

# Who Do We Help? How Schwartz Values Influence Responses to Different Frames in Charity Appeals

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*We investigate the effect of two framing techniques in a charity appeal, singularity of the advertising model(s) (single model vs. group) and model group belonging (in-group vs. out-group). Importantly, we examine how Schwartz values (i.e., conservation, self-enhancement, openness-to-change, hedonism, universalism, and benevolence) moderate the differences in attitude toward the charity, interest in additional information about the charity and intention to donate money to the charity). Based on an experiment (n = 172), in-group bias is enhanced by self-enhancement. The preference for individuals over groups in charity appeals is enhanced by self-enhancement and hedonism, and reduced by conservation and benevolence.*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Charitable donation is a vital funding source for charities (Abreu, Laureano, Silva, & Dionísio, 2015). Confronted with fierce competition from other charities, an increased need for charitable support, and the economic crisis of 2008 that caused individual donations to decrease, raising money has become more challenging than ever (Ein-Gar & Levontin, 2013; White & Pelozo, 2009). Therefore, the question of how charities should best design and frame their fundraising appeals is of critical importance (Abreu et al., 2015; Amankwaa & Devlin, 2016).

In the present study, we focus on two framing techniques that encourage respondents to adopt the other's perspective, which is a necessary prerequisite for developing empathy, which in turn increases the willingness to help (Kogut & Ritov, 2005; Ocejka, Ambrona, López-Pérez, Salgado, & Villegas, 2010). Previous research has indicated that the singularity of the advertising model(s) (whether a single model vs. a group is depicted) and model group belonging (whether the depicted models are part of message recipients' in-group vs. out-group) both influence the ease with which a message recipient adopts the other's perspective (Kogut & Ritov, 2007; Levine, Prosser, Evans, & Reicher, 2005).

The objective of this paper is to find out how responses to these framing techniques are moderated by their personal values. Bekkers and Wiepking (2010) indicate that personal values are important forces that drive charitable giving. However, the authors also indicate that experimental studies on the effects of values on charitable giving are scarce. Some studies have examined the influence of cultural values on

reactions to charity appeals. For example, Wang, Tang, and Wang (2015) found that Chinese individuals' willingness to help is greater for a group of sick children than for an individual, while this is different in the US. Joireman and Duell (2007) show that mortality salience led to improved evaluations of charities, but only among those who initially scored low in Schwartz's (1992) self-transcendent values.

The current study looks into the moderating effects of personal values from Schwartz's (1992) value framework on the effects that depictions of model group belonging and model singularity in advertising have on message recipients' attitude toward the charity, interest in additional information about the charity, and intention to donate money to the charity. Schwartz's (1992) value framework has provided useful insights into socially conscious consumer behaviour (Doran, 2010; Pepper, Jackson, & Uzzell, 2009), readiness for out-group social contact (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995) and favouritism towards the in-group (Feather, 1994). Todd and Lawson (1999) found that ten of Schwartz' initial 56 value items contribute to the overall discrimination between heavy and light donors to NGO's. These previous research outcomes indicate that the Schwartz values are relevant for charity research.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

We investigate two framing tactics for charity appeals: model group belonging and model singularity, together with the moderating effects of the Schwartz values.

### **Model Group Belonging: In-group vs. Out-group**

A beneficiary's group belonging can affect the message recipients' willingness to help (Ritov & Kogut, 2011). Categorization of others as belonging to the same social group as oneself, which is called the in-group, arouses feelings of greater closeness and responsibility, and augments emotional responses to their distress (Bendapudi, Singh, & Bendapudi, 1996; Ritov & Kogut, 2011). This is based on the social identity theory, a social psychological analysis of the role of self-conception in group membership, group processes, and intergroup relations (Burke, 2006). Identification leads an individual to view the in-group as an extension of the self. As a result, helping behaviour may enhance the in-group's prospects for survival, thus helping similar others may be a "selfish" way of ensuring that a person's own in-group is preserved (Bendapudi et al., 1996).

Previous research has indeed found that similarity between the helper and a beneficiary has a positive influence on the intention to help because the helper feels more at one with the beneficiary, and perceives more of him- or herself in the other (Bennett, 2003; Mussweiler & Ockenfels, 2013). Mussweiler and Ockenfels (2013) found that donations increased when participants focused on the similarity between themselves and the group of beneficiaries. Leary, Toner, and Gan (2011) also indicated that altruistic concerns may be harder to arouse when the beneficiaries are geographically distant or culturally different.

Nevertheless, the preference for helping beneficiaries that are similar (versus dissimilar) to oneself may depend upon other factors. For example, Ein-Gar and Levontin (2013) found that respondents are more willing to help an out-group when the charity appeal includes an abstract donation target (i.e., an organization), in comparison to a specific donation target (i.e., one victim). Other studies found that in-group favouritism is moderated by many other factors, such as Schwartz's values (Feather, 1994), national identification (Feather, 1994), and religion (Flunger & Ziebertz, 2010). We theorize below how personal values should influence message recipients' responses to in-group versus out-group models.

### **Singularity of the Models: Individual vs. Group**

Previous research has indicated that there is a higher willingness to help an individual, than a group (Kogut & Ritov, 2007; Wiss, Andersson, Slovic, Västfjäll, & Tinghög, 2015). There are several reasons for this. First, previous research comparing how people form an impression of individuals and groups suggests that an individual is more likely to arouse empathy, which increases willingness to help, than a group (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996; Susskind, Maurer, Thakkar, Hamilton, & Sherman, 1999). It seems that a larger number of victims (i.e., two or more) fails to engage the emotions that would motivate charitable actions (Wiss et al., 2015). Second, groups lead to a higher psychological distance, and this distance could lead to a lower intention to help in certain situations (Ein-Gar & Levontin, 2013). Third, the quantitative aspect of the target, the number of victims saved per fixed cost, is harder to evaluate for a

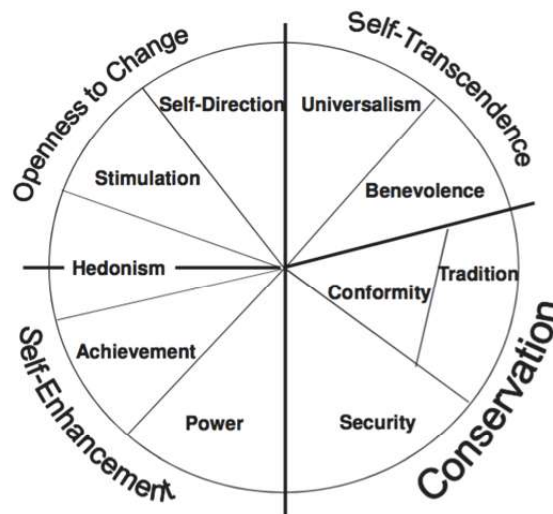
group (Kogut & Ritov, 2005). So the impact that you can make by helping the individuals seems larger and is more easily quantified, than for a group.

This phenomenon has been tested a number of times in charity appeals, and respondents indeed report a greater intention to help individuals than groups (Kogut & Ritov, 2005). Wiss et al. (2015) conducted an experiment where respondents could either choose to stay with the default option, i.e., giving a potentially life-saving vaccine to one child, or to actively choose to deny the child the vaccine in favour of five other children. An average of 33% of the subjects chose to help the individual child. Thus, people are inclined to help individuals with whom they develop empathy, but at the same time, a majority still chose the “rational” option to help more people. Further, the share of subjects choosing the single child over the group of five children was significantly larger in the U.S. (43%) than in Sweden (22%). This indicates that certain cultural differences can moderate the reactions to the singularity of the model(s), although the authors did not look into these differences. Wang et al. (2015) also found cross-country differences between China and the U.S. in reactions to charity appeals depicting single or multiple models. The Chinese results revealed greater willingness to contribute to a group of victims than an individual. The American results suggested that a single identified victim elicited considerably higher contributions than a non-identified individual. However, these studies did not measure individual differences in (cultural) values. Hence, they do not indicate which values have an impact on the processing of charity appeals. In this paper, we investigate which personal values from Schwartz’s (1992) value framework could explain potential helpers’ preference for a group versus a single person.

### Schwartz’s Value Framework

Values consist of five features: A value is a (1) belief (2) pertaining to desirable end states or modes of conduct, that (3) transcends specific situations, (4) guides selection or evaluation of behaviour, people, and events, and (5) is ordered by importance relative to other values to form a system of value priorities (Schwartz, 1994). Schwartz (1992) identified ten values, each characterized by their own motivational goal: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity and security, which are arranged in a circular order (Figure 1). The circular structure captures the notion that the pursuit of different values can be compatible or in conflict, depending on how close the values are (Steenkamp & de Jong, 2010). The values are further organized into four higher-order value domains, called value types. This circular structure is culturally universal, although individuals and groups differ substantially in the relative importance they attribute to the values (Schwartz, 2012). That is, individuals have different value “priorities” or “hierarchies.”

**FIGURE 1**  
**SCHWARTZ’S VALUE FRAMEWORK**



Based on previous research about Schwartz values and prosocial behaviour, we select three value types and three values. The three value types are: conservation, self-enhancement and openness-to-change. In terms of prosocial behaviour, the priority of self-enhancement and conservation value types suggests how an individual will weigh different kinds of social and material considerations when conducting prosocial behaviour — anticipated social approval or disapproval, physical and material gains or losses (Schwartz, 2012). When there is social approval or gains, individuals with high self-enhancement and high conservation value types will engage in prosocial behaviour. The priority of the openness-to-change value type identifies how an individual will weigh the opportunities or threats that a prosocial behaviour implies for his or her freedom, creativity, curiosity, or arousal (Schwartz, 2012). Hence, when prosocial behaviour leads to opportunities, individuals with high openness-to-change value type will engage in prosocial behaviour.

The three values that we examine separately are hedonism, universalism and benevolence. We examine hedonism separately because this value shares elements of both openness-to-change and self-enhancement (Schwartz, 2012). As indicated above, the motivation to conduct prosocial behaviour is different from a self-enhancement standpoint and an openness-to-change standpoint. Depending on the dominant value type, individuals will engage in prosocial behaviour when the social approval is high or when it leads to opportunities. Regarding universalism and benevolence, previous research indicated that their relationship with the in- and out-group differs greatly (Schwartz, 1992). Overall, both these values refer to transcending self-interest and promoting the welfare of others. However, who these “others” are, is different in universalism and benevolence values. The goal of benevolence is preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact, i.e. the “in-group” (Schwartz, 2012). When high benevolence individuals say it is important to be helpful, honest, and forgiving, they often do not mean helpful to outsiders and members of other ethnic or religious groups (Schwartz, 2010). On the other hand, universalism comprises understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature (Schwartz, 2012). Thus, they mean equality and justice for the poor, the weak, and also those who are different from themselves (Schwartz, 2007). This distinction is important giving our research objective. Therefore, we examine these two values separately.

#### *Conservation (Security, Tradition and Conformity)*

Conservation exists of three values: security (safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self), tradition (respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one's culture or religion provides) and conformity (restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms). Previous research found that individuals high in conservation exhibit higher in-group favouritism (Feather, 1994) and have little interest in meeting people from out-groups (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). Conservation values are also linked to negative attitudes toward out-group immigrants (Davidov & Meuleman, 2012). Opposition to out-group immigrants may reflect tradition/conformity, such as concern with protecting personal and social security, preserving traditions, and maintaining norms (Schwartz, 2010). Individuals with high tradition values believe that such contact entails exposure to divergent traditions, threatening those for whom maintenance of the own tradition is important (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). With respect to conformity, out-group contact places one in situations where familiar norms do not apply, making it difficult to maintain smooth relations (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). In addition, for individuals with high security values, accepting out-group members into society threatens disruption of the social order because they may press for change (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). Being in contact with out-group members might be perceived as violating in-group social norms (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). This indicates that individuals with higher conservation values are more focused on their in-group. We therefore expect the preference of in-group charity appeals over out-group appeals to be stronger when individuals are higher on conservation values. We hypothesize:

*H1: Differences in (a) attitude toward the charity, (b) interest in additional information about the charity and (c) intention to donate money to the charity between charity appeals depicting models*

*belonging to the message recipients' in-group compared to their out-group are more positive with increasing conservation values.*

Schwartz (1992) indicates that tradition and conformity values primarily serve collective interests. According to Schwartz (1992), security serves both individualistic and collectivistic interests and is therefore located between the individualistic value (power) and the collectivistic values (conformity and tradition) (Figure 1). However, later research indicated that security is positively correlated with collectivism (Oishi, Schimmack, Diener, & Suh, 1998). Schwartz (2012) also indicated that security primarily concerns others' interests. Therefore, we approach security as a collectivistic value.

Congruity theory proposes that people value information or depictions that are congruous with their existing personal values schemata (Ko, Seo, & Jung, 2015). Advertising messages that are adapted to this values system will have a positive impact on attitude formation and behaviour (Luna & Gupta, 2001). Two content analyses document that the U.S., an individualistic country used more individualistic appeals, in comparison with Korea, a collectivistic country (Cho, Kwon, Gentry, Jun, & Kropp, 1999; Han & Shavitt, 1994). At the same time, content analyses do not allow for insights in recipients' responses to these appeals. In their meta-analysis, Hornikx and O'Keefe (2009) found a positive effect on ad and brand attitudes when ads use a collectivistic appeal in collectivistic countries, and an individualistic appeal in individualistic countries. Based on congruity theory, we hypothesize:

*H2: Differences in (a) attitude toward the charity, (b) interest in additional information about the charity and (c) intention to donate money to the charity between charity appeals depicting an individual compared to a group of people are more negative with increasing conservation values.*

#### *Self-Enhancement (Achievement and Power)*

The self-enhancement value type reflects the motivation to promote one's own interests: To gain power and control over other people and resources (power) and to strive for competence and success (achievement). Processes of social comparison are intrinsic to the goals central to self-enhancement values: Individuals who value self-enhancement not only want to excel but they want to excel more than others, to achieve general recognition of their worth (Roccas, 2003). Emphasizing self-enhancement values is consistent with attributing greater worth to personal gain than to the welfare of others (Sagiv, Sverdlik, & Schwarz, 2011). The greater the importance of self-enhancement values for people, the more strongly national identification is likely to depend upon the perceived status of the nation (Roccas, Schwartz, & Amit, 2010). Feather and Mckee (2008) found that power positively predicts (negative) prejudice relating to racial attitudes. Social dominance orientation, which is a measure of an individual's preference for hierarchy within any social system and the domination of the in-group over lower-status out-groups, was also positively correlated with self-enhancement. Hence, we expect that individuals with higher self-enhancement values will more likely perceive in-group models as being of a higher status than out-group models, which will lead to relatively more favourable ad responses to in-group models. Thus, we hypothesize:

*H3: Differences in (a) attitude toward the charity, (b) interest in additional information and (c) intention to donate between charity appeals depicting models belonging to the message recipients' in-group compared to their out-group are more positive with increasing self-enhancement values.*

Schwartz (1992) indicates that self-enhancement primarily serve individualistic interests. Emphasizing self-enhancement values is consistent with attributing greater worth to personal gain than to the welfare of others (Sagiv et al., 2011). Based on congruity theory and the reasoning described above, we expect that individuals scoring higher on self-enhancement will more strongly prefer individual stimuli. Hence, we hypothesize:

*H4: Differences in (a) attitude toward the charity, (b) interest in additional information about the charity and (c) intention to donate money to the charity between charity appeals depicting an individual compared to a group of people are more positive with increasing self-enhancement values.*

### *Openness-to-Change (Stimulation and Self-Direction)*

Openness-to-change consists of stimulation (excitement, novelty, and challenge in life) and self-direction (independent thought and action — choosing, creating, exploring) values. Roccas and Amit (2011) found that openness-to-change is positively associated with tolerance. Sagiv and Schwartz (1995) also found a positive correlation between self-direction values and the interest in out-group contact, because such out-group contact provides exposure to new and different ways of life and opportunities to learn about and explore them. People who emphasize self-direction values are more likely to reject negative stereotypes and prejudices against out-groups because they prefer to make independent judgements based on their own experience (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). Further, high openness-to-change individuals identify less with their country of residence, indicating that they identify with everybody and not just their own in-group (Roccas et al., 2010). Based on these studies, we expect that openness-to-change is more likely to lead to prosocial behaviour towards out-groups, and thus more likely to lead to more positive responses to out-group appeals (so that the difference with in-group appeals may become insignificant or even negative). Thus, we hypothesize:

*H5: Differences in (a) attitude toward the charity, (b) interest in additional information and (c) intention to donate between charity appeals depicting models belonging to the message recipients' in-group compared to their out-group become smaller with increasing openness-to-change values.*

Openness-to-change primarily serves individualistic interests (Schwartz, 2012). Thus, based on congruity theory, we expect that individuals scoring higher on openness-to-change will more strongly prefer individual stimuli over group stimuli. We hypothesize:

*H6: Differences in (a) attitude toward the charity, (b) interest in additional information about the charity and (c) intention to donate money to the charity between charity appeals depicting an individual compared to a group of people are more positive with increasing openness-to-change values.*

### *Hedonism*

The goal of hedonism is pleasure or sensuous gratification for oneself (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). Based on prior literature, the relations between hedonism and in-group favouritism are unclear. Feather (1994) shows that the positive correlation between in-group bias and national identification is weaker for people who assign a greater importance to hedonistic values. National identification can, amongst others, lead to endorsement of brutal violence against outgroups. While Roccas et al. (2010) found a weak positive correlation between hedonism and national identification in one study, they found a strong negative correlation in another. In other studies, too, hedonism has been negatively correlated with ethnocentrism (e.g., Lewis & Maltby, 2000). On the other hand, hedonism is positively correlated with social dominance orientation, which is a measure of an individual's preference for hierarchy within any social system and the domination of the in-group over lower-status out-groups (Feather & Mckee, 2008). Thus, while the latter suggests that higher hedonism leads to focusing on the in-group, other studies contest that idea. Sagiv and Schwartz (1995) found no correlation between hedonism and interest in out-group social contact. We therefore expect no differential effects of hedonism on charity appeals depicting in-group compared to out-group models. We hypothesize:

*H7: Differences in (a) attitude toward the charity, (b) interest in additional information and (c) intention to donate between charity appeals depicting models belonging to the message recipients' in-group compared to their out-group are not moderated by hedonism values.*

Hedonism primarily serves individualistic interests (Schwartz, 2012). Based on the previous reasoning on congruity theory, we expect that individuals scoring higher on hedonism values will more strongly prefer individual stimuli over group stimuli. Hence:

*H8: Differences in (a) attitude toward the charity, (b) interest in additional information about the charity and (c) intention to donate money to the charity between charity appeals depicting an individual compared to a group of people are more positive with increasing hedonism values.*

### *Universalism*

Universalism values concern the welfare of all (Schwartz, 2010). There is a positive association between people's universalism values and their perceptions of immigration as having positive consequences, acceptance of out-group immigrants, and prosocial activity that benefits the wider society more strongly (Schwartz, 2007). Universalism is also associated with lower bias towards the in-group (Feather, 1994) and less prejudice (racism) toward out-groups (Feather & Mckee, 2008). McFarland, Webb, and Brown (2012) found that universalism is positively correlated with their concept of "Identification with All Humanity" (IWAH). IWAH, in turn, consistently predicts concern about humanitarian needs and support for universal human rights, including a willingness to invest national resources and to send troops to defend people around the world in situations such as genocide or ethnic cleansing (McFarland et al., 2012). Individuals high on the IWAH are also more prone to value the lives of out-group members equally with the lives of in-group members (McFarland et al., 2012).

In conclusion, universalism reflects a willingness to contribute to the welfare of all people and is related to considering all humanity as one's in-group. Therefore, individuals higher on universalism are expected to distinguish less between in-group and out-group charity appeals. Thus, we hypothesize the following for universalism:

*H9: Differences in (a) attitude toward the charity, (b) interest in additional information and (c) intention to donate between charity appeals depicting models belonging to the message recipients' in-group compared to their out-group become smaller with increasing universalism values.*

Universalism serve both collectivistic and individualistic interests and is therefore located on the between an individualistic value (self-direction) and a collectivistic value (benevolence) (Figure 1) (Schwartz, 1992). However, universalism is negatively correlated with individualism (Oishi et al., 1998) and primarily serve collectivistic values (Schwartz, 2012), which is why we will perceive it as a collectivistic value. Thus, based on congruity theory, we hypothesize:

*H10: Differences in (a) attitude toward the charity, (b) interest in additional information about the charity and (c) intention to donate money to the charity between charity appeals depicting an individual compared to a group of people are more negative with increasing universalism values.*

### *Benevolence*

While benevolence has been associated with universal human rights support (McFarland, 2010), Schwartz clearly proposes that benevolence refers primarily to care for "the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent contact" (i.e., the in-group) (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; Schwartz, 2010). (Balabanis, Mueller, & Melewar, 2002) argue that benevolence should reflect in an effort to preserve and enhance the welfare of one's countrymen and therefore positively predicts ethnocentrism. Feather (1994) found that individuals high on benevolence have a higher in-group bias than individuals low on benevolence. Doran (2010) found that non-buyers of Fair Trade products score higher on the value items "loyal" and "responsible" (both of which measure benevolence) than buyers. Fair-trade buying often benefits out-groups, as many fair trade initiatives are aimed at promoting the wellbeing of local farmers in developing countries (e.g., for coffee, tea or exotic fruit production). The results of Doran (2010) therefore suggest that feeling loyal and responsible for one's in-group can prevent consumers from identifying with, empathizing with, and subsequently sharing resources with members of out-groups. We hypothesize:

*H11: Differences in (a) attitude toward the charity, (b) interest in additional information and (c) intention to donate between charity appeals depicting models belonging to the message recipients' in-group compared to their out-group are more positive with increasing benevolence values.*

Schwartz (1992) indicates that benevolence primarily serve collective interests. Based on congruity theory, we expect the following:

*H12: Differences in (a) attitude toward the charity, (b) interest in additional information about the charity and (c) intention to donate money to the charity between charity appeals depicting an individual compared to a group of people are more negative with increasing benevolence values.*

## METHODOLOGY

We set up a 2 (singularity of the model(s): individual vs. group) x 2 (group belonging of the model(s): in-group vs. out-group) between-subject experiment in France. The charity that was selected was YouBridge, a small Belgian charity that wants to bridge the digital gap by providing individuals with hardware support and by knowledge sharing. YouBridge has projects both in Belgium and abroad (e.g., Nepal, Afghanistan), but is not active in France. This latter fact is important because we wanted to avoid potential confounds due to participants' prior knowledge of the charity. The charity appeal explained the goal of YouBridge (in French), namely: "YouBridge's mission is to empower the poorest people in France by providing them with laptops and free computer training. Find out how you can help in your local community by visiting [www.youbridge.fr](http://www.youbridge.fr)". The charity appeal pictured either a woman smiling and giving a "thumbs up", or a small group with an equal amount of men and women.

Referring to social identity theory, there are several factors that can impact the categorisation of individuals in in- or out-groups, such as religion, status difference, gender, and education. In this study, ethnicity as a social categorisation is used as the dimension that triggers the self/other perception (Karande, 2005). Ethnicity is often an important and early dimension of self-identification (Jenkins, 2014). People have a psychological connection to their ethnic in-group (Tropp & Wright, 2001). When groups are formed, race and ethnicity still creates the strongest divide in our personal environments, with age, religion, education, occupation, and gender following in that order (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Thus, similar to previous research (Ein-Gar & Levontin, 2013; Kogut & Ritov, 2005; Sierra, Hyman, & Torres, 2009), we manipulate model group belonging through ethnicity. In the in-group conditions, the woman or the group were (white) Caucasian, because almost 90% of the French population is Caucasian ("France's ethnic minorities: To count or not to count," 2009). For the out-group conditions, we wanted to select an ethnicity that would easily be recognized as "non-Caucasian". Additionally, the ethnicity had to be relatively rare in France, so that French individuals would likely view these people as out-group members. Asians are the smallest ethnic minority in France ("France's ethnic minorities: To count or not to count," 2009). We therefore selected an Indian woman and a small group of Indians for the out-group conditions. France does not have a complex history with India, in comparison to some of their former colonies. The stimuli were developed in French (see Appendix).

We collected data in France through the online panel of a professional market research agency. As a quality control, we removed respondents who did not answer correctly to a control question ("If you are answering this survey, please indicate strongly agree") or who spent 3 seconds or less on the page which contained the stimulus. The final sample consists of 172 respondents (all Caucasian, 46% male, average age: 41 years).

Respondents were first asked to report their ethnicity, age and gender. Next, they were randomly exposed to one of the four charity appeals, and subsequently answered the dependent variables on seven-point Likert-type scales: attitude toward the charity (3 items, Cronbach's alpha: .95) (Dean, 2002), interest to receive additional information about the charity (1 item) and intention to donate money to the charity (1 item). Lastly, the respondents had to indicate their Schwartz values. We used the short Schwartz values survey, where the importance of each of the ten values is rated on a seven-point scale (one item per value) (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005). Based on the theoretical justification explained above, we merged the following values into their higher-order values type: conservation (values: security, tradition and conformity, Cronbach's alpha: .80), self-enhancement, (values: achievement and power, Cronbach's alpha: .87) and openness-to-change (values: self-direction and stimulation, Cronbach's alpha: .73). Hedonism, universalism and benevolence are analysed as distinct values.

## RESULTS

We regressed the three dependent variables (attitude toward the charity, interest in additional information about the charity and intention to donate money to the charity) on model group belonging (0 = out-group, 1 = in-group), model singularity (0 = group, 1 = individual), the Schwartz values, and all



two-way and three-way interactions. We ran separate linear regressions for each dependent variable and for each Schwartz value (type).

There are no two-way interactions between *conservation* and model group belonging, rejecting H1. There is a significant two-way interaction between conservation and model singularity on the attitude toward the charity ( $\beta = -1.218$ ,  $p = .012$ ). Confirming H2a, the higher people score on conservation, the more favourably respond to a charity appeal depicting a group of people (compared to an individual), at least with respect to their attitude toward the charity.

There is a (marginally) significant interaction between *self-enhancement* and model group belonging on message recipients' interest in additional information ( $\beta = .575$ ,  $p = .083$ ) and intention to donate ( $\beta = .712$ ,  $p = .030$ ). This means that the preference for in-group stimuli over out-group appeals is greater for people higher on self-enhancement. This confirms H3b and H3c. There is also a marginally significant positive interaction between self-enhancement and model singularity ( $\beta = .627$ ,  $p = .062$ ) on the attitude toward the charity, confirming H4a.

There are no significant two-way interactions between *openness-to-change* on the one hand and model group belonging and model singularity on the other, rejecting H5 and H6.

No interactions are found between *hedonism* and model group belonging, rejecting H7. There is a marginally significant two-way interaction between hedonism and model singularity for the attitude toward the charity ( $\beta = .685$ ,  $p = .074$ ). The difference between charity appeals depicting an individual compared to a group of people is indeed more positive with increasing hedonism values, confirming H8a.

There are no interactions between *universalism* and model group belonging or model singularity, rejecting H9 and H10.

The interaction between *benevolence* and model group belonging is not significant for any of the dependent variables, rejecting H11. There is a marginally significant interaction between benevolence and model singularity on the attitude toward the charity ( $\beta = -1.025$ ,  $p = .063$ ). Higher benevolence reduces the preference for charity appeals depicting a single model over a group of people. This finding provides support for H12a.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study looks into how personal Schwartz values moderate the effects of model singularity and model group belonging on consumer responses to a charity appeal. Previous research has almost consistently found that people prefer in-group advertising stimuli (with models of their own ethnicity) over out-group stimuli (e.g., Brumbaugh & Grier, 2006). That finding could not be replicated in this context, as the main effect of model group belonging was never significant. The lack of a clear preference for in-group stimuli could be due to the particular context of charity appeals, where people may be more used to seeing out-group stimuli, and as such, out-group stimuli are schema congruent with charity advertising.

Our study further tried to qualify these findings by showing that responses may depend on the personal values of the individuals. The only significant effects that we documented here is that the preference for in-group over out-group stimuli is especially present with higher self-enhancement values. Previous research has also found that self-enhancement is positively correlated with in-group favouritism (Feather, 1994). We did not find an interaction between model group belonging and conservation, openness-to-change, hedonism, universalism and benevolence. For conservation, the lack of an interaction with model group belonging could be explained by our specific outcomes variables, which were related to the charity, and not to personal and social security, or the preservation of traditions or of norms. For openness-to-change, the motivational basis of tolerance transcends specific social circumstances (Roccas & Amit, 2011), and so whether the beneficiary is a part of the in-group or the out-group may matter less. Also, people who value self-direction prefer to make independent judgements based on their own experience and do not conform to outside pressures (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995), which can mean that they are less influenced by message framing techniques.

With respect to hedonism, the lack of interaction was expected, given the lack of consistent indications in previous research (e.g., Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). Since people with high hedonistic values are mainly focused on gaining personal gratification and pleasure, it does not seem to matter, in the end, whether they are helping an in- or out-group member. Universalism focuses on the understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection of the welfare of all people (Schwartz, 2012). One could argue then, that it does not matter much whether one is helping an individual or a group, or people of one's in-group or out-group. With respect to benevolence, the requested help towards out-group members in the present case does not necessarily threaten the loyalty towards the in-group, which could explain the lack of effects.

Previous research also mainly documents a preference for individuals over groups in charity appeals (Kogut & Ritov, 2005, 2007; Wiss et al., 2015). In this study, too, the main effect of model singularity was significant, but only on the attitude toward the charity. When considering the effects of Schwartz values on this relationship, we found that higher hedonism and self-enhancement values, both of which are related to individualism, reinforce the positive effects of a single model over a group depiction. On the other hand, higher conservation and benevolence, two more collectivistic values, reduce the difference. These results provide support for congruity theory, at least with respect to the interaction between model singularity and the Schwartz values. It should also be noted that the effects were only (marginally) significant for the attitude toward the charity. The only value that did not affect at least one of the responses here was universalism. To derive a hypothesis for model singularity, we argued, based on the most recent evidence, that universalism is rather a collectivistic value (Schwartz, 2012). However, in the original value framework, universalism serves both collectivistic and individualistic interests and is therefore located on the between an individualistic value (self-direction) and a collectivistic value (benevolence) (Schwartz, 1992). That could explain why there is no clear preference for either individual or group stimuli with increasing universalism levels.

There were no significant interactions between the message frames and either openness-to-change and universalism. We did find a main effect of both values on the attitude toward the charity and the interest in additional information. When prosocial behaviour leads to opportunities for freedom, creativity, curiosity, or arousal, individuals high on openness-to-change will engage in prosocial behaviour (Schwartz, 2010). Universalism values, too, have been related to a higher tendency to help, more favourable evaluations of charities (Joireman & Duell, 2007) and pledging larger contributions for international humanitarian relief (McFarland et al., 2012). However, this is not further moderated by the frame in the appeal.

## **IMPLICATIONS**

This paper examines two framing techniques in a charity appeal: model singularity (individual vs. group) and model group belonging (in-group vs. out-group). Managers should be aware that some Schwartz values will impact the responses to charity appeals. In general, managers may try to target individuals higher on openness-to-change or universalism, as these will respond relatively favourably to charity appeals, independent of the framing techniques. It should be noted, though, that, while they express a more positive attitude toward the charity and interest in additional information, they are not immediately more likely to donate money. Also, managers are in general recommended to use models belonging to the message recipients' in-group. Previous research already indicated that in-group appeals are preferred by message recipients. Overall, in this study, there were no significant differences between in-group and out-group appeals. However, in-group appeals in general do not score worse than out-group appeals, and they do score significantly better for individuals high on self-enhancement. So, in-group appeals may be the safe bet. Whether the ad should then depict an individual or a group of models does strongly depend upon the message recipients' values. Respondents with more collectivistic values (i.e., benevolence and conservation) will prefer to see groups in a charity appeal, while respondents with individualistic values (i.e., hedonism and self-enhancement) will prefer to see an individual.

## LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

There are several limitations to this study that encourage further research. First, the charity in the appeal was decreasing the digital gap. Charity appeals of other types such as issue-related charities (abortion rights, for example) or corporate giving (the act of for-profit companies donating some of their profits or resources to charity) may generate different results (Laufer, Silvera, McBride, & Schertzer, 2010). Further, different types of charities will generate different responses from message recipients based on their values. In what areas someone wants to contribute and help, will largely depend on his or her view of the "ideal" world. What that ideal world looks like depends on one's value system (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010). Similarity between personal values and the choice of charitable organizations increases the probability that a donation to that particular organization is made (Bennett, 2003). Second, the experiment was conducted with a relatively small sample in which we did not measure actual behaviour concerning money or time donation. Further research could, for example, give respondents a certain amount of money to either keep or divide between different charities or conduct a field experiment where actual donations can be monitored. Third, the combination of models with various ethnicities can be examined. It would be interesting to investigate how mixed groups are evaluated. Fourth, we only tested model group belonging based on ethnicity. This could partly explain the few interactions with model group belonging. There are several factors that can impact the categorisation of individuals in in- or out-group such as religion, status difference, age, gender, education. Different ways of categorisation could lead to different results.

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## APPENDIX: STIMULI (IN FRENCH)

### 1. In-group, individual model

La mission de YouBridge est de donner des pouvoirs aux personnes les plus pauvres en France en leur fournissant des ordinateurs portables et une formation informatique gratuite



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### 2. Out-group, individual model

La mission de YouBridge est de donner des pouvoirs aux personnes les plus pauvres en France en leur fournissant des ordinateurs portables et une formation informatique gratuite



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### 3. In-group, group of models

La mission de YouBridge est de donner des pouvoirs aux personnes les plus pauvres en France en leur fournissant des ordinateurs portables et une formation informatique gratuite



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### 4. Out-group, group of models

La mission de YouBridge est de donner des pouvoirs aux personnes les plus pauvres en France en leur fournissant des ordinateurs portables et une formation informatique gratuite



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