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Charity begins at home? Setting a future research agenda for national identity and charitable ethnocentrism

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ABSTRACT

Purpose

This conceptual paper is designed to act as a catalyst for further debate and research surrounding the relationship between national identity and donor behaviour. Whereas much research has investigated how consumer ethnocentrism impacts upon purchase decisions, this conversation has not been extended into the realm of charitable giving. Given the current political and economic debates surrounding immigration policy and European Union membership, the issue of how national identity impacts upon charitable choice appears more pertinent than ever.

Findings

A review of existing literature concludes that consumer ethnocentrism may not be an applicable construct in the context of charitable giving. This paper proposes an alternative concept, charitable ethnocentrism, be used to further investigate donor decision making. Public attitudes towards relevant political policies surrounding austerity and official development assistance (ODA) are also identified as factors which may influence charity choice.

Implications

This discussion informs future research addressing how donors choose between what is a growing range of charitable causes. Specifically, the paper focuses on the distinction between supporting charities that are local, national or international in scope, and identifies relevant constructs that may explain how donors prioritise causes that serve different beneficiaries.

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Contribution

In an increasingly competitive charitable marketplace, this paper aims to stimulate empirical research that could influence future fundraising strategies used by charities. In academic terms, this paper instigates a timely discussion surrounding donor decision making, bringing together relevant concepts surrounding national identity that have not previously been considered in a third sector setting.

Keywords Donor behaviour, National identity, Nationalism, Patriotism, Consumer ethnocentrism

INTRODUCTION

The United Kingdom is widely recognised as a particularly generous country. Around 80% of the population contribute regularly to charitable causes and in doing so display a 'relentless willingness' to support the third sector despite the recent financial crisis (Mintel, 2012). The UK boasts around 150,000 registered charities, with individuals raising over £10 bn per year for charitable causes (Charities Aid Foundation, 2015). The UK Government allocates a similar amount of financial support to other countries through official development aid (ODA), an area of spending that remains protected despite austerity measures targeting many other departments.

However, in the current UK political and economic climate, the issue of giving to more disadvantaged parts of the world has become an increasingly fraught issue. The slower than anticipated economic recovery and subsequent continuation of austerity policy has led to people adopting a more insular approach to their finances, prioritising immediate family needs over those of others (Flatters & Willmott, 2009). Emerging political parties across Europe (typically with more nationalist, anti-EU ideological positions) are questioning the amount of ODA offered to other countries, whilst austerity policy is perceived to be compromising vital local services (Borges, Clarke, Stewart, Sanders, & Whiteley, 2013). At the same time, the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Syria has challenged the developed world to respond through a combination of controlled immigration and broader financial assistance. The response to such support across nations has been mixed - whilst some were welcoming of those in dire need, others spoke of their opposition and instead raised concerns of how care for refugees could compromise the wellbeing of fellow nationals (Dahlgreen, 2015). In response to such growing unease around the allocation of donations to causes outside the UK, major fundraising initiatives have made greater efforts to demonstrate that money raised either stays solely within the UK (e.g., BBC Children in Need, BBC, 2016) or is at least partially directed towards UK-based beneficiaries (e.g., Comic Relief, 2016).

In his highly influential work towards developing a model of donor behaviour, Adrian Sargeant (1999, republished in *Social Business* in 2014) explored a range of determinants that may influence charitable choice. Among these, he identified that donors value a sense of fit with prospective beneficiaries; those individuals perceived similar to the donor are typically deemed more worthy of his or her support (Sargeant & Woodliffe, 2007). One criteria for identifying said 'fit' is through membership of

national or ethnic groups, which despite its obvious relevance in donor decision making (Burgoyne, Young, & Walker, 2005) remains an area characterised by limited empirical investigation (Stevenson & Manning, 2010).

The first aim of this paper is to explore a range of literature which has the potential to explain donor preferences for charities which are local, national or international in scope. National identity, taken here as referring to intensity of attachment towards one's country (Blank, Schmidt, & Westle, 2001), encapsulates both positive sentiment towards in-groups and negative sentiments towards out-groups. Given the intense debates that surrounded recent referendums on both Scottish Independence and United Kingdom European Union membership, it would appear that national identities currently carry increased social significance and thus may play a role in individual donation preferences. Equally, the concept of consumer ethnocentrism (which addresses the morality of purchasing products from other countries, Shimp & Sharma, 1987) results in negative evaluations of offerings from other countries and an inherent preference to 'buy local'. Past empirical work has identified national identity as an antecedent of ethnocentric tendencies (Neese & Haynie, 2015), however no prior work has utilised either national identity or consumer ethnocentrism to understand how donors choose between charities that service beneficiaries in their home countries versus those overseas.

The second aim of this paper is to use relevant theory (and also consider the role of political attitudes) to set a future research agenda centred on how national identity impacts upon charitable choice, and by doing so develop a series of propositions that serve as a starting point for future empirical work. A review of existing literature identifies an emerging body of valuable (if somewhat disparate) research which explores how group membership may impact on charitable giving or helping behaviour. For example, Fong and Luttmer (2011) manipulated charity appeals by featuring beneficiaries with different skin colours, and found evidence of what they called 'subjective racial group loyalty'. This was later supported by Greenwold and Pettigrew (2014), who argued that there was clear potential for discrimination between ethnic groups in terms of charitable donations. In the broader context of helping behaviour, Kogut and Ritov (2005) highlighted the relevance of social categorisation in decisions to help those affected by the 2004 tsunami. Giving was more generous when victims were identified as in-group members, although it has been suggested elsewhere that donors may be more willing to help out-group members if this helped to negate feelings of perceived threat (Van Leeuwen, 2007). Work from Levine, Prosser, Evans and Reicher (2005) has identified that football fans are more likely to help an injured person if they are wearing the same shirt as them (or at least are not wearing a rival team shirt). Evidence of potential ethnocentrism has also been identified in the arts: Kottasz and Bennett (2005) referred to 'cultural nationalism' and later evidenced that consumer ethnocentrism impacts upon perceived quality of the work of artists from other countries and subsequently intentions to visit such exhibitions (Kottasz & Bennett, 2006).

Whereas the aforementioned work has clear relevance to the current discussion, there exists a real need for work that specifically recognises the role of nationalism, patriotism and internationalism (as opposed to conceptually distinct issues of ethnicity/group membership) in donor decision making. It is envisaged that such an agenda has significance for both academic researchers who seek to further understand donor decision making and also third sector professionals who are charged with developing fundraising campaigns. An understanding of how national identity influences charitable giving has the potential to influence successful donor

targeting, positioning and campaign development. Whereas much of the conversation that follows is focused on the current UK context, it is envisaged that the questions posed are common to many European countries given their overlapping political and economic circumstances.

The subsequent discussion is structured as follows. Following a review of what motivates charitable giving, and consideration of how economic austerity can impact upon the third sector, we introduce the concept of national identity as one which may explain donor attitudes towards national versus international charities. From there, we will also explore the potential relevance of attitudes towards ODA and how this may impact on donor preferences. The latter part of the discussion will focus on the existing body of research surrounding consumer ethnocentrism, and specifically how some principles of this concept may not be directly applicable to the third sector. As a consequence, we coin the term 'charitable ethnocentrism' to describe an individual's preference to support charitable causes that serve beneficiaries within their own nation or national group, and by identifying areas that appear ripe for investigation, hope to provide impetus for empirical work in the field.

WHAT MOTIVATES PEOPLE TO DONATE TO CHARITY?

It is useful at this point to appreciate the range of factors that motivates individuals to offer their money, time or other resources to charitable organisations. Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) reviewed over 500 articles to ascertain eight factors that were seen as pivotal in why individuals give to charity. These ranged from factors related to charity marketing activity (awareness and solicitation) through to the benefits to the individual (reputational and psychological) and altruism. Donors may act purely in the interests of those in need (altruistic behaviour perhaps motivated by feelings of pity, empathy and a desire for social justice, Sargeant & Woodliffe, 2007). Indeed, charitable giving is strongly associated with personal qualities including altruism, empathy and generosity (Surana & Lomas, 2014).

However, Andreoni (1990) questioned if such 'pure' altruism explained all forms of helping behaviour, and instead cited a range of other factors such as the 'warm glow' effect. Elsewhere known as the helpers' high (Bennett, 2012), this goes beyond merely feeling sympathy for the plight faced by other individuals, to actively providing them with financial or other forms of assistance (Mayo & Tinsley, 2009). Such prosocial behaviour has the potential to elevate mood and self-evaluations (Williamson & Clark, 1989), act against perceived injustice regarding the allocation of resources (Mayo & Tinsley, 2009) and increase general happiness levels (Aknin et al., 2013).

Todd and Lawson (1999) believe it is perfectly feasible for donors to combine pure and impure altruistic motives - one can genuinely desire to assist others whilst simultaneously wishing to feel good about oneself. Indeed, research has suggested that happy people tend to have a more charitable, prosocial and other-centric outlook on life (Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, & Schkade, 2005). Other forms of 'impure altruistic' (Andreoni, 1990) benefits include enhanced social status, prestige or other tangible benefits including gifts, privileges, or even tax benefits (Sieg & Zhang, 2012). Bennett (2012) reported that poorer communities may give to charity because of their own experiences and in anticipation of requiring similar assistance in the future - a form of reciprocal giving.

The messaging strategies adopted by the media and charitable organisations, whilst sitting outside the scope of this paper, have also been identified as significant determinants of giving. Waters and Tindall (2011) used agenda-setting theory to determine that increased media coverage of humanitarian or natural crises increases the perceived importance of the issue and subsequently donations. Elsewhere, the message-framing approach adopted by charities has been shown to be influential; positive framing (i.e., showing the positive consequences of participation/giving) has a stronger impact on donation than negative framing (Lindenmeier, 2008). Research elsewhere has explored a wide range of charity marketing practices, including the phenomenon of celebrity fundraising (Lim & Moufahim, 2015), the emotional impact of storytelling (Merchant, Ford, & Sargeant, 2010), child sponsorship programmes (Neilson & Mittelman, 2012), and cause-related marketing activities (Ponte & Richey, 2014).

More specific to the current discussion, a number of authors have noted the relevance of local interest, community, and distance as factors that influence charitable giving. Burgoyne et al. (2005) argued that having personal contact with potential beneficiaries, being involved with the local community and a general sense of social obligation to local issues all contribute to donor decision making. As posited by Wolpert (1995, p. 15): “*generosity is driven by the contradictions between our notions of the ideal (moral, aesthetic, and spiritual) and our observations of what is real*”. In this context, when people come into contact with someone in need as part of their everyday lives, their desire to offer help increases. Similarly, Dalton, Madden, Chamberlain, Carr and Lyons (2008) referred to the notion of distance, arguing that many felt it more appropriate to prioritise aid to those closer to home. Sargeant and Woodliffe (2007) highlighted the importance of a perceived ‘fit’ between donor and beneficiary - if those in need share characteristics with donors this increases the chances of them being deemed a worthwhile cause.

Most of the literature that addresses the role of distance in donor behaviour makes the simple distinction between local and international charities. Empirical work in New Zealand carried out by Dalton et al. (2008) concluded that whilst people were aware that the need for charitable donations was more acute in other countries (this was especially so amongst those who had travelled extensively), local causes were perceived as being more worthy of their time and resources. Elsewhere, it has been argued by Hall, Jones, Andrews and Cridland (2013) that many donors prefer the notion of helping local charities because it offers them the chance to contribute to their own communities, and they can view the impact first hand and can be more confident that the money will not be wasted on marketing or administrative work. Indeed, Stevenson and Manning (2010) have suggested that donors may potentially perceive local charities as using donations more wisely.

Within the context of international giving, three issues appear particularly relevant - power dynamics and inter-country relations, attribution and psychological distance from beneficiaries. Any form of international giving takes place within a complex political environment involving donors, governments, non-governmental agencies and the general public (Chambers & Pettit, 2004). Ewing and Guliwe (2008) have suggested that although wealthier countries give large amounts of ODA to the developing world, this effectively constitutes ‘giving with one hand and taking with the other’; trade restrictions placed on these countries often cost them far more in lost revenue than they accrue. Despite such questionable practices, “*the dependence of many poor countries on rich nations means that they are in a weak position to contest unfair trade provisions*” (Hinton & Groves, 2004, p. 11). The same authors

report a recent change to the language associated with such international giving from 'giving to beneficiaries' to 'empowering citizens', however there is little evidence that such rhetoric has fundamentally changed the ways in which ODA is distributed (Pantazidou & Gaventa, 2016).

The concept of social dominance orientation, defined here as "*the degree to which individuals desire and support a group-based hierarchy and the domination of 'inferior' groups by 'superior' groups*" (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 48), has been used to explain attitudes towards donating to charities serving other ethnic or national groups. Freeman, Aquino and McFerran (2009) concluded that individuals exhibiting this orientation displayed heightened out-group discrimination, which subsequently impacted upon their donation preferences. Similarly, Nadler (2002) identified two types of giving that are related to the power dynamics between donor and recipient countries: 'autonomy-oriented giving' is designed to encourage the recipient nation to develop its independence and become self-sustaining, whereas 'dependency-oriented giving' refers to donations given to countries in an attempt to maintain their reliance on wealthier countries. In cases where the recipient country is deemed a potential threat, donors in wealthier countries prefer the latter approach (Nadler, 2002).

The relationships between donor and recipient countries and the perceived causes of poverty/other forms of need are also worthy of exploration. It has been suggested that a history of strained economic or political relations between two countries may make donors less likely to provide financial support. For example, in Australia, negative attitudes towards offering ODA to Indonesia were partly motivated by fears that it may one day pose a military threat (Hull, 1988). It has also been argued that countries are perceived less worthy of donations if political leaders in said countries are seen as the cause of the problem (Radley & Kennedy, 1992) or if the country was perceived powerful and wealthy enough to resolve problems itself (Stevenson & Manning, 2010). For example, the UK's recent decision to cut ODA to India followed intense media criticism for allocating resources to a country that funded its own space programme (Riley-Smith, 2016).

A growing body of literature has also explored how individuals explain or attribute blame for poverty in developing countries. Feagin (1972) initially categorised explanations for poverty into three groups: individualistic (which blames the poor for their own plight); situational (which apportions blame on societal and economic factors); and fatalistic (concerning fate and luck). Campbell, Carr and MacLachlan (2001) cited the relevance of the 'actor-observe bias' in such judgments, which depicts how actors tend to attribute the misfortunes of others to individualistic factors, yet blame situational causes for their own negative predicaments. Regardless of the 'fairness' of such judgments, individuals are more likely to provide financial assistance when they perceive the causes of poverty as being situational rather than individualistic in nature (Cheung & Chan, 2000).

Psychological distance is a concept used to explain the perceived closeness between an observer and another individual/group. As most donations are made to assist individuals who are not personally known by the donor, issues such as beneficiary similarity and proximity can instead be considered when deciding who should be offered assistance (Small, 2011). In situations where greater distance is observed, individuals tend to engage in more abstract thinking (referred to as low-level construal, Alter & Oppenheimer, 2008), which in turn can negatively impact upon their willingness to help (Ein-Gar & Levontin, 2013).

Psychological distance has been broken down into four sub-dimensions. *Temporal* distance refers to whether the need is immediate or future-focused in nature - for example it has been found that donating blood is more viewed as a future-oriented activity (Ein-Gar & Levontin, 2013). *Social* distance refers to the level of similarity between oneself and the individual being observed (Trope, Liberman, & Wakslak, 2007), which may include national group membership (Kogut & Ritov, 2005). According to Bekkers (2010), social distance can explain donor decision making as it is far harder to refuse a request for donations from an individual that is known to the donor. *Spatial* distance refers more to physical distance between actors - it has been argued that humans have a general tendency to be more emotionally responsive to the well-being of people that are physically closer to them (Davis, 1994). Bekkers (2010) extended this by arguing that donors would feel a stronger sense of satisfaction in helping those closest to them, possibly because the physical manifestations of their help are more immediately visible. Finally, *hypothetical* distance refers to the likelihood of a scenario occurring (Fujita, Henderson, Eng, Trope, & Liberman, 2006).

Dalton et al. (2008) concluded that people held a sense of obligation to help those in need regardless of their location, but because local causes were perceived more relevant to their daily lives these were prioritised over international causes that were perhaps more extreme. As individual feelings towards one's own country and others seem pertinent to such decisions, the subsequent sections use literature on national identity to address individual attachment to nations, and may prove useful in explaining how individuals evaluate causes that are national versus international in nature. Prior to this, we will briefly address the current period of economic austerity and consider how this may impact upon national identity.

Charity in times of austerity

The most recent period of austerity, defined here as “*a form of voluntary deflation in which the economy adjusts through the reduction of wages, prices, and public spending to restore competitiveness*” (Blyth, 2013, p. 5), is seen as a consequence of the 2008 global financial crisis and has resulted in intense political debates over government spending and debt (Holland & Portes, 2012; Mataira, Morelli, Matsuoka, & Uehara-McDonald, 2014). Such financial crises often commence in a single sector (the current situation is widely attributed to the bursting of the US housing bubble) but the knock-on effects impact on a wide range of industries (Srinivasan, Lilien, & Sridhar, 2011). Such economic crises tend to place the Government at the very centre of economic life (Piercy, Cravens, & Lane, 2010), as they engage in responses that may include changes to taxation, government spending and financial sector reform (Kinsella, 2012) designed to reinstate business and consumer confidence (Blyth, 2013). It has been suggested that the UK Government “*bought fully into Austerian doctrine, perhaps more so than any other advanced-country regime*” (Krugman, 2012, p. 9).

Concern over the economy has been shown to increase financial prudence and postpone purchase decisions (Strutton & Lewin, 2012), as well as spark forms of behaviour that have been referred to as ‘austerity-chic’ (reuse and upcycling of products, Bramall, 2012). Latham and Braun (2010) outlined four broad forms of consumer response to recession: substitution (seeking lower price alternatives); satisfying (general lowering of expectations); reducing consumption levels; and negotiating with providers. Such austerity has also been seen as the catalyst for an increased use of food banks and demand for services from voluntary organisations

and community groups who at the same time are faced with reduced funding (O'Hara, 2014). The implementation of austerity measures in the UK was accompanied by the idea of a 'Big Society' that was supported by all three major political parties during the 2010 General Election, which in turn placed further emphasis and responsibility on not for profit organisations (Besemer & Bramley, 2012).

How might all of this impact on the third sector? Flatters and Willmott (2009) consider that premium priced 'green' products struggle at times of recession because of 'discretionary thrift' which stops consumers from doing good in a way they might previously have hoped. Quelch and Jocz (2009) argued that when faced with limited resources, consumers are forced to choose between products that are 'essentials', 'treats', 'postponables' and 'expendables'. It appears reasonable to assume that charitable donations may be considered in the latter two categories given that "*when people are focused on feeding their own kids and keeping a roof over their heads, concern about children in other parts of the world, or about animal welfare, drops on the list of priorities*" (Flatters & Willmott, 2009, p. 112).

Numerous authors have also voiced concerns that austerity, and in particular measures which seem to target vulnerable groups, can result in a growth of nationalistic sentiment (Blyth, 2013; Piercy et al., 2010) and may in part explain the growing popularity of far-right political parties in countries such as Greece and Spain (Krugman, 2012). Such nationalistic tendencies can in turn impact upon purchasing patterns: "*we can expect to see a deepening commitment by consumers to buy local rather than imports as a socially conscious activity that lends support to local business*" (Carrigan & de Pelsmaker, 2009, p. 679). Should such commitment extend to the notion of giving, we can expect to see charities serving local and national communities being preferred over international alternatives. Consequently, it can be predicted that those individuals with negative attitudes towards austerity policy may feel a heightened sense of nationalistic sentiment, whereas positive views on austerity may be symptomatic of a more internationalist worldview that may lead to a positive attitude towards government level assistance for lesser developed countries:

Proposition 1: *Attitudes towards austerity will be negatively associated with nationalism*

Proposition 2: *Attitudes towards austerity will be positively associated with internationalism*

Proposition 3: *Attitudes towards austerity will be negatively associated with attitudes towards ODA*

NATIONAL IDENTITY

Defined here as the intensity of feelings and closeness towards one's own nation (Blank et al., 2001), national identity has become an increasingly common point of debate in the UK owing to the recent autonomy enjoyed by Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, leaving commentators debating the issue of 'Englishness' as opposed to 'Britishness' (Crolley & Hand, 2006). Such identities are typically formed very early in life (Druckmann, 1994) but are not necessarily stable; they can be viewed as "*something which rises and falls in accordance with external events or prompts*" (Fenton, 2007, p. 326). Perceived threats including changes in the global marketplace

(Tsai, Lee, & Song, 2013), economic hardship (Balabanis, Diamantopoulos, Mueller, & Melewar, 2001) and terrorist activity (Coryn, Beale, & Myers, 2004; McFarland, 2005) have all been found to impact on levels of national pride. In a UK context, Fenton (2007) observed that feelings of ‘Englishness’ (and subsequent use of the St. George’s Cross as opposed to the Union Jack) was in some part a response to the growing identities of Scotland and Wales respectively (hence described as a form of ‘me-too-ism’).

Recent work on national identity has increasingly advocated the existence of two distinct forms of in-group attachment (Chi Cui & Adams, 2002; Federico, Golec, & Dial, 2005). Whilst one aspect of national identity can be seen as a blind, militaristic and obedient attitude towards the state, an opposing aspect may question and constructively criticise it. These two opposing forms of national identity have been described using various terms, however here they will be referred to as ‘nationalism’ and ‘patriotism’ respectively (Blank & Schmidt, 2003). Despite the fact that these concepts were initially used interchangeably (Lee, Hong, & Lee, 2003) and are positively correlated (Coryn et al., 2004; Sinkkonen, 2013), they have been shown to be distinct dimensions of national identity (Gries, Zhang, Crowson, & Cai, 2011; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989) that can be deemed ‘divisive’ and ‘inclusive’ respectively (Vida, Dmitrovic, & Obadia, 2008). Consequently, notions of in-group love and out-group hatred need to be carefully separated (Kemmelmeyer & Winter, 2008), as they result in differing views on issues such as foreign policy (Sinkkonen, 2013), civil liberties and national security (Williams, Foster, & Krohn, 2008).

Whereas the two previously mentioned concepts share the notion of in-group attachment, a different term has been used to describe positive feelings towards citizens from other parts of the world. Known as internationalism, this refers to a wider concern for global welfare which is not constrained by membership of national groups (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). As all three of these concepts are centred around attachment to both home and foreign countries (Balabanis et al., 2001), they may have the potential to explain donor preferences in the charitable sector.

Nationalism

According to Schatz, Staub and Lavine (1999), this form of national identity can be characterised by an allegiance to a country without question of its values, and an intolerance of any criticism directed towards it. This somewhat more ‘stubborn’ attachment to one’s country flourishes in countries with ethnic minority populations (Calhoun, 1993), results in negative evaluations of other countries and ethnic groups (Coryn et al., 2004), and has elsewhere been coined as chauvinism (Coenders & Scheepers, 2003), pseudopatriotism (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950) and blind patriotism (Staub, 1997). It is this form of national identity that results in a desire for dominance and belief in superiority over other countries (Gries et al., 2011; Nathanson, 1993), and has been viewed as potentially destructive and inherent in many fascist dictatorships. Individuals with strong nationalist views “*tend to possess an unambiguously hostile conflict schema that predisposes them to an aggressive approach to inter-national conflict*” (Federico et al., 2005, p. 624). It is perhaps a result of the fact that nationalism is associated with hooliganism, xenophobia and far-right political leanings (Abell, 2011) that English people either approach the notion of national identity with trepidation for fear of accusations of ethnocentrism (Condor, 2000) or even reject notions of national identity because of the behaviour of fellow nationals (Fenton, 2007).

Patriotism

Also termed genuine patriotism by Adorno et al. (1950), this term refers to an allegiance towards one's country that allows a critical stance towards the governing regime, and is not associated with negative evaluations of out-groups (Akhter, 2007). Blank and Schmidt (2003) noted that constructive patriots do not place as high an emphasis on national identity as blind patriots, and are willing to support their nation unless their "*aims are no longer in accord with the convictions of humanist values*" (p. 292). Such patriotism tends to develop earlier in life than nationalism (Balabanis et al., 2001), and results in a love of and care for a nation and its interests, and a willingness to make sacrifices for that country (Van Hooft, 2009). Akhter (2007) has described patriotism as a healthier form of attachment to one's nation - whilst membership of the national group carries importance, it is not placed at the very centre of an individual's life and identity (Van Hooft, 2009). Indeed, Bar-Tal (1997) argues that patriotism contributes towards national cohesiveness and that states could disintegrate without it.

Internationalism

Whereas both nationalism and patriotism focus on love and affection towards one's own nation, internationalism reflects positive feelings for other countries and their inhabitants (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989), and a preference for international cooperation and unity (Karasawa, 2002). Given internationalism necessitates a 'pro-out group' attitude, it appears to be conceptually similar to what is elsewhere defined as cosmopolitanism (Cleveland, Laroche, & Papadopoulos, 2009) and world-mindedness (Shankarmahesh, 2006), both of which encompass an interest in global issues and problems faced by humanity. As Lee et al. (2003) note, having a positive attitude towards one's own country need not result in negative feelings for other countries; therefore, internationalism is not simply the opposite of nationalism. Individuals with internationalist tendencies tend to favour more liberal left-wing political parties (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989), show empathy towards those from other countries, and are less likely to be ethnocentric in their purchase patterns (Lee et al., 2003).

To date, only limited research has directly sought to investigate if membership of ethnic or racial groups is a significant determinant in donation preferences. Fong and Luttmer (2009) utilised an experimental approach known as the 'Dictator Game', whereby respondents are provided with manipulated charity appeals and then asked how much they are willing to donate from a fee they may receive for participating in the study. Their findings indicated the existence of 'subjective racial group loyalty'; donors who report feeling close to their ethnic group tended to give significantly more when they see images of beneficiaries from the same group. Greenwald and Pettigrew (2014) report from numerous studies into intergroup behaviour and highlight their consistency in identifying potential for discrimination. As surmised by Freeman et al. (2009, p. 73), ethnocentrism should be associated with "*reduced concern for the welfare of outgroups relative to one's ingroup, which might be expressed by withholding donations from charities that benefit an out-group*". However, research to date has not specifically sought to understand the relationship between the three previously discussed constructs related to national identity (that is nationalism, patriotism and internationalism) and intentions to donate to local, national and international charities.

It appears logical to assume that those with nationalistic tendencies will in turn be more willing to support charities serving beneficiaries in their home countries as opposed to more global recipients. Nationalism brings with it a motivation to help one's own country (Akhter, 2007), and endorses strong views on national defence, restricted immigration and preferential treatment of the dominant race (Granzin & Painter, 2001). Individuals with nationalistic tendencies tend to hold negative interethnic attitudes and subsequently exclude those from other nations (Kimmelmeier & Winter, 2008; Tsukamoto, Enright, & Karasawa, 2013). Notwithstanding the contention of Wolpert (1995) that individuals with racist tendencies are in general less likely to donate to charity, it seems reasonable to assume that nationalists will direct any donations towards charities prioritising fellow nationals and believe that governments should prioritise causes in their own countries above other parts of the world:

Proposition 4: *Nationalism will be positively associated with charitable ethnocentrism*

Proposition 5: *Nationalism will be negatively associated with attitudes towards ODA*

Given the reduced emphasis placed on national identity by patriots, their attitudes towards donating at home versus abroad are potentially more complex. On the one hand, Kimmelmeier and Winter (2008) point out that patriots are typically neutral towards other countries and are willing to criticise their country if they disagree with its actions, which may include opposition to military action that has humanitarian implications. In this case, patriots may feel inclined to support charities that support the victims of war. As patriotism does not necessitate dominance over other countries (Akhter, 2007) and may result in a positive attitude towards international collaboration (Federico et al., 2005), those with a patriotic disposition may express a desire to help other countries in times of need. On the other hand, "*patriotism is primarily focused on promoting the welfare of one's own nation*" (Kimmelmeier & Winter, 2008, p. 863), which suggests that fellow nationals (and hence local or national level charities) may be deemed more worthy of financial support than other countries. Consequently, it is anticipated that patriots will prioritise causes related to their own national group, however the strength of this association will be weaker than that observed with nationalists:

Proposition 6: *Patriotism will be positively associated with charitable ethnocentrism*

Proposition 7: *Patriotism will be negatively associated with attitudes towards ODA*

It is reasonable to expect that those with a more internationalist perspective will have differing views on donating to international causes, particularly from those with nationalistic sentiments:

As internationalism emphasises empathy with the welfare of other nations, it is conceivable that such feelings will be directed towards nations in need and/or Third World countries rather than towards developed countries. (Balabanis et al., 2001, p. 169)

Rather than seeing the purchase of imported products as morally wrong (as encompassed in the concept of consumer ethnocentrism, addressed shortly), internationalists view this as a means of supporting workers from other countries

(Tsai et al., 2013; Yang, Snell, & Tsai, 2015). As such, opportunities to aid workers from other nations through behaviours such as purchasing ‘free trade’ produce might be particularly appealing to this group. This interest in the welfare of other national groups (Tsai et al., 2013) has commonalities with what Sharma, Shimp and Shin (1995) refer to as cultural openness, and involves embracing notions of international sharing and welfare (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). Consequently:

Proposition 8: *Internationalism will be negatively associated with charitable ethnocentrism*

Proposition 9: *Internationalism will be positively associated with attitudes towards ODA*

OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT AID

The allocation of ODA is an especially contentious element of government spending that is inextricably linked to the notion of giving. Defined by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2015) as financial flows to countries and territories “*administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective*”, the UK Government and other European Union member states reiterated their commitment to invest 0.7% of gross national income on ODA from 2013 (Department for International Development, 2015). According to the UK Aid Network (Dodd, 2015) the UK was one of only four EU countries to meet this target in 2015, whilst at the same time, emerging donor countries such as Brazil, China and India have increased their international development budgets (referred to as ‘South-South co-operation’ by Quadir, 2013).

A 2009 report by the International Development Committee (vanHeerde & Hudson, 2009) summarised that developing countries were in many ways more affected by the financial crisis than the instigators in the developed world - the subsequent reduction in demand for items produced in poorer countries led to falling foreign investment and exchange rates. However, the same publication also reported evidence that in the early stages of the recession, public support for ODA was already beginning to dwindle. Whilst Henson and Lindstrom (2010) found that UK citizens retained the belief that it is morally right to help poorer nations, 64% believed that the elimination of domestic poverty should be a government priority, and cited ODA budgets as an area where savings could be made as part of the wider austerity agenda. Similarly, the UK Institute for Public Policy Research (Glennie, Straw, & Wild, 2012) reported a widespread view of ODA as a positive and genuine effort to improve living standards, but such moral commitment was mitigated by a desire to take care of our own nation and citizens first:

the public may be becoming less supportive of maintaining, let alone increasing, current levels of UK spending on aid... this appears to be linked partly to the financial crisis and current austerity measures with many individuals in our workshops stating the principle that ‘charity begins at home’ is even more important at a time of economic hardship. (Glennie et al., 2012, p. 2)

Despite some concerns surrounding the measurement of public support for ODA (Hudson & vanHeerde-Hudson, 2012; Smillie, 1996), including the potential for

social desirability bias when researching such sensitive political issues (Grimm, 2010), it appears clear that support for ODA is vulnerable in times of recession. Recent data from Ipsos (2015) identified the UK as one of only five nations (in their sample of 17), where a sizeable proportion of the public (over 20%) believe that there should be no ODA spending at all. It is logical to assume that those who have been directly affected by the recession and related austerity measures may develop a more defensive stance on the allocation of ODA. Grant and Brown (1995) had previously identified that individuals suffering social deprivation were more likely to dislike ‘outsiders’, something that may also impact upon their wider attitudes on issues such as immigration. It has been suggested that the recent economic downturn has “*seen the sudden rise of ‘home first’ sentiments within donor countries*” (Hudson & vanHeerde-Hudson, 2012, p. 5). As Noël and Thérien (2002) concluded, ODA becomes less popular when the domestic country is seen to have internal problems with income redistribution. Based on the above, it is predicted that how an individual feels about ODA will prove significant in both their levels of charitable ethnocentrism and their choice of charitable causes to support:

Proposition 10: *Attitudes towards ODA will be negatively associated with charitable ethnocentrism*

Proposition 11: *Attitudes towards ODA will be negatively associated with willingness to donate to local charities*

Proposition 12: *Attitudes towards ODA will be negatively associated with willingness to donate to national charities*

Proposition 13: *Attitudes towards ODA will be positively associated with willingness to donate to international charities*

CONSUMER ETHNOCENTRISM

Any debate which addresses preferences for domestic versus international organisations can benefit greatly from the rich body of literature on consumer ethnocentrism. First formally operationalised in the US as a response to the increased availability of foreign products (Shimp & Sharma, 1987), interest in this area has flourished owing to globalisation (Klein & Ettensoe, 1999), international mergers and acquisitions (Kipnis, Kubacki, Broderick, Siemieniako, & Pisarenko, 2012), and increased inter-country collaboration (Acharya & Elliott, 2003). Such changes demand that more is learned about attitudes towards ‘domestic’ versus ‘foreign’ products (Klein & Ettensoe, 1999), as an increasingly global marketplace does not guarantee that consumers in turn become globalised (Cleveland et al., 2009), despite many foreign brands boasting greater variety and competitive prices (Kaynak & Kara, 2002). In practical terms, many national governments have responded to increased imports with ‘buy local’ campaigns, which can be viewed as a form of economic protectionism (Siamagka & Balabanis, 2015).

Consumer Ethnocentrism is defined here as “*the appropriateness, indeed morality, of purchasing foreign-made products*” (Shimp & Sharma, 1987, p. 280). It can be viewed as an economic manifestation of the broader sociological concept of ethnocentrism, which addresses an individual’s concern for oneself and placement

of one's in-group at the centre of everything (Shankarmahesh, 2006). It is an economically motivated form of domestic country bias (Zeugner-Roth, Zabkar, & Diamantopoulos, 2015) that results in a negative disposition towards non-domestic markets, products and brands (Carpenter, Moore, Alexander, & Doherty, 2013). Highly ethnocentric consumers will disregard other criteria such as price and quality in their decision making (Fischer & Zeugner-Roth, 2016) and have a tendency to overestimate domestic product quality whilst doing the opposite for foreign offerings (Klein & Ettensoe, 1999). As well as representing an economic threat, foreign products may also be viewed as a form of cultural menace (Cleveland et al., 2009). Like many other forms of national attachment, it has been found to increase in the wake of terrorist attacks, natural disasters (Fernández-Ferrín, Bande-Vilela, Klein, & del Rio-Araújo, 2015) and at times of economic difficulty (Shankarmahesh, 2006).

Consumer ethnocentrism appears to be closely linked with the earlier notions of national identity. It has been viewed as a form of attachment to both country and products (Balabanis, Mueller, & Melewar, 2002), and is motivated by both anti out-group (nationalist) and pro in-group (patriotic) motives (Zeugner-Roth et al., 2015). It is therefore unsurprising that, through a review of studies across North American, European and Asian samples, both nationalism and patriotism have been regularly identified as antecedents to consumer ethnocentrism (Fernández-Ferrín et al., 2015). Conservatism (characterised by a desire to uphold tradition and the social order) has also been shown as leading to ethnocentrism, along with xenophobia and perceived personal and economic threat (Altıntaş & Tokol, 2007; Balabanis et al., 2002; Fernández-Ferrín et al., 2015).

Particularly pertinent to a discussion of charitable giving is the acknowledgement that consumer ethnocentrism incorporates an ethical dimension. Purchasing foreign products is damaging to the home country economy (Klein & Ettensoe, 1999), and doing so expresses an indifference towards fellow nationals and their job security (Shankarmahesh, 2006). Consumer ethnocentrism therefore shows concern for fellow citizens and the country's wider economic wellbeing (Neese & Haynie, 2015) - it has even been described as a form of altruism towards the home country (Shimp & Sharma, 1987). As such, ethnocentrism offers consumers direction as to what constitutes appropriate purchasing behaviour (Siamagka & Balabanis, 2015). The notion of morality in choosing a domestic or international charitable cause will be addressed shortly.

Whilst many writers have taken and adapted the original uni-dimensional operationalisation of consumer ethnocentrism (known as the CETSCALE), others have provided evidence to suggest the existence of various sub-dimensions. For example, Sharma (2014) argued that the CETSCALE encapsulates affective, cognitive and behavioural components. Similarly, data from Acharya and Elliott (2003) proposes a two-factor structure which distinguishes between rational and emotional dimensions. Such distinctions are a useful addition to the field, as they recognise that purchase decisions are informed by both rational factors (which may lead to favourable perceptions of foreign product quality) and emotional responses (which may lead a customer to opt for a domestic product out of a care for one's nation).

Is consumer ethnocentrism applicable to charitable giving?

Research into consumer preferences for domestic versus foreign products is certainly not characterised by a lack of academic constructs. These range from those covered in the preceding section to country of origin and all of its variants (Fong, Lee, & Du,

2014), domestic country bias (Mockaitis, Salciuviene, & Ghauri, 2013), animosity (Riefler & Diamantopoulos, 2007) and acculturation to a global consumer culture (Carpenter et al., 2013). Given then the notable body of work in these areas across multiple geographical and product contexts, is there really a need to add another variable to the mix? Can't we simply utilise the term consumer ethnocentrism to explain charitable giving? In the subsequent discussion, we outline a number of issues with the existing conceptualisation, and in doing so introduce 'charitable ethnocentrism' as an extension to the consumer ethnocentrism domain.

Firstly, consumer ethnocentrism is based "*primarily on an economic motive for domestic country bias*" (Zeugner-Roth et al., 2015, p. 25). Whereas buying domestic products is seen to promote national prosperity, the same cannot be said for opting for foreign alternatives. We challenge if this notion is applicable to charitable donations. An individual's decision to donate is motivated by a mixture of intrinsic and extrinsic cues (Vesterlund, 2006), however, it is harder to envisage how national-level economic concerns would be at the heart of a donation decision. Kaynak and Kara (2002) also note how a motivator for domestic purchases is to protect employment in the home nation - we argue here that the economic effect of an international donation is less direct in nature. Indeed, donations to international charities that employ staff from the donating nation could conversely be viewed as a means of boosting third sector employment.

Secondly, since its inception, consumer ethnocentrism has been viewed as encompassing an element of morality (Shimp & Sharma, 1987). Possibly because of the economic reasons outlined earlier, opting for a foreign alternative (particularly when there are suitable domestic offerings) is deemed morally wrong. On the one hand, this could be extended to the third sector - some may argue that prioritising the needs of beneficiaries in other countries above those in your home country is morally questionable. However, it is contested here that because a charitable donation of any kind is often motivated by feelings of altruism, opting for a foreign alternative (in this case a charity with beneficiaries overseas) cannot be viewed as immoral, given the overall intention is to assist others rather than oneself.

Nielsen and McGregor (2013) drew upon the prior work of Mellema (1997) to classify morally irresponsible behaviour as conduct that is blameworthy, morally faulty, and results in harm being caused to another person, whilst Eshleman (2009) identified donations of any nature as a form of morally responsible behaviour. Consequently, it is difficult to classify any type of donor behaviour as immoral, regardless of the beneficiary. One noteworthy caveat to the preceding discussion is of course the potential impact of taxation policy on donor contributions. Most developed countries offer some form of tax relief, which essentially lowers the cost of giving and increases charitable donations (Scharf & Smith, 2015) - in 2010, the US Government is believed to have foregone \$49 bn of income as a result of charitable deductions on federal tax returns (Yörük, 2013). Clotfelter (2012) reports that an inevitable consequence of such policies is the unscrupulous abuse of the system - through exaggerating the value of donations, it is possible for individuals to benefit personally from the act of giving, which clearly goes against the aforementioned notions of altruism. Future work addressing the charitable ethnocentrism concept may benefit from considering the role of taxation policy on donor decision making.

Thirdly, according to Kaynak and Kara (2002), consumer ethnocentrism can explain how consumers compare domestic and foreign products. In the case of two equally matched alternatives, individuals' levels of consumer ethnocentrism may influence their eventual choice. We, however, contend that the direct comparison of national

versus international charities is far more problematic. Whereas a consumer can compare cars from different countries on the same criteria (be it performance, safety features and price), in many cases, charities serving other countries are addressing different (and possibly more acute) types of charitable cause (Dalton et al., 2008). Should a consumer in an economically developed nation wish to support a charity that promotes, for example, the supply of clean and safe water to impoverished communities, this will typically result in them supporting an international charity as there as there is no direct domestic equivalent.

An early conceptual framework and agenda for charitable ethnocentrism research

Despite the clear contribution consumer ethnocentrism has made towards understanding purchasing decisions, the preceding discussion identifies a number of reasons why the concept may not be directly applicable to charitable giving. To address these issues and provide a construct that allows for further investigation into donor decision making, we now introduce the term ‘charitable ethnocentrism’ as a variant of consumer ethnocentrism that is focused on the act of donating to charity as opposed to purchasing products and services.

We define charitable ethnocentrism as an individual’s preference to support charitable causes that serve beneficiaries within their own nation or national group. Such views stem from the broader belief that the well-being of fellow nationals should be prioritised over those from other countries - much like consumer ethnocentrism, this is a form of domestic country bias (Zeugner-Roth et al., 2015). Highly ethnocentric individuals are more likely to believe that governments should take responsibility for the well-being of their own citizens rather than relying on help from other countries, and believe that ODA allocations to other countries are excessive, come at the expense of more local causes, and are sometimes allocated to countries with a lower perceived need. These beliefs may result from having right-wing political allegiances (with such parties being typically critical of ODA budgets) or may be influenced by media coverage.

Individuals that exhibit high charitable ethnocentrism believe that the needs of fellow nationals should be prioritised over those from other countries (conforming to the mantra of ‘charity begins at home’), and in many cases this will override the perceived acuteness of need from people in other countries. These views are applicable to both individual donations and also attitudes towards national level ODA decisions. Consequently, such individuals will (at least in part) evaluate charity appeals by the location and ethnic composition of identified beneficiaries, and prioritise appeals which claim to help those located in the same country as themselves. This does not preclude them from donating to international causes, but serves as an order for providing help (Dalton et al., 2008). Subsequently, an individual’s level of charitable ethnocentrism will impact on the willingness to donate (WTD) to local, national and international charities:

Proposition 14: *Charitable ethnocentrism will be positively associated with WTD to local charities*

Proposition 15: *Charitable ethnocentrism will be positively associated with WTD to national charities*

Proposition 16: *Charitable ethnocentrism will be negatively associated with WTD to international charities*

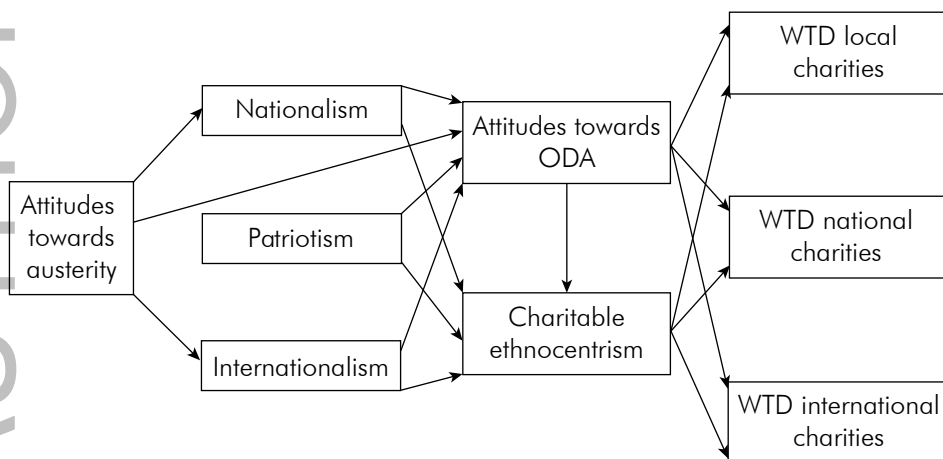
Bringing together the various constructs discussed in this article has led to the development of a conceptual framework (Figure 1) that is intended to instigate further debate on the concept of charitable ethnocentrism, antecedents such as national identity and political attitudes, and of course the subsequent impact of these issues on WTD to charities which serve local, national and international beneficiaries.

From this, we can identify numerous areas that appear ripe for academic investigation, at a time when many of the issues underpinning this discussion continue to feature prominently in political and economic debates. Firstly, and most importantly, empirical work is required to validate charitable ethnocentrism as a concept that is distinct from consumer ethnocentrism. Whilst we believe there is sufficient difference and nuance in the charitable context to warrant a separate line of investigation, it is important for these two constructs to be proven to be conceptually distinct. In doing so, researchers would also address a common concern around the lack of ethnocentrism research focusing on services as opposed to products (Shankarmahesh, 2006; Siamagka & Balabanis, 2015).

From here, research into the antecedents of charitable ethnocentrism represents a potentially valuable line of enquiry. The preceding discussion has introduced nationalism and patriotism as distinct forms of national identity (Gries et al., 2011), and alongside the more cosmopolitan construct of internationalism, their role in the ‘charity begins at home’ debate seems pivotal. The results of such research would aid charities in understanding how donors can be motivated into selecting charities depending on the geographical nature of their beneficiaries. There is also notable evidence to suggest a more inward facing approach from the public in times of political unease, perceived threat or economic hardship (Curtice & Ormston, 2015; Hudson & vanHeerde-Hudson, 2012; Piercy et al., 2010). Attitudes towards a range of political issues, such as those included here, and also immigration more broadly, may unearth greater insights on preferences to donate to local, national and international charities.

The recent European Union referendum result also presents an opportunity for research that addresses issues of ethnic identification. Research from Lord Ashcroft (2016) indicates that ‘leave’ voters were significantly more likely to identify

FIGURE 1 An early conceptual framework for charitable ethnocentrism



themselves as English as opposed to British, with the opposite true for ‘remain’ voters. As debates on Englishness have moved up the cultural and political agenda in recent years (Kumar, 2015) research which considers how such identification impacts upon charitable choice seems a potentially fruitful line of inquiry. Within this, the concept of consumer animosity, defined as “*the remnants of antipathy related to previous or ongoing military, political or economic events*” (Klein & Ettensoe, 1999, p. 6), may be useful in understanding if there are particular nations/regions where donors are more averse to providing assistance.

Research in this area also offers scope for research on a global scale. Given that issues of national identity and political policy are likely to vary notably across nations, there appears to be ample scope for cross-national studies much like those seen in consumer ethnocentrism research. Specifically, the role of immigration policy and immigrant populations is especially intriguing. Do attitudes towards donating to international charities depend on respondent levels of interaction with local immigrant populations? How do immigrants themselves, who have acculturated to a host culture (Berry, 1980), feel about donating domestically versus internationally? Does the very existence of immigrant populations blur the line between helping fellow nationals versus foreigners? Finally, whereas the main emphasis here has been on national level identity, future research may find value in the lesser explored notion of regional identity. This explores the relationship individuals have with their more immediate local areas which can potentially ‘intersect’ people’s affiliation to nations (Paasi, 2003). This may be especially relevant in countries where there are more pronounced regional boundaries (for example Belgium, which is linguistically and politically divided, Van Houtum & Van Dam, 2002) and as such could shed further light on the distinction between donating to local versus national charities.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has attempted to explore a range of relevant concepts that may help us to understand more about the role of national identity in donor decision making. The main result of this discussion has been the coinage of the term ‘charitable ethnocentrism’, taken here to describe a preference to support charitable causes that serve beneficiaries within one’s own nation or national group. It is hoped that the issues presented in this paper and suggestions for future research will act as a stimulus for further work in an area of great relevance and value to the increasingly competitive charitable sector.

Zeugner-Roth et al. (2015) commented that studies of ethnocentrism in all its forms need to incorporate notions of national identity, which in itself fluctuates as a result of changing economic conditions, political debates and conflict. Given the emotive and voluntary nature of charitable giving, learning more about how these concepts impact on charity choice is of potential value to both academics and practitioners alike. Also, the relationship between national-level giving through ODA and individual donations has implications for future public policy. Henson and Lindstrom (2010) argue that public support for aid budgets is of critical importance, and how this influences donor prioritisation of causes at home versus abroad is central to the charitable ethnocentrism concept. As Noël and Thérien (2002) conclude, the idea of ‘charity begins at home’ does not preclude a moral obligation to help people from other parts of the world, but it might reflect what they call “*the real politics*

of *global justice*” (p. 651). Given that many people give to multiple causes (Bennett, 2012), how they prioritise between causes based on donor-beneficiary distance remains a question in need of further enquiry.

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