donor and context to succeed, and this would place a high reliance on the professional and empathic skills of development professionals. No mention is made of the reputation of their universities, as symbolic capital is of lesser importance here. Position-taking is engaged in only reluctantly, and after prompting from me, and revolves around being seen to have something to offer potential supporters that aligns with their interests.

All seven established cases identified alumni giving as core component of their philanthropic support, based upon the relationship that alumni have with their old university - "they feel strongly about you", "affinity", "so invested in your institution". While established cases clearly felt they enjoyed a privileged relationship with alumni, and had expectations that alumni would support them financially, they acknowledged competition existed where alumni held degrees from multiple institutions, as, logically, alumni would have relationships there too. The area where they felt most competition was occurring was in soliciting support from foundations and corporate donors, although this is not presented as a major source of philanthropic income, when compared to alumni, in many cases.

Established cases are, however, sensitive to competition based upon their geographic proximity to other institutions and give serious consideration to universities located close to them. The boundaries of the geographical area of concern seem to be quite local - the same city - and relief is felt, not to have to compete too much outside the area, or with London, where a large number of universities are present. Concern is expressed about the connections that other universities have in the local area - "good connections…much better than we have" -

indicating an awareness of the importance of building the university's social network as an enabler for fundraising activity.

Medical schools are recognised as embodiments of symbolic capital for their institution (Bourdieu, 1986), as having one is a marker of prestige for a university and a source of esteem in their local community. Having a medical school engaged in research is understood to position a university favourably with donors, when compared to another institution in the same city engaged in the lesser discipline of "health sciences". A donor is described, without resentment or animosity, as first having supported the medical school at another university, before approaching a development director, who acknowledges, pragmatically, that, even if the donor may support their university next, they may "go back" to supporting the other university's research program again. Knowledgeable actors clearly believe that there is a pecking order of causes that donors like to support, with medical schools at the top, and this is not to be challenged. 92 universities are acknowledged as competing in certain clearly specialisms only. In summary, established universities are engaging tactically in raising philanthropic funds, relying heavily upon their captive alumni bases, competing in certain bounded geographical spaces, and for foundation and corporate support, by leveraging symbolic capital where they have it. Their view of competition does not include the elite universities, and features the 1992 universities only in certain specific contexts.

1992 universities raise very small amounts of philanthropic income annually (Case J: £700k, Case K: £200k). They have low levels of resources dedicated to development, resulting in limited activity. In response to my question about benchmarking, neither institution, although participating in Ross-CASE, felt that benchmarking themselves was a valuable exercise at this time, "[It's] not intensely helpful". Their perception of competition is, unsurprisingly, different to both elite and established universities. 1992 universities do not believe competition to be a real factor in how they approach donors. They believe that it is the quality of what they are offering potential supporters that will secure success, and that there is no competition for alumni support where alumni are graduates of multiple universities. This understanding is different to that expressed by knowledgeable actors at established universities, and this "non-position taking" relative to other universities seems likely to be naïve. It will certainly translate into a different set of rules that actors at newer universities will use when interacting with donors. Given the low level of activity at 92 universities, it is likely that their perceptions and beliefs have been formed based on limited experience, and will evolve as they become more engaged with development.

This analysis of competition has revealed deep differences in how actors at different types of cases understand competition and the role of symbolic capital. Elite cases, oblivious to others outside of a small international peer group, leverage their symbolic capital to compete globally in securing support from elite philanthropists and others. Established cases are focussed on leveraging their alumni base as a source of support, and compete, selectively and opportunistically, for philanthropic support on the basis of their reputation for excellence in certain areas, and their ability to build relationships with supporters. They compete mostly with other established universities. 92 universities show limited activity and have yet to develop an awareness of their competitive landscape. These findings reveal that the field of universities has boundaries that transcend geography, and is highly stratified. Stratification is based, as Bourdieu would predict, upon the unequal distribution of capital resources between actors in the field (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008).

4.5 Discussion and conclusion

This chapter has presented a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the symbolic and accumulated economic capitals of all UK universities to describe the overall state of play in fundraising in 2014. Quantitative analysis of university endowments, understood as stores of accumulated economic wealth derived from philanthropic sources, revealed that Oxford and Cambridge, including both the universities and associated colleges, have been vastly more successful than any other UK higher education institution in attracting philanthropic support. Other institutions, including the ancient Scottish universities and other members of the prestigious Russell group, have accumulated relatively modest endowments, while the 1992 former polytechnics have not built endowments of any significant size. Indeed, institutions founded after the 1992 Education Acts have fared rather better than the 1992 institutions, suggesting that factors other than age and longevity are at play. In 2014, great inequality can be seen in the accumulated economic capital of UK universities, and historical analysis revealed that this has been the case consistently over the period 1989 -2014. Building economic capital appears to be inherently difficult.

This chapter also presented a quantitative analysis of THE UK university rankings, as societally influential measures of the organisational reputation and esteem associated with possession of Bourdieu's symbolic capital (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Time-based analysis of the rankings between 1992 and 2014 demonstrates social reproduction, finding that those institutions at the top of the rankings, Oxford and Cambridge, followed by the research-intensive Russell Group universities, have maintained their ranking positions. 1992 Act institutions mostly languish at the bottom of the ranking table. These findings suggest a sharp distinction between elite and mass institutions, and that their position has been conserved (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008). Comparison of the study results for rankings with those for endowments revealed that the institutions with the greatest reserves of economic capital, Oxford and Cambridge, were also the highest ranked. The Russell group of research-intensive UK universities form the second cohort of universities in both reputation and wealth, while 1992 institutions lag far behind on each measure. These findings suggest that a university's reputation and its ability to attract philanthropic support may be linked, consistent with the findings of US studies (Leslie and Ramey, 1988; Baade and Sundberg, 1996; Cunningham and Cochi-Ficano, 2002; Liu, 2006; Gottfried, 2008). Findings from the eleven cases revealed that knowledgeable actors in universities understood clearly the role that their institution's reputation played in philanthropy. Being able to present their university as "excellent", in whole or in part, was a critical factor in appealing to potential donors, and enabled elites to legitimate the setting of large campaign targets. It also influenced the personal career decisions of development professionals, as being attached to a university with a good reputation made the business of fundraising inherently easier. In the socially-situated understanding of university development professionals, possession of organisational symbolic capital is believed to be a key enabler of success, both for their university's ability to attract funds, and for them personally. This understanding is consistent with the sector-wide finding that associates possession of symbolic capital (reputation) with possession also of economic capital (endowment values). These findings explain, for the first time, how symbolic capital acts in university fundraising.

A further finding from the THE rankings analysis is that limited movement has occurred overall in the period since rankings began, with no movement at all the top, limited movement further down, and most movement being found among lowest ranked institutions. These findings suggest that symbolic capital is both elusive - difficult to acquire when a university is seeking it - and stubborn - difficult to dislodge from those who already possess it. Universities are found to act purposively to conserve their reserves of symbolic capital and safeguard their positions in the university field (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008), such as when running campaigns, even as those who lack it appear to struggle to build theirs. Philanthropic income, while representing a small proportion overall university funding, has been identified as highly useful, as it may be applied at the discretion of university leadership. This may create a “virtuous circle”, in which high levels of symbolic capital are converted into economic capital by the activities of skilled university development organisations, when they generate philanthropic income. In turn, this philanthropic income may be applied by university leadership to build further symbolic capital. With such a model in place, and acting consistently over a period of years or decades, elite universities may preserve their status and entrench their positions. Others, lacking the “start-up” symbolic capital required to prime the process, or the insight (or ability) to redirect economic capital from other sources to building symbolic capital, remain fated not to be able to play the game in the way the elites do. These findings enhance our understanding of the nature of symbolic capital, the difficulties in acquiring and conserving it, and how capital conversion may occur in an organisational setting. Chapter 5 will examine in greater detail how universities use philanthropic income to enhance their reputations and further their strategic objectives.

From the quantitative analysis of THE rankings and endowment values, a clear picture emerges of the structure of the university field. At the top, and in a class of their own, are Oxford and Cambridge. Below them sit the Russell-group and other established universities, less well endowed, but still well-ranked in the UK. Far below, by both measures, are the 1992 universities. Findings from eleven case studies demonstrate that these hierarchical differences produce different social realities for development staff, with differing understandings regarding social relations with potential donors and other universities, and differing position takings. The elite universities see themselves as situated within a globally competitive arena, alongside a small number of other elite institutions, competing for the attention of wealthy donors on the basis of their global reputations. They take no account of the actions of other UK universities, other than those of each other. Further, other UK universities do not believe themselves to be in contention with the elites. Thus, a mutually understood decoupling of the two groups is seen, leading to a highly stratified field: elites operate globally, oblivious to UK competition, while others operate primarily, but not exclusively in the UK, and are somewhat sensitive to competition from other UK institutions, especially those located in the same geographic region. The reticence of development staff at established universities in acknowledging the very existence of competition during interviews may well reflect a reluctance to confront others and engage in position taking, as this is risky behaviour, when they know they are definitely not among the dominant elite. 92 universities show limited awareness of competition or willingness to engage in position taking, most likely as a result of having, to date, limited experience of development. The rules that pertain in these two separate arenas (elite/the rest) are dissimilar. Elite cases rely on their reputation for overall excellence as the primary attraction for donors. Established cases engage tactically with donors, relying on the affinity and loyalty of their alumni, and their ability to present an appealing case for support grounded in areas of excellence within their university. 92 universities, again, have limited experience with donor engagement, and would be expected, as they gain greater experience, to adopt the rules used by the established cases. So with different sets of rules, a general understanding among knowledgeable actors that Oxford and Cambridge are not playing in the same arena as other UK universities, and are uninfluenced by their actions, and differences in positon taking, UK universities may be understood as existing in either a highly stratified field where different rules pertain at different levels, or potentially as two separate but adjacent Bourdieusian fields (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Oxford and Cambridge, together with a small number of other elite universities, comprise the organisational actors in a global, geographically unconstrained field. Other UK universities comprise the organisational actors in a UK-only field.

These findings enhance our understanding of the field of universities, by defining its boundaries and structure. They may also explain why the UK Government's many attempts to alter field conditions - such as the matched funding schemes and sponsoring of CASE-delivered US-centric training - will be unlikely to be effective for established or 92 universities, which exist in a UK-only field, with its own distinctive rules. Being constituted as a highly stratified field has practical implications for university development organisations too: elite practices and behaviours may be of limited utility to other universities, which are playing by different rules. Attempting to emulate the elite would not likely prove a successful strategy to advance the cause of an established or 92 university, so they are driven to create their own realities featuring their own tactics for success.

In summary, in 2014, there is great inequality among UK universities in their ability to raise funds from philanthropic sources, and this is directly related to the inequality that exists in university reputations. This inequality is persistent and stubborn, and has been shown to be the result of the presence and action of Bourdieu's symbolic capital in enabling the building of economic capital, which, in turn, may be applied to bolster symbolic capital. This mutually reinforcing mechanism explains how dominance is reproduced, and the dominated are constrained by their current resources. Symbolic capital explains how Oxford and Cambridge have emerged as being overwhelmingly better financially endowed, why they are playing by different rules, and why no other UK university has been able to compete with them.

In the chapter that follows, I will examine how universities conceive of the role of philanthropic income, and how their agency, in choosing what to fundraise for, influences their ability to build symbolic capital, and maintains their positions within the field.

Chapter 5 Fundraising and university strategy

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I described the competitive field of universities in the UK, the inequality present within in it, and how this inequality has been perpetuated by the presence and persistent action of symbolic capital. In this chapter, I consider how the forces of human agency and purposeful choice act in university fundraising, by examining how universities conceptualize and enact fundraising in support of their overall business strategy.

The classic understanding of strategy, as a response to a competitive struggle between organizations, would see universities as competing for students and research funding, while being in the business of delivering education and conducting research (Porter, 1985). According to this view, universities might expect to compete in one of three mains ways. The first strategy, cost leadership, is predicated on becoming the lowest cost provider. With the exception of the University of Buckingham, which offers a low-cost compressed schedule undergraduate degree program, there is little evidence of UK universities pursuing this strategy. Indeed, undergraduate tuition fees in England have been leveled up to the maximum permitted by the government, irrespective of the subject studied. Secondly, universities might seek to focus on a narrow segment of the higher education sector, specializing in certain academic disciplines. This is the strategy pursued by academies of fine and applied arts, music, dance, and drama. A third possible strategy is to differentiate, whereby a university seeks to be unique in one or more parts of its operations highly valued by students or research funders. Here, there is more scope for purposive action at universities, and the role of philanthropic income, as a resource to be applied at the discretion of management, is potentially significant in creating distinctive or unique competencies (Kay, 1993; Teece *et al.*, 1997; Teece, 2009). Further, philanthropic income has the potential to fund exploration of, and experimentation with, new competencies (Raisch and Birkinshaw, 2008; Raisch *et al.*, 2009). It is here that much of the analysis presented in this chapter focuses.

Despite the origins of strategy in the commercial world, its influence has extended into the non-profit world of universities. Universities routinely prepare and publish mission statements, vision statements, statements of core values, and strategy documents (Carter, 2013). These artifacts, traditionally associated with for profit enterprises, are couched in the language of the commercial sector. They are rich sources for exploring how universities understand their role in society and how, ultimately, they sell themselves to students and other stakeholders (Sauntson and Morrish, 2011). It would be expected that universities, as players in a competitive field, would be seeking to distinguish themselves using symbolically meaningful positon-taking (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008), in such matters as their role in society and the services that they offer, and that these positions could be understood from their strategy artifacts.

As universities and their development organizations are ultimately composed of people making and enacting decisions, I consider the role of agency in university fundraising. The chordal triad of human agency recognizes three temporal-relational contexts for action: past, present and future (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). I examine how imagining a future may be used as a technique in fundraising, potentially to change a university's circumstances, and how knowledgeable actors' understanding of their current context may circumscribe their choices about future direction.

Drawing on evidence from the eleven cases in this study, I begin by examining what understanding leading actors have of the role and purpose of university fundraising, and how it is situated within the overall context of their university's strategy. I present quantitative evidence to describe the practical implications of this understanding. I describe how university professionals understand the processes that universities enact when they make deliberate and practical choices about what "projects" to fundraise for. I examine the common themes present in university strategy materials, and how universities' development priorities and projects, as described by development professionals themselves in interviews and in their publications, align with these themes. Finally, I link university development priorities and projects, and the application of philanthropic income, to reputation building, and Bourdieusian symbolic capital enhancement.

Accordingly, this chapter addresses the following research questions:

- How do UK universities conceptualize and enact philanthropy as part of their overall strategy?
    - How do universities understand the role of philanthropic support?
    - How do UK universities determine what to fundraise for?
    - How do fundraising project choices support university strategy?

5.2 The role of philanthropy in university strategy

Development professionals, and the senior academics whom they work alongside, are continually engaged in creating the social reality of university fundraising within their university, when they are interacting with donors and supporters, and in the wider context of society. Critical to their ability to create these realities is their understanding of the role of philanthropy, specifically, what its purpose is, how it is situated within the complex context of the university, and how it relates to, and is impacted by, field-level pressures resulting from government policy.

Table 13 presents representative quotes from interviews with study participants, or from the documents they have produced, that address the fundamental question "What is fundraising for?"

Augmentation of Resources	
Elite Universities	"It allows the [institution] to go beyond its core activities and ensure that it can provide opportunities and additional funding for its students, Fellows and researchers." From an annual report of a development organisation "Put simply, we can achieve more with the support, passion and vision of our donors than we can on our own." from the annual report of a development organisation "One of the great things is our leadership really talks about how... and I think it's because we still have strong government funding, that they want to see philanthropy for strategic purposes, things that we couldn't do otherwise." Development director "What your donors can do is help you achieve greater things that go above and beyond what you're currently providing for everybody." Development director
Established Universities	"DARO's core business is to engage with alumni and other supporters to build strategic partnerships which support the vision, mission and goals of the University and augment the income which it receives from government and student fees." From development office strategy document "…it's very much about adding value to the strategic priorities and enhancing what we're already doing. There is a sense of it being 'additional' if you like…" Development director "So, the phrase I've been using to try and get it across is, philanthropy, if you take a building, is transforming an ordinary building into an extraordinary building… the university needs to invest in it, and we then add to it." Development director "I think it's taking the university to that other level that it might not, under the current funding structures, it might not be able to get to. So, it's 'aspiring beyond'. It's being transformational. It's taking it from just the normal, the ordinary, to the extraordinary." Development director

Augmentation of Resources	
Established Universities	“The fundraising part though fits in there nicely, because it’s to add an investment to allow the university to do things that its current government funding would not allow it to do. Therefore, it allows us to build nicer buildings that we might otherwise have built, have better academic staff, or more academic staff and support students both through their success as academic scholarships” Senior academic “…we’ve used the model of raising funds for a specific initiative, and it can be a very grand initiative like the childhood cancer research centre, which is something that we long wanted to do. We had the resources, we had the people, we had the stars, we had the aims, but we didn’t have the… just the extra bolus[2] of money needed to really get that off the ground. So funds were raised specifically for that.” Senior academic with a leading role in fundraising
92 Unis	‘So, it might be the icing on the cake, it might augment things; it certainly would help, and if we can get giving in the right way, of course, it helps the institution somewhat.” Marketing director
Limits to Utility	
Estab-lished	“Certainly at [established University], it has a huge turnover and it runs as a ‘going concern’, so fundraising was never to fill gaps in its running costs…” Development director
92 Universities	“I don’t see it as a magic wand to fix all of the funding ills. I think it’s something that certainly can support some of that, but I don’t think in our wildest dreams we could ever raise enough money to begin to backfill some of the government cuts.., I wouldn’t see it as substitutional, at this stage.” Marketing director

Table 13: The purpose of fundraising

A clear common theme is evident for all case groupings: fundraising as an activity is seen as instrumental to producing a supplementary income - “additional funding”, “augment the income”, “the extra bolus [initial boost][2] of money” - for universities. This income increases the total resources of the university, and can be deliberately applied, either to university-selected projects that are entirely philanthropically-funded, or to enhancing projects funded from other sources of income. Annual

[2] Bolus is a medical term used to describe a large initial dose of a medication that is administered to a patient to raise its concentration in the blood to a therapeutic level.

reports describe how having philanthropic income allows “going beyond” core activities, and universities “can achieve more”, “achieve greater things”, “aspir[e] beyond” with donor support. Universities can use philanthropic income to fund initiatives that would otherwise not be possible, such as hiring more or better academic staff, providing greater student financial support, or launching a childhood cancer research centre. Directors of development describe how philanthropic income may also be applied to “enhancing what we’re already doing”, producing “nicer buildings than we might otherwise have built”, and “transforming an ordinary building”. Some established and 92 universities sound a note of realism, however, about the magnitude and potential of philanthropic income as part of the mix of university income sources: “fundraising was never to fill gaps in its running costs”, “I don’t think in our wildest dreams we could ever raise enough money to begin to backfill some of the government cuts”. Across all case groupings, knowledgeable actors share a common understanding that fundraising is an activity, performed by development organisations, in order to produce philanthropic income. This income is understood as a resource to augment and enhance university activities.

To understand the potential of philanthropic income as a resource, both the new funds being raised by development, and the income arising from endowments and investments must be considered. Endowment income exists as a result of the historic development activities of universities in raising philanthropic capital for investment, and their subsequent stewardship of these assets. Both new funds raised, and annual endowment income, are thus understood to be the result of development activities[3]. Table 14 presents an analysis of the 2014 total annual income of the universities in this study and their total philanthropic income, with colleges included where applicable. To understand philanthropic income relative to the scale of

[3] Universities also receive income from philanthropic sources where the development organization is not involved, such as when an academic successfully applies for a research grant from a non-profit organization. As a development director explained, “We haven’t quite cracked how we can help with research fundraising…and that’s partly because, 18 months in, I’m still working through how can we, how can we even find out exactly what research funding might require of us, over and above the directorate of research and enterprise that deal very much with statutory grant applications, and a lot of funding in that area. So, we don’t cover that area…at the moment we’ve set that aside.” Non-involvement in academic-led research funding applications was common to all cases in this study, and I have therefore restricted my analysis to philanthropic income arising from the activities, current and historical, of development offices.

different university operations, it has been expressed per student and per academic staff member.

			Philanthropic income £ million (1)					
		2014 Annual Income £ million (1)	2014 Endowment and Investment Income	Annual Funds raised	Total	Philanthropic income as percentage of total income (1)	Philanthropic income per student £ (1,2)	Philanthropic income per academic staff member £(1,2)
Elite Universities	A	1,591.6	156.9	273.0	429.9	27.0	21,725	66,452
	B	1,897.7	159.5	221.0	380.5	20.1	14,690	70,080
		Mean = 1,744.7			Mean = 405.3	Mean = 23.5	Mean = 18,207	Mean = 68,266
		n = 2			n = 2	n = 2	n = 2	n = 2

			Philanthropic income £ million (1)					
		2014 Annual Income £ million (1)	2014 Endowment and Investment Income	Annual Funds raised	Total	Philanthropic income as percentage of total income (1)	Philanthropic income per student £ (1,2)	Philanthropic income per academic staff member £(1,2)
Established Universities	C	781.0	19.1	16.5	35.6	4.6	1,290	8,884
	D	511.0	10.8	10.0	20.8	4.1	759	6,934
	E	310.2	1.8	10.5	12.3	4.0	717	7,753
	F	148.0	1.7	1.0	2.7	1.8	275	2,252
	G	235.0	0.8	9.0	9.8	4.2	711	5,943
	H	450.0	6.4	6.0	12.4	2.7	552	4,682
	I	254.0	2.6	3.0	5.6	2.2	279	4,114
		Mean = 384.2			Mean = 14.2	Mean = 3.4	Mean = 665	Mean = 5,795
		n = 7			n = 7	n = 7	n = 7	n = 7

		Philanthropic income £ million (1)					
	2014 Annual Income £ million (1)	2014 Endowment and Investment Income	Annual Funds raised	Total	Philanthropic income as percentage of total income (1)	Philanthropic income per student £ (1,2)	Philanthropic income per academic staff member £(1,2)
92 Universities J	226.0	0.3	0.7	1.0	0.4	36	723
K	120.0	3.4	0.2	3.6	3.0	198	5,158
	Mean = 173.0			Mean = 2.3	Mean = 1.7	Mean = 117	Mean = 2,941
	n = 2			n = 2	n = 2	n = 2	n = 2

Notes

(1) University + colleges, where applicable; endowment and investment income from HESA data, annual funds raised from study interviews and strategy materials

(2) Student and academic staff numbers from 2014 HESA data

Table 14: 2014 philanthropic income

In Table 14, there is a clear pattern of difference between the three case groupings. Elite cases benefit from the highest proportion of income from development-generated sources, with an average of 23.5% of all income resulting from their development efforts. This represents an additional £18,207 per student or £68,266 per academic staff member. With undergraduate fees in England at £9000+, and 2014 modal academic annual salaries being in the £42 - £57,000 range (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2015), philanthropic income, understood as being applied to augment other university resources, thus has considerable impact potential. Established cases derive, on average, 3.4% of their income from the philanthropic income generated by development. This represents an additional £665 per student or £5,795 per academic staff member. While still representing a useful quantity of additional resources, development-generated philanthropic income at established universities thus has a much smaller potential for impact. Finally, the 92 universities benefit from an average 1.7% of total income from development activities, representing £117 per student or £2,941 per academic staff member. It is likely that these smaller amounts have limited potential to enhance and augment university activities. Once again, a clear distinction is seen between case groupings, with elites benefiting from very large philanthropic resources that they may apply, deliberately and thoughtfully, to enhancing the operations of their institutions.

Development professionals seem to have given considerable thought to how their activities relate to the overall strategic goals and objectives of their universities. Table 15 presents representative quotes from study interviews and university documents that describe how development professionals, and others, understand the relationship of fundraising to university strategy.

Elite Universities	
Critical support for strategy	“The role that philanthropic support plays at [Institution] is crucial.” From an annual development report “Across [the university], the understanding and awareness of the importance of philanthropy is growing. There is a close engagement with the academic community in developing large, transformative funding opportunities to attract even greater levels of support for the University’s key priorities.” From a university’s annual report
Established Universities	
Alignment to strategy	“Then the key goals are that, above everything else, I just want to make sure everything we do is aligned to the university strategy, and you get away from the old-fashioned mode of development officers being somewhat a wing of the university, a bit divorced from strategy, raising some funds, chucking them into the university and hoping it sticks and works.” Newly appointed development director. “We try and think about in terms of our alumni strategy and particularly our campaigns where fundraising comes back to the strategic theme so that you can see that you’re not doing this in isolation and that it works towards this bigger objective. It gives you a focus rather than fundraising for fundraising’s sake.” Development director “…the important things for the University, or the four absolutely overriding things are, rankings in the REF, our position within the TEF, the National Student Survey and our employability ratings. ..some of our projects really speak to adding value to those key important areas for us.” Development director

Established Universities	
Embedding fundraising	"I think it's changed. So, I think when I… well I know, when I arrived, fundraising was seen as something that could do bits of those "nice to have" pieces and it was very project based. So, "We'll find some projects for the fundraising team to do'', rather than the way we are beginning to look at it, and we're not quite there yet, but we are making step changes. And that is to say, what is the direction of the university, what investments do we need to make to bring that to life, and what role does philanthropy play within that along with our revenue sources?" Long-serving development director "If we are seen to be on the periphery of the university raising funds for what they university does we're not going to be successful. It has to be embedded firmly within the university of what we're doing, is achieving the university's dreams. If that isn't the case we won't be successful, that's my sense." Development director "…., that possibly means it's had difficulty in terms of feeling integral, by being a value added, an add-on, there is a sense of it being slightly on the outskirts." Development director, commenting on how development is viewed within their university "…. In order to enable that, we needed a much more open sense of dialogue about what we were trying to raise money for, we needed to be much more embedded at the heart of what we're trying to do, rather than added value small ticket items on the outskirts of the heart, if that makes sense." Development director "…what I'd like to see is the planning for the future involving philanthropy at a very, very early stage. So not waiting until certain projects have sort of, you know, sifted up as it were to the top, but at a much earlier stage saying…"Let's embed that in our planning now, look at all of these different aims that we have", and work out where…[to] try to get philanthropic income which will then kind of come into the pot." Senior academic

92 Universities	
Future ambitions	"So, I was very clear that in order for this to be adopted in the university and really taken forward, this was a vehicle for achieving the objectives of the university's corporate strategy as opposed to a strategy in itself. So, this is more of a plan in order to achieve the university's strategy…I see this activity as enabling the university to achieve its corporate strategy." Development director "We leverage support from our alumni and our friends and our donors that will contribute to the university's strategy. So the key aspect of the strategy, and so, therefore, necessarily the key aspect of our work to support it, is improving the student learning experience." Development director "So that's kind of a stated ambition that we want to get students with higher grades coming into the university … But it's a virtuous circle, isn't it? if you get better students, it's easier to get better students. You get better post-grads, better PhDs, better research output which is, again, a greater draw to perspective students. So, we're all feeding into that hopefully virtuous circle." Development director

Table 15: Relationship with university strategy

In Table 15, there is a clear difference in how fundraising is understood to relate to university strategy between groups of cases. At elite cases, the importance of philanthropic support is recognised as critically important - "crucial" - and understanding of this fact is growing. Elites describe "close engagement" with academics to produce "even greater levels of support" for "key priorities", recognising that, although they have achieved success so far, there is the potential to move to still higher levels of income. The quantitative analysis presented in Table 14 suggests that this acknowledgement of past success and current performance is justified, and not merely hubris. Elite universities are clear that fundraising's purpose is to support their strategic priorities, and they are confident in its ability to do so. Thus, fundraising, and the philanthropic income it produces, is understood to be a key asset that is a component of the overall capability of the university (Teece *et al.*, 1997; Teece, 2009).

At established universities, there is also a very clear understanding that fundraising, and the philanthropic income it produces, should be an important and integral part of university strategy - "aligned to university strategy", "back to the strategic theme", “work[ing] towards this bigger objective”, “adding value to those key important areas for us.” Development directors present a view of how this unity and cooperation is to be achieved, as they describe how they have moved from being “a bit divorced from strategy” and “fundraising for fundraising’s sake” to joining forces with other functions of their university, and focussing their efforts on the key priorities for their institution. In their understanding, a desirable state for the development organisation and philanthropy is to be firmly, permanently, and centrally situated within their university’s organisation and processes - “embedded firmly”, “embedded at the heart”, “Let’s embed that in our planning”. It is clear that some development directors and academics have witnessed an evolution towards this idealised future state, via “step changes” to move from being “on the outskirts” or “on the periphery”, to being involved with university planning exercises from an early stage - but in some instances this evolution is still underway, or has yet to begin. Established cases have a clear understanding of how they would like development and philanthropy to meld with, and add value to, their institution’s strategy, but, in some cases, are only part way towards realising this.

92 universities have, to date, engaged in limited development activity, so their understanding of its relationship with university strategy is focussed on imaging a future, rather than being grounded in past lived experience. Again, they have a clear understanding of the alignment they are seeking to achieve - “enabling the university to achieve its corporate strategy”, “contribute to the university’s strategy”, “feeding into that hopefully virtuous circle” - but their current understanding and activities are aspirational rather than realised. Thus, a development director describes how they have created the first ever business plan for development at their institution, and how they have positioned this as “a vehicle for achieving the objectives of the university’s corporate strategy as opposed to a strategy itself.” A second development director uses the future tense “support… that will contribute to the university’s strategy” and speaks of a “stated ambition” that is yet to be achieved. 92 universities have a clear understanding of how they see development and philanthropy being part of their university’s capabilities in future, but have yet to enact it (Teece *et al.*, 1997; Teece, 2009).

Emirbayer and Mische's conception of agency predicts that knowledgeable actors will be actively engaged in imagining a future for their own development organisation, as I have just shown, but also for their university and the wider sector (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). Table 16 presents selected quotes from development staff and senior academics, and the documents they produce, to describe their understanding of the likely future, how they conceptualise the future role of development and philanthropic income, and how they co-construct a future reality when they interact with potential donors.

Mitigating future funding risk	
Elite Universities	"…we know with potential for funding decreasing through government agencies, that we will become more reliant on philanthropic income. But that's probably 10 or 20 years down the road, but that's why the institution is committed to it now, so that we can build over time and be ready when that period is here." Development director
Established Universities	The role of fundraising is to "Diversify our income base to reduce financial risk." by "Develop[ing] and implement[ing] a fundraising and alumni development strategy" From a university strategy document, for the period 2013-2020 "Today we do, we also have people paying their £9000-11,000 for their kid to go to university. In Scotland we don't have that largesse coming in, we have government cuts that are making it more difficult for us to run the way we used to, so increasingly the philanthropic contribution is incredibly important." Senior academic. "I don't think that we can do everything we want to do, surviving purely on government income and focused specific research income from targeted research funding bodies. I think that to achieve bigger aspirations and longer-term goals, philanthropy… philanthropic funding has to be just a big part of the picture" Senior academic
92 Universities	"It isn't until recent times, well last two years, that there's been a shift in that and I think with the external environment and a need to look at new sources of income it's become higher on the agenda. And as part of the financial efficiencies review and challenge fundraising, well philanthropic income, was identified as an important additional income source hence I've developed a new philanthropic income growth plan." Development director

Enlisting donor support	
Established Universities	“We help alumni and friends to shape the future by supporting and inspiring [our university’s] students and researchers, maximising the University's impact on [our region] and the World” from a development strategy presentation “In the world we’re in, it’s about co-investment… with some of the public funding cuts that have come into the university sector, and they’re quite acute in [our region] at the moment, we need to be very open that, in some of our work, we are asking donors to co-invest with us, and to safeguard the long-term future of certain programmes, while also extending and deepening them.” Development director “Now we have quite a strong disability and dyslexia service here... and yet the funding over three years was going to be phased out. In fact, this coming year would be the last year of that phasing out. So, although the University could underpin some funding for that, what we wanted to do was reach out to donors to match some of that University-increased investment in that area. We felt that was something that donors could get behind…” Development director

Table 16: Fundraising and the future

Common to all three case groupings in Table 16 is a projective future view that sources of university funding are likely to change, both in total, “funding decreasing through government agencies”, and in specific areas, such as disability support (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). There is a concern that known (and prospective) cuts will impinge upon universities’ ability to operate as they have historically done, or would want to do - “making it more difficult for us to run the way we used to”, “I don’t think we can do everything we want to do”. Universities expect to become “more reliant” upon development-generated philanthropic income and “increasingly the philanthropic contribution is incredibly important”, so that “philanthropic funding has to be just a big part of the picture.” In recognition of planned changes, and in anticipation of more change to come, universities are beginning, in the current time frame, to prepare (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). Elite cases are “committed” to underpinning current development “to be ready” for the day when they will be more reliant on philanthropic income. As presented in Table 14, more than 20% of elite income is already derived from development-generated philanthropic income, conferring a degree of insulation from any government-backed funding changes, and it seems the elite are seeking to safeguard further their independence. Established cases have also recognised the desirability of diversity in their income sources "to reduce financial risk", and, at an established university, a new Vice Chancellor has introduced a cost-savings initiative for administrative functions, which include development, in anticipation of reduced government funding, necessitating a "need to look at new sources of income". All universities are anticipating future government funding changes, and are endeavouring to prepare by acting purposively in the current timeframe to enhance their prospective philanthropic income, as a means to insulate themselves from the impact of expected funding cuts (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). Universities are seeking to enlist the assistance of philanthropic supporters as they do this, allowing them to "co-invest" in "safeguarding", "to shape the future", and "to match some of that University-increased investment". Development professionals, having been sensitised to likely future decreases in government funding, and to increasing philanthropic income as a risk mitigating tactic, are co-constructing a reality with potential supporters that allows them to share in securing the university's future. Thus, they are future-oriented and acting in the current timeframe, while being grounded in their past experience of how they would like universities to operate (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998).

In summary, universities understand the role of university development organisations as being to generate philanthropic income, which they see as a resource to be applied to support their overall strategic goals. As it is generated independently of their other activities, this income has the attractive quality of being available to be applied, at university management's discretion, to augment university activities. Philanthropic income is currently very unequally distributed, with the elites benefiting from much greater levels of resources than others. Universities are increasingly understanding, and seeking to enact, fundraising as integral to their activities, and their view of the future sees universities being increasingly reliant upon philanthropic income. They are currently acting in anticipation of this to grow philanthropic income, and are co-constructing future realities with donors as they engage in the process of fundraising.

5.3 Determining fundraising priorities

Having understood the potential of philanthropic income as a valuable resource for universities, the question arises of deciding how to apply it, and specifically the intersubjective process whereby fundraising priorities are determined, and projects selected. A number of groups may be involved, including university management, potential donors and supporters, and development professionals themselves. Their views and perspectives may or may not align with one another, setting up potential conflicts to be negotiated and resolved. This section describes how development professionals and senior academics understand the process of determining what to fundraise for, and the socially-situated rules that pertain ("doxa") (Swartz, 1997; Deer, 2014).

Table 17 presents selected quotes from development directors and senior academics from the cases in the study. All interviewees seemed implicitly to understand my process-based question, about how they identified and agreed a list of projects that would form the basis of their work, although there are both significant commonalities and differences among case groupings in their responses.

Elite Universities	
Institution led and controlled	"We're mostly academic-led side of things, but within that we've had a little bit flexibility through... for example, with the research posts. We would like to create many of these, so we've had an opportunity to talk to our donors to say, 'Actually, what is of interest to you? Does that align with our interests?' We've been very clear with people where we don't think it does, but we also recognise that we probably have something for most people here, and our approach is we'll try and tailor things, where possible, for our donors in the sense that we don't want to be overly-prescriptive…'" Development director "[Our priority was] student support, it's bringing students here as well as supporting them while they're in college, and that seemed to be the priority for alumni giving actually. So, in a way it was kind of determined by the alumni because the college being [the university's] wealthiest college we can't actually say that we need the money, because frankly we don't need it." Development director
Established Universities	
Bipartisan dialogue	"It's very much the academics that have led the agenda, and there was a huge consultation exercise. There's been different consultation exercises with different segments. So, the academics were asked to bring what they wanted to the senior management group, and we appointed a new… well, she's not new anymore! - a director of estates and buildings who led on the consultation process in terms of buildings." Development director "It's been a long, long process so far. So, we have… I think I'm boring everybody across the institution for the last, I would say, two years, saying, 'I need to know what it is you want us to fundraise for'. Because to go out and say we're an ancient university, etc., that's fine, that's nice, but what is it that I, as a donor, can actually engage with? So, we tried a couple of things. We had a consultant come in last year, and he worked across the campus, went to all the schools, trying to tease out what are those key initiatives that they would like to progress" Development director

92 Universities	
Limited experience	"…we don't get many of these opportunities coming our way so probably 50/50, I would have thought, maybe slightly more towards the donor's perspective. A lot of the donors that we've currently got donating to us have come through, are interested in a particular area. So, I'd say, it's more donor led at the moment, than it is institution led. And that's fine; I think again the opportunities when they present themselves, being few and far between. you have to make them fit what the donor requires as well, and then try your best to get that University influence, if and as when you can, but not at the expense necessarily of losing the relationship with the donor." Marketing director "To be honest, we're quite donor-led." Development director

Table 17: Determining fundraising priorities

Elite universities assert that their academics take the lead in determining fundraising priorities, resulting in a broad set of projects available for donors to engage with - "we probably have something for most people here". Where donor interests do not align with what the university is fundraising for, elite universities are unafraid to break off a relationship with a potential donor, although they do allow for the possibility of small accommodations being made - "a little bit of flexibility", "we'll try and tailor things" - and try to avoid giving the appearance of being overly prescriptive. The balance of power and the position-taking of elite universities here is clear: universities determine priorities, donors largely fall into line with universities' wishes. However, as was shown in Chapter 4, elite universities are often dealing with super-wealthy elite philanthropists, so a measure of tact and sensitivity in their approach is essential. The collegiate structure of the elite, with college-level development organisations in addition to a central university organisation, results in different understandings among knowledgeable actors. At a university where college development organisations are primarily restricted, by mutual agreement, to fundraising from their own alumni, a development director explains that, while fundraising priorities were determined by the college's academics, alumni were also consulted to validate that what was being proposed would be appealing. Ascertaining alumni appeal was a critical part of the intersubjective process of project identification, as the college, being the richest in the university, and one of the best-endowed charities in the UK, could not make a case for support based on a perception of "need". Validating with alumni is thus a risk mitigating tactic - avoiding “going public” with a message of requests for support that would not be well received by their target audience, thereby safeguarding the relationship with supporters and preserving the college’s reputation. Alumni opinion thus acts as a moderator on elite position taking, where symbolic capital must be safeguarded.

Established universities see identifying projects and determining priorities as a lengthy and difficult dialogic and intersubjective process - “the consultation process,” “a huge consultation exercise”, “to tease out what are those key initiatives”, “It’s been a long, long process so far” - and some use consultants to assist with the facilitation and information gathering that this entails. Their position is that fundraising priorities are determined by their academics, and they engage with donors to confirm the appeal of what is being proposed. 92 universities, again, show limited activity - “we don’t get many of these opportunities coming our way” - and understand current fundraising priorities to be primarily donor-led. Where conflicts arise, they err, pragmatically, on the side of preserving their relationship with the donor, and acknowledge that they have yet to evolve the sophisticated processes of more experienced universities. Understanding of the process of determining fundraising priorities at 92 universities is circumscribed by their lack of experience, and their position-taking is characterised by the imperative, a consequence of being of less powerful actors, of just trying to stay in the game.

In any dialogue between universities and potential supporters regarding philanthropic support, both parties would be expected to have an understanding of a set of socially-constructed rules, Bourdieu’s “doxa” (Swartz, 1997; Deer, 2014). University fundraising experienced a reputation-damaging scandal, when the London School of Economics(“LSE”) was revealed, firstly, to have cultivated links with the autocratic Libyan regime of Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi, and subsequently to have accepted philanthropic support from the Gaddafi International Charity and Development Foundation (The Woolf Enquiry, 2011). Universities reacted to the findings and recommendations of the LSE’s internal enquiry into this matter, and the wider 2015 Etherington Review of charity fundraising, by implementing, if they had not already done so, robust processes to scrutinise the sources of funding for the philanthropic gifts that they accept (The Woolf Enquiry, 2011; Etherington, 2015). Indeed, all cases in this study have published policy documents, generally termed “gift acceptance policies”, that make public the ethical governance processes they follow when deciding whether to accept philanthropic support[4]. With this recent history, it would be expected that universities would have a highly developed understanding of the rules and boundaries around their fundraising activities, and that this would be reflected in their position taking (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008).

Table 18 presents selected quotes that describe how knowledgeable actors understand the limits and boundaries of what they may fundraise for, and how they interact with potential donors.

[4] Such policies are typically tiered, with larger gifts requiring scrutiny and approval by university leadership.

Elite Universities	
Clear boundaries	"What we can't do is do anything just because we're being offered funding by a donor to do it." Development director "What I'm very confident in saying is we've also made it very clear internally that we can't accept funds for things the university isn't interested in. My comment to the university leadership has been we have to be clear with our donors and help them understand why and we don't want to mislead donors." Development director "Does the prospect have the opportunity to partner in thinking about certain aspects? Sure. They'll have the chance to think about different needs within the [major project]. They may, if somebody were to come in and fund the whole thing, I am sure we'd be willing to partner with them and think about how they... we would want to give them a view…We know that they'd want to have a voice in not the academic direction of the [major project], but how the space looked, how it might come together. These things are always a very fine line and we never...and we're very clear, actually probably more clear than many US institutions. There is no being able to infringe on academic freedom." Development director
Established Universities	
Desire for clear boundaries	"What concerns me about it is that…it's driven by individuals of means who have decided that they want to address an issue and that they know best how to address it. And they are almost seeking partners to take forward their idea of how this should be addressed. And that's not a good place for universities to be in. It just doesn't work in university world. You support universities because you want to back the brilliance of the individuals here. That doesn't mean we can't shape research questions…And I do very strongly cling onto the definition of philanthropy that the control of the program that's funded must sit with the beneficiary organisation." Development director "Well, it's often some of the really big foundations. Gates, for example. They will map out what the issue is, and how they want to address it, and are open to ideas for partners that people might want to partner with them on that. But they have set out what the issue is. That could potentially work for universities, but it's not really the space I think we should be in. Frankly, we should be setting our own agenda, and seeking our partners for our agenda." Development director

Established Universities	
Acquiescence to donor power	“There was a donor out with UK who wished to give money to [a specific area of medical research] because he was impressed by the professor of [that area of research], quite rightly. That professor had left, but the donor still wished to give to some research in that area. The senior lecturer who was still here was about to go somewhere else. We kept that person on because of this money…Yes, the head of the school of medicine and other things had definitely said, ‘I do not wish to accept this’, but we were overruled.” Senior academic “In the past where we were building a building a donor came in, and said, ‘I will put an extra layer on that building so we can have a conference room’. I was like, ‘We don’t really need a conference room’, but at that time we all put our heads together, and said, ‘Well it’s not going to be a disadvantage to us, we can teach in it, etc.’…So, we accepted that and have enjoyed the facility that came with it”. Senior academic
Surrendering of control	“We’re not a commercial business. However, you know, we do have examples of outside companies taking over a small piece of a department, setting up a research lab, working on their own ideas for the company, and it’s a very mutually beneficial arrangement because we do research there that benefits the academics and it also benefits the company. So, on a small scale that can be done. But I think on the other hand moving to a sort of more active partnership… I can definitely see that happening, so long as it aligns in a very general way with our overall strategy.” Senior academic “Well, I think moving into a model where we do enter into more sort of equal partnerships with potential benefactors, with potential philanthropists, is… you know, is a good way to go…but I don’t think we really necessarily would want to go entirely down the route of someone saying, you know, ‘I would like to commandeer this particular research department to develop this particular idea I have, and I will give you £50 million to do it’, and then we’ll see what comes of it. You know, I think that might be too much direction from outside, given that we are a university, which is very different, I think, from a tech company.” Senior academic

92 Universities	
Imagining a future scenario	“As long as the donor has an ambition for their own funding that can comply with what we’re trying to do, if they wanted to make it specifically for engineering students coming in from [our local area] we’re comfortable with that because we need to recruit engineering students from [our local area]. So we’re happy with that…we can work with that as long as it all goes through the relevant checks and balances.” Development director

Table 18: Fundraising boundary conditions

In Table 18, elite universities understand there to be a hard and fast rule that they only accept funding for projects that they themselves are interested in - “we can’t do…anything just because we’re being offered funding by a donor to do it”, “we can’t accept funds for things the university isn’t interested in” - and they believe that they communicate this clearly to donors. While “there is no being able to interfere with academic freedom”, they are willing to permit donors “a voice” in, but, significantly, not control of, the non-academic components of a philanthropic project, such as “how the space” looks in a new building. Thus, while elite institutions take positions that preserve their independence, they do permit donors to exercise their influence over peripheral aspects of their philanthropic projects. Again, these are powerful organisational actors with a presumed entitlement to define “the rules” in their interactions with donors, resulting from their standing and reputation (symbolic capital) (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008).

Established universities exhibit more variation and flexibility in their position-taking. Several development directors expressed concern about the pressure that universities are experiencing from powerful, and influential, philanthropic foundations. These latter are powerful players in philanthropy, by virtue of the amount of funding that they have available, and their linkages and associations with the global “great and the good” - the individual actors that play regularly in Bourdieu’s “field of power” (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Development directors believe such organisations have a predetermined view, both of the scope of the social issues that they are seeking to address with their funding, and of how they should be addressed. This may compromise a university’s intellectual freedom and their agency - “and that’s not a good place for universities to be in”, “we should be setting our own agenda” - and they seek to retain unambiguous authority over philanthropic programs - “control of the program that’s funded must sit with the beneficiary organisation.” This is clearly the ideal position to which universities aspire, although it is not always achieved.

A senior academic with 30+ years involvement in fundraising at an ancient university, speaking candidly with my guarantee of anonymity, cited two examples where the university had departed from this ideal. On one occasion, the university accepted donor funding to pursue research in an area that they had already decided to discontinue, with negative consequences. On a second occasion, they accepted donor funding to enhance a building project, and found that, despite initially being sceptical about the utility of the modification that the donor was proposing, implementing donor wishes did, in fact, produce a useful addition “[we] have enjoyed the facility that came with it.” These findings seem to confirm the understanding of the elites that universities imperil themselves when they fail to safeguard their academic freedom, although they may be more flexible in allowing donor influence in the non-academic aspects of philanthropic projects without, necessarily, running the risk of negative outcomes. A still more pragmatic view of the role of donors in projects is found in other established universities. While they recognise that they are not commercial enterprises, “mutually beneficial”, “small scale” examples of universities allowing commercial organisations to control research already exist, and the possibility of larger scale collaborations is entertained, with the caveat that such enterprises must “align in a very general way with our overall strategy”. In a second example, a senior academic acknowledges that circumstances are changing and imagines a future scenario in which a potential benefactor offers a significant gift, and their university recognises that this is “too much direction” from outside. 92 universities, again having had limited interaction with donors to date that would inform their position-taking, seem to be comfortable complying with donor wishes, as long as what is being proposed “goes through the relevant checks and balances”, as described in their gift acceptance policies.

Clearly, in all types of university, development professionals and senior academics involved with fundraising have given some consideration to the question of the power relations between their universities and potential benefactors with specific agendas, and have taken positions around the types of support they are willing to accept, and the degree of influence they are willing to accord donors. These positions define a set of rules that are implicitly understood by knowledgeable actors in the university field, being revealed in this study by my questioning during interviews (Table 18). Powerful elite universities adhere to a clear principle that there is no compromising their academic freedom, and donor influence is allowed to act only in the non-academic aspects of philanthropic projects. Established universities strike a more pragmatic tone that endeavours to balance academic freedom with the potential benefits of partnering with benefactors, and there is a range of views on how this balance should be struck. Some institutions take positions similarly to the elites, while others are willing to allow donor influence to extend to controlling small scale projects, and expect this influence will increase. While both elite and established universities had given considerable thought to the boundaries of what to fundraise for, less experienced 92 universities were still clearly imagining how future donor interactions might work, and have yet to take a position. The pattern of difference in boundary setting and position taking is clear: powerful elite universities are in a position to define the rules, established universities would like to be able to define the rules, but may not have sufficient power to be able to, 92 universities are aware there should be rules, but have not yet the experience to define them fully. Analysis of position taking by universities with regard to the acceptance of philanthropic support produces results homologous to those based upon an analysis of quantities of capital, and both reveal the system of power relations within the university field (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008).

5.4 Fundraising projects and how they support university strategy

Having understood development-generated philanthropic income as a potentially valuable resource for universities, and how universities go about the business of determining what projects to fundraise for, this section examines the project choices that universities make, and how they are situated within the context of their overall institutional strategy.

Table 19 presents a summary of the key themes present in the publicly available mission statements, vision statements, and strategy documents for the eleven cases in this study, organised by case grouping.

		Strategy themes									
		Excellence in research	Excellence in teaching	Contributing to society	Transforming students into citizens	Enhancing student experience	Widening student participation	Regional Development	Professional/ vocational education	Environment- and sustainability	Encouraging entrepreneur-ship
Elite	A	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-
	B	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	-
Established	C	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	-	-	-
	D	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	-	-	-
	E	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
	F	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
	G	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	X	-
	H	X	X	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
	I	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	-	X

		Strategy themes									
		Excellence in research	Excellence in teaching	Contributing to society	Transforming students into citizens	Enhancing student experience	Widening student participation	Regional Development	Professional/ vocational education	Environment- and sustainability	Encouraging entrepreneur-ship
92 Universities	J	X	X	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-
	K	X	X	X	-	X	-	-	X	X	X
Count		11	11	10	8	7	4	5	3	3	2

Table 19: University strategy themes

Ten key themes are found in these documents: firstly, excellence in research and teaching, reflecting the historically understood function of universities in society, and linking directly to REF and TEF measures. Contributing to society, through the development of knowledge, its dissemination, and tackling societal challenges, complements the social mission of developing students as citizens to transform society, and reflects government policy since the 1963 Robbins Report and the liberal or re-allocative view of education (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008). Enhancing the student experience supports the development of students, and is linked instrumentally to enhancing results in the UK National Student Survey. Widening student participation to include more minorities and applicants from underprivileged backgrounds is not only congruent with the view that universities have of themselves as agents of societal change (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008), but also complies with UK government policy since the 1960s (Crewe, 2013; Busch, 2017) and confirms the view that the university field is subject to economic and political forces (Naidoo, 2004). Regional development reflects the geographically-situated role of universities as engines of economic development, creating direct employment opportunities, skilled local workforces, spin-off businesses, and a flow of wealth within and to a region. Professional and vocational education indicates deliberate position-taking by some universities in offering courses in subjects that are outside of traditional academic curricula, and which are designed to equip graduates with practical skills tailored to societal requirements (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Environment and sustainability reflect the desire of universities to be cognisant of their wider impact and operate accordingly. Finally, encouraging entrepreneurship reflects an intention to inculcate a set of behaviours in students that will allow them to play a dynamic role as creators of economic wealth. The ten themes therefore comprise a view that universities have of themselves that is informed not only by the traditional understanding of universities as custodians of knowledge and places of learning, but also as agents of societal change, and important players in building the economic success of society (Halsey, 1961; Naidoo, 2004; Brennan and Naidoo, 2008). There is also a key instrumental linkage back to the neoliberal measures of success for UK universities - the REF, the TEF, and the National Student Survey - and by implication, as was shown in Chapter 4, university rankings (Ball, 2012; Taylor, 2013).

All eleven cases cite excellence in research and teaching as part of their strategy and Chapter 4 demonstrated an understanding, on the part of development professionals, of the importance of being able to claim "excellence" in their interactions with prospective donors. The nature of strategy documents is to be forward-looking, and they constitute a key component of the projective view of universities, which they seek to share with potential supporters (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). Accordingly, themes may be interpreted as aspirational rather than realised, and the current lower-ranked THE positions of some of the established cases, and the 92 universities, suggest that achieving the future that universities describe in their strategy materials may be not be realistic. Such strategies may be seen as wish-driven (Kay, 1993), rather than grounded in an assessment of current and likely future capabilities (Teece *et al.*, 1997). All cases except one make explicit their intention to contribute to society, and most are concerned with the transformation of students into citizens, consistent with government policy and the liberal or re-allocative theorisation of higher education (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008). Most are intending to enhance their student experiences, and five are committed to widening student participation, again reflecting re-allocative intentions (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008). Notably, at both of the elites, this is explicitly identified as a theme, and has attracted recent media attention (BBC News, 2017). Three universities have explicitly stated regional development goals. Three have chosen to offer a professional and vocational curriculum, subordinate position-taking that reflects their heritage as polytechnics before 1992 (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Three have included environmental and sustainability themes, and two have chosen to focus on fostering entrepreneurship, thereby talking a distinct position relative to others in the field.

Viewed as artefacts that present universities' understanding of how they differ from one another, university strategy documents, and the themes incorporate, do not conclusively make the case that universities are tailoring themselves to appeal to students or research funders, as Porter predicts organisations that compete with one another will do (Porter, 1985) - all are seeking to be excellent at research and teaching, and the majority to contribute to a social mission. There is some evidence of position-taking in the differentiation in the choice of subjects offered, whether or not to engage in regional development, to support entrepreneurship, or embrace environmental concerns (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Rather, university strategy documents exhibit a striking level of similarity, driven by the strongly normative political forces of liberal re-allocation and neoliberalism (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008; Ball, 2012; Taylor, 2013). Such forces have created a societal rationalised myth about what universities should do, and this appears to have decoupled strategy formulation from their actual organisational structures and activities (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Boxenbaum and Jonsson, 2008; Carter *et al.*, 2010).

Thus, we are left with a paradox: organisations with very similar articulated strategies, competing in the field of higher education and research, are achieving highly stratified results, as measured in terms of their overall income, presented in Table 14 in this chapter, and the rankings tables presented in Chapter 4. To understand how this might have arisen, it is necessary to probe more deeply into how their strategies are enacted, and specifically, the role that development-generated philanthropic income may play in fulfilling their goals and creating distinctive capabilities (Teece *et al.*, 1997; Teece, 2009).

Table 20 presents selected quotes to illustrate how universities understand the choices they make about what to fundraise for, and how these choices support the themes made explicit in university strategy documents summarised in Table 19.

Liberal and re-allocative priorities and projects		Strategy theme(s)
Elite Universities	"Those who are generously giving back to the College are making it possible for us to take to attract students from diverse social and national backgrounds to study at [the college], to provide bursaries and studentships to those that have the ability but not the means to come here…" from the annual report of a development office	Widening participation
	"Well, the two main areas are… for the moment are the library and study centre and scholarships and student support which includes access and outreach." Development director	Widening participation, enhancing the student experience
	"Well our intention, and I think this is the big overarching goal, is to ensure that any student that applies to [the college] and is accepted can come and study here regardless of their financial situation." Development director	Widening student participation
	"Yes, and that's why access and outreach are part of that fundraising request because it has to… if we're going to really expand the college, and open it up to anyone with the ability to come here and can be accepted." Development director	Widening student participation

	Liberal and re-allocative priorities and projects	Strategy theme(s)
Established Universities	"And with Brexit it's very topical, and very interesting what that means for young people, and what civil liberties and citizenship mean, very topical…we are putting together materials for the GCSEs which will be branded materials with academic work from our history, law and media arts departments." Development director	Transforming students into citizens
	"..one our flagship area is scholarships and scholarships for excellence. In order to attract students with high grades, and secure them, we would offer scholarships in certain academic disciplines Similarly, we have talent-based scholarships, so for those in core music, organ playing, orchestral, we're very strong in that in terms of extra-curricular." Development director	Widening participation, enhancing the student experience
92 Universities	"So we raise funds for scholarships, for prizes, for employability funding, all of which gives us that—it means we're able to give something that has additionality to what they could normally expect for their tuition fees." Development director	Widening participation, enhancing the student experience
	"So we typically channel a lot of our energy into recruiting students because we don't necessarily have the reputation of a Durham or an Oxbridge, say...So the strategy is designed at helping with the student experience, but if we support the student experience, we can then again improve and expand and grow the student recruitment figures that we have." Development director	Widening participation, enhancing the student experience
	"So, we are raising money in support of disability scholarships, and disability students and disability sport." Development director	Widening participation, enhancing the student experience

Current capability enhancement		Strategy theme(s)
Elite Universities	"[The campaign] has three key strategic priorities: Supporting students and the life of the University, Supporting academic staff and programmes, Supporting infrastructure and buildings" from a campaign website	Enhancing student experience, excellence in research and teaching
	"Tutorial Fellowships are extremely important because the whole essence of the [elite university] experience is that you have a tutor" An alumnus donor, cited in a development strategy document	Excellence in teaching, enhancing the student experience
Established universities	"We're also very aware that we want the campus to be "sticky"…as somebody said, it's not like the nightclub and student on a Friday night, not that kind of sticky floor [!], but the "stickiness" of students who feel that they don't need to go home! We're aware that there are students that remain at home, and they don't get the best university experience. So, what we want here is to have a campus where people will want to come and stay." Development director	Enhancing the student experience

New capability creation		Strategy theme(s)
Established Universities	“This may be for the establishment of new research centres, new physical infrastructure, new Chairs, new…scholarship and bursary schemes, new…curricula and academic programmes, new…internal and external service provision, and any other initiatives that serve to build and strengthen the University and assist it to make its alumni proud and meet its strategic goals. “ from a development strategy document	Excellence in research and teaching, widening participation
	“…capital projects are often strong, particularly where they’re about research. So, for example, biomedical engineering is about to go on a big capital campaign, but because it’s about solving global health challenges it’s a very powerful ask.” Development director	Excellence in research, contributing to society
	“So, when we’re going out to recruit some highflying professor, he can see that the environment is invested in, it’s forward looking, that we can help to bring other faculty around him or her.” Development	Excellence in research
	“But what’s been clearer since the new VC has come in, so talking about wider student experience, how do you achieve it? A strategic goal within that would be something along the lines of to be the number one music participation university in Europe. So, the VC said that publically and he sees that as becoming the way for music to move forward in the student experience. The strategic fundraising project that comes out of it is the establishment of a concert hall.” Deputy director of development	Enhancing the student experience
	“I mean we get… we have an entrepreneurship fund here, so it comes up a lot there, and what the entrepreneurs believe, or what the donors believe because they tend to be business people… so they give to the foundership program, [which] offers funding to recent graduates or final year students to set up their own business.” Director of development	Encouraging entrepreneurship

Table 20: Projects for which funds are raised

In Table 20, three key groupings are discernible in the priorities and projects that universities fundraise for (Gioia *et al.*, 2013). Firstly, a tranche of projects is designed to fulfil the liberal and re-allocative function of universities by widening participation to include underrepresented groups (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008). This is consistent with stated strategy. Great emphasis is placed at all types of university on the need to support widening access to higher education by the provision of merit-based scholarships and need-based bursaries, so that prospective candidates can take their up offers of university places “regardless of their financial situation” to “open it up to anyone with the ability to come here”, and be supported financially while enrolled as a student. At one elite college, over £1 million is drawn from their endowment income and raised from alumni donors to provide financial support for students every year. This represents an average of more than £1500 per student, a considerable sum in itself, especially as it is additional to any support that students may be receiving from university, rather than college, sources. The financial resources available to the elite thus allow them greater capacity to respond to societal pressures.

A second tranche of projects is related to enhancing current capabilities and assets (Teece *et al.*, 1997; Teece, 2009), including supporting the tutorial system that is a distinguishing feature of undergraduate education at elite institutions, and upgrading existing campus facilities to be more appealing - “sticky”- to students, thereby encouraging them to spend more time there. Finally, a third tranche of projects involves the creation of novel capabilities that previously did not exist, such as new research facilities and projects, new academic posts, music facilities, or an entrepreneurship fund to incubate student businesses. Universities are thus pursuing a dual strategy of fundraising to augment existing capabilities, while simultaneously seeking to create new ones in response to emerging societal challenges and areas of research, some of which will be experimental in nature, inherently risky, and may ultimately fail. Such ambidexterity, involving both exploitation of existing capabilities and exploration of new ones, is a feature of successful businesses (Raisch and Birkinshaw, 2008; Raisch *et al.*, 2009). The capacity to engage in exploration and experimentation will be related to “free” resources that are not required for other purposes. Philanthropic income is one such free resource, and, as I have shown, is very unequally distributed among universities. Once more, elite universities, with the greatest available philanthropic income, will have the greatest capacity to engage in new capability development. This likely to further entrench their dominant positions in the field.

Table 20 reveals a distinction between different types of university in the types of projects they fundraise for. Elite and established universities have chosen fundraising projects that support their research and teaching excellence strategies, while endeavouring to widen access to their institutions and enhance their student experience. 92 universities are conscious of their lower status in the minds of potential students - “we don’t necessarily have the reputation of a Durham or an Oxbridge”. This understanding of current field conditions results in subordinate position taking in their fundraising, which they use exclusively as an instrument to support their efforts in competing to attract students (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Thus, they are fundraising for financial support for students, which they see as a way to enhance student recruitment by providing “additionality”, a better student experience than would otherwise be possible, and as way to recruit more students with disabilities. Despite the wider, and loftier, themes present in their strategies, 92 universities select fundraising projects that are narrowly focussed on their societal mission of widening access and enhancing their students’ experience, with the aim of improving their ability to compete for students. We may speculate that their limited fundraising capabilities are circumscribing their ambitions.

In summary, close reading of university strategy materials reveals a set of ten themes, many of which are shared by all or most of the cases in this study. University strategy materials may be understood, however, as artefacts of the strong political pressures universities face, which have resulted in the normalisation of a rigid set of expectations about their organisations, behaviours and ambitions (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). It is difficult to discern, from the aspirations expressed in strategy materials, any significant basis for the clear differential in university performance seen in university ranking measures and financial information. The source of differentiation in university performance is more likely to be found in their unequal assets (including the different types of capital) and capabilities, and how these are deployed (Teece *et al.*, 1997; Teece, 2009).

Universities are, however, seen to be pursuing fundraising projects that support selected themes in their strategies, with the emphasis on research and teaching excellence, their societal mission of contributing to society, preparing students to take their places as active citizens, and widening access to higher education. Many projects are intended to enhance their university's reputation by improving performance in the REF, the TEF, and the National Student Survey, which reflects students' views about their university experience. No university appears to be using fundraising to support environmental or sustainability goals, probably because these are viewed as operational matters and, as such, would not be appealing to donors. Nor are they fundraising in support of regional development, possibly because this logically follows from their other activities, and also lacks donor appeal. Academic freedom is understood by most as being paramount, which may be why fundraising projects do not seem to be linked to universities' choice of what subjects to offer at those institutions providing professional or vocational education. Fundraising projects do support the theme of encouraging entrepreneurship, where applicable.

5.5 Discussion and conclusion

This chapter has presented findings to describe the understanding that knowledgeable actors at UK universities have of the role that philanthropy plays in university strategy, and how it is enacted. Knowledgeable actors have a very clear understanding that philanthropic support, and the income associated with it, is a supplementary resource for the use of universities in supporting their operations. Such income is understood to elevate university performance, delivering a "marginal benefit" resulting from the application of a final increment of additional resources that would otherwise not be available (Black *et al.*, 2012). Analysis of the potential magnitude of philanthropic income reveals just how large this marginal benefit may be, uplifting available resources by more than 20% for elites, but much smaller amounts for others. Applied consistently over a period of time, the utility of philanthropic income is clear, with elite universities benefitting preferentially. These findings enable us to understand, for the first time, the true magnitude and importance of development-generated philanthropic income for UK universities, and the inequality of its distribution among institutions.

Philanthropic income is also understood as a potential buffer against the impact of future government funding changes, and universities are exercising their agency in the current temporal-relational context to mitigate the risks inherent in an uncertain future, by attempting to grow philanthropic income and diversify their income streams (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). Elite universities, possessed of the greatest resources, are well positioned to engage in conservation strategies to protect the hierarchies and social rules that have elevated them to the dominant positions in their field (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). They are also best positioned to engage simultaneously in enhancing their existing capabilities, while simultaneously creating novel ones (Raisch and Birkinshaw, 2008; Raisch *et al.*, 2009). These findings enhance our existing understanding of the process by which elite universities act to preserve their dominant positions and resist commodification (Naidoo, 2004).

Development professionals understand that their activities are important to their universities, and should support university priorities closely, so they situate their work firmly within the context of their university strategies. As a practical matter, they seek to collaborate with senior colleagues within the university, to enact this understanding by embedding fundraising in relevant areas of university operations. In so doing, they are seeking to create a distinctive fundraising capability that is part of the university's overall dynamic capability to sense and respond to change (Teece, 2009).

With a clear conceptual understanding of the role of philanthropic support, universities enact this when they undertake the intersubjective process of deciding what, specifically, to fundraise for. This process is universally acknowledged to be demanding in terms of resources and time. Universities have established a set of principles and rules ("doxa") to enable them to navigate between their own interests, academic and otherwise, and those of the sometimes powerful actors that support them (Swartz, 1997; Deer, 2014). Different types of universities engage in position-taking in fundraising that reveals a field structure which is homologous to that seen in an analysis of capital (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). At elite, and most established, universities, academics identify projects and determine priorities, and development staff engage with donors to enlist their support once this has been completed. Donors themselves are allowed only limited leeway, generally outside of the academic arena, in which to influence the choice and scope of projects. Universities do seek to incorporate donor perspectives, however, when they act pragmatically to confirm donor interest and safeguard donor relationships, thereby reducing the risk of damage to their reputations that would result from unappealing requests for support, or public refusals from donors. Universities also seek to manage risks to their reputations by scrutinising their sources of philanthropic support to ensure they are ethical.

Development professionals claim that their work aligns closely with university strategy, and an examination of university fundraising projects confirms that the projects chosen support some of the themes found in university strategy materials. Development professionals, and the academics they work alongside, understand, and can readily articulate, how specific fundraising projects support their universities' strategy. Fundraising projects are mostly targeted at supporting research and teaching excellence, contributing to society, widening student participation and enhancing the student experience. These themes are linked to a set of reputational measures, such as the THE rankings, that reflect the quantity of Bourdieusian symbolic capital associated with each university, and therefore, as shown in Chapter 4, their ability to raise economic capital.

Being possessed of symbolic capital legitimates universities' demands for deference from others (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). There is a significant pattern of difference between the case groupings in the quantity of symbolic capital they possess and this determines their power as institutions. Elite universities, with the highest global reputations, are able to exert dominance by defining rules for what they will, and will not, accept philanthropic support for, to circumscribe the influence of donors, and to be unabashed in explaining their position-taking (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Established universities, still well ranked but less so than the elites, would like to adopt the same position as the elites, but, in some cases, temper their position-taking with a pragmatic recognition of the benefits of compromising to be able to work with donors. 92 universities, whose fundraising activities have been limited to date, are inexperienced and are yet to set boundary rules around fundraising. Thus, different sets of rules pertain for the different case groupings, reflecting their position-taking, and describing the system of power relations in the field of universities (Deer, 2014). These findings illuminate the role the symbolic capital in preserving the academic freedom and autonomy of universities.

University strategy materials are strikingly similar in the themes that they contain. They present an aspirational view of organisations seeking to conform to rationalised societal myths, and to secure esteem by achieving a standard of excellence in their traditional activities of teaching and research, while fulfilling a socially useful mission (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Naidoo, 2004; Boxenbaum and Jonsson, 2008; Brennan and Naidoo, 2008). Only in certain cases is it clear that they are seeking to differentiate themselves from one other, as Porter predicts (Porter, 1985), in the curricula that they offer, or their support for entrepreneurship. These findings constitute an example of how societal pressures can subvert the ability of organisations to express their agency though strategy formulation. Yet, universities do compete with one another, for research funding, the most accomplished student candidates, talented academics, and philanthropic income, with very unequal results. University strategy materials present universities as engaged in socially-useful work, whose value is to be understood in terms of the achievement of “excellence”, largely ignoring competition. This point is not merely of intellectual interest, as this misdirection has the practical effect of concealing from general view a key finding of this chapter: philanthropic income is applied as a resource, deliberately and thoughtfully, to enhance results at the margin of university operations by developing university capabilities, thereby enabling those with a large philanthropic income to accelerate away, in performance terms, from those which do not (Teece *et al.*, 1997; Teece, 2009). As such, it functions as a latent source of differentiation, so that the elite maintain their dominance, and others are subordinated.

In the next chapter, I will describe how UK universities enact fundraising in their development organisations, and how professional associations, such as CASE, influence the work that they do, and how they do it.

Chapter 6 University fundraising capabilities

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, I described the relationship between university reputation (Bourdieu's symbolic capital) and the ability to generate and accumulate philanthropic income (Bourdieu's economic capital), and explained how symbolic capital has contributed to the success of elite universities. In Chapter 5, I described the role that philanthropic income plays as a resource available to universities in furthering their strategic goals and developing their organisational capabilities, and how the way that universities represent themselves in their publicly available strategy materials obscures this mechanism. In this chapter, I examine the fundraising capabilities of UK universities, the work that they do, and how professional networks have influenced and shaped how they are constituted.

Organisational competencies are defined as "firm specific assets [that] are assembled in integrated clusters spanning individuals and groups, so that they enable distinctive activities to be performed" including "organizational routines and processes" (Teece *et al.*, 1997). Such assets are specific to the organisations they belong to, and may be difficult or impossible for others to imitate (Teece *et al.*, 1997; Teece, 2009). For universities, these assets include intangibles such as heritage, reputation and ranking, and the relationships they have with alumni and other types of donors and supporters. Other assets may include the campus facilities, the presence of renowned academics, tactical resources such as databases of alumni and other prospective donors, and the skills and experience that fundraising professionals and academics have accumulated in the business of securing philanthropic support. Assembled effectively, these assets may constitute an organisational competence with the potential to yield a competitive advantage, leading one university to achieve superior fundraising performance relative to others (Teece, 2009).

Given the potential for philanthropic income to help universities achieve their strategic goals and develop their general operating capabilities, as described in Chapter 5, it might be expected that all universities should have, at a minimum, an interest in building a fundraising capability. By virtue of the differing endowments of Bourdieu's symbolic capital described in Chapter 4, not all universities will be equally equipped, however, to build such a capability. Moreover, it is likely that there exists a set of distinctive practices in universities with superior fundraising results, which stem from the unique context in which they have been developed (Kay, 1993; Teece *et al.*, 1997; Teece, 2009). This chapter presents quantitative and qualitative analysis of university fundraising capabilities, the efforts of universities to create these capabilities, and the results achieved to date. It also seeks to present insights into where distinctive practices may be found, and the degree to which it may be possible (or not) for others to replicate them.

Sustaining competitive advantage over time requires continuous updating of organisational capabilities "to create, extend, upgrade, protect and keep relevant" the unique asset base associated with a university, and requires dynamic work to sense opportunities and craft appropriate responses (Teece, 2009). University fundraising, as I described in Chapter 5, entails interacting with potential donors and supporters, and working with academics to determine university fundraising priorities and projects. As such, it is a conduit through which information may flow bi-directionally: firstly, from the university to its external environment, and secondly, from the external environment back to the university. It might be expected, therefore, that fundraising activities present a prime opportunity for sensing changes potentially requiring a reconfiguration of university assets. A university's ability to exploit such information will in turn depend on the level of resources it dedicates to fundraising, the skills of those involved, and how effectively "messages" are transmitted, received, and understood.

The last twenty five years have seen the attempted transfer of fundraising "leading practices" from the US to the UK, via the CASE organisation, and by hiring US fundraising professionals at UK universities. Successful transfer of practices from one country to another may be impeded by differences in regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive systems (Scott, 2014). Precise emulation of practices from one organisation to another is unlikely to produce the distinctive fundraising capabilities necessary to produce superior performance (Kay, 1993). Furthermore, widespread practices that support operational excellence, are rarely a source of competitive advantage, and replication of capabilities from one environment to another is understood to be inherently difficult (Teece, 2009). Successive UK governments have also commissioned reports, established programmes, and enacted legislation to impinge upon the activities of fundraising by universities (Department for Education and Skills, 2003; Department for Education and Skills, 2004; HM Government, 2010; Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), 2012; More Partnership and Richmond Associates, 2014; Etherington, 2015). Field dynamics such as these create a classic combination of coercive, mimetic, and normative pressures that have long been understood to drive organisations increasingly to resemble one another, even as they seek to differentiate themselves (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). They also have the potential to create rationalised myths requiring ceremonial conformity on the part of organizations (Meyer and Rowan, 1977).

The main objectives of this chapter, in the light of the above, are to explain how university fundraising capabilities are organised and managed, to establish the degree to which UK university fundraising organisations emulate one another, to discover whether distinctive capabilities translate (or do not) into superior fundraising performance, and to determine the extent to which fundraising capabilities might deliver competitive advantage for universities. Accordingly, this chapter addresses the following research questions:

- What fundraising capabilities do UK universities possess, and how do they differ from one another?
    - How do UK universities manage and resource fundraising?
    - What activities are performed?
    - What role do professional networks, such as CASE, play in developing capabilities within the sector?

6.2 UK University fundraising capabilities and organisations

Table 21 analyses the structure and position of university fundraising organisations for the cases in this study, and their current and expected future development budgets.

		Organisation of development function	Annual funds raised	Annual development budget	Future development resources (1)
Elite Universities	A	Centralised (university-wide) organisation and individual college organisations are all separate functions; college development office reports to head of the college	£273 million(2)	Unknown	Unknown
	B	Centralised (university-wide) organisation and individual college organisations are all separate functions; central university development reports to University Council, college development organisations report to head of college	£210 million(2)	£20 million	Increasing

		Organisation of development function	Annual funds raised	Annual development budget	Future development resources (1)
Established Universities	C	Separate function, reports to University Secretary	£16.5 million	Unknown - being revised to support new strategy	Increasing
	D	Separate function, reports to Head of Administration, the Secretary of Court and the Chief Operating Officer, dotted line to Principal	£10 million	Unknown - being revised to support new campaign	Increasing
	E	Separate function, reports to Chief Operating Officer	£10.5 million	£368,000 (2) - being revised	Increasing
	F	At the beginning of the study, a sub-function of the Communications and External Relations directorate; the development office was established as its own directorate during the study	£1 million	£600,000	Potentially decreasing due to university cost management initiative
	G	Separate function, reports to University Secretary	£9 million	£1.4 million	Increasing
	H	Separate function, reports dotted line to Vice Chancellor	£6 million	£1.2 million	Increasing
	I	Sub-function of Marketing, which reports to Chief Operating Officer	£3 million	£430,000	Increasing

		Organisation of development function	Annual funds raised	Annual development budget	Future development resources (1)
92 Universities	J	Sub-function of Marketing	£700,000	£250,000	Increasing, after recent downsizing
	K	Sub-function of External Relations	£200,000	£145,000	No change - under review

Notes

(1) Based on expectations of development directors expressed in study interviews
(2) University + colleges
(3) Excludes staff costs

Table 21: University fundraising organizations

In Table 21, all universities in this study have sought to create development capabilities, but their organisational positioning and budget resources appear to vary considerably. Elite universities organise their fundraising and development activities as separate functions at college and university level, and use protocols to demarcate responsibilities and coordinate activities. The decision to fundraise for individual colleges and the central university in separate organisations reflects the systemic complexity and the mixed identities and appeal of the universities and their colleges. Individual donors may be drawn more to college than university, or vice versa. Both university and college level functions report at executive level, underlining the importance attached to their activities by their institutions.

At most established universities, development is also considered to be a discrete function, with development organisations having a direct reporting line to the university executive, as is seen in the elite universities. An exception to this is Case I, where the development director explained that, although part of Marketing, they were able to meet monthly with the Vice Chancellor for a discussion, and this was, in their opinion, sufficient for all practical purposes. The recently-appointed development director at Case F, however, highlighted the difficulties of development being organised as a sub-function of External Relations:

> "So, the visibility is low. It's also meant for me we're not necessarily connected to the conversations about where the organization is going, the challenges that the organization faces, I very much have to pick those up myself in terms of the macro environment that we're in, but also the specific issues that affect us as an institution. It has meant that I've either picked those up myself, because I haven't been in the room when those are being discussed, and, of course, that can lead to difficulties when you're sitting there with a donor, or a prospect, or an honorary fellow, or friend of the college who will expect the Development Director to really know, and have their finger on the pulse of, what the key messages are".

Without access to executive management, this development director feels unable to represent the university's position adequately when communicating with potential supporters. Believing this to be a critical barrier to success, they lobbied successfully to have development constituted as a separate function with direct reporting at executive-level - "I'm really pleased because it will make an enormous difference." At the 92 universities, development is organised as a sub-function of either Marketing or External Relations, indicating that it has yet to achieve the recognition of its importance to the institution that is observed in elite and established cases, and which is reflected in the positioning of their development functions in internal organisational structures.

In Table 21, annual development budgets are generally scaled to the value of annual funds raised, with the exception of Case F, where budgets appear large relative to annual funds raised, and a cost reduction program is imminent. At Case K, the annual development budget appears large relative to the annuals finds raised, and a review of the function was also imminent. University leadership across all types of university seem to understand that there is a relationship between the budget that they should allocate to fundraising and development, and the annual funds that are raised.

Most development directors expect their resources to increase in the near term, often in response to the additional activity that will be required to run a campaign or launch a new development strategy. This expectation reflects a shared belief, on the part of university executive leadership and directors of development, that development is a capability to be grown, and that applying additional resources will produce enhanced results. Case F, again, is an exception: here the development director is being asked to plan for scenarios where resources are reduced, as part of an initiative to cut expenditure in the non-academic departments of the university. This indicates that the university's executive leadership is unconvinced of the value or feasibility of building their development capability. Being "lumped together" with other administrative functions indicates that development is viewed as an overhead cost to be controlled, rather than a potentially valuable strategic function. At Case K, a change of leadership in External Relations, of which development is a part, occurred during the field work period of this study, and future resource plans were being critically reviewed after having failed to achieve the results that had been promised by outgoing leadership. Most university executive teams believe in their ability to build development as a capability, and even failure of a development strategy (Case K) does not appear to challenge this.

Table 22 analyses current university development efficiency in terms of development organisation staff numbers[5], annual funds raised and numbers of addressable alumni.

[5] Other university staff members, such as the Vice Chancellor and other senior academics, are frequently involved in fundraising, and this resource is not accounted for in this analysis, as it is impossible to quantify precisely.

		Development staff resource (FTEs) (1)	Annual funds raised	Annual funds raised per development resource	# Addressable alumni	Annual funds raised per alumnus/a
Elite Universities	A	340(2)	£273 million(2)	£802,941	Unknown	-
	B	288(2)	£ 210 million(2)	£729,167	230,000	£913
				Mean = £766,054		Mean = £913
				n=2		n=1

		Development staff resource (FTEs) (1)	Annual funds raised	Annual funds raised per development resource	# Addressable alumni	Annual funds raised per alumnus/a
Established Universities	C	55	£16.5 million	£300,000	240,000	£69
	D	56	£10 million	£178,571	145,000	£69
	E	31	£10.5 million	£338,710	125,000	£84
	F	8	£1 million	£131,579	84,000	£12
	G	24	£9 million	£375,000	86,000	£105
	H	22	£6 million	£272,727	100,000	£60
	I	18	£ 3 million	£166,667	150,000	£20
				Mean = £251,893		Mean = £60
				n=7		n=7

		Development staff resource (FTEs) (1)	Annual funds raised	Annual funds raised per development resource	# Addressable alumni	Annual funds raised per alumnus/a
92 Universities	J	15	£700,000	£46,667	200,000	£4
	K	4	£200,000	£57,143	100,000	£2
				Mean = £51,905		Mean = £3
				n=2		n=2

Notes
(1) FTE = Full time equivalent. Data derived from organization charts and confirmed during interviews
(2) University + colleges

Table 22: Fundraising efficiency

Unsurprisingly in Table 22, elite universities, with annual funds raised exceeding £200 million, have the largest development staffs of 288 - 340 full time equivalents ("FTEs") and raise, on average, £766,054 per staff member. Established cases, generally raising £3 - £16.5 million, have commensurately smaller staffs of 18 - 55 FTEs. On average, they raise £251,893, representing about one third of the annual funds per staff member of the elite cases. 92 universities raise £200 - 700,000 per annum and have much smaller development staffs. On average, they raise only £51,905 per FTE, representing approximately one third of the funds raised per FTE found at established universities, and 7% of that found at elite universities. These widely differing results challenge the view, expressed by some development directors, that applying incremental resources to fundraising at all types of university will increase annual funds raised. They also contradict findings in US studies (Harrison *et al.*, 1995; Proper *et al.*, 2009) that suggest that adding development resources produce greater philanthropic income. Rather, these findings confirm that factors other than development resources are important in determining how much a university is able to raise in annual philanthropic support, such as university reputation, analysed in Chapter 4, and existing reserves of the different types of capital, which I will describe in Chapter 7.

The ability to leverage an institution's alumni base as a source of philanthropic support is widely believed by practitioners to be a cornerstone of university fundraising (Worth, 2017). In Chapter 2, I reviewed the extensive US academic literature on alumni fundraising that supports this position, and in the next section, I will describe CASE's efforts to bring US alumni fundraising practices to the UK. Indeed, all cases in this study are actively engaged in cultivating alumni as a source of philanthropic income, and all development functions include staff dedicated to this purpose. Table 22 analyses the current ability of UK universities to raise funds from their alumni. On average, elite universities are able to raise £913 per annum from each alumnus/a, established universities raise £60, and 92 universities only £3. Once again, elite universities are achieving fundraising results that far exceed those of established universities, and 92 universities are receiving, on average, an almost negligible amount of philanthropic support from each alumnus/a. Further, the findings in Table 22 contradict those of US studies (Ehrenberg and Smith, 2003; Proper *et al.*, 2009) which find a positive relationship between the number of alumni and alumni financial support. In the UK, cases with comparable numbers of alumni (such as Cases B and C, Cases F and G, and Cases H and K) are achieving very different levels of annual funds raised in aggregate and per alumnus/a. We may speculate that this may be may be due to ineffective or inconsistent implementation of alumni fundraising practices at different universities, or that alumni differ in their capacity or propensity to give.

A university's database of alumni contact details is the critical asset that underpins alumni relations activities, and development organisations featured in this study have dedicated resources to building and maintaining a database of alumni contacts. Indeed, in all cases with the exception of Case B, where the collegiate structure creates unique data requirements, they use the same software package, "Raiser's Edge", as their database tool. Thus, alumni fundraising is universally practiced by UK universities, and work is carried out using largely similar tools. Building an alumni database, and leveraging it, however, might potentially constitute an organisational competence that could form a basis for superior fundraising performance. Certain cases have historically been legally required to maintain alumni contact data, while others (Cases J and K) have mounted efforts to reconnect with alumni with whom they had lost touch [6]

A further aspect of understanding UK fundraising capabilities is the skill and experience residing in development organisations. Table 23 analyses the current positions, and background of the leaders of the development organisations interviewed for this study.

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[6] Until 1950, Oxford, Cambridge, the ancient Scottish universities, and certain other English and Welsh universities, made up "university constituencies", which elected MPs to the Westminster parliament. A graduate would therefore potentially be entitled to vote twice: once in the geographical constituency where they resided, and a second time in their university constituency. To facilitate voting, electoral law required that universities which were part of a university constituency maintain contact records for alumni. The elite cases, Cases E, F and H, and the three ancient Scottish universities included in this study therefore had a head start in terms of their alumni record keeping.

	Case	Professional Title	Time in role when interviewed	Professional history
Elite Universities	A (College)	Director of Development and Alumni relations	14 months	Began career in arts fundraising in the US in 1997. In UK since 2004. First UK university fundraising position in 2005
	B (Central organisation)	Executive Director of Development and Alumni relations	3 years 9 months	In US university fundraising since 1987. Moved to UK to take current position 3.75 years ago
	B (College)	Executive director of Alumni Relations and Development	4 months	Previously part of the central development office at the other elite case; graduate of the other elite case

	Case	Professional Title	Time in role when interviewed	Professional history
Established Universities	C	Vice Principal, Philanthropy & Advancement & Executive Director, Development and Alumni	1 year	30+ years in UK university fundraising at three Russell Group universities, including one of the other “established” cases in this study
	D	Director of Development and Alumni Services	18 years	30 years at the university in various roles
	E	Director of Development and Alumni Relations	4 years	University development in Africa
	F	Director of Development and Alumni Relations	18 months	Previously, development director at a specialised UK arts higher education institution
	G	Director of Development and Alumni Relations	4 years	18 years at the university in various roles. Prior to that, sales roles for consumer products and utility companies
	H	Director of Advancement	2 years	10 years of development at various UK universities, heritage, and cultural organisations. Worked at another ‘established’ case in this study
	I	Head of Department (Alumni and Development) and Lead Giving	4.5 years	Initially recruited to run university’s campaign. Professional background in major gifts fundraising

	Case	Professional Title	Time in role when interviewed	Professional history
92 Universities	J	Director of Development and Alumni Relations	4 years	8 years at the university in various roles. Professional marketing background
	K	Development and Alumni Relations Manager	7 years	Joined university in more junior fundraising role. Background in community development and youth inclusion, vocational education
		Mean (All cases)	4.25 years	

Table 23: Profiles of directors of development

In all cases except one in Table 23, "alumni relations"[7] is included in professional titles, reflecting the importance that universities notionally attach to this function, and an apparent desire to make explicit to outsiders that it is managed jointly with their development function, "…as recommended by CASE". The terminology used in participants' professional titles is illuminating: all leaders of development bar two use the term "development" rather than the older term "fundraising", consistent with the historical evolution of the fundraising profession in the US (Worth, 2016). Two have progressed still further to use the more recently established US term "advancement" - "we've Americanized", explained the director at Case H. The influence of US practice is clear in the way socially situated actors describe their professional roles, as is the desire to demonstrate conformity to what they understand to be state-of-the-art practice.

The professionalization of fundraising is clearly seen in the backgrounds and career paths of individuals in leadership roles. All directors of development at elite

[7] CASE defines "Alumni relations" as being a key component of the work performed by advancement professionals. It involves "Engag[ing] alumni in the life of the institution as volunteers, advocates and supporters" CASE (2017) *CASE Hompage*. Available at: http://www.case.org (Accessed: 21/7/2017). Typical alumni relations activities include organising social events, crafting and distributing alumni newsletters, supporting "friends groups" around the world, enlisting alumni as fundraisers and campaign board members, and soliciting donations.

universities, and most established cases, had prior experience of fundraising for universities before taking up their current roles. They are pursuing a career within fundraising and have often progressed from more junior positions. Only at established Cases D and G do the current incumbents lack directly-relevant experience gained elsewhere. In these cases, both directors cite long careers in various other roles within their universities, and it appears that extensive experience within their universities was deemed more important to their appointment than professional experience gained elsewhere. The two 92 university development leaders do not have prior experience of university fundraising, either having a marketing background, or experience in fundraising in a different non-profit sector. Once again, it appears that university reputation is a factor in the ability to attract well-qualified candidates for leadership roles in development and alumni relations.

Directors of development at elite and established universities highlighted the difficulties they experienced in finding well-qualified recruits for their organisations, as a result of competing in the same pool for a limited number of "good" candidates, while struggling to retain staff:

> "It's such a small group, everyone knows where everyone's been and everyone knows who everybody wants, and so it makes it very difficult to recruit." HR manager at an elite university

> "Extremely difficult and the pool is small and the competition is fierce. So, you've got universities poaching all the time for the quality of staff that we have in the management team" Development director at established university

> "It is the hardest part, probably, of the job, is recruiting. Very aware of across the sector of the difficulties and also the increased mobility, people job hop, but we are geographically remote." Development director at an established university

Elite universities particularly struggle to find staff who are effective at fundraising from elite philanthropists:

> "…fundraising professionals are particularly hard to recruit because of the level of gifts that we're raising in this office comparable to other offices across the UK. They aren't necessarily operating at that kind of level and so it's difficult to find the caliber that we're looking for." HR manager

> "I guess the challenge that we have around talent is we are, like [the other elite university], we're dealing with very high level capacity giving people, and those are really difficult, complicated negotiations to undertake. So you need experienced fundraisers to do that. And there aren't many in the UK who do that" Chief operating officer

The consequences of a limited supply of UK fundraising talent were clearly articulated by an HR manager at an elite university:

> "And the [elite university] community are a very small pool of fundraisers so you just see people recycling across collegiate organizations and popping up again."

This cycling of staff between organisations may be clearly seen in Table 23, where a college-level development director had previously worked at the central office of the other elite university, and two of the directors of development at established universities had previously worked at other established universities featured in this study. Interestingly, no migration of staff is seen from established to elite universities, possibly as a consequence of a belief articulated by elite university interviewees that their privileged access to elite donors requires specialised skills and experience that cannot be acquired elsewhere. Elite donors, being possessed of dispositions and tastes formed in elite environments, will also likely be most comfortable dealing with individual fundraisers whose dispositions are similar to their own, and have been formed by the social structures (habitus) found in elite universities (Bourdieu, 1977; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008), and this is a probable factor that limits the career path of fundraisers who have not worked at elite institutions. In Table 23, the average tenure of 4.25 years in their current role obscures the fact that five out of eleven development directors had been in their current role for 2 years or less when they were interviewed for this study, further confirming the dynamic nature of the labour market for senior development professionals.

The limited UK pool of well-qualified development professionals has led universities to act creatively as they have endeavoured to build their fundraising capabilities. In Table 23, it can be seen that elite institutions have hired staff from the US, and one established case has recruited an experienced development director from Africa. At Case C, the development director has created a probationary mid-level position in their organisation, into which they have recruited an individual with a financial services background, in the hope that their skills will prove transferrable to fundraising. At Case B, a training program has been created for staff, together with a talent management program, and an internal conference is held annually at which university-specific leading practices are shared. Universities are attempting to compensate for difficulties in building their fundraising capability by hiring expertise from outside the UK, by recruiting individuals who can be re-trained, and by "growing their own".

Re-organisation of development functions has occurred widely within the sector: the college organisation at Case A was reorganised in summer 2016 after failing to meet expectations of college leadership, with all staff leaving and being replaced. At Case B, the college function was restructured immediately prior to the arrival of the current development director. Case C restructured after the new development director arrived two years ago. Case D was restructured a year ago as a result of a consultants' review. Case F downsized after a failed campaign. Case H was restructured after the arrival of a new development director two years ago. Case J downsized in 2016, and, at Case K, a restructuring was imminent at the time of interview. Only Cases E, G and I, have not restructured in recent times, and have no plans to do so. Restructuring is thus widespread, and often follows the appointment of new development leadership (Cases C, K, and H), who wish to shape the organization according to their own precepts. Restructuring is also a common response to failed strategy (Cases A, B, F, and K), cost pressures (Case J), and to consultants' recommendations (Case D). Indeed, Cases B, D, F, G, H, I, and J have all used specialised consultants to assist with developing or validating their strategies, and at Case F, a consulting firm acted as an interim manager after the failure of a big campaign. While most universities are apparently seeking to grow their development capabilities, it appears they are experimenting with how to do this, frequently experiencing failure, and casting around for the "right" expertise, from experienced development staff or consultants, to help them improve. The degree of organisational "churn" in the sector is also likely contributing to the migration of staff between universities by creating demand for experienced staff, and by releasing staff who then look to secure their next position.

Having analysed how UK fundraising capabilities are currently organised and resourced, and some of the practical challenges they are experiencing, a second area to examine is the socially-situated understanding of knowledgeable actors of the work that they do, and how this may produce superior performance. Describing their core function, a very experienced director of development remarked:

> ”And our role as a profession, I feel pretty strongly, is to be the people who build those bridges, make the connections, and allow both sides to come together. And to set up conversations where there will be sufficient flexibility so that the donor absolutely has a voice in the conversation, and can shape a program, but it is very clearly aligned to the interests, and motivations, and expertise within the university.”

Characterising development as a profession, its role is understood to be one of mediation between the university and its supporters, acting as a channel of communication, facilitating dialogue, incorporating the views and interests of both parties, in order to arrive at a mutually agreed and satisfactory outcome. This understanding was echoed by a second development director at an elite university:

> “So for me, and the way we’re working now in [the university], is hoping we find that convergence between being very clear on what our needs and priorities are, but also being nimble and flexible as we learn more about our donors and what their interests are.”

Effective mediation entails both the capacity to represent the university’s position to a donor, and also to understand that donor’s perspective. Further, it requires the ability to tailor a response appropriately to an emerging understanding. Successful development professionals need be both skilled and trusted by their universities to act on their behalf. At Case F, this trust has been eroded by a failed campaign, and its absence represents a significant obstacle to be overcome in rebuilding the university’s fundraising capability. A development director cites a practical example of how mediation by development staff identified and secured donor funding for an academic capability that their university did not have:

> “Then you were finding that people were coming back and going, ‘Do you know what? That research area’s my area of business. I’d love to support this particular research area,’ and you hadn’t necessarily got a project for that, but then you were able to go back to an individual department and say, ‘I’ve got someone who’s interested in funding a chair in cloud computing,’ and there are no cloud computing chairs in the UK apparently. ‘He’s in the US, he’d love to do that’. So you’re able then to advance that particular conversation, so your proposals become bespoke rather than giving people a template of what you want to do.”

In this instance, a conversation with a donor surfaced an emerging research interest, which was communicated back to university leadership. This resulted in the university creating the UK's first chair in cloud computing, thereby enhancing its reputation for being at the leading edge of technology research. A small number of examples of development acting as a conduit for information to universities about the wider concerns of society, and as a catalyst for creating unique or distinctive capabilities, may be found in annual development reports. When "Cecil the lion" was illegally killed by a hunter in Zimbabwe in 2015, 12,000 donors responded to media coverage by contributing £900,000 to Oxford University, enabling it to double the size of its lion conservation program. The university's donor-supported Global Health Network in Tropical Medicine played a key role in trialling an anti-viral medication during the 2014 Ebola outbreak, when no other research facility in the world could undertake the work. Executed effectively, and resourced appropriately, philanthropic support secured by university development functions allows universities to understand the challenges of society as they emerge, and create distinctive capabilities to respond (Teece *et al.*, 1997; Teece, 2009). Such "sense and respond" capabilities enhance the reputations of universities and provide support for their mission of tackling the challenges of society, as described in Chapter 5. However, these capabilities are found exclusively at elite universities and those established universities whose fundraising organisations are led by more experienced directors of development. Creating such capabilities requires reputation, skill, and experience, and these may not be found in less research intensive universities.

6.3 Professional networks

All universities in this study are members of CASE and participate every year in the Ross-CASE benchmarking survey. The CASE organisation is the main professional network for UK university fundraising, and none of the development directors interviewed were active members of the Institute of Fundraisers, which serves the wider UK charity sector. To understand CASE's current role, how it came to occupy its current dominant position, and be such a strongly normative influence, it is necessary to examine its history and mission. Originally a US-based non-profit organisation, CASE established an office in London in 1994, with its objective stated in its founding document as:

> "…to advance the education of fundraisers and administrators in the theory and practice of effective and efficient fundraising administration and alumni relations for the benefit of charitable educational institutions in the UK" (Cited in Squire, 2014, p. 46).

CASE's mission is educating professionals in the education sector, defined to include both universities and other types of institutions, such as private schools, and encompasses both alumni relations and fundraising. CASE advocates a fundraising approach grounded in the mass solicitation of philanthropic funds from alumni, as has been widely practiced in the United States and extensively investigated in the academic literature reviewed in Chapter 2. CASE's standing in the UK was boosted when the UK government made participation in its annual Ross-CASE survey a condition of receiving funding from the HEFCE matched funding programme for capacity building in fundraising, and the Welsh equivalent, that ran from 2008-2011. CASE also provided the training delivered to UK universities under these programmes (Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), 2012). With this government endorsement, it is not surprising that CASE has been so successful in establishing itself as the authoritative source of advice on best practice in the field. Indeed, other researchers have already noted universities' use of CASE's "awards for excellence" as badges of legitimacy in alumni communications (Warren et al., 2014). CASE thus appears to be positioned to exert strongly normative pressures on university fundraising organisations, and universal membership among this study's cases implies an acceptance of its role as part of a rationalised myth of fundraising (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

CASE enacts its mission through activities such as professional training and education, conferences, and study tours (CASE, 2017). All interviewees had participated in CASE-led activities in some way: chairing the annual CASE Europe conference (Case C), attending the conference (all development directors interviewed), presenting at the conference (Cases A, B, C, G and H), attending a CASE-organised study tour of Canadian universities (Case K), of Asia-Pacific and North American universities (Case H), sending staff to participate in CASE training (all cases), inviting CASE to provide training for academics involved in fundraising at their campus (Case G), hosting CASE interns within their university (Case B), and being involved with the Case Africa program (Case E). Participation in CASE activities is thus a universal norm among UK universities, providing CASE with an opportunity to exert its influence widely.

Many participants felt that CASE was valuable from an educational perspective. A recent hire from the US noted that "…especially for me coming in from outside the UK, it's been really helpful to go to [the] CASE Europe [conference]". Another experienced development director observed, "it's a useful resource in terms of best policy and practice" and a third believed CASE to be helpful for "young, new fundraisers, new staff" and "for people who are coming in and[who] haven't had fundraising or advancement background to be exposed to all the different functions." Others acknowledged CASE's utility for professional networking and support:

> "I find CASE very, very helpful… it's such a collegiate, warm environment. You feel that you can pick up the phone to anybody that you meet at a CASE conference and say, 'You know you spoke about…well I'm struggling with X, can you give me a bit of advice?' So, yes, I found it really helpful."

Unsurprisingly, one elite university, which identified its primary role at CASE conferences as sharing their experiences with others, view such events as a potential recruiting ground for new talent:

> "…using those conferences and those networking opportunities for recruitment, and for talking to new people, who is new in the market, who is up and coming and kind of using them in that way, which I think is more common in the States."

Once again, US practices are influencing UK behaviour.

Interestingly, in the course of study interviews, several development directors jokingly remarked that the acronym "CASE" stood for "collaborate and share everything" or, more colloquially, "copy and steal everything." I interpreted the existence of this insider joke, and their willingness to share it with me (an outsider) as an indication of a widespread understanding that CASE's leading practices were being applied without adequate adjustment or refinement to reflect context-specific factors. An experienced development professional at an established university urged caution in applying CASE's leading practices indiscriminately:

> "Yes, I said in my introductory comment at the CASE… I put it in the program for the CASE conference last year. I said, 'the phrase that is banned', and I said it would be a disciplinary offence, and you'll be frogmarched into a dark room downstairs if anybody says 'copy and steal everything!' … we don't do our institutions a service if, we think we can just copy from other places. Every institution is completely fresh thinking with different models, and different ideas and what a fantastic opportunity the conference is. So, absolutely sharing the thinking and be inspired to think, 'Okay but what would work for us, in a totally different way.'"

The importance of exercising care and judgement was echoed by a second experienced development director, who cited an example where their own understanding of the political and operational environment at their university caused them to reject the leading practices advocated by CASE:

> "To be honest, I think that you can say that every university is the same, but we're not! We're actually all very different. You've got to play to your own strengths and sometimes that means throwing the CASE models out of the window. So I know that a volunteer campaign group here of senior alumni would not work. It wouldn't work with my Principal, it wouldn't work in terms of where my alumni are based around the world that are senior, so I don't do it. So I threw that out of the window."

A second, smaller professional network for development directors, the "Caledonian group", has emerged as a response to the distinctive legal and operating environment of Scottish universities. Organisational duties are rotated among members, with directors of development meeting for dinner and inviting a CASE representative to attend, with the clear understanding that "it's not their meeting". This is considered to be a valuable adjunct to CASE participation:

> "So we've met up recently on things like donor consent, also the SDI, Scottish Development International[8], have tasked us with some stuff and we all turned up as a group to that. So that can be very useful, because where you've got a problem that is sector-wide you can generally then pick up the phone to one of those people and they can help you, and you need that." Development director at established university

[8] Scottish Development International (SDI) is an organization which helps companies succeed in business in Scotland, by offering significant financial incentives and other assistance to help establish and grow businesses in Scotland and worldwide. https://www.sdi.co.uk/about-us.

Experienced development directors also understand CASE to be dogmatic and persistent in advocating an elementary view of leading practices:

> "The other thing about CASE, and it came up in the meeting on Wednesday, is that they're trying to keep us rigidly into alumni relations, fundraising, communications and marketing."

> "The UK stuff I think we're still seeing a lot of the presentations that I must have seen when I was an entry level professional [more than 10 years ago]"

> "…it's fundraising 101" - a US expression indicating education at an introductory level that requires no prior knowledge

Several development directors remarked upon the time commitment that being involved with CASE entailed, highlighting it as a barrier to being more involved. One experienced director expressed the view that a cadre had emerged, among their peers, of CASE "professionals":

> "I don't know how they do their day job, because they're just always presenting at CASE".

In summary, development professionals understand CASE to be a provider of basic fundraising and alumni relations education, a helpful resource for the education of junior staff and newcomers to the UK, and a useful collaborative forum for sharing experience and professional networking. More experienced development directors recognise the limits to the utility of the leading practices advocated by CASE, and rely upon their own context-specific understanding to tailor them, or, in some cases, to reject them outright. Less experienced development directors show little evidence of being able to exercise their judgement in this way. Experienced professionals are also wary of the time commitment involved in being actively involved with CASE. CASE is thus seen to be a component of the rationalised myth of university fundraising, and, as would be expected, the most experienced organisations are able to resist normative pressures by decoupling their practices from those advocated by CASE (Meyer and Rowan, 1977).

While all universities featured in this study are involved with CASE, membership of CASE is tiered. Cases A and B belong to the "CASE 50" global network of the "top tier institutions", primarily based in the US. This structure directly reflects the stratification of the university field found in Chapter 4, where an elite group of universities compete globally with one another without regard to national boundaries. Within the UK, the “Ross Group” inside CASE is a “by invitation only” group of leading university development directors who meet for dinner, and includes Cases A, B, C, D, E, G and H. Others have described the Ross Group as both exclusive and exclusionary (Warren *et al.*, 2016). In this study, analysis of the role played by Ross Group members in the activities of CASE indicates that they are playing a leading role in organising and presenting at conferences, thereby defining the agenda for the sector as a whole. This finding is consistent with literature describing how structures in collaborations, and dominant actors, play a critical leadership role in defining policy and agendas (Huxham and Vangen, 2000), and raises the possibility that the position of CASE on leading practices may be being influenced not just by US practice, but also by the interests of the dominant actors in the UK university field. Again, those universities with the best reputations and the greatest endowments of symbolic capital demand deference from others, assert their right to set the agenda for the sector, present their view of best practice, and attempt to influence others towards their “world view” (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008).

6.4 Alumni relations capabilities and fundraising

As I have shown, alumni relations is widely understood to be a foundational activity upon which universities build their fundraising capabilities. CASE, in its capacity as educator, professional network, and government-sponsored source of leading practices, has been a powerful advocate of building alumni relations capabilities at UK universities, by dint of its influence across the sector. As a result, all universities participating in this study have engaged in alumni relations capability building as part of the rationalised myth of university fundraising, and now manage their alumni relations and development functions jointly.

Since 2008, CASE has, together with the Ross Group, conducted an annual survey of UK university fundraising activities known as the “Ross-CASE” survey (CASE Europe, 2017). Each annual survey seeks information about the financial results of fundraising at UK universities, and numbers and types of donors. CASE publishes an annual aggregate report of its findings for the sector (CASE Europe, 2017), and this is regarded as an authoritative source by university development directors. It also provides a sector-wide view of the results of alumni relations and development capability building in the UK. Table 24 summarises data from the Ross-CASE reports for the years 2004-5 to 2013-14 for all universities in the UK.

		Philanthropic Funds raised		Donor Giving			
Year	Response Rate % (2)	New Funds £million (3)	Cash Income £million (4)	# All Donors	# Alumni Donors	% of Addressable Alumni Giving	% of Donors that are Alumni
2004-5 (1)	78	380	283	95,286	92,334	1.8	96.9
2005-6 (1)	78	452	324	101,966	101,966	1.8	100.0
2006-7	78	548	413	108,235	108,235	1.7	100.0
2007-8	91	682	438	144,282	118,020	1.7	81.8
2008-9	94	532	511	163,547	131,640	1.7	80.5
2009-10	96	600	506	185,603	147,012	1.8	79.2
2010-11	94	693	560	204,250	162,913	1.9	79.8
2011-12	84	774	544	213,238	169,398	1.9	79.4
2012-13	85	681	660	223,352	174,370	1.9	78.1
2013-14	77	807	658	251,256	183,204	1.9	72.9

Notes
Data taken from Ross-CASE reports online available from:
http://www.case.org/Samples_Research_and_Tools/Benchmarking_and_Research/Surveys_and_Studies/Ross-CASE_Survey/Ross-CASE_2017_Report.html
(1) Data taken from 2006-7 Ross-CASE report.
(2) The percentage of UK universities responding. As participation in the survey is voluntary, the participation rate of universities in the UK varies year to year.
(3) New funds raised comprises new pledges (including multi-year pledges), new cash gifts, and gifts-in-kind. It excludes cash payments against pledges secured in previous years.
(4) Cash income received includes new cash gifts and cash income received against pledges received in previous years

Table 24: Philanthropic funds raised and donor behavior

In Table 24, “New funds” include cash received and promised, as a result of the university development efforts, incorporating recognition of the full value of multi-year pledges that commence in that year. “Cash income” includes cash received in the year, some of which may have been pledged in prior years. By either measure, annual philanthropic funds raised have more than doubled over the period 2004-5 to 2013-14. While the trend is generally steadily upwards, growth in new funds secured stalled, unsurprisingly, around the period of the 2008 financial crisis. Cash income growth stalled subsequently, as the impact of lower pledging levels during the crisis was later reflected in cash receipts. Over the same period, the total number of donors to UK universities has increased by a factor of 2.5x, and the number of alumni who give has more than doubled. Annual donor numbers have thus grown approximately proportionately as the total value of philanthropic funds raised has grown. Expressed as a percentage of all donors, the number of donors who are alumni has, however, decreased, indicating that UK universities have been more successful at attracting support from donors who are not alumni than from those that are. Such non-alumni donors include individuals who are not graduates of the university, foundations, and corporate organisations. This trend is clear, and is occurring despite the growth in the number of addressable alumni in university databases, which increases as each new cohort of graduates is added. Finally, the number of alumni who give, expressed as a percentage of these addressable alumni, has not really grown, and remains below 2%. This contrasts strongly with mean annual alumni giving rates achieved in the US of 11% at public universities, and 21% at private universities (Gunsalus, 2005).

Among the universities participating in this study, a clear distinction can be observed between elite, established, and 92 universities. Elite universities have an average annual alumni giving rate of nearly 13%. At the elite university colleges participating in this study, recorded alumni giving rates are 13% and 15% for A and B respectively. Giving rates at established universities range from 0.8 - 2%. Alumni giving rates at the 92 universities are almost negligible. It appears, therefore, that elite universities have been considerably more successful at building their alumni relations capabilities than established universities; 92 universities have yet to establish this capability successfully, although both cases J and K are actively attempting to do this.

In summary, across the sector, temporal quantitative analysis reveals that building UK development and alumni relations capabilities has resulted in significant growth in the philanthropic funds flowing to UK universities, but UK universities appear to have been more successful at attracting non-alumni donors than alumni donors. Sector-wide averages conceal the degree of variation found among universities: elite universities in this study have established alumni relations capabilities that are producing alumni giving rates comparable with those seen in the US, but established universities have alumni relations capabilities that lag significantly behind in results. 92 universities have yet to achieve traction with their alumni giving capabilities. Despite more than 20 years of CASE advocacy and government capacity-building programs, UK alumni relations has failed to become a universal competence in the sector. The causes of this are complex. Certainly, differences in values and social institutions between the UK and US loom large (Proper, 2009; Scott, 2014). However, and more speculatively, self-limiting constraints may also have become embedded though excessive normativity: the CASE-induced tendency to replicate practices from one institution to another without regard to geographical context or local circumstances, but so too the tendency, noted in this study, to advocate for the exact replication of leading practices from one institution to another. Such replication is known to be inherently difficult to achieve (Teece *et al.*, 1997; Teece, 2009). As described in Chapter 4, differences in university reputations and esteem have practical implications for a university's ability to attract philanthropic support, and it seems that this extends to building relationships with alumni and encouraging them to support their alma mater financially.

6.5 Discussion and conclusion

This chapter has presented an account and evaluation of UK university fundraising capabilities, using publicly available information, and insights gained from proprietary documents and interviews conducted with knowledgeable actors at eleven case study universities. Critically, it has shown that all universities already have some degree of fundraising capability, and most are endeavouring to build this to generate more philanthropic income. Most share a belief that this is both desirable and feasible. Their approach to achieving this has been strongly influenced by CASE as an advocate of leading practice, and as a forum for sharing experiences among professionals. These findings indicate the exist of a rationalised myth of university fundraising, in which development organisations are an obligatory function of a university, and CASE is the purveyor of leading practice (Meyer and Rowan, 1977) This chapter has challenged this myth by presenting evidence that it may not be realistic for all universities, and that current strategies for building fundraising capabilities are unlikely to succeed in all cases.

Elite and established universities have mostly organised fundraising as a discrete function as part of their administrative organisation. Fundraising is viewed as a function worthy of executive attention and oversight, indicating that it is believed to be an important component of university operations. This finding is consistent with the findings of Chapter 5 that fundraising has the potential to be a key enabler of overall university strategy. 92 universities, however, continue to regard fundraising as a component of other administrative functions, indicating that they are, as yet, unconvinced of its value. Despite this uncertainty, they have endeavoured to build their fundraising capacity in response to the myth of university fundraising. University fundraising organisations vary in size but the level of resources allocated to them is scaled to the results that they are currently producing, with the exception of one 92 university, which, even after downsizing, seems to be dedicating resources to fundraising disproportionately to the funds raised, presumably in the belief that additional resources will ultimately enhance performance. Universities are generally seeking to grow their development capabilities, and find themselves competing to hire experienced practitioners. Unsurprisingly, elite universities, with the highest reputations, and to a lesser extent, established universities, with good reputations, are most successful at attracting well-qualified candidates, both from the UK and overseas, confirming the influence of symbolic capital in capability building.

University fundraising functions are shown to be isomorphic and, in all cases, perform the same activities - development and alumni relations - although at varying levels that are reflected in their resources (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Organisational structures, and job titles, are similar across all cases, and the nomenclature being used -“advancement” and “development” - reflects the evolution of the profession in the US. Alumni relations, which is now universally co-managed with development, is understood in all cases to be a key enabler and foundation for future philanthropic income. This belief has been formed as a result of the examination of successful practice in the US, where building a base of alumni supporters, and engaging with them effectively, has been shown to produce a steady stream of philanthropic income for all types of university, irrespective of their reputation. The analysis presented in this chapter, however, indicates that efforts in the UK to emulate the US have yet to achieve outcomes of comparable magnitude: across the sector, time-based analysis of ten years' worth of UK data indicates that annual alumni giving rates remain consistently low, at a small fraction of what has been achieved in the US (Gunsalus, 2005). Alumni giving is a small component of overall philanthropic income at many of this study's cases, and there is no relation between size of a university's alumni base, and its philanthropic income, as might be expected from US studies summarised in Chapter 2 (Ehrenberg and Smith, 2003). Further, there is large variability in the alumni participation rates achieved by different types of universities: elite universities have participation rates comparable to the US (Gunsalus, 2005). Participation rates at those of established universities are considerably lower, while those at 92 universities are insignificant. As more than twenty years have elapsed since the initial efforts by CASE to bring US practice to the UK, and all universities have embraced an imperative to build alumni relations capabilities, these findings indicate that it is reasonable to question the feasibility of replicating US development and alumni relations capabilities for all types of university in the UK. They also highlight the stubbornness of rationalised myths, even when evidence challenges their underlying logic and knowledgeable actors are aware of their fallibility.

The findings of this chapter have identified CASE as the dominant professional network for UK university fundraising, and as a highly normative influence on practice. CASE functions as an educator, and a forum for professional networking and collaboration. It is generally understood by the development directors interviewed in this study to be helpful, and participation is considered desirable and necessary. CASE's legitimacy is derived from its history - its US heritage and UK government endorsement - and it functions as an authoritative source of sector-wide information. It confers legitimacy on others by means of endorsement - "…as recommended by CASE" - and its "awards for excellence". CASE's legitimacy is thus the result of the consensus of multiple actors - the UK government, development directors, and wider society - and of judgements formed by interacting with it at training classes, at conferences, on study tours, and by reading its publications (Suddaby *et al.*, 2017). A practical consequence of this degree of dominance and legitimization is the universal participation in CASE activities by UK university fundraising professionals, and the limited ability of knowledgeable actors to question CASE's view of leading practices, and applicability in the UK context. Indeed, only the most experienced development directors interviewed for this study expressed a view that critical judgement and contextual understanding should be engaged when implementing CASE-advocated leading practices. While all participate, it is the elite and some established universities that are most engaged with determining the agenda at CASE events, so it is possible that CASE also functions vicariously as a vehicle for advancing the interests and "world view" of those institutions, potentially at the expense of others for whom the CASE approach is less fitting (Huxham and Vangen, 2000). These findings identify a mechanism by which elite universities are able to preserve their dominance, by "influencing the influencers" in their field.

Overall, UK universities have built, and are continuing to build, fundraising capabilities that are striking similar to each other in the scope of the work that they do, how they organised and governed, and how they describe themselves. This degree of isomorphism is linked to government action, increasing professionalization, the influence of CASE and its leading practices modelled largely on the US, migration of staff between organisations, and a reliance upon the limited number of specialised consultants who are active in the sector, exactly as theory would predict (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). However, the findings of this chapter indicate that university fundraising capabilities differ significantly in the results that they achieve, and the degree to which they may form a basis for competitive advantage. This chapter reported a small number of instances where engaging in development activity allowed elite and established universities to identify, fund, and grow their wider capabilities to fulfil their strategic objectives. A small number of universities have thus succeeded in establishing development as a dynamic capability that allows them to sense and respond rapidly to changes in society (Teece, 2009). Most have not, choosing instead to attempt to emulate US practice, and the practices of those universities they consider to be successful, without necessarily understanding the unique characteristics of the institutions they seek to copy, how they differ from their own, and how these combine to create the conditions in which a fundraising capability may be successfully built.

As Kay has observed, “Successful strategy is rarely copycat strategy”, but is rather based on the distinctive capabilities that an organisation possesses (Kay, 1993, p. 10; Teece *et al.*, 1997). Not appreciating this point results in the failures, and repeated attempts to regroup and try again, which this chapter has described, leading to wasted resources, demoralisation of staff, and, ultimately, disenchantment with the whole idea of fundraising. It is unfortunate that the dominant CASE doxa, and a shortage of experienced staff, are impeding recognition of the importance of context-specific factors in strategy. Finally, these findings identify and characterise a new type of actor in the field of strategy: non-profit professional associations can act as producers of strategy, and have been shown to exert a powerful normative influence by endorsing models of strategy (Whittington *et al.*, 2003).

In the next chapter, I analyse how universities understand the dynamics of donor relationships, how their unique characteristics influence these, and how universities leverage their endowments of economic, social and cultural capital to enhance their fundraising.

Chapter 7 Habitus and capital in UK university fundraising

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, I analysed how universities' endowments of symbolic capital and economic capital mutually reinforce each other, leading to great inequality in the ability of universities to raise philanthropic funds. Chapter 5 explained how universities apply philanthropic funds in support of their overall strategies, and Chapter 6 evaluated how UK universities have attempted to organise the work of fundraising. Whereas the preceding three chapters have dealt primarily with behaviour of organisational actors, this chapter analyses the behaviour of individual socially situated actors, and how they interact with organisations in the context of fundraising. It explains the micro-foundations of philanthropic behaviour, in the way that donors understand and enact their philanthropic support of universities, and connects individual and organisational practices.

This chapter uses a general model of behaviour, in which practices are the outcome of the interaction of "habitus", "capital' and "field" (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, for an individual actor, philanthropic giving practice results from the relations between one's predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination to give, formed by a pattern of social arrangements which is known as the "habitus", one's position in a field, described by the quantities and types of "capital" possessed, and the current state of play of that social arena, the "field" (Bourdieu, 1977; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Maton, 2014). While Bourdieu emphasizes the importance of early childhood socialisation within the family as a habitus that forms predispositions and dispositions (Bourdieu, 1977), this chapter presents evidence that formation of these for some students continues into higher education, and that it is deliberately influenced by universities. It presents evidence from study interviews and other materials to analyse the understanding and behaviour of socially situated individuals, and how this is shaped by habitus. Further, it presents aggregate measures of the resulting practices to illustrate their prevalence in an overall population, and how they "roll up" to produce objectively measurable organisational level effects.

Bourdieu's definition of capital encompasses economic capital (financial resources), cultural capital (cultural knowledge and understanding, appreciation of "acceptable" forms of culture) and social capital (social networks, connections, and relationships) (Bourdieu, 1986; Swartz, 1997). Forms of capital are transmutable and may occur in an embodied, objectified or institutionalised state (Bourdieu, 1986). Any of these three forms of capital may be convertible, under the right circumstances, into symbolic capital, which accords its possessor the right to demand deference, and potentially support, from others (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). The volume and composition of capital that an actor possesses is also understood to be a fundamental organizing principle that links cultural consumption, lifestyle and aesthetic tastes to social class conditions (Bourdieu, 1984), and it would be expected that elite agents would be possessed of large quantities of total capital, and a characteristic mix of the different types. While in most of Bourdieu's work, capital endowments are associated with individual actors, in his analysis of elite universities in France, he uses the concept to describe the relative positions of organisational actors in a field (Bourdieu, 1996a). The quantity and type of capital with which an actor is endowed, is thus understood to be a useful analytical "thinking tool" for both individual and organisational actors.

This chapter builds upon a model of capital conversion developed for wealthy philanthropists, whereby their surplus economic capital invested in philanthropic projects yields returns in cultural, social and symbolic capital, which are then applied to producing yet more economic capital (Harvey *et al.*, 2011). However, Harvey et al's analysis of the life and philanthropy of Andrew Carnegie proceeds at the level of the individual actor, deliberately engaged in the business of world-making through philanthropy, whereas this study is interested in examining how organisational actors engage in capital conversion strategies, and specifically how their institutional endowments of capital may be deployed not only to inculcate a "disposition to give" in some students, but also to help individuals accumulate their own reserves of capital, which can subsequently be leveraged by the institution.

This chapter presents qualitative and quantitative analysis based primarily upon the elite and most successful established cases in this study, seeking examples of practices that have formed the basis of capital accumulation for both organisations and individuals. Accordingly, this chapter addresses the following research questions:

- How do UK universities leverage their endowments of capital in fundraising?
    - How do institutional capital endowments influence habitus?
    - How do institutional and individual endowments of capital interact in fundraising?
    - How do field conditions influence alumni giving practices?

7.2 Elite college habitus and alumni philanthropic disposition

Bourdieu defines the habitus as a “structured and structuring structure”, a pleasingly alliterative description for a pattern of social arrangements that is shaped or “structured” by an actor’s past and present circumstances, such as family upbringing and educational experiences, and which shapes or “structures” an agent’s present or future practices (Maton, 2014, p. 50). An individual actor’s “predisposition to give” is thus influenced by their accumulated life experience, and is likely to be similar to others who have had similar experiences in similar social environments. It would be expected, therefore, that the individual actors who had been enrolled in higher education at a particular university would have had an experience of social structures in common, and that this shared experience would have influenced the formation of their dispositions, and would have the capacity to generate perceptions, appreciations, and practices in common (Bourdieu, 1977). A philanthropic disposition formed during the shared experience of university education, would therefore be expected to influence philanthropic practices enacted over a lifetime, such as being a donor, giving regularly or intermittently, the choice of causes to give to, and the degree of generosity relative to one’s means. Having experienced a particular habitus is not, in and of itself, a determinant of action for an individual actor. Human beings are not automata pre-programmed to develop fixed dispositions or perform a given set of actions. Rather, practices result from an “obscure and double relationship” between habitus and field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Thus, to understand the practices of university alumni, it is necessary to understand the characteristics of the habitus, how it acts to produce dispositions, the field conditions that pertain, and how these may have evolved (or have not) over a period of time.

The choice of empirical context for examining the philanthropic practices of alumni is informed by the findings of this study (and already presented briefly in Chapter 6) that alumni of elite institutions are significantly more predisposed to give, as measured by the alumni giving rate, than those of established universities, and especially those of 92 institutions. This study's cases include two colleges at elite universities A and B: one with a contactable alumni pool of 13,000, of whom 13% gave in 2016, producing a philanthropic income of £3.5 million, and a second with a contactable alumni pool of 7,000, of whom 15% gave in 2016, producing a philanthropic income of £1.5 million. Further, the protocols that have been established at both universities stipulate that college development organisations are primarily concerned with the solicitation of philanthropic support from their alumni. Centralised university development organisations fundraise from non-alumni, corporate and foundation supporters. The results achieved by these colleges are exceptional relative to other universities in the field, and present an opportunity to examine closely the practices of the colleges, how these produce a structured system of social arrangements, and how these act upon students and alumni.

Bourdieu suggests that a disposition, once formed, will be persistent, although not immutable (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Historic cohort data for alumni giving in 2016 for an elite college is presented in Table 25. The table summarises alumni giving rates for 68 annual alumni cohorts, who matriculated from 1946 to 2013.

2016 Alumni Annual Giving		
Year of Matriculation	Mean Giving Rate (%)(1)	Significant events
1940s(2)	19	-
1950s	24	-
1960s	23	-
1970s	17	The college admitted women for the first time at the end of the decade
1980s	14	-
1990s	11	English undergraduate fees introduced (1997); loans replaced maintenance grants for student living expenses (1998)
2000s	15	Undergraduate fees raised to £6,000 (2006) in England
2010s(3)	10	Undergraduate fees raised to £9,000 (2010) in England
Mean	15	

Notes
Data taken from the college's 2016 alumni magazine.
(1) The percentage of contactable alumni making a gift in 2016.
(2) Annual cohort data is available from 1946 onwards. Individuals matriculating in the late 1940s at age 18 would be in their late 80s in 2016. Life expectancy for UK males born in the 1920s was less than 60 at birth, so this data describes the giving practices of a small population of exceptionally long-lived alumni.
(3) The final year for which annual cohort data is available is 2013. Alumni who matriculated in 2013 and gave in 2016 would have been on shorter 1 - 2 year courses.

Table 25: 2016 alumni giving rates at an elite college

Alumni giving rates vary by matriculation date from 10-24%, and are consistently a numerical order of magnitude higher than those achieved by established or 92 universities. The annual giving rate is highest for alumni who matriculated in the 1950s and 1960s. These individuals would have been in their mid-60s to mid-80s in 2016, and the finding that this age group are most likely to give is consistent with US studies (Wunnava and Lauze, 2001), and may reflect a culturally generative desire to conserve the elite college experience beyond one's own lifetime (Kotre, 1984; Mcadams and Destaubin, 1992). However, even those who matriculated in the 2010s on short courses, and had graduated by 2016, show an alumni giving rate of 10%, indicating that a disposition to support the college financially must have formed while a student or very shortly thereafter. Thus, the propensity to give is seen consistently across all alumni age groups, is established before, or soon after, graduation, and persists for the duration of alumni lifetimes. The temporal period of the study includes significant events that might be expected to influence alumni giving rates. In the late 1970s, the college admitted women for the first time. Evidence of the influence of alumni gender on inclination to give from the US is mixed: some studies have found that female alumni are less likely to give (Ehrenberg and Smith, 2003; Gaier, 2005; Sun *et al.*, 2007; Terry and Macy, 2007), while others observe no effect (Okunade *et al.*, 1994; Wunnava and Lauze, 2001; Briechle, 2003; Monks, 2003; Marr *et al.*, 2005; McDearmon and Shirley, 2009). In the UK, a single study finds that female alumni are more likely to give (Belfield and Beney, 2000). In this study, no gendered effect is observed in Table 25. Further events occurred from late 1990s, as UK student fees were introduced and steeply raised, and student loans replaced grants for living expenses. Field conditions, for all UK universities, therefore changed as the burden of paying for further education shifted from the public purse to the private individual. Other studies have noted a transition that occurred as students became consumers, purchasing a higher education “product”, rather than purely scholars (Maringe, 2011), and it may be expected that there may be a change in the propensity to give as a result of this change in doxa. Indeed, US studies have found that financial aid in the form of loans rather than grants, as was introduced in the UK in 1998, has a negative effect on alumni giving rates (Monks, 2003; Marr *et al.*, 2005; Terry and Macy, 2007; McDearmon and Shirley, 2009) Again, in Table 25, no effect is observed in the giving practices of the college’s alumni population who have matriculated since the start of the 1990s, calling into question whether elite universities actually experienced a change in doxa as others did, and suggesting a difference in social processes between the US and the UK. Alumni giving, as a practice among the alumni of the college, is seen to be consistently present among a significant minority of alumni, abiding, and impervious to structural changes in the field. This is consistent Bourdieu’s observation that dispositions are durable and may be persistent, even as field conditions change (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). It also suggests that the distinctive pattern of social arrangements enacted by colleges for their students has been instrumental in creating a philanthropic disposition in alumni, and has been effective at doing so since the end of World War II.

Table 25 analyses the aggregated practices of a population of alumni, each of whom will have their own unique disposition, which has developed as a result of their accumulated experiences. Development office reports and alumni publications provide a rich source of data to illustrate how philanthropically-minded alumni understand their own dispositions, and how they were formed. An alumnus of an elite college is quoted on the cover of an annual report as saying:

> I decided to make [the college] a philanthropic priority for two reasons. Firstly, my years at [the college] have had a profound impact on the rest of my life. A [college] education helps open doors, and opens them quickly. This certainly helped me in my career, particularly in its critical earlier stages when getting that foothold in the right place makes such a difference. Secondly, as education is such a transformative experience, I wanted to help others enjoy the same opportunities that I had. Directing the gift to student support at…the College to attract the very brightest young men and women regardless of their means or origin. Thus [the college] will, I trust develop even further as a world-class center of excellence".

Here, the alumnus is acknowledging the importance of experience gained at the college while a student, and how this influenced their life trajectory, especially in the years immediately after graduation. Symbolic capital is again at work here (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). This is a highly ranked college within an elite university, and being a graduate confers status upon the alumnus in question. It also seems likely that the alumnus benefitted from the college's network of alumni and friends, a component Bourdieu's social capital, as the means to "open doors" in "the right place". Gratitude is expressed both for a formational experience, and for this tactical help. The alumnus describes how their gratitude causes them to want to assist others to have the same experience, and how they believe that supporting the college financially will help it build its reputation still further, thereby guaranteeing that being one of its graduates will continue to be valuable in the future. This alumnus is therefore disposed to assist their college financially, both because of their feeling of affinity and gratitude, but also as a way of building the college's symbolic capital, and their own cultural and symbolic capital, which arises from being in possession of a degree from such a prestigious institution. Their disposition has formed as a result of their experience as a student, and in the early career years which followed. Selecting this quote, and positioning it prominently on the back cover of the annual development report sent to all alumni, suggests that the college itself understands very clearly the importance of alumni disposition formation, and how it is achieved. This is further confirmed by the college's own description, again taken from its development office's annual report, of its understanding of how alumni relate to their alma mater. It also suggests an appreciation, on the part of the college, of the importance of attempting to conserve, and therefore reproduce, the hierarchy of power relations, based upon possession of superior quantities of symbolic capital, that reinforces its own dominant position in the field of elite colleges and universities (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008):

> "No-one ever really leaves [the college] - though you can go out of residence. And that attachment to the College generally goes along with a sense of great privilege - a sense, that is, that those years in residence were years of extraordinary opportunity to learn…[and were] life forming and life changing - and from a sense of the privilege of that experience there often develops it seems, a sense of responsibility to sustain into the future the College and its values…"

Here, the college understands that a lifelong relationship exists between it and its graduates, and that this relationship is associated with a feeling of privilege and gratitude for a life changing experience while a student, which then inclines alumni to supporting the college financially. It also suggests a degree of duty on the part of alumni to do this - "a sense of responsibility" - suggesting that the college and its alumni are jointly engaged in the endeavour of sustaining the college into the future. The college clearly understands the role that it plays as an environment in which an alumnus' philanthropic disposition is formed, and potential to leverage the social network formed by its alumni as a source of financial support.

The key components that underlie alumni giving - affinity for the college, understanding of the value of what one has received, and the inclination to give back - can already be seen to be present in the testimonials, taken from an annual development report, of current students, all from outside the UK, who are in receipt of college-funded scholarships:

> "I already feel a strong connection to [the college] and its community, and know how lucky I am to be part of it."

> "The opportunity to advance my studies, and have an excellent start of what I hope will be a successful and exciting academic and

> research career would otherwise not be possible without the generous support of the [college's named alumnus] Scholarship"
>
> "I am truly enjoying [the college] for its beautiful, safe, and enabling environment. I am grateful to have been able to receive a scholarship from one of our alumni; this will always remind me to give back to those who carry with them big dreams of the future"

Here, three carefully selected current students are expressing how, already, they feel an emotional tie to the college, how they feel privileged to be there, how receiving a scholarship has enabled them to pursue their studies, and how, even though they are still students, they are feeling an obligation to "give back" in future. These testimonials stand in sharp contrast to the testimonials of other scholarship-funded students at less highly ranked universities, who are cited in the annual development reports of their universities as follows:

> "I have made some great new friends and I especially enjoy meeting international students. However, the thing I'm enjoying most about my time at [the university] is being independent and responsible for my own learning and the scholarship has given me the freedom to do this" Scholarship student at Case I.
>
> "I am thoroughly grateful for the [named] Scholarship. This was an unparalleled opportunity to gain more research skills and work with the leaders in the field of immunology. Furthermore it has reinforced my aspirations to pursue a career in academic vascular surgery" Scholarship student at Case G

In both these cases, scholarship students are expressing gratitude for their scholarships, and acknowledging the impact this support has had on their lives. Impact is described instrumentally and personally, but no general sense of affinity is felt, nor is there evidence of feeling privileged to be at the university, possibly because these are less prestigious institutions. Finally, there is no evidence, as yet, of the formation of the inclination to "give back" that would ultimately drive alumni giving.

A one of the two elite colleges featured in this study, more than £640,000 is spent from the alumni-raised annual fund to provide direct student support for 30% of students. At the second college, over £1 million is spent every year in student support, including fully funding 77 graduate scholarships. Given the small size of the student bodies, these numbers indicate that a high proportion of students at both elite colleges are benefitting from scholarship support, which, as we have seen, is a key formative experience in developing a predisposition for alumni giving. At one college, the development organisation has chosen to name scholarships after the alumnus or alumna that funds them, and to facilitate communication between the scholar and the benefactor. Their development director observed that scholars choose, spontaneously, to thank their benefactors, and this helps build a personal connection. A systems of relations has thus been created between college and scholarship students whereby selected students receive financial support, based on an assessment of their merit, from individuals who have in the past had the similar experiences.

Elite colleges invest in organising reunion and social events for their alumni and staff, at which participants are encouraged to re-engage with their student contemporaries and the college. Such events typically have a cultural component, such as attending a lecture given by a Fellow on a famous historical figure associated with the college, or a performance given by a student choir, that is designed to appeal to the tastes of alumni that the habitus produces, and remind them of the connection that they share with one another and the college. Other events emphasize a social component, such as reunion events for those that played a sport or studied a particular subject, and present opportunities for social bonds to be renewed and networks strengthened. Such events occur throughout alumni lives, with matriculating year groups being formally invited to black tie reunion weekends every ten years after graduation.

College annual reports, which are sent both to current students and alumni, describe in some detail these uses of philanthropic income, while at the same time celebrating the achievements, academic, sporting, and otherwise, of students, alumni, and staff. Both current students and alumni are therefore able to understand the degree to which those associated with the college benefit from philanthropic income, how this boosts their individual capital endowments, and enhances and the college's overall reputation for excellence across a range of fields of endeavour. A system of social arrangements is thus seen, whereby all students at the college benefit from the generosity of prior students, and all groups of individual actors (students, alumni, and staff) are made aware of the arrangements that pertain. College annual reports recognise individual alumni donors by name, listing them by year of matriculation, thereby hinting at "rules of the game", namely that the college relies upon its alumni, and members of the same matriculating cohort know who has and has not contributed in their peer group. College annual reports reveal some of the doxa - "what goes without saying because it comes without saying" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 167) - of elite college alumni: it is proper and seemly to contribute financially to the college, those who do are recognised, those who do not may possibly be sanctioned, and everyone knows who belongs to each group. They probably also reflect an understanding that being acquainted with other donors, when donor lists are published in alumni publications, increases the likelihood of giving (Okunade and Berl, 1997).

A distinctive feature of the education provided by both elite colleges is the tutorial system for undergraduates, in which students interact with academics individually or in small groups, on a weekly basis during term time. A college development office strategy document describes the impact of this, and a college development director describes their alumni's understanding of its significance:

> "A natural outcome of the Tutorial system is a deep bond between students and their Tutors"

> "People who've been to this college…recognize that [they] had wonderful, eminent, world-class tutors... I'm really struck by how many people here constantly reference to me just who taught them, and how privileged they felt that these people were spending their time teaching undergraduates, when they were also huge practitioners in the field."

The college, and its development staff, recognize the important role that the tutorial systems plays in building relationships between academic staff and students, and how having interacted with leading academics fosters feelings of privilege and gratitude among alumni. Understanding the tutorial system potentially to constitute a distinctive capability, it unsurprising that an alumnus, quoted in a college development strategy document, believes it to be worthy of philanthropic support (Kay, 1993):

> "Tutorial Fellowships are extremely important because the whole essence of the [elite university] experience is that you have a tutor. So, if this [campaign] enables [the college] to offer top-class tutors in all the mainstream subjects, and ensure that they have genuine

> breadth - in fact, they virtually cover the waterfront already - I think that’s terrific, and that’s what it’s all about.”

This alumnus understands that being able offer undergraduates contact time with leading academics is a distinctive capability that others may not have, and endorses it as an appropriate goal for a forthcoming campaign. Bolstering the tutorial system, by funding Tutorial Fellowships, is thus seen as a way of continuing to deliver a distinctive and formational educational experience to students, which enhances the feelings of gratitude that are a component of the formation of a philanthropic disposition in students. The tutorial system constitutes a distinctive social arrangement, not found at other universities, which is understood to build the relationship between academics and the college, and their students.

The environment of elite colleges is thus seen to contain a set of distinctive social arrangements that differ from those of other universities, and which act to influence the formation of a philanthropic disposition in a significant minority of alumni, while they are still students. Many students and alumni are connected in a social network by virtue of participation in arrangements to provide merit-based scholarships. All students and academics are connected in a social network by participation in the tutorial system. Further, all groups of actors are connected socially by being members of a community that persists, even after an individual is no longer resident in college. These social arrangements constitute a distinct structuring habitus, which produces in many students an appreciation for the college environment, and feelings of affinity and gratitude that predispose them to support their college philanthropically, after they graduate. Attention to alumni relations activities, including social events and the production and dissemination of college annual reports, ensures that a social network continues to exist after students graduate, and that rewards will flow back to the college, in the form of financial support from alumni, as its habitus continues to act. The creation of these social arrangements is facilitated by the large endowments of symbolic and economic capital with which these elite colleges are endowed.

7.3 Student capital building

Capital may be conceptualised as historically accumulated assets, appropriated on a private basis, that may be associated with both individual and organisational actors (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 1996a). Bourdieu draws attention to the transmutability of the three "fundamental" forms - cultural, economic and social - and explains how transmutation can occur, and more recent work has analysed how individuals possessed of an excess of economic capital have converted this, via philanthropy, into enhancements to their personal endowments of cultural and social capital, which in turn have produced yet more economic capital (Harvey *et al.*, 2011). In this section, I will explain how elite colleges, as organisational actors, deploy their large reserves of economic capital to enhance the cultural and social capital of their students, and how this influences alumni giving practices.

As I have already explained, the two elite colleges featuring in this study use economic capital to grant merit-based scholarships to a large proportion of their students. Furthermore, they have made universal student support a key component of the way they use their philanthropic income, whether this is raised from alumni, or is derived from the very large endowments that both colleges possess. This support is available to all students, irrespective of merit or need. At both colleges, all students benefit from subsidised accommodation and food, and in one instance, a generous annual book grant of £350 per student per academic year to subsidise the purchase of scholarly books. One college has built a nursery for the use of students, as well as staff, who are parents. These are deliberate choices on the part of elite colleges to deploy their significant philanthropic income to enhance the experience of students, by alleviating the financial burden of funding living expenses and buying books, and making life easier for student parents. As the college President comments in an annual report:

> "We have again managed to keep the costs of living down for our students. I hope that the students who benefit today will themselves support us in the future."

The leadership of the college thus acknowledges the consequences of deliberate choices about how to use philanthropic income - to alleviate the financial burden of student living expenses - and how it is expected that students will support the college financially once they become alumni. Social expectations about future behaviour are clearly being set.

Travel grants provided by both colleges allow students to experience and build an appreciation of other places and cultures. One college provides grant funding for student travel to India, where the recipient is hosted by its Indian alumni. A recent grant recipient commented in the annual college report:

> "Travelling to India has fundamentally changed the way in which I perceive the world"

Here, a student is acknowledging the transformational impact that their travel experience has had on their social understanding of the world. An archaeology student who had received a travel grant to visit the sites that they had been studying observed:

> "This as an incredibly formative trip for me, as all these sites have featured in my module choices."

Here, a student is acknowledging how travel has deepened and broadened their academic understanding, and enhanced their appreciation of ancient history, a component of a classical education and an elevated form of culture. Not all grants are related to an individual student's field of study, however, as the following example quotation from a molecular medicine student illustrates:

> "Coming from a working class background, I have benefitted tremendously from the generous scholarships available at [the college]. Last year I was awarded a [named] music scholarship, which enabled me to undertake saxophone lessons, both [at the university], and at the Royal College of Music."

Here a student from a less privileged background has been supported financially to build their skills and understanding in the cultural field of music, by accessing lessons at elite institutions. The student goes on to explain how they are now a member of a university jazz band, and are contemplating studying music for a year after they complete their current studies. The grant has enabled them to expand their knowledge of a field of culture to which they had previously, by virtue of their background, had limited exposure, and build an appreciation of one of the "acceptable" forms of culture among elites. It has boosted their total quantity of cultural capital, and also influenced the formation of their tastes and aesthetic sense.

Both colleges have invested in upgrading their facilities and equipment for a range of sports, and providing support for other extra-curricular activities, such as student choirs and drama productions. Support for student sports and the arts not only allows talented individuals to excel, but also enhances opportunities for social interactions, enabling students to build social skills and a social network that will endure after they graduate. Support for student music and theatre provides exposes students, irrespective of their background, to these higher forms of culture, and encourages the building of an appreciation of them. Although not all students will choose to take up the opportunities that the colleges offer, those that do are being guided towards particular forms of cultural capital consumption that are characteristic of elite groups in society (Bourdieu, 1984). Possession of appropriate endowments of social and cultural capital may be necessary to convert education success into employment success (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008), especially for students from less privileged backgrounds who enter elite colleges with lower overall capital endowments. The college may thus be seen to be fulfilling its societal mission of socialisation and selection, by equipping its students to occupy elite positions (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008).

Both colleges have a significant estate of historic buildings, with one spending £19 million of the annual income from its endowment on maintenance, while the other is currently using philanthropic funds to enhance and update its historic library, where, finally, after 500 years, the doorway will be upgraded to allow wheelchair access. Attention to the physical environment of these colleges enhances its utility, improves access, and creates a pleasant everyday experience for those that work, live and study there. It also creates a refined environment in which students may develop an aesthetic appreciation for historical forms of architecture and decorative arts, an understanding of which is characteristic of more elite social groups (Bourdieu, 1984).

Ritualised dining is a feature of the student experience at both elite colleges. “Formal” hall is a dining occasion at which university gowns are worn, students sit at tables in “messes” (groups), and are waited on by college staff. The occasion is presided over by “high” table, a group of college fellows dining at a separate table on an elevated dais. Fellows may invite guests to dine with them, and being so invited is considered an honour for a student. Fellows convene for pre-dinner drinks in their common room. Students assemble in front of an imposing and ornate fire place, which is lit in winter and enhances the atmosphere of the medieval hall whose walls are adorned with portraits of past fellows and prominent alumni. At a given signal, after the arrival of the high table fellows, everyone is seated. Formal grace is said in Latin, by a classics scholar. Food is presented in courses, with accompanying subsidised wine sourced from the college's cellar. Menu choices are varied, nutritious, and aesthetically appealing. Chips are not served at formal hall. There is a rhythm to the consumption of food, with appropriate pauses and restraints. No-one begins to eat until everyone has been served. When serving oneself from a communal dish of vegetables, each person takes a portion calculated to allow everyone to partake, even if the group knows that the dish will be refilled upon request. Plates are not removed until everyone has finished eating, and a few minutes are allowed between courses for digestion and contemplation. Conversation is considered important, and diners are expected to engage with those seated on either side of them. For many students, attending formal hall marks the end of their working day, and is an opportunity to socialise with friends, reflect upon the day's events, and plan future activities. While formal hall may be held on multiple occasions per week, special dinners at which guests may be invited are held every few weeks. Such events have a black tie dress code, starched linen tablecloths, candlelight, additional courses, and premium menu choices. The college uses these occasions to displays its collection of historically important silver on the tables.

Such rituals re-create the social structures found in middle and upper class families, where a daily gathering over dinner is an established routine, and friends may be invited to special meals at which an extra effort is made to create an impressive dining experience (Bourdieu, 1984). As such, they emulate the habitus that students from middle class backgrounds and above will have already experienced as children, whereas for working class students, they may form part of the "shock of the elite" (Reay *et al.*, 2009) requiring an adaptive response. From the college's point of view, investment in dining rituals represents an attempt to transfer of middle class cultural capital to students, regardless of their background, and create an extended family atmosphere that will engender feelings of affinity in students.

Thus, the two elite colleges are choosing deliberately to deploy their significant reserves of economic capital, largely derived from philanthropy, to augment the social and cultural capital endowments of their students. They are also significantly modifying the system of social relations that exists between a college as provider of education to fee-paying students, and students, who are receiving considerably more financial support than would be the case at other institutions, and the breadth and depth of the educational experience is greater than elsewhere. The value of this, and it potential to position an individual for future success in society, is summarised by a student whose travel scholarship had allowed them to visit alumni in the US and Canada:

> "I have been granted valuable insight into the types of knowledge and tools that can be used to accelerate success in any field."

We may therefore speculate that graduates of different universities would begin their post-university lives with varying amounts of social, cultural, and symbolic capital, together with dispositions shaped by the habitus of their university, and that these would, at least initially, impinge upon the career choices that alumni make. Table 26 analyses global employability rankings for graduates and the mean salaries of university graduates with bachelors' degrees, and less than two years' of work experience, for the cases in this study.

		2017 Global Employability ranking (1)	Mean Early Graduate Salary (2)
Elite Universities	A	2	£34,000
	B	1	£35,000
			Mean = £34,500, n=2
Established Universities	C	8	£32,000
	D	Not ranked	£26,000
	E	Not ranked	£31,000
	F	Not ranked	£24,000
	G	Not ranked	No data
	H	Not ranked	£25,000
	I	Not ranked	£27,000
			Mean = £27,500, n=6
92 Universities	J	Not ranked	£27,000
	K	Not ranked	No data
			Mean = £27,000, n=1

Notes
(1) Global University Employability Ranking from THE :https://www.timeshighereducation.com/student/best-universities/best-universities-graduate-jobs-global-university-employability-ranking
(2) Based on a survey of 2.400 salaries from graduates with a Bachelor degree and less than 2 years' work experience. Data source: the salary benchmarking site emolument.com, July 2017

Table 26: Graduate salaries and employability

Graduates of Cases A and B, of which the elite colleges are a part, and Case C are considered to be highly employable by employers globally, indicating that some of the symbolic capital of these highly ranked universities has been transferred to their graduates, who, by virtue of the reputation of their alma mater, are considered superior to others by potential employers. None of the other cases in the study feature in the global top 150 universities for employability. Graduates of elite cases have salaries, on average, 25% higher than those of established or 92 universities.

The established universities show significant variation in graduate salaries, with Cases C and E approaching the level of salary reported for graduates of elite universities. We may speculate that the salaries earned by alumni in the earliest part of their career may be a result of a number of factors: certainly, their attractiveness to employers, but also their personal endowments of social and cultural capital. Alumni social capital, in the form of their network of social contacts and social skills, will play a role in identifying and gaining access to early career opportunities. Cultural capital, an understanding of "acceptable" forms of employment and prevailing "rules of the game", is likely to inform choice of career, and ensure that an alumnus feels at home, and is accepted, in their work environment (Bourdieu, 1984; Swartz, 1997). The analysis in Table 26 demonstrates that already, with less than two years' career experience, the greater endowments of personal social, cultural and symbolic capital of graduates of highly ranked universities are being converted into higher salary levels, which over a lifetime, will result in larger endowments of economic capital. Such a mechanism explains not only the UK graduate earnings premium that persists throughout a career (Elias and Purcell, 2004), but also why this premium is more likely to remain significant for graduates of "high tariff" or elite and established universities (Purcell *et al.*, 2013). US studies of alumni giving behaviour find, unsurprisingly, that income is a predictor of whether an alumnus is a donor or not, predicts the size of the gift (Taylor and Martin Jr, 1995; Okunade and Berl, 1997; Clotfelter, 2001; Clotfelter, 2003; Monks, 2003; Hoyt, 2004; Weerts and Ronca, 2009), and confirms empirically the importance of economic capital as a factor in determining the capacity of alumni to give.

In summary, elite colleges are deploying their large reserves of economic capital, much of it resulting from philanthropic support, to create a distinctive habitus that acts upon students to enhance their reserves of social and cultural capital. The effects of this habitus are already apparent in the development of a philanthropic disposition in students prior to graduation, and, as I have shown, it continues to influence alumni behaviour consistently for the rest of their lives. At elite universities, investing in enhancing the capital of students positions them well for entry into the workplace, and produces an immediate salary advantage after graduation. We may speculate that this advantage persists throughout alumni careers, producing a social network for elite universities which consists of alumni who are significantly wealthier than those of other institutions.

7.4 Alumni capital in fundraising

In the preceding sections, I have described how the distinctive habitus of elite colleges influences the formation of students' dispositions, and enhances their endowments of cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital. Elite colleges are effectively converting their own economic capital into capital enhancements for their alumni. This may be viewed, however, not as an altruistic act, or a reward for those individuals who are fortunate enough to be able to enrol as students. Instead, deliberate actions in the current and past temporal frames are expected to yield future returns, as the colleges seek to leverage the social, cultural and economic capital endowments of their alumni (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). College alumni form an extensive social network, and colleges seek to involve them, in various capacities, to assist with fundraising and development activities.

Universities seek to recruit individuals to assist them with fundraising by serving as volunteers on campaign boards. Such boards are temporary structures established for the duration of the campaign, the function of which is to authenticate the institution and its goals (Worth, 2017). Of the cases in this study, Cases A and B have campaign committees for their overall universities, which are charged with raising philanthropic funds to support university-wide academic faculties, libraries, and sporting facilities. Case D also has a committee associated with its current campaign. At Case B, the university developed a set of objectives for board members that guided their recruitment. The objectives were stated as:

> "Act as advocates of [the university], leading by example and building partnerships with potential donors and the collegiate community;
>
> Personally make a £1m+ minimum contribution to the Campaign, demonstrating interest and commitment the university, at the point of joining the Board;
>
> Identify potential major donors, share the aims of the University campaign and guide solicitation of leadership gifts (greater than £1m);

Host one event per year to deepen engagement of top prospects;
Attend Campaign events in their region and encourage peers to attend"

The university is making explicit its intention to recruit individuals, who will be possessed of the right quantity and forms of capital, to assist it with the achievement of its £1 billion+ fundraising goal. Firstly, they are seeking individuals possessed of the social skill to build relationships with the high net worth donors that constitute much of their donor base, as described in Chapters 4 and 6. Suitable individuals will also be familiar with the distinctive structure of a collegiate university, and be able to navigate the complexities of the relationships within it. The university is recognising the importance of familiarity and social skill, and it is unsurprising that all nine current members of the board are alumni of the university, who had exposure to the distinctive pattern of social arrangements that constitute the alumni habitus structuring structure. Having had their dispositions, perceptions and appreciations formed by the same habitus, the individuals on the committee will naturally have an affinity for one another, for the university and its academics, and for other alumni whose dispositions were formed in the same way (Bourdieu, 1984). They are also innately equipped, by virtue of the investment that their colleges and the university have made in augmenting their cultural capital, to interact socially with elite non-alumni individuals. Secondly, the university is looking for financial support, at a specified, and rather high, level. At first sight, this appears transactional - a direct transfer of economic capital from the individual to the university - and is required of the individual at a particular point in time, namely, upon joining the board. However, it has a deeper symbolic value: the act of making a large financial contribution legitimates the university's campaign, and allows it to demand that others make a contribution at the same level. Effectively, it boosts the symbolic capital of the university and allows it to make demands of others for support (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Thirdly, the university is expecting its board members to utilize their social capital on its behalf, by leveraging their social network to identify possible donors, and then by using their social skills to solicit and help secure large gifts for the campaign. In effect, board members are being asked to convert some of their personal social capital into economic capital for the university. The level of gifts discussed (£1million+), implies that a board member is expected to have a social network which includes wealthy, elite individuals, and the university expects board members to facilitate its access to the economically well-endowed region of the “field of power” (Swartz, 1997; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Individuals in the field of power are subject to a distinctive set of social arrangements, and others have noted the prevalence of graduates of elite universities within it: in 2016 in the UK, over a quarter of MPs and almost a third of CEOs attended either Oxford or Cambridge (Reform Research Trust, 2017). Oxford boasts among its graduates 30 international political leaders, 50 Nobel laureates and 120 Olympic medal winners, demonstrating that it produces graduates who distinguish themselves across multiple areas of human endeavour, and that its reach is global.[9]. As it is populated largely by actors who are graduates of elite universities, and habitus tends to reproduce itself, it would be expected that the habitus of the field of power would be similar to the habitus of elite universities (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Maton, 2014). Alumni of elite universities would be well versed in the social skills necessary to navigate successfully in the field of power on their university’s behalf, and many will be members of it by virtue of occupying leading positions in their professional lives. Such individuals would have both ascended and acceded to their prominent positions in society (Maclean *et al.*, 2010). Finally, the university expects its board members to host events on its behalf and influence the behaviour of others. Here, the university is looking to leverage board members’ status and reputation as individuals to attract prospective supporters to attend events where they will be present, and their social skills in modifying the behaviour of others, in effect converting board members’ symbolic and social capital into economic capital for the university. It is significant that the university is relying upon its alumni to assist it with fundraising, and that they appear to be augmenting the resources of the development organisation in the work that they perform on its behalf. In the analysis presented in Chapter 7, it was noted that most development professionals at the elite cases in this study are not, themselves, graduates of elite universities and therefore will lack the deep conditioning and social skills that the elite university educational habitus produces. Knowing that alumni, and members of the field of power, are most comfortable with others whose tastes and endowments of cultural capital are similar (Bourdieu, 1984;

[9] From the university website: http://www.ox.ac.uk/about/oxford-people/famous-oxonians Accessed 12/22/018

Maclean *et al.*, 2010; Maclean *et al.*, 2014), universities have chosen to act by enlisting the help of alumni to assist with university fundraising, and are leveraging their capital and social skill vicariously.

Of the nine alumni that currently comprise the university campaign board at Case B, seven have had successful careers in investment banking, investment management or venture capital, and have either started their own firms, or have risen to executive positions within existing businesses. Board members have served in senior advisory positions to the US government and other universities, and serve on the boards of other well-known UK charities. One is a member of a prominent UK family of philanthropists. The Board is international in reach, having representatives based in the UK, the US, and Hong Kong. Taken as a group, there is evidence of significant personal and family wealth (economic capital), wide social networks with connections to the global elite, and significant social skill (social capital). Two board members have been honoured by the UK state for their work in philanthropy and developing the UK economy, boosting their personal symbolic capital by distinguishing them from their peers in society. The university has clearly been successful in recruiting board members that will be endowed with a quantity and mix of the different types of capital to discharge the duties described by in the Board's statement of objectives.

A tactical component of elite university fundraising strategy is thus seen to be recruiting wealthy, well connected, and socially skilled alumni to assist in recruiting others to the cause at social events which they host. Other universities may be seen to be attempting to emulate this approach: at an established ancient Scottish university in this study, one alumnus has been involved in hosting "Burns Night Suppers" as fundraising events around the world:

> "Yes, it's the hot ticket. We have an alum who is at a bank… and he does Burns suppers for us. He also did a PhD in the rise of the Burns' supper, and he has published a couple of books on Burns. So, he's absolutely fantastic and people just love it. He's a real showman, and he does a wonderful 'Immortal Memory.[10]'"

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[10] Burns Night is the annual celebration of the Scottish poet Robert Burns (1759 – 1796) that takes place on January 25th, in Scotland, and in communities with Scottish heritage around the world. The ceremony follows a prescribed format, involving the "piping in" and consumption of haggis, and the"Immortal Memory", which is a speech given by the master of ceremonies commemorating Burns' life and work. Traditional bagpipe music is an important component of the ritual.

Here the university is making use of its own Scottish cultural heritage, and is reproducing a memorable experience that many of its alumni will have had as students. It is also leveraging the expertise (cultural capital) and reputation (symbolic capital) of its alumnus to produce feelings of nostalgia, and affinity, in other participants, with a view to soliciting their financial support. An air of exclusivity exists around the event - “it’s the hot ticket” - with participants waiting potentially years to attend, because the event is only open to the “select few” with the right connections. Being a participant is thus indicative of being possessed of the necessary social capital to be invited, and a desire to spend time with others who are similarly disposed to appreciate and enjoy Scottish culture (Bourdieu, 1984). The influence of the structuring structure that is the habitus of this Scottish university can be seen in the enthusiasm of its alumni for this event. At a second established university, an alumnus who is the chairman of the board of a national UK newspaper has hosted a dinner at which potential donors were invited to socialise with members of the university and each other. The alumnus was involved in developing the guest list and drew upon his own social network to furnish the university with a list of potential donor names. Once again, the university is borrowing the social capital of its alumnus, and his status and reputation as a “person of influence” is a draw in inducing guests to attend the event.

These examples illustrate the mechanisms by which universities make use of the capital endowment of their alumni, which they helped to build. It should be noted however, that universities are not all equally effective at enhancing the capital endowments of their students, because they are possessed of very unequal quantities of economic capital with which to attempt this, and, we may speculate, have varying levels of skill at doing so. As a consequence, the total capital possessed by university alumni will vary considerably, and represents a limiting factor on the ability of any particular university to drawn upon their assistance.

7.5 Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has presented an analysis of how the distinctive structuring structure of a university education is constituted, and how it acts upon students to augment their total endowments of social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital, thereby transforming them into alumni who are predisposed to assist their alma mater, both financially and in other practical ways, and to enter elite careers. The analysis has drawn primarily upon the elite cases A and B in this study, as these are the institutions where these social processes produce the greatest observable impact.

Elite universities, as explained in Chapter 4, are possessed of quantities of economic and symbolic capital that far exceed those of other institutions. These capitals are mutually reinforcing, and allow elite institutions to set the highest entry tariffs, and to attract the most talented academics. Being possessed of large amounts of economic capital allow elite institutions to create a distinctive habitus for their students, in which undergraduates form relationships with renowned academics by being tutored individually or in small groups, a significant proportion of students receive scholarship support, often funded by alumni with whom they have direct contact, and individuals continue to be part of the university's community after graduation. Social relations are thus established among alumni, and between alumni and students, and a distinctive set of rules (doxa) pertain relating to alumni giving. This set of social relations produces in many students feelings of affinity for their college, gratitude for a formational educational experience, and a predisposition to support their college and university financially. Quantitative temporal analysis presented in this chapter shows that this predisposition forms early and endures throughout the life-course. The individual dispositions formed in students by the structuring habitus of their elite educational experience produce measurably higher rates of alumni giving than are seen at the established or 92 universities in this study. Creation of such a habitus is facilitated by having large reserves of economic capital to draw upon, and confers upon institutions with this resource an advantage that others, not so well endowed, do not possess. These findings describe a mechanism whereby the elite exploit their reserves of capital to entrench their dominant field positions by creating a cadre of alumni who are predisposed to support them financially.

While the habitus of elite universities may be understood as a strongly influential force in the formation of alumni dispositions, it does not act uniformly on all students. In the two elite colleges studied, the corollary to a 13-15% alumni giving rate is that 85-88% of alumni did not give. Such colleges admit students from diverse backgrounds, including the less privileged, who may be less predisposed by their family habitus to apply in the first place (Reay *et al.*, 2005), or who may feel alienated by their college experience (Reay *et al.*, 2009). While some have suggested that exposure to the alien habitus of elite colleges produces adaption in working class students (Reay *et al.*, 2009), the findings of this chapter strongly suggest that, for many students, no such effect is observed. We may speculate that this is a result of the dispositions formed by the longer acting family habitus being resistant to the relatively short period of exposure to the elite college habitus, or that the elite college habitus perversely produces a disposition not to give, where it is in conflict with family habitus. Either of these conclusions suggest that there limits to the power of habitus as a structuring structure.

Analysis of the application of economic capital at elite colleges reveals how it is deployed to enhance the quantity of capital of students, to steer them towards "acceptable" forms of culture and experience, to enhance their social networks, and to build social skills. Elite colleges are choosing, deliberately, to invest in their buildings, sporting and academic facilities, and overall student support to enhance the student experience, and to position graduates for entry into the higher levels of society (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008). The immediate impact of this investment may be seen in the starting salaries of their graduates, who are, even in the earliest years of their careers, achieving incomes which are mostly higher than those of graduates of other types of university. Such deliberate conversion of college economic capital into the capital of graduates cannot be seen as entirely altruistic, as the expectation is clearly understood by both parties that alumni will "give back" to their college, thereby replenishing its reserves of economic capital. Established and 92 cases may certainly seek to emulate the capital conversion practices of the elite, but the quantity of economic capital available to elite colleges and universities enables them invest more in each student as explained in Chapter 5, and will produce greater effects.

Elite universities are able to leverage their social network of alumni in fundraising by enlisting them as agents to act on the university's behalf. Alumni, as I have shown, have been equipped with enhanced social, cultural and economic capital by their elite education, and it is these reserves of capital that elite universities are seeking to draw upon when they ask alumni to advocate for them, help them identify donor prospects, host events, solicit donations, and contribute financially to campaigns.

Elite alumni are often well positioned within the “field of power” and are similar in disposition to its other members, whether they are fellow elite alumni or not (Bourdieu, 1984; Swartz, 1997; Maclean *et al.*, 2010; Maclean *et al.*, 2014). As I noted in Chapter 4, elite universities are able to attract significant philanthropic support from non-alumni, corporations and foundations, and it would seem that the social skills and connections of their alumni contribute instrumentally to this. Elite universities are thus able to reap a benefit from their investment in the habitus they create, and their conversion of institutional capital into student capital. In this study, a new model of capital conversion is observed whereby elite universities expend reserves of economic capital to enhance the capital of students, while continuing to reap returns on their earlier investment to replenish their economic capital. This differs from the model of entrepreneurial philanthropy proposed by Harvey et al (Harvey *et al.*, 2011), which entails transfer of a surplus of economic capital from an individual to carefully selected philanthropic ventures, over which the individual was understood to exercise influence, if not actual control. In this study, transfer of economic capital is occurring from an organisation to individuals, over which the organisation has no direct control, other than by seeking to influence the formation of their dispositions while students. It is thus inherently a riskier strategy, and depends for its success on the creation of a robust and enduring habitus that will ensure that universities see a return on the investment they have made. Lesser institutions may again be seen trying to emulate this cycling of capital, and this chapter has analysed some of their efforts. Their degree of success will be limited, however, by their lesser capacity, circumscribed by their lesser endowments of economic and symbolic capital, to create a structuring habitus, and to invest in student capital building.

Fields, as Bourdieu defines them, are the locus of struggles between actors to accumulate and monopolise capital, and are the social setting in which habitus operates (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The field of universities, as I have shown in Chapter 4, is characterised by the existence of a small dominant group of elite universities, possessed of vastly greater quantities of economic and symbolic capital than others, and this chapter has highlighted their ability to deploy economic capital as a means to create a habitus that perpetuates this advantage. The findings of this chapter also explain that elite universities are constructing a habitus and engaging in student capital enhancement as deliberate strategies, thereby seeking to conserve their position in the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Others have sought to emulate this strategy, but their efforts have been constrained by their lesser reserves of economic and symbolic capital. Field conditions have certainly changed in recent times as funding for UK universities and students has changed, and large numbers of new universities have been created since the 1992 Education Acts. Yet the findings of this chapter show that the habitus and practices of elite universities continue to produce predispositions in their alumni that encourage alumni giving, and to facilitate extensive, successful fundraising from non-alumni, corporate and foundation sources.

In summary, the high level of philanthropic support seen at UK elite universities results from the giving practices of alumni, and their willingness and capacity to act as agents for their university in fundraising. These behaviours result from tendencies and dispositions formed by the habitus of their education, and the superior quantities of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital with which graduates of elite universities are, on average, endowed. These endowments have helped elite universities maintain their dominant position in the field, even though field conditions have changed. Thus, the social processes that produce high levels of alumni giving in the UK appear very different to those which produce the high levels of alumni giving seen at all types of universities in the US, irrespective of their reputation (Gunsalus, 2005). We may speculate that an entirely different set of social processes is as work in the US, based on social norms of behaviour for college graduates, and the expectations of US society (Ostrower, 1995). These findings suggest that attempting to emulate US fundraising practices at UK universities seems unlikely to succeed.

Chapter 8 Discussion and conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This study set out to examine and explain fundraising at UK universities and how it has contributed to inequality among UK universities, and to inequality in UK society. It analysed the current "state of play" in fundraising, and demonstrated how philanthropic support acts as a mechanism, by means of which current inequalities among universities have arisen. It then analysed how UK universities conceptualise and enact philanthropy as part of their overall strategy, and the organisational capabilities that UK universities have built and are continuing to build. Finally, it examined how UK universities leverage their assets, in the form of endowments of capital, as part of their fundraising. This chapter summarises the key empirical findings using the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 2 to present a view of philanthropy and inequality at societal, organizational and individual levels, derived from the findings of Chapters 4, 5 and 6, and 7 respectively. It articulates this study's contributions to academic literature, and the lessons for practitioners and policy makers that the work has produced. It concludes by discussing the limitations of the study and suggesting opportunities for further research.

8.2 Universities and society

This is the first study to present a holistic view of UK university endowments (economic capital), by aggregating college endowments with those of their parent university. As such it has presented a more complete picture of the vastly greater wealth of Oxford and Cambridge compared to other ancient and research-intensive universities, and highlighted the paucity of financial endowments at the 92 universities. Analysis of historical information confirmed that this inequality has persisted, and has resisted UK government attempts to "level the playing field" in UK university fundraising.

This study explains, for the first time, how reputation (symbolic capital) acts in UK university fundraising, by allowing universities possessing it to claim "excellence" in their appeals to donors, and by legitimating large demands for private financial support from society. This study identifies that philanthropic income from endowments and from donor support represents a significant proportion of overall university funding for elite universities but not for others. This has been shown to be a highly useful resource, which may be applied at universities' discretion to building yet more symbolic capital. This creates a mutually reinforcing mechanism in which symbolic and economic capitals are converted and re-converted over time, enabling social reproduction by allowing the elite to entrench their positions at the top of ranking tables.

In the last 25 years, UK government policy has been to enhance the provision of higher education in society by creating more degree-awarding institutions and broadening access to underrepresented groups in an attempt to promote social mobility (Halsey, 1961). These pressures have produced a "rationalised myth" regarding the function of a university in society, which obscures the reality of the field (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). Despite the social democratic aims of successive governments, we know that a reputational hierarchy exists in UK universities, and, by implication for their graduates. The findings of this study have described a fragmented organisational field in which Oxford and Cambridge operate globally and autonomously from the rest of the UK's universities, a situation that is enabled and perpetuated by their philanthropic income. This enables their elite position taking with regard to demanding higher entry tariffs, thereby favouring students of middle class backgrounds and above, and limiting their working class intake to a few highly selected individuals. Working class kids tend to attend 92 universities, and miss out on the opportunities provided by an elite education. Philanthropic income, and the reputational advantage it produces, enables elite universities to attract renowned academics and build capabilities that are distinctive and distinguishing, and which may be deployed for the greater good of society. The conversion and re-conversion of economic and symbolic capital by universities acts as a conservative mechanism in society, which frustrates government agency in the prosecution of social mobility.

8.3 Universities and philanthropy

This study has presented analysis that demonstrates that knowledgeable actors within UK universities have a very clear understanding that philanthropic support, and the income associated with it, is a supplementary resource to be used in supporting their operations and in generating a marginal benefit. By including college income where it is relevant in the analysis for the first time, this study has shown that elite universities are benefiting preferentially from a 23.5% uplift in available resources, compared to 3.4% for established universities and 1.7% for 92 universities, enabling us to understand the true magnitude and importance of development-generated philanthropic income for elite UK universities, when compared to others. The study has also explained the role of philanthropic income as a resource to insulate universities against government-driven funding changes and future uncertainty, and to grow their existing capabilities, while simultaneously creating novel ones (Raisch and Birkinshaw, 2008; Raisch *et al.*, 2009). These findings enhance our existing understanding of how elite universities act to preserve their dominant positions and resist commodification, and refute the argument that competition between universities in ranking tables is driven by objective measures (Naidoo, 2004). Instead, university philanthropic income is shown to be part of a latent mechanism underlying social reproduction, by perpetuating the inequalities found among universities, and the students that attend them.

This study has postulated a rationalised myth of university functions, based on the performance of societally-sanctioned roles for universities, and how this acts to legitimize a similar set of goals and objectives in university strategy documents (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Carter *et al.*, 2010). Adherence to this myth allows university development professionals to take a position by which they legitimize their own organisations: they advocate that their activities are important to, and align closely with, university priorities. This position-taking allows them to embed themselves within university operations and, in some exceptional cases, to constitute a distinctive fundraising capability that is part of their university's overall dynamic capability to sense and respond to change (Teece, 2009). However, such capabilities are only found in the most sophisticated university development organisations. Further, adherence to the myth of university functions supresses the ability of organisations to express their agency though strategy formulation, resulting in mission statements and goals which are strikingly similar, encouraging the naïve reader, prospective student, or interested parent, to conclude that there is no difference between universities. The myth thus helps conceal the reality of the large inequalities in reputation, employment prospects, and graduate earnings potential reported in this study.

A second rationalised myth, driven by the UK government and CASE, nests within the rationalised myth of university functions (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). The rationalised myth of university fundraising legitimises the creation of similar university development capabilities for all types of university. It perpetuates the belief that all universities are able to compete for philanthropic support based on objective criteria, such as number of alumni, and that building a development capability is feasible for all. University fundraising functions in the UK are found to be isomorphic and to perform the same activities (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Organisational structures, nomenclature, and job titles, are influenced by US practice and are similar at all universities. However, this study has presented evidence that the US-based practices advocated by CASE, are unlikely to succeed in the UK, and that the social processes that produce similar levels of alumni giving at elite university colleges to those found at even modestly-ranked institutions in the US are likely to differ considerably. Further, the strong influence that CASE exerts over university fundraising impedes the ability to challenge the accepted wisdom of its rationalised myth, by all but the most experienced development professionals. Finally, this study has presented evidence that fundraising from alumni, as advocated by CASE, does not yet have the same importance at UK universities as it does in the US, and factors such as reputation are considerably more important than the size of the contactable alumni base in the total philanthropic funds raised by universities. These findings reinforce our understanding of the stubbornness of rationalised myths, even when evidence challenges their underlying logic, and knowledgeable actors are aware of their fallibility.

This study identifies CASE as the dominant professional network for UK university fundraising, and critiques it as a highly normative influence on practice, and as a key actor in the preservation of the rationalised myth of university fundraising. While all participate, it is the elite and some established universities that determine the agenda at CASE events, so CASE may also advance the interests and “world view” of those institutions as the only legitimate perspective (Huxham and Vangen, 2000). This study finds that CASE acts as a producer of strategy by endorsing models of fundraising based upon mass solicitation of alumni (Whittington *et al.*, 2003).

Symbolic capital may be seen acting again in universities’ position taking regarding academic freedom: those universities possessed of the greatest quantities of symbolic capital are able to take the strongest positions in maintaining their autonomy when interacting with donors. Such position-taking assists the elite in resolving conflicts between university and donor interests, thereby maintaining their reputations. Those universities endowed with lesser quantities of symbolic capital are less well positioned, and may find their academic freedom circumscribed. Further, symbolic capital is also a factor in universities’ ability to attract experienced development staff when building their development organisations.

8.4 The individual, philanthropy and universities

This study has presented an analysis of how elite universities deploy their very large reserves of capital to create a distinctive and enduring structuring structure (habitus) for their students. Evidence has been presented that shows how this habitus acts upon students to augment their personal endowments of social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital, thereby transforming many of them into alumni who are predisposed to enter elite careers, and to support their alma maters financially as soon as they graduate. This mechanism explains the advantages enjoyed by graduates of elite institutions, and the social processes which act to produce the higher rates of alumni giving that are found exclusively at elite universities in the UK. As such, it provides a convincing explanation of this phenomenon which is situated in the context of UK culture and society, and challenges US-based explanations of alumni giving.

The study has also explored the limits to the agency of habitus, as it does not act uniformly upon all students. While it may exert a strong influence on many, the habitus of elite university colleges may lack sufficient power to produce a philanthropic disposition in students of all social backgrounds, whose dispositions may have been formed by experience of a different family habitus. The elite college habitus itself may constitute an alien and alienating structure for many.

Elite universities have been shown to be deliberately converting their superior endowments of economic capital, much of it originating from philanthropic resources, into social and cultural capital for their alumni. Alumni are thus well-positioned for professional success and many are pre-disposed to convert some of their personal capital back into economic capital for their alma mater, thereby completing a cycle of capital conversion and reconversion. Established and 92 universities are endowed with much lower quantities of economic capital and this limits their capacity to engage in such capital exchange. These findings explain how university capital endowments act at the micro-level to produce a virtuous circle of capital growth for both organisation and individual, and how elite universities are able to maintain their dominant position. They also explain why emulation of such a strategy by established universities (or 92 universities) is unlikely to succeed.

8.5 The contribution of this thesis

My work represents the first in depth academic study of higher educational fundraising to be carried out in the UK. Its contribution may be summarised as follows. Firstly, the extensive empirical work carried out to identify all components of economic capital, and the income it produces for universities, has made visible the extreme degree of inequality of resources among institutions that few, outside of the elite, were privy to. This study is the first to quantify the magnitude of this inequality by recognising the structural distinctiveness of collegiate universities, and including their associated, but legally autonomous, colleges in its analysis. It also scales the implications of the inequality in terms of university operations, enabling us to understand its impact for the first time.

Demonstrating that philanthropic income is an incremental resource to be applied to enhance and develop university capabilities furnishes an explanation for how these resources make a difference to university operations, and how they act latently to perpetuate the advantages that elite universities enjoy. These findings are important because they quantify the impact of philanthropic income on the UK university sector, and explain how it acts as a conservative force in British society. Philanthropy is thus understood as a component of domination by the elite, a surprising finding that contrasts sharply with earlier understandings grounded in altruism (Jordan, 1959; Owen, 1964; Prochaska, 1990; Bremner, 1994; Gray, 2015). Further, the finding that, implemented in its most advanced form, university fundraising may itself constitute a distinctive university capability, which mediates between a university and society, enhances our understanding of the social utility of university development as an activity.

Establishing a relationship between economic capital and symbolic capital underlines the importance of university reputation as a factor in successful fundraising from alumni and other types of donor, explains why lesser ranked universities do not enjoy the success of the elite, and why their efforts to emulate others have not succeeded. These are important findings because they enhance our understanding of what attracts donors to causes, and confirm US findings that wealthy donors are attracted to prestigious causes (Ostrower, 1995). Explaining how elite universities invest their economic capital in boosting the social, cultural and symbolic capital of their students reveals the social processes and practical mechanisms that position their graduates to enter the higher professions, achieve success, and ultimately accede to the "field of power" (Bourdieu, 1996a; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Maclean *et al.*, 2010; Maclean *et al.*, 2014).

The findings of the study elucidate the structure of the field of universities in the UK, identifying an entrenched group of elite institutions that currently dominate, and showing that they have done so over a significant period of time. These findings confirm that field structure in the UK is homologous with that found in France, where the grandes écoles form the dominant group, and extends the theorisation of elite universities in society outside of its original geographically bounded context, thereby enhancing its generalisability (Bourdieu, 1996a). The study's findings do, however, identify the significance of the collegiate structure of elite British universities, an arrangement that is not found in France.

This study has further contributed to theory development by extending our understanding of capital conversion to include exchanges between organisations and individuals, and by identifying the role of habitus in mediating in such exchanges. The study has also postulated limits to the ability of habitus to act, and suggested that the efficacy of any given habitus must be understood within the life course for the individual. These findings contribute to the emerging theorisation of donor motivation as self-interested, rather than altruistic, and enhance our understanding of the differential value of forms of capital to organisations.

Additionally, the study identifies distinct university actions aimed at furthering the social democratic aim of expanding higher education participation, and the use of philanthropy by the alumni of elite institutions to support access for anyone, irrespective of social background, who possesses the academic ability to be accepted, so that they, too, may benefit from an elite education. These findings identify agentic forces seeking to promote meritocratic access to higher education. However, the study finds that conservative structures have, thus far, proven stronger, and this enhances our understanding of the power of structures' ability to resist change, however well intentioned.

For development practitioners, the implications of this study should be profound. It has identified and challenged collectively held beliefs about the portability of US practices to the UK, and between universities. It has also challenged the fundamental assumption that alumni giving will produce a philanthropic income stream at all types of UK university, and that adding more development resources will produce greater philanthropic support. Instead, a university's reputation is identified as the critical and limiting factor for success in fundraising. Practitioners should thus feel empowered to challenge "accepted wisdom", and consider critically the unique context in which their university exists, before crafting tailored approaches to their work, using strategies of differentiation rather than emulation. Such consideration will include identifying the distinctive features of their university, including where it may be realistically considered "excellent", and building cases for support based upon these. A review of resources dedicated to alumni fundraising (as a component of alumni relations) would also seem appropriate. Finally, the findings of this study may be used to moderate the expectations of university leadership teams with regard to fundraising.

In characterising both university functions and university fundraising as "rationalised myths" to which all must subscribe, this study highlights some (surely unintended) consequences of UK government policy. Further, the findings of this study refute the view advanced by successive UK governments that US fundraising practices are universally applicable, and argue for a more nuanced understanding of fundraising in a societal context. They also explain why government attempts to boost fundraising capacity at UK universities have achieved only limited success. It is hoped that these findings will allow future government policy to be formulated and implemented more effectively.

8.6 Limitations and opportunities for further research

All of the universities studied are based in the UK, and the defining characteristics of their context have been discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. This may limit the applicability of this thesis with regard to geographies outside the UK. It should be noted, however, that two of the cases (A and B) operate and compete globally, so these particular cases may be more widely applicable. The study focuses on the work of highly specialised organisations in a highly specialised sector, which may limit its generalisability outside of the study domain.

Much of the study is based upon my analysis of interview transcripts and the written materials produced by universities and their development organisations. Such analysis is subjective, and others may have drawn different conclusions from the materials (Angen, 2000).

In the course of the study, it became clear that there are significant differences in the social processes that produce high rates of alumni giving between US and UK universities, and that the reasons for this are speculated to include differences in the institutions of US and UK society. There is considerable scope here for further comparative research, as current literature tends to regard the US and UK as similar in their basic cultures and societies (Hofstede, 2001; Jepperson, 2002), whereas the findings of this study show that they are, in fact, quite different in the way that alumni giving processes work.

Appendices

Appendix A: Glossary of key terms and abbreviations

Term	Definition
Alumni donor	Individual donor who attended the university. Graduation is not required to categorized as an alumnus/a donor.
Alumni relations	The activities performed by university development staff to engage alumni in the life of their institution as volunteers, advocates and supporters.
Annual Fund	A pool of money that is typically replenished every year and used to underwrite the annual operating budget of an organisation. Donor contributions are usually unrestricted, and many universities direct small scale donations to their annual fund.
Campaign	A focussed fundraising effort, with defined objectives and deadlines, and an overall financial goal or target.
Capital Fund	A pool of money that is created to fulfil a specific, one time purpose, such as building a new sports stadium or research lab. Capital funds may be built up from small scale contributions, but also from larger contributions made for a specific purpose by individuals, trusts and foundations, and corporate donors.
CASE	Council for Advancement and Support of Education. A charity originally founded in the US, now with a European operation. A professional body for fundraisers in education.
Development Office	The organisation within a university charged with fundraising on its behalf. Typical activities performed include cultivating donor support, managing databases of donors and prospective donors, and managing and stewarding gifts. In all cases in this study, the development offices also carries out alumni relations activities.

Term	Definition
Development Trust	A charity whose mission is to provide financial and other support for an associated university. Development trusts are established as separate charities from their associated universities. Most universities consolidate their Development Trusts into their accounts. Where they do not, I have consolidated them manually into my analysis and I have noted this.
Endowment	A historically accumulated pool of philanthropic income, which is typically invested in a portfolio of stocks, bonds, land and property to produce an on-going income stream for a university or college. Management of endowments is performed by a university's finance function, usually with the assistance of external investment advisors.
Foundation	A charity whose function is to disburse funds and make grants to others. Such organisations are not typically involved directly in provision of goods and services, but fund others to do this.
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England. A UK government funding body.
HEFCW	Higher Education Funding Council for Wales. UK government funding body.
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Agency. A UK government agency whose mission is to collect and disseminate quantitative information about higher education.
Major Donor	An individual or organisation that has made a large philanthropic gift. Such individuals are stewarded and managed separately by development organisations from the large number of lower value donors.

Term	Definition
Major gift	A large philanthropic gift, above a certain value threshold. Very large gifts may be termed “principal gifts”.
Non-alumni donor	Individual donor who did not attend the university. This group of donors typically includes students’ parents and grandparents, spouses, university staff, and others with a personal connection to the university.
Planned gift	A philanthropic gift incorporated into an individual’s estate planning.
Prospect	An individual, foundation, or corporation that has yet to make a donation but has the potential to do so. Prospects are stewarded with the objective of securing their support.
REF	Research Excellence Framework. A measure of research productivity and quality.
Restricted donations	In the UK, a donation where a donor has specified conditions about how it may be used, such as for a particular purpose. UK charities are required to honour such conditions.
Restricted endowment	In the UK, an endowment which must be used for a particular purpose, usually specified by donors.
Ross Group	A by invitation only group of UK university development directors.
Ross-CASE survey	An annual survey of UK university fundraising organisations, fundraising costs and results, and number of contactable alumni. Participants receive benchmarking feedback.
Russell Group	A group of 24 leading research intensive UK universities

Term	Definition
SFC	Scottish Funding Council. UK government funding body formed by the merger of the Scottish Further Education Funding Council and the Scottish Higher Education Council.
TEF	Teaching Excellence Framework. A measure of teaching quality for universities that will, in future, determine the ability of universities to increase their fees.
THE	Times Higher Education. The source of university ranking information used in this study.
Universities UK	The representative organisation for UK universities, involved in lobbying and shaping the UK higher education policy agenda.
Unrestricted endowment	In the UK, an endowment whose purpose has not been restricted, so it may be applied at the discretion of management and trustees.

Appendix B: Participant information document

University Fundraising in the UK

Participant Information

Prepared by: Alison Gibson
15 September 2016
a.gibson3@ncl.ac.uk
Mobile 07447 049790

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Study objective

The objective of this study is to understand how universities in the UK go about fundraising. It will explore how different universities, with different heritages, have organised their development efforts, and how fundraising fits within universities' overall business strategies.

The results of the study will form part of a PhD thesis being prepared by Alison Gibson, under the supervision of Professors Charles Harvey and Frank Mueller, at Newcastle University Business School. Scholarly articles may also be published using the study's findings in academic journals, and implications of findings will be developed and fed back to study participants.

Study process

The study will select a small number of UK universities for intensive study, to build up a picture of how they think about fundraising, and how they have organised development and fundraising work.

Selected participants will be contacted and asked to participate in a interview to discuss the topics outlined in this document.

I plan to meet in person with participants, whenever possible, but some conversations may be carried out over the telephone.

Meetings will take place October 2016 - June 2017, and I plan to complete the study's work in 2018. Any publications in academic journals will occur after completion of the study's work and a summary of findings will be shared with study participants.

Your participation

I expect interviews to last about an hour and I will be requesting your permission to record our conversation, so that I will be able easily to make an accurate written record of them for use in my work.

You will not be identified when I write up my findings in my PhD thesis or in any academic publications that may result without your explicit consent. The identity of your university will also be kept confidential.

In order to fulfil Newcastle University's research ethics requirements, I will ask you to sign a consent form when we meet which acknowledges that you have been provided with appropriate information about the study, have had a chance to ask questions, and are willing to participate in interviews as outlined in this document.

Key questions I would like to ask

As part of my work, I would like to discuss the following during the interview:

ABOUT HOW YOUR UNIVERSITY SEES DEVELOPMENT AND FUNDRAISING

- What is the history of development and fundraising at your university?
- How does your university view fundraising today? What is its purpose or objective?
- Do you have a formal fundraising strategy and, if so, how was it created?
- If you have a formal fundraising strategy, how is it used?
- Who are you competing with for donor support?
- How are the levels of resources devoted to university fundraising determined?
- How is development and fundraising overseen inside your university?

ABOUT YOUR DEVELOPMENT/FUNDRAISING ORGANISATION TODAY

- How does your organisation fit inside the university's overall structure?
- What work does your development/fundraising organisation do today?
- How is your development/fundraising organisation structured and resourced?
- How are staff recruited and trained?
- What role do alumni/academics play?
- What role do professional networks play in what you do?

Documents I would like to collect

To assist me in the study, I would like to obtain copies of some internal documents from your organisation. Any documents shared with me will be kept confidential, and any material referenced in future publications will be anonymised to protect the identities of the universities and study participants. The following is a list of documents that you may have within your organisation that are relevant to this study:

- university-wide and development office/fundraising organisation charts
- current job descriptions for development office staff
- charter documents for any fundraising governing bodies or committees
- development office organisational training plans
- fundraising strategy documents
- fundraising business plans

It would be helpful for me to have copies of these and similar materials in advance of our meeting to help me prepare for our conversation.

How I will follow up with you after the interview

After I have prepared a transcript of our interview, I will email a copy to you for review. This is your opportunity to correct anything I may have misunderstood, or remove anything that you would like to, before I finalise the transcript and begin to compile my findings.

There may be additional questions that arise out of the interview or subsequent phases of the study, and if so, I will contact you after the transcript is finalised to agree next steps.

Thank you !

Alison Gibson

Appendix C: Participant consent form

Newcastle University

Study : University Fundraising in the UK

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Participant Information document dated 15th September 2016.	☐
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	☐
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	☐
4.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	☐
5.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, pseudonyms, anonymisation of data, etc.) to me.	☐
6.	I consent to the researcher making voice recordings of interviews with me for the purposes of the study	☐
7.	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me.	☐
8.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	☐
9.	Select only one of the following: • I would like my name used and understand what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in reports, publications and other research outputs so that anything I have contributed to this project can be recognised.	☐
	• I do not want my name used in this project.	☐
10.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	☐

Project Title: University Fundraising in the UK
Main Contact: a.gibson3@ncl.ac.uk

Newcastle University

Study : University Fundraising in the UK

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

Participant:

Name of Participant	Signature	Date

Researcher:

Alison Gibson	Signature	Date

Project Title: University Fundraising in the UK
Main Contact: a.gibson3@ncl.ac.uk

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