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**UNDERSTANDING THE DETERMINANTS OF DISPOSITION TO ACCEPT HELP AT THE
BOTTOM OF THE SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS LADDER**

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UNDERSTANDING THE DETERMINANTS OF DISPOSITION TO ACCEPT HELP AT
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MAURA FERREIRA

Understanding the Determinants of Disposition to Accept Help at the Bottom of the Socioeconomic Status Ladder

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Abstract

Prosocial consumer behavior research devotes great attention to donors/helpers but seems to overlook recipients of help. Moreover, socioeconomic status (SES) literature focuses on the effects of lower SES on prosocial behavior, but not on how this status influences disposition to accept help, yet lower SES consumers, who experience financial and social constraints, are commonly recipients of help. This dissertation aims to address these two gaps with two essays that suggest and investigate why and when lower SES consumers' disposition to accept help varies. The first essay shows results from a systematic literature review to support the idea that recipients of help are often ignored in consumer behavior literature, especially in studies devoted to prosocial consumer behavior. Then, drawing from social psychology literature, theoretical propositions relative to why and when lower SES consumers may accept less or more help are suggested. The second essay investigates the effect of helpers on disposition to accept help among lower (vs. higher) SES consumers. Results from three experimental studies (N = 887) reveal that who the helper is (i.e., a close or a distant helper) affects disposition to accept help among lower SES consumers but not among their higher SES counterparts – lower SES consumers accept less help from a distant (vs. close) helper, this effect is suggested by one of the propositions presented in the first essay. This dissertation advances prosocial consumer behavior literature by exploring disposition to accept help among potential recipients of help. By understanding what encourages donors/helpers to help and recipients to accept help, prosocial relationships become more effective. Moreover, the dissertation contributes to that literature as it suggests and investigates why and when disposition to accept help among lower SES consumers varies. Limited attention has been devoted to this topic, even though there are real-world evidence indicating that lower SES consumers may turn down available help.

Keywords: Prosocial consumer behavior, recipient of help, help, socioeconomic status.

Resumo

Pesquisas em comportamento prosocial do consumidor focam em consumidores que oferecem ajuda, mas tendem a ignorar potenciais beneficiários da ajuda oferecida. Ainda, a literatura em status socioeconômico (SES) se concentra no comportamento prosocial de consumidores de SES mais baixo, mas não em como este status pode influenciar a disposição destes consumidores a aceitarem ajuda oferecida gratuitamente, mesmo sendo estas pessoas potenciais recipientes de ajuda. O objetivo desta tese é o de endereçar estas duas lacunas por meio de dois artigos que sugerem e investigam os fatores que influenciam a disposição de consumidores de status socioeconômico mais baixo em aceitar ajuda. O primeiro artigo apresenta resultados de uma revisão sistemática da literatura que suporta a ideia de que recipientes de ajuda são geralmente ignorados em estudos em comportamento prosocial do consumidor e sugere proposições teóricas, respaldadas pela literatura na área de psicologia social, sobre os motivos e quando consumidores de SES mais baixo tendem a aceitar mais ou menos ajuda. O segundo artigo testa empiricamente uma das proposições sugeridas no primeiro artigo - o efeito de quem oferece ajuda na disposição de consumidores de baixo (vs. alto) SES aceitarem ajuda. Resultados de três estudos experimentais (N = 887) revelam que quem oferece ajuda (i.e., se alguém psicologicamente distante ou próximo do potencial beneficiário) afeta a disposição em aceitar ajuda entre consumidores de SES mais baixo, mas não entre aqueles com SES mais elevado – consumidores de baixo SES aceitam menos ajuda de alguém visto como distante (vs. próximo) a eles. Ao se compreender tanto o que encoraja doadores a ajudar quanto potenciais beneficiários a aceitarem ajuda, é possível promover relações prosociais mais efetivas.

Keywords: Comportamento prosocial do consumidor, recipientes de ajuda, ajuda, status socioeconômico.

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General Introduction

Socioeconomic status (SES), an individual's relative standing in society based on economic and social resources, is fundamental to how consumers behave and decide (Hamilton et al., 2019). Lower SES consumers have less money, lower educational level, and less social capital than their higher SES counterparts (Griskevicius et al., 2013), so they may need more help. Unfortunately, lower SES consumers may accept less help than one should expect (Wasik, 2017), but little is known about the factors influencing disposition to accept help among those consumers. In part this happens because prosocial consumer behavior literature has devoted no attention to potential recipients of help and what encourages these recipients to accept help, as I show in a systematic review of literature presented in the first essay of this dissertation - *Factors Influencing Disposition to Accept Help at the Bottom of the Socioeconomic Status Ladder*. Drawing from social psychology, I also present in this first essay five propositions on the factors that may influence lower SES consumers' disposition to accept help.

Sequentially, I introduce the second essay of this dissertation – *I Need Help, Not Yours: The Effect of Distant (vs. Close) Helpers on Disposition to Accept Help at the Bottom of the Socioeconomic Status Ladder* – in which I investigate the effect of distant (vs. close) helpers on lower SES consumers' disposition to accept help, an effect suggested in one of the propositions presented in the first essay. In this paper, results from three experimental studies using a diverse set of contexts show that lower SES consumers tend to accept less help from a distant than from a close helper. This effect is not observed among higher SES consumers.

Overall, this dissertation inaugurates a new stream of research on prosocial consumer behavior that focuses on recipients of help. The present dissertation contributes to advance prosocial consumer behavior literature as it shifts the focus from consumers who help to consumers who need help (i.e., lower SES consumers). This is an important movement since poverty has been increasing in countries as U.S. and Brazil (Telford, 2019; Neri, 2019), which means that many consumers in these countries might not be able to afford goods, services and professional assistance when they need support. So, lower SES consumers in both emerging and non-emerging countries might benefit from accepting help that is offered to them. In this sense, it is important to explore which factors may affect those consumers' disposition to accept help.

It is noteworthy that there are many initiatives to help lower SES consumers. For example, Lyft offers free ride for the unemployed go to job interviews (Vera 2019), governments offer financial assistance to the poor (Olson et al., 2016), funders provide scholarships to students of low income (Wasik, 2017). Nevertheless, before offering help to lower SES consumers, it is important to comprehend what influences these consumers' disposition to accept or turn down available help, what can contribute to managers and public policymakers that develop those initiatives. By understanding the recipients of help, as well as we understand donors/helpers, it will be possible to promote more effective prosocial relationships for both donors and recipients.

Factors Influencing Disposition to Accept Help at the Bottom of the Socioeconomic Status Ladder

Socioeconomic status (SES), an individual's relative standing in society based on economic and social resources, is fundamental to how consumers behave and decide (Hamilton et al., 2019). Lower SES consumers have less money, lower educational level, and less social capital than their higher SES counterparts (Griskevicius et al., 2013), so they may need more help. Interestingly, there is great focus on the effects of lower levels of SES on prosocial behaviors (Piff et al., 2010) but not on its influence on disposition to accept help, even though lower SES consumers are commonly recipients of help.

Indeed, many initiatives are tailored to provide free-cost help to lower SES consumers, but these consumers may accept less help than one should expect. For example, approximately \$49 billion dollars in scholarships are available for low-income students in the U.S. each year. Unfortunately, some of this amount goes unclaimed, even though these students cannot afford education, depending on loans that they might not be able to pay (The Economist, 2020; Wasik, 2017). One may argue that most of those students do not apply for available scholarships because they know it is impossible to succeed in view of the rigid requirements to get this financial support (Wasik, 2017; Stephens et al., 2019). However, the factors influencing disposition to accept help among low-income students as well as consumers of low SES, who are potential recipients of help, seems to be speculations not facts.

The impact of generosity is contingent on donors' disposition to give and recipients' disposition to receive, so that prosocial relationships are effective when there is an equilibrium between supply and demand, donors provide enough help, and recipients accept the available help (Baston & Powell, 2003). If donors fail to donate the form and the amount of help demanded by potential recipients, there is scarcity of help.

If needy recipients reject the available help, there is an increase of underused and wasted resources (Fisher et al., 1982).

Even though both donors and recipients are important agents to reach that equilibrium in prosocial relationships, prosocial consumer behavior literature seems to devote more attention to donors/helpers and the factors influencing their disposition to give and how much they give (see Allen et al., 2018; Savary et al., 2020; Shang et al., 2020) than to recipients of help and the factors that affect their disposition to accept help.

In this conceptual paper, I start addressing these gaps in prosocial consumer behavior and SES literature. First, a systematic review of literature in *Journal of Marketing*, *Journal of Marketing Research*, *Journal of Consumer Research*, and *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, where eighty papers were classified as being either helper-centric or recipient-centric, indicates that recipients of help are often ignored in prosocial consumer behavior literature, with seventy-eight papers classified as helper-centric. Then, drawing from literature on social psychology, I present factors that may influence lower SES consumers' disposition to accept help related to the characteristics of the recipient of help, the characteristics of the helper, and the characteristics of help.

It is noteworthy that areas as anthropology, sociology, and psychology consider the recipient of help by investigating topics as help seeking, perceptions towards donors/helpers, and the affective state of individuals who are helped (Fisher et al., 1982; Williams, 1995). To my knowledge, even in those areas there is an absence of both theoretical and empirical research that has primarily focused on determinants of disposition to accept help when this help is offered, my focus in the present paper.

Overall, the primary contribution of this paper to the prosocial consumer behavior literature is to shift the focus from consumers who help to consumers who need help, more specifically to lower SES consumers, who are potential recipients of help, and the factors

influencing their disposition to accept help. This is an important movement since poverty has been increasing in countries as U.S. and Brazil (Telford, 2019; Neri, 2019), which means that many consumers in these countries might not be able to afford goods, services and professional assistance when they need support. So, lower SES consumers in both emerging and non-emerging countries might benefit from accepting help that is offered to them. In this sense, it is important to explore which factors may affect disposition to accept help among those consumers.

It is noteworthy that there are many initiatives to help lower SES consumers (Olson et al., 2016). Nevertheless, before offering help to lower SES consumers, it is important to comprehend what influences these consumers' disposition to accept available help, what can contribute to managers and public policymakers that develop those initiatives. Interestingly, donors in general cannot correctly infer what recipients of help really want to receive, and so their donations tend not to match recipients' desires (Schroeder & Epley, 2020). By understanding the recipients of help, as well as we understand donors/helpers, it will be possible to promote more effective prosocial relationships for both donors and recipients.

The present paper is organized as follows: first I present a theoretical background on the conceptualization of help and the help-giving process elicited in prosocial relationships. Then, the systematic review of literature and the propositions relative to the factors influencing lower SES consumers' disposition to accept help are presented.

Help and the Help-Giving Process

Help is the act of making it easier or possible for someone to do something, according to the Cambridge Dictionary. Eventually, people are confronted by troublesome events that demand more resources or effort than they can provide alone (Gourash, 1978). In these circumstances, people tend to need help.

The help-giving process implies the existence of the helper – the agent who gives help and that can be a formal organization, an informal group or an individual – and the recipient of help – the agent who receives help and can be an individual, group or an organization (Rosen, 1971; Williams, 1995). By having these two agents, it is possible to have a help-giving process and a prosocial relationship (Baston & Powell, 2003; Gourash, 1978). Consumers can be both helpers and recipients of help depending on the circumstance (White et al., 2020). For instance, lower SES consumers are commonly recipients of help, as they may not be able to go through adversities by counting only on their sparse resources (Olson et al., 2016), but they are also helpers (Piff et al. 2010). In this sense, the same consumer who receives food stamp from the government may donate money to a community church. My focus in this paper is on the circumstance in which lower SES consumers are recipients of help, not donors/helpers.

Consumers who need help can have support provided by their friends or relatives, business companies, professional agents, philanthropy, and governmental institutions (Goenka & Osselaer, 2019; Mende et al., 2019; White et al., 2020; Williams, 1995). This help might be available for free or not. I name *free help* the free-cost support available to consumers. In this case, helpers do not charge for the support they offer, and consumers do not need to give something back to helpers, as a requirement to get help. Typical examples of *free help* are scholarships, charity/donation, assistance provided by some governmental programs, and help offered by friends, relatives, neighbors if they do not require something back as a retribution for their help (Gourash, 1978; Williams, 1995).

Conversely, I name *non-free help* the support given to consumers who are charged by the helper, they pay for this support or need to give something back to who offers support (Fisher et al., 1982; Williams, 1995). Examples of *non-free help* are the products and services aimed to help consumers that are offered by business companies (e.g., banks,

hospitals), private educational institutions (e.g., private universities and schools), and most of the support offered by professional agents (e.g., medical doctors, therapists, lawyers) to help consumers (Gorash, 1978; Mende et al., 2019). Although consumers usually pay for the help provided by business companies and professional agents (*non-free help*), there are initiatives where both business companies and professional agents offer *free help* to consumers in need (see Vera, 2019).

Free and *non-free help* can be autonomy-oriented, providing recipients with the means to succeed in further occasions without supplying an immediate solution (e.g., help provided by scholarships, workshops), or dependency-oriented, supporting recipients through an immediate solution but not supplying tools for future success (e.g., food stamp, rent assistance programs) (Anisman-Razin & Levontin, 2020). Prosocial consumer behavior literature has primarily focused on the factors that influence donors' disposition to provide *free help* to potential recipients, regardless of the orientation of help provided (for examples see Anisman-Razin & Levontin, 2020; White et al., 2020).

Help Seeking versus Offered Help

Consumers can seek help, or not, when they need help. *Help seeking* is the behavior of seeking others' support when one cannot manage a troublesome event alone (Gorash, 1978). It sounds logic to seek help when we need it. However, we sometimes need help, but do not seek it. Indeed, previous studies show that some individuals do not seek help even when they realize that help is needed (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Gorash, 1978). Not seeking help can be related to personal characteristics of the recipient of help, the helper, or characteristics of either the offered or the demanded help (Fisher et al., 1982). For instance, men seek help less than women when feeling sick (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). In this case, a characteristic of the recipient inhibits help seeking. Also, recipients do not seek help when they know that the helper will ask something back – a characteristic of the helper that inhibits help seeking

(Fisher et al., 1982). Undergraduate students with anxiety and depression tend not to seek help, even when they can afford it or help is available for free, because mental problems are stigmatized, so a characteristic of the demanded help inhibits help seeking (Hunt & Eisenberg, 2010).

Sometimes individuals can have free help even when they do not seek help, when someone offers help without help being requested, for example (Williams, 1995). A consumer can offer money to a homeless without being requested or a professor can offer help to a Ph.D. candidate who has problems with a final paper without the Ph.D. candidate asking for help. In these examples, the cost of seeking help is absent since help is offered and getting help should be less costly to recipients. Unfortunately, even when help is offered, individuals who need help may accept less help than one should expect (Fisher et al., 1982; Williams, 1995). There are factors that may influence disposition to accept offered help among potential recipients, but little is known about these factors, especially in consumer behavior and prosocial consumer behavior literatures. These literatures tend to devote great attention to donors/helpers and overlook recipients of help as I show next in a systematic review of literature.

Prosocial Consumer Behavior and the Helper-centric Perspective

Prosocial behavior can be considered an anomaly as, by nature, individuals tend to be selfish (Baston & Powell, 2003). Consequently, a traditional stream of research on prosocial behavior focusing on the determinants of individuals' disposition to help flourished (Baston & Powell, 2003). This way, it is not a surprise that prosocial consumer behavior literature, a behavior investigated in marketing and consumer behavior areas, seems to devote more attention to factors influencing consumers' disposition to help than consumers' disposition to accept free help (see Allen et al., 2018; Goenka & Osselaer, 2019; Kulow & Karmer, 2016). To investigate if indeed literature in prosocial consumer behavior tends to

devote less attention to recipients of help, I conducted a systematic review of literature in the most prestigious journals in marketing and consumer behavior – Journal of Marketing (JM), Journal of Marketing Research (JMR), Journal of Consumer Research (JCR), and Journal of Consumer Psychology (JCP). In this review, I also included an issue of Journal of the Association for Consumer Research (JACR) on prosocial consumer behavior.

I reviewed papers in those journals using the keywords: aid, charity, charitable giving, donation, donor, help, helper, recipient of help and recipient of aid. Eighty-one papers in the years 1971-2020 were extracted. The abstract of each paper was analyzed to see if indeed the papers presented research on helper/donor, help/donation, and recipient of help/donation. Based on this analysis one paper that explored consumers' responses to corporate social responsibility contribution type (Hildebrand et al. 2017) was excluded as it did not address specifically consumers who are helpers/donors or recipients of help/donation. Then, eighty papers were classified according to the agent (helper or recipient of help) explored by the paper. The papers included in this classification were the ones which primarily focused on prosocial consumer behavior, helper-recipient relationships, or papers that presented at least one study on prosocial consumer behavior. I considered a paper as "helper-centric" if the main objective of the paper was to explore dispositional and non-dispositional factors influencing consumers' disposition to donate, help, or volunteer or if overall the paper devoted more attention to donors/helpers than to recipients. A paper was classified as "recipient-centric" if its main objective was to explore dispositional and non-dispositional factors influencing consumers' disposition to accept donation, help, aid, support or if overall the paper devoted more attention to recipients of help than to donors/helpers.

Seventy-eight papers (97.5%) were classified as helper-centric papers as they tend not to consider recipients of help at all. These papers explore primarily determinants of disposition to donate/help and how much consumers donate. These determinants are related to

characteristics of the donor/helper (e.g., Kaikati et al., 2017; Lee et al., 2014), situational dispositions as type of donation/help (e.g., Gershon & Cryder, 2018; Macdonnell & White, 2015) and donation appeals (e.g., Goenka & Osselaer, 2019; Liang et al., 2016). Interestingly, a few papers investigated the effect of who the recipient was on helpers/donors' disposition to help or donate (e.g., Cryder et al., 2017) – these papers do not take the perspective of recipients, instead they show how donors/helpers viewed those recipients and how this influences donations, so they were classified as “helper-centric”.

On the other hand, two papers (2.5%) were classified as recipient-centric papers as they devoted some attention to recipients of help (Baker & Hill, 2013; Kim et al., 2016). The first paper explored how members from a community that experienced a natural disaster make sense of material objects that can be damage goods or donated goods. Note that the objective of this paper, according to the authors, was to answer the question “what do material goods intended for personal consumption mean to community?”. Even though the focus of the paper was not on recipients of help/donation *per se*, potential recipients of help were investigated. The second paper is directly concerned with recipients of help, but it is not directly related to prosocial consumer behavior. In this paper, the authors investigated reactions to digital assistance among gamers showing that consumers enjoy less computer games when the computerized helper is imbued with humanlike features than when the helper is viewed as a mindless entity (Kim et al., 2016). Besides, it is noteworthy that those two papers do not address lower SES consumers as potential recipients of help.

Overall, the review of literature reveals that the recipient of help, a valuable side of prosocial relationships, is often ignored on prosocial consumer behavior research. Ignoring consumers who are recipients of help is like ignoring the demand side in market relationships. One cannot deeply understand prosocial relationships by ignoring recipients of help as well as

one cannot completely understand market relationships by ignoring the demand side in these relationships.

Bearing these points in mind, in the next section I explore the factors influencing disposition to accept free help among lower SES consumers.

Factors Influencing Disposition to Accept Help Among Lower SES Consumers

Following Fisher et al. (1982) seminal paper on recipients of help, I divided the factors that may influence lower SES consumers' disposition to accept free help into three categories: their own characteristics, characteristics of the helper, and characteristics of offered help. These categories represent important elements of prosocial relationships that may affect recipients' reactions towards help (Fisher, et al., 1982).

Characteristics of Recipient of Help in Low SES Contexts

Lower SES consumers might need help more than their higher SES counterparts as affording support provided by professional agents or business companies is often difficult for these consumers for example (Mende et al., 2019). Although lower SES consumers may need more help, their condition may reduce their disposition to accept help. This may happen not because these consumers are unaware of needing help or of the availability of free help. Instead, lower SES consumers are exposed to specific environmental cues – unmanageable events, lack of opportunities, less access to educational institutions and high social status jobs (Ross & Sastry, 1999; Stephens et al., 2019) – that activate specific behavioral and cognitive modes that may influence their disposition to accept free help. These modes are the learned helplessness mode and the non-entitlement mode.¹

¹ These modes were originated based on conversations I had with Erick Mas during my visiting scholar period and I thank him for his valuable insights into the modes.

The Learned Helplessness Mode

Being low on SES means being constantly exposed to unstable environments and unmanageable events, what reduces the sense of personal control (Pepper & Nettle, 2017). When this sense is reduced, people feel that outcomes do not depend on their own behaviors (Kraus et al., 2009; Pepper & Nettle, 2017). Consequently, the sense of powerlessness arises (Ross & Sastry, 1999). High sense of powerlessness leads to less action and approach (Galinsky et al., 2003; Keltner et al., 2003), so lower levels of SES might lead to less action to change an aversive condition.

This way, high sense of uncontrollability and powerlessness might evoke a learned helplessness mode (Maier & Seligman, 1976; Ross & Sastry, 1999). Learned helplessness results from the exposure to an uncontrollable negative stimulus that elicits perceived uncontrollability over an aversive condition, inhibiting individuals to voluntarily escape from this condition (Abramson & Seligman, 1978; Maier & Seligman, 1976). Accepting help is a possible strategy used to “escape” from a current or future aversive event.

Lower levels of SES may lead to the learned helplessness mode, decreasing consumers’ disposition to accept help.

Proposition 1: Lower levels of SES activate the learned helplessness mode what reduces consumers’ disposition to accept help.

The Non-entitlement Mode

Lower SES individuals cannot compete with their higher SES counterparts equally (Stephens et al., 2019). Besides lacking resources, these individuals often face unfriendly environments in educational institutions and job market – environments that are not tailored to have individuals with their backgrounds but are gatekeepers of a successful life (Kraus et al., 2017). Not coincidentally, lower SES consumers are often behind and tend to succeed less than their higher SES counterparts (Stephens et al., 2019).

All these cues may signal to lower SES consumers that they do not deserve to get what they want to or even succeed as others do. So, lower levels of SES may reduce consumers' sense of entitlement – a sense that one deserves specific reward or outcome and is entitled more than others (Campbell et al., 2004) – activating a non-entitlement mode. Furthermore, lower levels of SES lead to an interdependent mode of self, where individuals are more connected to others and want to be more similar to their counterparts (Kraus et al., 2012). The sense of entitlement may not fit into the interdependent model of self.

By believing that they do not deserve, lower SES consumers may accept less help when help is offered.

Proposition 2: Lower levels of SES activate a non-entitlement mode reducing consumers' disposition to accept help.

Reciprocity and Low SES

Besides those modes, I predict that the norm of reciprocity may discourage lower SES consumers from accepting help. This prediction is based on the idea that the norm of reciprocity is a motivational force underlying the behavior of potential recipients of help (Rosen, 1971; Fisher et al., 1982). Reciprocity indicates an internalization of norms that require recipients to repay the helper, varying according to the motives and needs of both recipient and helper who are engaged in a prosocial interaction (Baston & Powel, 2003; Rosen, 1971). Even when free help is offered, the norm of reciprocity may be salient (Williams, 1995).

Although the value of help, instead of its costs, may influence lower SES individuals' disposition to accept help (Rosen, 1971), lower levels of SES imply less access to resources and, consequently, less capability to reciprocate when help is accepted. In this sense, when the norm of reciprocity is salient there is a cost of accepting help and lower SES consumers may

accept less help. On the other hand, if this norm is not salient, these consumers should accept more help.

Proposition 3: Lower levels of SES reduce (increase) disposition to accept help when the norm of reciprocity is (is not) salient.

Characteristics of the Helper

The helper is an important agent in prosocial relationships (Fisher et al., 1982), being the primary interest of prosocial consumer behavior literature, as I demonstrated in the systematic review of literature. Since my focus is on recipients of help who are low on SES, in this section I am going to present some characteristics of the helper that may affect those recipients' disposition to accept help.

Close vs. Distant Helper

Group affiliation is a natural and essential behavior for individuals (Baumeister, 1982). This helps them to identify in-group (i.e., close ones) and out-group (i.e., distant ones) members as well as define themselves as a member, or not, of a specific group (Brewer & Gardner, 1996).

SES activates different models relative to the dependency and independence that individuals have on others and the groups they belong to, what influences their relationships, decisions and behaviors (Kraus et al., 2012). Lower levels of SES foster an interdependent model of self, so individuals of low SES tend to pay more attention to, be more connect with and affected by others, especially close others (Dietze & Knowles, 2021; Kraus et al., 2009). Conversely, higher levels of SES foster an independent model of self in which individuals viewed themselves as separate from others, even from in-group individuals, being less connected with and paying less attention to others (Dietze & Knowles, 2021; Kraus et al., 2012). This model encourages individuals to behave and make decisions regardless of others' opinions and needs, even close others (Stephens et al., 2019).

Therefore, I propose that who the helper is should play an important role on lower SES consumers' disposition to accept help but not on their higher SES counterparts' disposition. Since lower SES consumers view themselves as an interdependent entity, being more connected with close than with distant others (Dietze & Knowles 2021; Shang et al., 2008), they may accept less help from a helper viewed as a distant helper (e.g., an international NGO) than from a helper viewed as a close helper (e.g., a community leader).

Proposition 4: Lower levels of SES reduce (increase) disposition to accept help when the helper is a distant (a close) other.

Characteristics of Offered Help

The instrumental qualities of help as the efficacy of help to the recipients tend to affect disposition to accept help (Fisher et al., 1982). Lower levels of SES can activate a scarcity mindset (Goldsmith et al., 2020; Griskevicius et al., 2013). The activation of this mindset implies focus on pressing needs and on the present moment (Shah et al., 2013). So, I predict that lower SES consumers' disposition to accept help is influenced by the orientation of help that is offered to them. Dependency-oriented help (Anisman-Razin & Levontin, 2020) should resolve lower SES consumers' pressing needs in the present moment, what converges with the scarcity mindset, increasing their disposition to accept help. Conversely, autonomy-oriented help (Anisman-Razin & Levontin, 2020), which diverges from the cognitive mode imposed by the scarcity mindset, should decrease those consumers' disposition.

Proposition 5: Lower levels of SES reduce (increase) disposition to accept help when autonomy-oriented (dependency-oriented) help is provided.

Overall, each proposition represents a possible idea for further research on why and when lower SES consumers' disposition to accept help varies regarding their socioeconomic condition, who offers help and the offered help. In the second essay, I address *proposition 4*.

Conclusion

The present paper addresses an important side of prosocial relationships, the recipient of help. The paper devotes attention to lower SES consumers who have greater needs and, so, are potential recipients of help. First, the help-giving process that occurs in prosocial relationships is presented. Then, I show a systematic review of literature in five top-tier journals in Marketing and Consumer Behavior areas that supports the idea that prosocial consumer behavior literature tends to ignore the recipient-side of prosocial relationships as this literature encompasses a help-centric perspective. Finally, five propositions on disposition to accept help among lower SES consumers are presented. These propositions are related to characteristics of the recipient, the helper and the help. This paper represents a new perspective on prosocial consumer behavior literature and may be a guide for academics, managers and public policymakers interested in the effects of consumers' SES on disposition to accept help.

Appendix

Reference	Orientation	Abstract
Mindak, W. A., & Bybee, H. M. (1971). Marketing's application to fund raising. <i>Journal of Marketing</i> , 35(3), 13-18.	Helper-centric	In a recent issue of the <i>Journal of Marketing</i> , Professors Kotler and Levy maintained that marketing is a societal activity which goes considerably beyond the selling of toothpaste, soap, and steel. They suggested that the basic concepts of product development, pricing, distribution, and communication also apply to nonbusiness organizations interested in services, persons, and ideas. Further, they challenged marketing people to expand their thinking and to apply their skills to an increasing range of social activity rather than to a narrowly defined business activity. This article is in part a response to that challenge. It discusses a specific case study which applied marketing concepts to a March of Dimes fund raising campaign. The concepts utilized in the study include many of those suggested by Kotler and Levy, plus some additional systematic factors (which are often peculiar to the marketing of ideas and causes). In addition, the article provides some specific examples of communication factors.
Pessemier, E. A., Bemmaor, A. C., & Hanssens, D. M. (1977). Willingness to supply human body parts: Some empirical results. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i> , 4(3), 131-140.	Helper-centric	Despite the serious shortage of human body parts for transplantation purposes, little research has been done to provide guidance for action. Based on sample data, this pilot study examines the demographic and attitudinal characteristics of potential donors. The results have direct relevance for programs to increase the supply of body parts.
Reingen, P. H. (1978). On inducing compliance with requests. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i> , 5(2), 96-102.	Helper-centric	Six behavioral influence strategies of inducing people to comply with a request to donate money were investigated in a field experiment. The findings, replicated with a different subject population, demonstrate the efficacy of several alternatives to a direct request for compliance. Possible processes that could explain the results are discussed.
Miller, S. J. (1978). Source of income as a market descriptor. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i> , 15(1), 129-131.	Helper-centric	---
Burnett, J. J. (1981). Psychographic and demographic characteristics of blood donors. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i> , 8(1), 62-66.	Helper-centric	This study attempts to delineate new demographic and behavioral characteristics of blood donors and nondonors. Results indicate that donors tend to be male, married with children, have rare blood types and low self-esteem, to be low risk takers, very concerned with health, better educated, religious, and quite conservative.
Brockner, J., Guzzi, B., Kane, J., Levine, E., & Shaplen, K. (1984). Organizational fundraising: Further evidence on the effect of legitimizing small donations. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i> , 11(1), 611-614.	Helper-centric	Prior research has shown that by legitimizing paltry donations in face-to-face contact with prospective donors, fundraisers may increase the amount of money allocated to highly visible charitable organizations. The present study suggests that this "legitimization effect" also occurs when donors are requested to allocate funds to a relatively less well-known organization, through telephone as well as face-to-face contact.
Fraser, C., Hite, R. E., & Sauer, P. L. (1988). Increasing contributions in solicitation campaigns: The use of large and small anchorpoints. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i> , 15(2), 284-287.	Helper-centric	Charitable contribution requests including legitimization of paltry contributions or a large anchorpoint are examined. Results show that a large anchorpoint increases average contributions, legitimization of paltry contributions enhances compliance rates, and the combined use of a large anchorpoint and legitimization of paltry contributions does not significantly alter compliance or contribution sizes.

<p>LaTour, S. A., & Manrai, A. K. (1989). Interactive impact of informational and normative influence on donations. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 26(3), 327-335.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Two field experiments manipulating informational and normative influence demonstrate that they interact to yield substantial increases in donations. Informational influence involved a message about the positive consequences of donating (e.g., helping to save lives). These results are contrary to those of several prospective correlational studies that found no relationship between these variables and do- nation behavior.</p>
<p>Bendapudi, N., Singh, S. N., & Bendapudi, V. (1996). Enhancing helping behavior: An integrative framework for promotion planning. <i>Journal of Marketing</i>, 60(3), 33-49.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Charitable organizations play a vital role in our society, as is evidenced by their enormous economic and social impact. Yet, for many of them, soliciting adequate resources to carry out their mandates is a continuing struggle. Confronted with a growing need for their services, fierce competition from other charities, and shrinking support from government agencies, charities may turn to marketers for help in developing effective promotional strategies. Unfortunately, marketing literature is unable to provide meaningful guidance because scant research attention has hampered a fuller understanding of why people help. The authors integrate relevant research in marketing, economics, sociology, and social psychology to advance theoretical understanding of helping behavior. They develop research propositions regarding specific promotional strategies that charitable organizations can employ to elicit help.</p>
<p>Strahilevitz, M., & Myers, J. G. (1998). Donations to charity as purchase incentives: How well they work may depend on what you are trying to sell. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 24(4), 434-446.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>This article focuses on the bundling of products with promised contributions to charity. Two lab experiments and one field study are conducted that compare the effectiveness of promised donations to charity in promoting "practical necessities" (e.g., a box of laundry detergent) to their effectiveness in promoting "frivolous luxuries" (e.g., a hot fudge sundae). The results suggest that charity incentives are more effective in promoting frivolous products than in promoting practical products. This research extends prior work on the effects of bundling complementary positive outcomes into the domain of affect-based complementarity with product-charity bundles.</p>
<p>Fisher, R. J., & Ackerman, D. (1998). The effects of recognition and group need on volunteerism: A social norm perspective. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 25(3), 262-275.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>The significance of volunteering for both individuals and society has led to numerous studies on this behavior across the social sciences. However, virtually no prior research has evaluated how and to what extent organizations can effectively encourage individuals to contribute time to a worthy cause. The present research uses a social norm perspective to examine the conditions under which promotional appeals based on group need and promises of recognition affect volunteerism. The perspective suggests that norm compliance can be expected only when the prescribed behavior is both important to the group's welfare and subject to group-mediated rewards. Consequently, we hypothesize that promotional appeals based on group need and promised recognition are effective only when they are used in combination. Results of a laboratory and a field experiment are consistent with this hypothesis and provide insights into the process by which the appeals affect individuals' decisions to help. The results also have implications for understanding and promoting other socially desirable behaviors such as recycling, energy conservation, litter reduction, and the purchase of "green" products.</p>

<p>Lichtenstein, D. R., Drumwright, M. E., & Braig, B. M. (2004). The effect of corporate social responsibility on customer donations to corporate-supported nonprofits. <i>Journal of Marketing</i>, 68(4), 16-32.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Both theory and recent research evidence suggest that a corporation's socially responsible behavior can positively affect consumers' attitudes toward the corporation. The effect occurs both directly and indirectly through the behavior's effect on customer–corporation identification. The authors report the results of four studies designed to replicate and extend these findings. Using a field survey design, Study 1 provides evidence that perceived corporate social responsibility affects not only customer purchase behavior through customer–corporate identification but also customer donations to corporate-supported nonprofit organizations. Using experimental designs, Studies 2 and 3 replicate and extend the Study 1 findings by providing additional evidence for the mediating role of customer–corporate identification on the relationship between corporate social responsibility and customer donations. However, the combined results of Studies 2 and 3 also show that because of a “perceived opportunity to do good” by supporting a company that is changing its ways, consumers are more likely to donate to a corporate supported nonprofit when the corporation has a weaker historical record of socially responsible behavior. Finally, Study 4 tests the relationship between the nonprofit domain and the domain of the corporation's socially responsible behavior as a boundary condition for this effect.</p>
<p>Khan, U., & Dhar, R. (2006). Licensing effect in consumer choice. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 43(2), 259-266.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Most choices in the real world follow other choices or judgments. The authors show that a prior choice, which activates and boosts a positive self concept, subsequently licenses the choice of a more self-indulgent option. The authors propose that licensing can operate by committing to a virtuous act in a preceding choice, which reduces negative self attributions associated with the purchase of relative luxuries. Five studies demonstrate the proposed licensing effect of a prior commitment to a virtuous act on subsequent choice (including choice in donation context). Consistent with the authors' theory, the preference for an indulgent option diminishes if the licensing task is attributed to an external motivation. The authors also report a mediation analysis in support of their theoretical explanation that the licensing effect operates by providing a temporary boost in the relevant self concept.</p>
<p>Reed, A., Aquino, K., & Levy, E. (2007). Moral identity and judgments of charitable behaviors. <i>Journal of Marketing</i>, 71(1), 178-193.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>In several studies, the authors examine the potential to leverage a consumer's moral identity to enhance brand and company identification and promote goodwill through community relations. Studies 1a and 1b show that even when opportunity costs are equivalent (subjectively or economically), consumers who also have a highly self-important moral identity perceive the act of giving time versus money as more moral and self-expressive. The authors extend these findings to self-reported preferences and establish boundary conditions in two additional studies. Consumers with higher organizational status prefer to give money versus time, but this preference is weaker for those with a highly self-important moral identity (Study 2), and the preference for giving time versus money is more likely to emerge when the moral self is primed and the time given has a moral purpose (Study 3).</p>
<p>Shang, J., Reed, A., & Croson, R. (2008). Identity congruency effects on donations. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 45(3), 351-361.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>This article describes several field and laboratory experiments that investigate an identity congruency effect on donations. Experiment 1 is a field experiment showing that consumers give more money to a public radio station if they are told that a previous donor who shares their identity also made a large contribution. This effect is more likely to occur when consumers have high collective-identity esteem (measured in Experiment 2a) and when attention is focused on others (manipulated in Experiment 2b). The authors measure these two moderators simultaneously and observe and replicate a three-way interaction. Again, the identity congruency effect is the strongest when consumers have high collective-identity esteem and when attention is focused on others (Experiment 3a and Experiment 3b).</p>

<p>Liu, W., & Aaker, J. (2008). The happiness of giving: The time-ask effect. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 35(3), 543-557.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>These results provide a novel understanding of the causes of the identity congruency effect on donations. The authors conclude with a discussion of the theoretical and substantive implications of these findings.</p> <p>This research examines how a focus on time versus money can lead to two distinct mind-sets that affect consumers' willingness to donate to charitable causes. The results of three experiments, conducted both in the lab and in the field, reveal that asking individuals to think about "how much time they would like to donate" (vs. "how much money they would like to donate") to a charity increases the amount that they ultimately donate to the charity. Fueling this effect are differential mind-sets activated by time versus money. Implications for the research on time, money, and emotional well-being are discussed.</p>
<p>Fisher, R. J., Vandenbosch, M., & Antia, K. D. (2008). An empathy-helping perspective on consumers' responses to fund-raising appeals. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 35(3), 519-531.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>The research examines viewers' actual responses to four televised fund-raising drives by a public television station over a 2-year period. The 584 pledge breaks we studied contain 4,868 individual appeals that were decomposed into two underlying dimensions based on the empathy-helping hypothesis: the appeal beneficiary (self versus other) and emotional valence (positive versus negative). We find that the most effective fund-raising appeals communicate the benefits to others rather than to the self and evoke negative rather than positive emotions. Appeals that emphasize benefits to the self significantly reduce the number of calls to the station, particularly when they have a positive emotional valence.</p>
<p>Small, D. A., & Simonsohn, U. (2008). Friends of victims: Personal experience and prosocial behavior. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 35(3), 532-542.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Why do different people give to different causes? We show that the sympathy inherent to a close relationship with a victim extends to other victims suffering from the same misfortunes that have afflicted their friends and loved ones. Both sympathy and donations are greater among those related to a victim, and they are greater among those in a communal relationship as compared to those in an exchange relationship. Experiments that control for information support causality and rule out the alternative explanation that any effect is driven by the information advantage possessed by friends of victims.</p>
<p>Hung, I. W., & Wyer Jr, R. S. (2009). Differences in perspective and the influence of charitable appeals: When imagining oneself as the victim is not beneficial. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 46(3), 421-434.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Advertisements often stimulate consumers to imagine themselves in a situation in which they would personally benefit from using the product being advertised. However, when an advertisement is intended to induce consumers to benefit someone else (e.g., to donate money for relief of disaster victims), stimulating them to imagine themselves in the situation confronting the beneficiary can sometimes conflict with the image they form of themselves as a potential helper. This conflict in imagined perspective can decrease the advertisement's effectiveness. Five studies confirm this hypothesis. When participants took the perspective of the beneficiary at the time they read an appeal for help, characteristics of the appeal that increased the ease with which they could imagine the situation from this perspective (e.g., a picture of the victim) had a positive effect on both their urge to help and the amount of money they donated. However, when they had an a priori disposition to take the perspective of a potential donor at the time they read the appeal, these same characteristics decreased the appeal's effectiveness.</p>

<p>White, K., & Peloza, J. (2009). Self-benefit versus other-benefit marketing appeals: Their effectiveness in generating charitable support. <i>Journal of Marketing</i>, 73(4), 109-124.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Despite the growing need, nonprofit organization marketers have not yet fully delineated the most effective ways to position charitable appeals. Across five experiments, the authors test the prediction that other-benefit (self-benefit) appeals generate more favorable donation support than self-benefit (other-benefit) appeals in situations that heighten (versus minimize) public self-image concerns. Public accountability, a manipulation of public self awareness, and individual differences in public self-consciousness all moderate the effect of appeal type on donor support. In particular, self-benefit appeals are more effective when consumers' responses are private in nature; in contrast, other-benefit appeals are more effective when consumers are publicly accountable for their responses. This effect is moderated by norm salience and is related to a desire to manage impressions by behaving in a manner consistent with normative expectations. The results have important managerial implications, suggesting that rather than simply relying on one type of marketing appeal across situations, marketers should tailor their marketing message to the situation or differentially activate public self-image concerns to match the appeal type.</p>
<p>Small, D. A., & Verrochi, N. M. (2009). The face of need: Facial emotion expression on charity advertisements. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 46(6), 777-787.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Advertisements for charities often display photographs of the people they help to evoke the kind of sympathy that engenders giving. This article examines how the expression of emotion on a victim's face affects both sympathy and giving. Building on theories of emotional contagion and sympathy, the authors propose that (1) people "catch" the emotions displayed on a victim's face and (2) they are particularly sympathetic and likely to donate when they see sad expressions versus happy or neutral expressions. Consistent with emotional contagion, participants felt sadder when viewing a sad-faced victim, and their own sadness mediated the effect of emotion expression on sympathy. Contagion effects are automatic and non-inferential, but they are diminished by deliberative thought. The authors discuss the implications of using subtle emotional expressions on charitable and other marketing appeals.</p>
<p>Winterich, K. P., Mittal, V., & Ross Jr, W. T. (2009). Donation behavior toward in-groups and out-groups: The role of gender and moral identity. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 36(2), 199-214.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>We investigate how two important social identities - gender identity and moral identity - result in differential donations to in-groups and out-groups. Results from three studies indicate that moral identity importance tends to increase donations to out-groups (Iraq, Indonesia) and not to in-groups (London, New Orleans). However, this occurs only for consumers with a feminine gender identity. For consumers with a masculine gender identity, moral identity importance increases donations to the in-group but not the out-group. Inclusion of Other in the Self (IOS) mediates the moderating role of gender identity on the effect of moral identity on in-group and out-group donations.</p>
<p>Van Diepen, M., Donkers, B., & Franses, P. H. (2009). Dynamic and competitive effects of direct mailings: A charitable giving application. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 46(1), 120-133.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>The authors propose a dynamic direct mailing response model with competitive effects. Purchase and promotion history are incorporated to map the dynamic competitive interactions among the firms sending the mailings. The authors investigate the impact of direct mailings on the revenues of each firm and its competitors over time. The model accounts for endogeneity of the mailing decision and for unobserved heterogeneity across households. The model is considered in a charitable giving setting, in which households often receive many direct mailings of different charities within a short period and competition is strong. The authors construct a unique database by merging the databases of three large charity organizations in the Netherlands. This results in household level data on the direct mailings households received from and their donations to each of the three charities. The results show that a charity's own mailings are short-term substitutes; that is, an extra mailing cannibalizes the revenues of subsequent mailings. Furthermore, competitive charitable direct mailings tend to be short-term complements; that is, the direct</p>

<p>Puntoni, S., Sweldens, S., & Tavassoli, N. T. (2011). Gender identity salience and perceived vulnerability to breast cancer. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 48(3), 413-424.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>mailings increase the total pie that is divided among the charities. In the long run, these effects die out. The results are also interpreted from a behavioral perspective.</p> <p>Breast cancer communications that make women's gender identity salient can trigger defense mechanisms and thereby interfere with key objectives of breast cancer campaigns. In a series of experiments, the authors demonstrate that increased gender identity salience lowered women's perceived vulnerability to breast cancer (experiments 1a, 3a, and 3b), reduced their donations to ovarian cancer research (experiment 1b), made breast cancer advertisements more difficult to process (experiment 2a), and decreased ad memory (experiment 2b). These results are contrary to the predictions of several prominent theoretical perspectives and a convenience sample of practitioners. The reduction in perceived vulnerability to breast cancer following gender identity primes can be eliminated by self-affirmation (experiment 3a) and fear voicing (experiment 3b), corroborating the hypothesis that these effects are driven by unconscious defense mechanisms.</p>
<p>Winterich, K. P., & Barone, M. J. (2011). Warm glow or cold, hard cash? Social identity effects on consumer choice for donation versus discount promotions. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 48(5), 855-868.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Across five studies, the authors investigate how social identification influences consumer preference for discount-based promotions (i.e., cents-off deals) versus donation-based promotions (in which purchase results in a donation to a charitable cause). In doing so, they demonstrate the interplay between self-construal and a specific social identity (i.e., that associated with the particular charity featured in a donation-based promotion) on consumers' preferences for these two types of promotions. The results show that, in general, consumers possessing interdependent self-construals prefer donations to a greater extent than those with independent self-construals. However, the findings further indicate that these effects of self-construal are attenuated if (1) the donation-based promotion does not involve a charity that is identity congruent or (2) a cause-congruent identity is more salient than self-construal at the time of decision making. The authors also identify boundary conditions of charity efficiency and product type for these self-construal effects. In addition to demonstrating how multiple identities interact to influence consumer promotion preferences, the authors discuss important managerial implications regarding the use of discount versus donation-based promotions.</p>
<p>Kurt, D., Inman, J. J., & Argo, J. J. (2011). The influence of friends on consumer spending: The role of agency-communion orientation and self-monitoring. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 48(4), 741-754.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Four studies investigate the interactive influence of the presence of an accompanying friend and a consumer's agency-communion orientation on the consumer's spending behaviors. In general, the authors find that shopping with a friend can be expensive for agency-oriented consumers (e.g., males) but not for communion-oriented consumers (e.g., females). That is, consumers who are agency oriented spend significantly more when they shop with a friend (vs. when they shop alone), whereas this effect is attenuated for consumers who are communion oriented. The results also show that this interactive effect is moderated by individual differences in self-monitoring such that friends are especially influential for consumers who are high in self-monitoring, but the effects occur in opposite directions for agency- and communion-oriented consumers (i.e., agentic consumers spend more with a friend, while communal consumers spend less when accompanied by a friend). Finally, the authors test the underlying process and document that the interaction of agency-communion orientation, the presence of a friend, and self-monitoring is reversed when the focal context is changed from "spending for the self" to "donating to a charity." They conclude with a discussion of implications for research and practice.</p>

<p>Zhou, X., Wildschut, T., Sedikides, C., Shi, K., & Feng, C. (2012). Nostalgia: The gift that keeps on giving. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 39(1), 39-50.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Nostalgia, a sentimental longing for a personally experienced and valued past, is a social emotion. It refers to significant others in the context of momentous life events and fosters a sense of social connectedness. On this basis, the authors hypothesized that (1) nostalgia promotes charitable intentions and behavior, and (2) this effect is mediated by empathy with the charity's beneficiaries. Five studies assessed the effect of nostalgia on empathy, intentions to volunteer and donate, as well as tangible charitable behavior. Results were consistent with the hypotheses. Study 1 found that nostalgia increases charitable intentions. Study 2 showed that this salutary effect of nostalgia on charitable intentions is mediated by empathy (but not by personal distress). Studies 3 and 4 corroborated these findings for different charities and in diverse samples. Finally, study 5 demonstrated that nostalgia increases tangible charitable behavior. By virtue of its capacity to increase empathy, nostalgia facilitates prosocial reactions.</p>
<p>Robinson, S. R., Irmak, C., & Jayachandran, S. (2012). Choice of cause in cause-related marketing. <i>Journal of Marketing</i>, 76(4), 126-139.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Spurred by the consumer demand for companies to be socially responsible, cause-related marketing (CM), in which fund raising for a cause is tied to purchase of a firm's products, has become popular in recent years. The authors demonstrate the conditions in which CM campaigns that allow consumers to choose the cause that receives the donation lead to greater consumer support than those in which the company determines the cause. They show that choice in this context is helpful as long as it increases consumers' perception of personal role in helping the cause. Specifically, allowing consumers to select the cause in a CM campaign is more likely to enhance perceived personal role and, thus, purchase intentions (1) for those consumers who are high (vs. low) in collectivism and (2) when the company and causes have low (vs. high) perceptual fit. Finally, the authors show that under certain conditions, choice may have a negative impact on perceived personal role and consumer support of CM campaigns.</p>
<p>Koschate-Fischer, N., Stefan, I. V., & Hoyer, W. D. (2012). Willingness to pay for cause-related marketing: The impact of donation amount and moderating effects. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 49(6), 910-927.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Companies increasingly employ cause-related marketing to enhance customer goodwill and improve their image. However, because these efforts have major implications for pricing strategy and firm profitability, understanding the relationship between the company's donation amount and customers' willingness to pay is important. In particular, little is known about the moderating effects that influence this relationship or their underlying mechanisms. Study 1 confirms that two types of customer predispositions moderate the link between donation amount and willingness to pay: donation-related and cause-related predispositions. Three additional studies focus on the negative moderating effect of company-cause fit and provide insights into the underlying moderation process. Specifically, the motives customers attribute to the company mediate the moderating impact of fit on the donation amount-WTP link (Study 2), which occurs particularly in cases of utilitarian (Study 3) and privately consumed products (Study 4).</p>
<p>Winterich, K. P., Mittal, V., & Aquino, K. (2013). When does recognition increase charitable behavior? Toward a moral identity-based model. <i>Journal of Marketing</i>, 77(3), 121-134.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Each year, people in the United States donate more than \$200 billion to charitable causes. Despite the lack of understanding of whether and how recognition increases charitable behavior, charities often offer it to motivate donor action. This research focuses on how the effectiveness of recognition on charitable behavior is dependent on the joint influence of two distinct dimensions of moral identity: internalization and symbolization. Three studies examining both monetary donations and volunteering behavior show that recognition increases charitable behavior among those characterized by high moral identity symbolization and low moral identity internalization. Notably, those who show high levels of moral identity internalization are uninfluenced by recognition, regardless of their symbolization. By understanding correlates of the two dimensions of moral identity among donors, nonprofits can strategically recognize potential donors to maximize donation and volunteering behavior.</p>

<p>Smith, R. W., Faro, D., & Burson, K. A. (2013). More for the many: The influence of entitativity on charitable giving. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 39(5), 961-976.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Donations to large numbers of victims are typically muted relative to donations to a single identified victim. This article shows that people can donate more to large numbers of victims if these victims are perceived as entitative—comprising a single, coherent unit. For example, donations to help children in need are higher when the children comprise a family than when they have no explicit group membership. The same effect is observed on donations for endangered animals that are depicted as moving in unison. Perceived entitativity results in more extreme judgments of victims. Victims with positive traits are therefore viewed more favorably when entitative, triggering greater feelings of concern and higher donations. Entitativity has the opposite effect for victims sharing negative traits.</p>
<p>Anik, L., Norton, M. I., & Ariely, D. (2014). Contingent match incentives increase donations. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 51(6), 790-801.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>The authors propose a new means by which nonprofits can induce donors to give today and commit to giving in the future: contingent match incentives, in which matching is made contingent on the percentage of others who give (e.g., “if X% of others give, we will match all donations”). A field experiment shows that a 75% contingent match (such that matches “kick in” only if 75% of others donate) is most effective in increasing commitment to recurring donations. An online experiment reveals that the 75% contingent match drives commitment to recurring donations because it simultaneously provides social proof while offering a low enough target to remain plausible that the match will occur. A final online experiment demonstrates that the effectiveness of the 75% contingent match extends to one-time donations. The authors discuss the practical and theoretical implications of contingent matches for managers and academics.</p>
<p>Lee, S., Winterich, K. P., & Ross Jr, W. T. (2014). I'm moral, but I won't help you: The distinct roles of empathy and justice in donations. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 41(3), 678-696.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Donating to charitable causes is generally perceived as a moral prosocial behavior but this may not always be the case. Although moral identity tends to have a positive effect on prosocial behavior, moral identity does not unconditionally enhance charitable giving. Four studies demonstrate that moral identity decreases donations when recipients are responsible for their plight. Mediation analysis reveals that empathy and justice underlie these effects such that moral identity increases donations for recipients with low plight responsibility through increased empathy, but moral identity decreases donations to recipients with high plight responsibility due to perceptions of justice. Importantly, donations to recipients who are responsible for their plight can be enhanced when donors' immorality is made salient, evoking empathy for recipients, particularly among donors with high moral identity. This research makes theoretical contributions in addition to providing implications for nonprofit organizations whose recipients may be perceived as responsible for their plight.</p>
<p>Duclos, R., & Barasch, A. (2014). Prosocial behavior in intergroup relations: How donor self-construal and recipient group-membership shape generosity. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 41(1), 93-108.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>This research examines the interplay of self-construal orientation and victim group-membership on prosocial behavior. Whereas consumers primed with an independent self-construal demonstrate similar propensities to help needy in-group and out-group others, an interdependent orientation fosters stronger commitments to aid in-group than out-group members. This interaction holds in both individualistic (i.e., the United States) and collectivistic (i.e., China) nations and seems driven by a belief system. For interdependents, the prospect of helping needy in-group (relative to out-group) members heightens the belief that helping others contributes to their own personal happiness, which in turn increases their propensity to act benevolently. Such in-group/out-group distinctions do not seem to operate among independents. The article concludes by discussing the theoretical implications of our findings for the cross-cultural, intergroup-relations, and prosocial literatures before deriving insights for practice.</p>

<p>Fisher, R. J., & Ma, Y. (2014). The price of being beautiful: Negative effects of attractiveness on empathy for children in need. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 41(2), 436-450.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>The research examines how the attractiveness of children in need affects the empathy they evoke and the subsequent help they receive from unrelated adults. The authors find that attractive children are attributed desirable characteristics related to social competence, which is consistent with the “beautiful is good” stereotype. Ironically, the authors find that these attributions reduce the empathy evoked by attractive children and the help they receive from unrelated adults as long as their need is not severe. These effects are demonstrated in four experiments. The research identifies a significant cost of being beautiful and an important exception to the beautiful is good stereotype. The results also have practical implications for how children are portrayed in promotional materials for disaster relief agencies, children’s hospitals, and other charities.</p>
<p>Winterich, K. P., & Zhang, Y. (2014). Accepting inequality deters responsibility: How power distance decreases charitable behavior. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 41(2), 274-293.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Could power distance, which is the extent that inequality is expected and accepted, explain why some countries and consumers are more likely to engage in prosocial behavior, including donations of both money and time? This research proposes that higher power distance results in weaker perceptions of responsibility to aid others, which decreases charitable behavior. Both correlational and causal evidence is provided in a series of five studies that examine country-level power distance as well as individual and temporarily salient power distance belief. Consistent with the mediating role of perceived responsibility, results reveal that uncontrollable needs and communal relationship norms are boundary conditions that overcome the negative effect of power distance on charitable behavior. These results explain differences in charitable giving across cultures and provide implications for nonprofit organizations soliciting donations.</p>
<p>Kristofferson, K., White, K., & Peloza, J. (2014). The nature of slacktivism: How the social observability of an initial act of token support affects subsequent prosocial action. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 40(6), 1149-1166.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Prior research offers competing predictions regarding whether an initial token display of support for a cause (such as wearing a ribbon, signing a petition, or joining a Facebook group) subsequently leads to increased and otherwise more meaningful contributions to the cause. The present research proposes a conceptual framework elucidating two primary motivations that underlie subsequent helping behavior: a desire to present a positive image to others and a desire to be consistent with one’s own values. Importantly, the socially observable nature (public vs. private) of initial token support is identified as a key moderator that influences when and why token support does or does not lead to meaningful support for the cause. Consumers exhibit greater helping on a subsequent, more meaningful task after providing an initial private (vs. public) display of token support for a cause. Finally, the authors demonstrate how value alignment and connection to the cause moderate the observed effects.</p>
<p>Cavanaugh, L. A., Bettman, J. R., & Luce, M. F. (2015). Feeling love and doing more for distant others: Specific positive emotions differentially affect prosocial consumption. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 52(5), 657-673.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Marketers often employ a variety of positive emotions to encourage consumption or promote a particular behavior (e.g., buying, donating, recycling) to benefit an organization or cause. The authors show that specific positive emotions do not universally increase prosocial behavior but, rather, encourage different types of prosocial behavior. Four studies show that whereas positive emotions (i.e., love, hope, pride, and compassion) all induce prosocial behavior toward close entities (relative to a neutral emotional state), only love induces prosocial behavior toward distant others and international organizations. Love’s effect is driven by a distinct form of broadening, characterized by extending feelings of social connection and the boundary of caring to be more inclusive of others regardless of relatedness. Love - as a trait and a momentary emotion - is unique among positive emotions in fostering connectedness that other positive emotions (hope and pride) do not and broadening behavior in a way that other connected emotions (compassion) do not. This research contributes to the broaden-and-build theory of positive</p>

<p>Savary, J., Goldsmith, K., & Dhar, R. (2015). Giving against the odds: When tempting alternatives increase willingness to donate. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 52(1), 27-38.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>emotion by demonstrating a distinct type of broadening for love and adds an important qualification to the general finding that positive emotions uniformly encourage prosocial behavior.</p> <p>The authors examine how a reference to an unrelated product in the choice context affects consumers' likelihood of donating to charity. Building on research on self-signaling, the authors predict that consumers are more likely to give when the donation appeal reference a hedonic product than when a utilitarian product is referenced or when no comparison is provided. They posit that this phenomenon occurs because referencing a hedonic product during a charitable appeal changes the self-attributions, or self-signaling utility, associated with the choice to donate. A series of hypothetical and actual choice experiments demonstrate the predicted effect and show that the increase in donation rates occurs because the self-attributions signaled by a choice not to donate are more negative in the context of a hedonic reference product. Finally, consistent with these experimental findings, a field experiment shows that referencing a hedonic product during a charitable appeal increases real donation rates in a nonlaboratory setting. The authors discuss the theoretical implications for both consumer decision making and the self-signaling motives behind prosocial choice.</p>
<p>Khodakarami, F., Petersen, J. A., & Venkatesan, R. (2015). Developing donor relationships: The role of the breadth of giving. <i>Journal of Marketing</i>, 79(4), 77-93.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>This research proposes a mechanism to develop long-term donor relationships, a major challenge in the nonprofit industry. The authors propose a metric, donation variety, which captures a donor's breadth of donations with a given nonprofit organization, controlling for the distribution of donations to different initiatives. Using donation data spanning 20 years from a major U.S. public university, the authors find that improvements in donation variety increase the likelihood that the donor will make a subsequent donation, increase the donation amount, and reduce the sensitivity of donations to negative macroeconomic shocks. In the acquisition phase, most donors give to a single initiative, and these decisions are more influenced by a donor's intrinsic motivations. In contrast, as the donor-nonprofit organization relationship develops over time, nonprofit marketing efforts have a more significant influence on a donor's decision to give to multiple initiatives. Finally, the authors conduct a field study that validates the econometric analysis and provides causal evidence that marketing efforts by nonprofit organizations can encourage donors to spread donations across multiple initiatives.</p>
<p>Macdonnell, R., & White, K. (2015). How construals of money versus time impact consumer charitable giving. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 42(4), 551-563.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>While past research has suggested that consumers have fundamentally different responses to thinking about money versus time, the current work clarifies an important nuance in terms of how consumers construe these two resources. We demonstrate that, in the domain of charitable giving, money is construed relatively more concretely, whereas time is construed relatively more abstractly. This difference in the construal of these two resources has implications for how appeals for charitable contributions or money versus time should be framed. When the construal level at which the consumer considers the cause is aligned (misaligned) with the construal level of the resource being requested, contribution intentions and behaviors increase (decrease). In addition, the moderating role of resource abundance is examined. In particular, when money is considered abundant (vs. nonabundant), consumers no longer exhibit more concrete thoughts in response to money compared to time. Finally, when the donation request makes consumers think of money in a more abundant manner, monetary donations can be successfully motivated with a more abstract call for charitable support. The theoretical and practical implications for marketers and charitable organizations are discussed.</p>

<p>Botner, K. A., Mishra, A., & Mishra, H. (2015). What's in a message? The longitudinal influence of a supportive versus combative orientation on the performance of nonprofits. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 52(1), 39-55.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>In this article, the authors propose that in the long run, a nonprofit organization with supportively oriented positioning (e.g., promoting a cause) is likely to survive longer and achieve more donations compared with a nonprofit with a combative orientation (e.g., fighting against something). To test this proposition, the authors adopt a three-pronged approach that (1) uses publicly available financial data from nonprofits' tax filings over a ten-year period, (2) measures annual donor pledges from a field study with a registered nonprofit organization, and (3) examines actual donation behavior of participants in a longitudinal lab study. Moreover, the authors test this proposition for donations of money as well as time. They consider various theoretical mechanisms that might cause the proposed effect, such as regulatory focus theory, inertia in giving, and the preponderance of supportive charities.</p>
<p>Hsee, C. K., Yang, Y., Zheng, X., & Wang, H. (2015). Lay rationalism: Individual differences in using reason versus feelings to guide decisions. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 52(1), 134-146.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>People have a lay notion of rationality - that is, the notion of using reason rather than feelings to guide decisions. Yet people differ in the degree to which they actually base their decisions on reason versus feelings. This individual difference variable is potentially general and important but is largely overlooked. The present research (1) introduces the construct of lay rationalism to capture this individual difference variable and distinguishes it from other individual difference variables; (2) develops a short, easy-to-implement scale to measure lay rationalism and demonstrates the validity and reliability of the scale; and (3) shows that lay rationalism, as measured by the scale, can predict a variety of consumer-relevant behaviors, including product preferences, savings decisions, and donation behaviors.</p>
<p>Cavanaugh, L. A., Bettman, J. R., & Luce, M. F. (2015). Feeling love and doing more for distant others: Specific positive emotions differentially affect prosocial consumption. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 52(5), 657-673.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Marketers often employ a variety of positive emotions to encourage consumption or promote a particular behavior (e.g., buying, donating, recycling) to benefit an organization or cause. The authors show that specific positive emotions do not universally increase prosocial behavior but, rather, encourage different types of prosocial behavior. Four studies show that whereas positive emotions (i.e., love, hope, pride, and compassion) all induce prosocial behavior toward close entities (relative to a neutral emotional state), only love induces prosocial behavior toward distant others and international organizations. Love's effect is driven by a distinct form of broadening, characterized by extending feelings of social connection and the boundary of caring to be more inclusive of others regardless of relatedness. Love - as a trait and a momentary emotion - is unique among positive emotions in fostering connectedness that other positive emotions (hope and pride) do not and broadening behavior in a way that other connected emotions (compassion) do not. This research contributes to the broaden-and-build theory of positive emotion by demonstrating a distinct type of broadening for love and adds an important qualification to the general finding that positive emotions uniformly encourage prosocial behavior.</p>
<p>Kulow, K., & Kramer, T. (2016). In pursuit of good karma: When charitable appeals to do right go wrong. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 43(2), 334-353.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>This research examines the implications of consumers' belief in karma - the belief that the universe bestows rewards for doing right and exacts punishments for doing wrong - in the context of prosocial behavior. Although intuitively, believing in karma should result in greater intentions to do right by supporting a charity, karmic beliefs are found to facilitate prosocial behavior only in contexts not associated with self-gains. A series of experiments shows that those with strong (vs. weak) beliefs in karma actually respond less favorably to charitable appeals that rely on common marketing tools meant to enhance consumer responses but that also cue self-gains by offering incentives or by highlighting self-benefits. However, these effects are only obtained for donations of time, which represent a means to enhance social connections, but not for donations of money. Consistent with the proposition that prosocial behaviors motivated by self-gains do not engender karmic rewards, lower intentions to do right among those with strong karmic beliefs are driven by a shift from other-focused to self-focused attention following appeals that cue self-gains, as</p>

<p>Goswami, I., & Urminsky, O. (2016). When should the ask be a nudge? The effect of default amounts on charitable donations. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 53(5), 829-846.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>compared to appeals that do not. Results imply that marketers need to take into account consumers' karmic beliefs when seeking to incentivize prosocial behavior.</p> <p>How does setting a donation option as the default in a charitable appeal affect people's decisions? In eight studies, comprising 11,508 participants making 2,423 donation decisions in both experimental settings and a large scale natural field experiment, the authors investigate the effect of "choice option" defaults on the donation rate, average donation amount, and the resulting revenue. They find (1) a "scale-back" effect, in which low defaults reduce average donation amounts; (2) a "lower-bar" effect, in which defaulting a low amount increases donation rate; and (3) a "default distraction" effect, in which introducing any defaults reduces the effect of other cues, such as positive charity information. Contrary to the view that setting defaults will backfire, defaults increased revenue in the field study. However, the findings suggest that defaults can sometimes be a "self canceling" intervention, with countervailing effects of default option magnitude on decisions and resulting in no net effect on revenue. The authors discuss the implications of the findings for research on fundraising, specifically, for choice architecture and behavioral interventions more generally, and for the use of "nudges" in policy decisions.</p>
<p>Putnam-Farr, E., & Riis, J. (2016). "Yes/No/Not Right Now": Yes/No Response Formats Can Increase Response Rates Even in Non-Forced-Choice Settings. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 53(3), 424-432.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Although yes/no response formats have been used to increase enrollment rates in several different types of programs, their effectiveness has generally been tested in forced-choice settings. The effects on postchoice engagement have not been measured. Across two field experiments in an e-mail context in which choice is not forced, the authors demonstrate a substantial advantage in click-through rates for a yes/no response format over traditional opt-in response formats. The increase in click-through rate does, under certain conditions, also persist through downstream program enrollment and participation. Finally, though noting that the yes/no format advantage is probably multidetermined, the authors discuss several potential psychological mechanisms, which are particularly relevant in non-forced-choice settings. The authors also discuss how the yes/no response format might operate in other settings, such as the implementation of mandated choice for organ donation.</p>
<p>Cryder, C., Botti, S., & Simonyan, Y. (2017). The charity beauty premium: Satisfying donors' "want" versus "should" desires. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 54(4), 605-618.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Despite widespread conviction that neediness should be a top priority for charitable giving, this research documents a "charity beauty premium" in which donors often choose beautiful, but less needy, charity recipients instead. The authors propose that donors hold simultaneous yet incongruent preferences of wanting to support beautiful recipients (who tend to be judged as less needy) but believing they should support needy recipients. The authors also posit that preferences for beautiful recipients are most likely to emerge when decisions are intuitive, whereas preferences for needy recipients are most likely to emerge when decisions are deliberative. These propositions are tested in several ways. First, when a beautiful recipient is included in basic choice sets, this recipient becomes the most popular option and increases donor satisfaction. Second, heightening deliberation steers choices away from beautiful recipient sand toward needier ones. Third, donors explicitly state that they "want" to give to beautiful recipients but "should" give to less beautiful, needier ones. Taken together, these findings reconcile and extend previous and sometimes conflicting results about beauty and generosity.</p>

<p>Townsend, C. (2017). The price of beauty: Differential effects of design elements with and without cost implications in nonprofit donor solicitations. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 44(4), 794-815.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Research on the optimization of donation solicitations has focused on language and content rather than appearance. The present work considers how a solicitation's appearance influences donor response. The results indicate that potential donors make inferences about the soliciting organization based on the aesthetics of the solicitation materials. In general, highly aesthetic elements increase perceptions of organizational professionalism, which consequently leads to greater donations. However, aesthetic enhancement can backfire; when high levels of aesthetics with cost implications (e.g., embossed cardstock, gold ink) are combined with high levels of aesthetics without cost implications (e.g., attractive background, appealing font), perceptions of organizational wastefulness discourage donations. Thus, the most effective solicitation is not the most beautiful but rather one offering high levels of aesthetics without cost implications and low levels of aesthetics with cost implications. The studies demonstrate these effects in the field and in the lab and also identify moderators of the negative effect of aesthetics with cost implications on donations.</p>
<p>Han, D., Lalwani, A. K., & Duhachek, A. (2017). Power distance belief, power, and charitable giving. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 44(1), 182-195.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Three studies examine the relation between power distance belief (PDB), the tendency to accept and expect inequalities in society; power, the control one has over valued resources; and charitable giving. Results suggest that the effect of PDB depends on the power held by the donor. In low-PDB contexts, people high (vs. low) in psychological power tend to be more self-focused (vs. other-focused), and this leads them to be less charitable. In high-PDB contexts, however, people high (vs. low) in psychological power tend to be more other-focused (vs. self-focused), and this leads them to be more charitable. The authors also explore several boundary conditions for these relationships and conclude with the implications of these findings.</p>
<p>Lee, S., Bolton, L. E., & Winterich, K. P. (2017). To profit or not to profit? The role of greed perceptions in consumer support for social ventures. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 44(4), 853-876.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>An increasing number of social ventures are for-profit companies (i.e., for profit social ventures) that seek to advance a social cause while making a profit. In a series of seven studies, this research investigates consumer support for organizations as a function of their social mission and profit orientation. The impact of profit orientation on consumer support depends on the prominence of the organization's social mission. For organizations with a prominent social mission, profits are interpreted as a signal of greed; absent a prominent social mission, a for-profit orientation can instead imply greater competence. As a result, consumer support of for-profit social ventures suffers in comparison to both nonprofits and traditional for-profit — downside to the organizational benefits of for-profit social ventures identified in prior research. In addition, this research investigates organizational factors — including excessive organizational spending, profit perceptions, and operational efficiency cues — that alter greed perceptions and consequently support for for-profit social ventures. Together, this research sheds light on consumer reaction to organizations that support social causes, with implications for the social venture marketplace, including the nonprofit versus for-profit quandary faced by social entrepreneurs.</p>
<p>Allen, A. M., Eilert, M., & Peloza, J. (2018). How deviations from performance norms impact charitable donations. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 55(2), 277-290.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Although the actions of others can influence a consumer's behavior, these actions are often at odds with performance norms. For example, charities can experience relatively low rates of support (resulting in a negative deviation from a performance norm) or relatively high rates of support (resulting in a positive deviation from a performance norm). Previous research provides evidence of the equivocal effects of these deviations, with both positive and negative deviations motivating prosocial behaviors. The current research reconciles these competing findings by introducing construal as a moderator. Across four studies, the authors find that positive deviations from performance norms motivate prosocial behavior for independent donors, whereas negative deviations from performance norms motivate</p>

<p>Fajardo, T. M., Townsend, C., & Bolander, W. (2018). Toward an optimal donation solicitation: Evidence from the field of the differential influence of donor-related and organization-related information on donation choice and amount. <i>Journal of Marketing</i>, 82(2), 142-152.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>prosocial behavior for interdependent donors. They further show that these effects are driven by a prevention focus associated with interdependent consumers and a promotion focus associated with independent consumers. The article concludes with implications for the marketing of charities and prosocial behaviors.</p> <p>The present research decomposes consumer donation behavior into two components: donation choice (i.e., whether to donate) and donation amount (i.e., how much to donate). It then considers how information related to the donor and information related to characteristics of the soliciting organization may differentially influence the two decisions. Results from four field experiments suggest that donor-related appeals have a greater effect on the donation choice decision (vs. organization-related appeals), whereas organization-related appeals have a greater effect on the donation amount decision (vs. donor-related appeals). This might lead one to conclude that presenting both types of appeals in a solicitation is ideal. However, the studies presented herein also suggest that this strategy may backfire. The simultaneous presentation of donor- and organization-related appeals can hamper both donation response rates and average contribution amounts. To address this issue, the authors identify and test an alternative solicitation strategy for maximizing solicitation effectiveness. This strategy involves a multistep request process that capitalizes on an understanding of the differential influence of donor- and organization-related information on donation choice and amount decisions.</p>
<p>Gershon, R., & Cryder, C. (2018). Goods donations increase charitable credit for low-warmth donors. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 45(2), 451-469.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Low-warmth actors are often assumed to lack communal (or other-oriented) intentions, even when acting generously. Low-warmth donors must therefore send stronger signals of their communal intent when donating to receive the same amount of charitable credit as high-warmth donors. Because goods are linked with communal norms, we find that donating goods allows low-warmth donors to signal communal intent and increase charitable credit received. Study 1 establishes that low-warmth donors receive less credit for unspecified donations than their high warmth counterparts. Studies 2A and 2B show that goods donations, compared to equally valued monetary or unspecified donations, increase charitable credit for low-warmth donors. Studies 3A and 3B show that donating goods boosts charitable credit for low-warmth donors in particular; high-warmth donors are assumed to have communal intentions, and receive large amounts of credit, regardless of donation type. Finally, study 4 shows that low-warmth donors can increase charitable credit for monetary donations by describing the donation in communal terms - specifically, as a gift. This research has clear practical implications. For example, many corporations are viewed as low warmth, and most corporate donations are monetary, yet companies always have the option to donate goods instead.</p>
<p>Simpson, B., White, K., & Laran, J. (2018). When public recognition for charitable giving backfires: The role of independent self-construal. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 44(6), 1257-1273.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>This research examines the effectiveness of public recognition in encouraging charitable giving, demonstrating that public recognition can sometimes decrease donations. While previous work has largely shown that making donations visible to others can motivate donors, the present research shows that the effectiveness of public recognition depends on whether potential donors are under an independent (i.e., separate from others) or interdependent (i.e., connected with others) self-construal. Across seven experimental studies, an independent self-construal decreases donation intentions and amounts when the donor will receive public recognition compared to when the donation will remain private. This effect is driven by the activation of an agentic motive, wherein independents are motivated to make decisions that are guided by their own goals and self-interests, rather than being influenced by the opinions and expectations of others. This research contributes to the understanding of the nuanced roles of both public recognition and self-construal in predicting donation behavior.</p>

<p>Chang, H. H., & Hung, I. W. (2018). Mirror, mirror on the retail wall: Self-focused attention promotes reliance on feelings in consumer decisions. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 55(4), 586-599.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>The authors propose that consumers' increased self-focused attention promotes their relative reliance on affective feelings when they make decisions. The authors test this hypothesis in a variety of consumption domains and decision tasks, including real-life, consequential charitable donations. Consistent support from five experiments with more than 1,770 participants shows that (1) valuations of the decision outcome increase when consumers with high (low) self-focus adopt a feeling-based (reason-based) strategy. The hypothesized effect of self-focus on relative reliance on feelings in decision making is (2) moderated by self-construal. Furthermore, greater attention to the self (3) increases evaluations of products that are affectively superior but (4) decreases evaluations of products that are affectively inferior and (5) exerts little influence on evaluations of products that are less affective in nature (i.e., utilitarian products). Finally, self-focused attention (6) amplifies a decision bias typically attributed to feeling-based judgments, known as scope insensitivity bias, in a hypothetical laboratory study and in a real-life, consequential charitable donation. Theoretical and marketing implications are discussed.</p>
<p>Goenka, S., & van Osselaer, S. M. (2019). Charities can increase the effectiveness of donation appeals by using a morally congruent positive emotion. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 46(4), 774-790.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Prosocial organizations have different moral objectives. Some seek to promote welfare (e.g., Red Cross), but others seek to promote justice and equality (e.g., ACLU). Additionally, these organizations can induce different positive emotions to motivate donations. If organizations are seeking to promote different moral objectives using positive emotions, which positive emotion will be the most effective for their respective campaigns? We demonstrate how the congruency between the moral domain of an emotion and the moral objective of an organization plays a role in influencing prosocial behaviors. Charities that seek to increase care in society (e.g., disaster-relief charities) should utilize compassion in their promotion campaigns, but charities that seek to promote fairness and equality in society (e.g., human rights charities) should utilize gratitude in their promotion campaigns. One field study (N = 2,112) and four experiments (N = 2,100) demonstrate that utilizing a positive emotion congruent with the charity's moral objective increases monetary donations and preferences. The preferences are driven by the moral concerns made salient by the respective emotions. Further, the preferences attenuate when exchange norms are made salient. Altogether, these results under-score the importance of considering moral congruence in consumption contexts.</p>
<p>Dai, H., & Zhang, D. J. (2019). Prosocial goal pursuit in crowdfunding: Evidence from kickstarter. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 56(3), 498-517.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>In reward-based crowdfunding, creators of entrepreneurial projects solicit capital from potential consumers to reach a funding goal and offer future products/services in return. The authors examine consumers' contribution patterns using a novel data set of 28,591 projects collected at 30-minute resolution from Kickstarter. Extending prior research that assumes that economic considerations (e.g., project quality, campaign success likelihood) drive backers' decisions, the authors provide the cleanest field evidence so far that consumers also have prosocial motives to help creators reach their funding goals. They find that projects collect funding faster right before (vs. right after) meeting their funding goals because consumers not only are more likely to fund projects but also contribute greater amounts of money prior to goal attainment. This effect is amplified when the nature of a project tends to evoke consumers' prosocial motivation and when a project's creator is a single person. These results suggest that consumers' prosocial motives not only play a role in reward-based crowdfunding but also can outweigh the opposing effects of economic factors including rational herding and certainty about campaign success.</p>

<p>Zhou, X., Kim, S., & Wang, L. (2019). Money helps when money feels: Money anthropomorphism increases charitable giving. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 45(5), 953-972.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Across five studies, the current research demonstrates that imbuing money with humanlike characteristics can enhance charitable giving. Based on mind perception theory, we propose that anthropomorphizing money can induce people to attribute to money the capacity to feel and sense (i.e., warmth) and the capacity to do things (i.e., competence). Further, we argue that enhanced warmth perception increases charitable giving. Studies 1a and 1b provided initial evidence that money anthropomorphism increased charitable giving by measuring real monetary donation behavior (study 1a) and by adopting a practical method to anthropomorphize money in charitable appeals (study 1b). Study 2 showed that money anthropomorphism enhanced both warmth and competence perceptions of money, but that only enhanced warmth perception increased donation intention. Study 3 showed that money anthropomorphism did not enhance other types of charitable giving, such as signature provision. Study 4 showed that the money anthropomorphism effect was unique to money and that anthropomorphizing other financial instruments, such as a credit card, did not induce the same effect.</p>
<p>Simester, D. I., Tucker, C. E., & Yang, C. (2019). The Surprising Breadth of Harbingers of Failure. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 56(6), 1034-1049.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Previous research has shown that there exist “harbinger customers” who systematically purchase new products that fail (and are discontinued by retailers). This article extends this result in two ways. First, the findings document the existence of “harbinger zip codes.” If households in these zip codes adopt a new product, this is a signal that the new product will fail. Second, a series of comparisons reveal that households in harbinger zip codes make other decisions that differ from other households. The first comparison identifies harbinger zip codes using purchases from one retailer and then evaluates purchases at a different retailer. Households in harbinger zip codes purchase products from the second retailer that other households are less likely to purchase. The analysis next compares donations to congressional election candidates; households in harbinger zip codes donate to different candidates than households in neighboring zip codes, and they donate to candidates who are less likely to win. House prices in harbinger zip codes also increase at slower rates than in neighboring zip codes. Investigation of households that change zip codes indicates that the harbinger zip code effect is more due to where customers choose to live, rather than households influencing their neighbors’ tendencies.</p>
<p>Han, K., Jung, J., Mittal, V., Zyung, J. D., & Adam, H. (2019). Political identity and financial risk taking: Insights from social dominance orientation. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 56(4), 581-601.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>This article investigates how people’s political identity is associated with their financial risk taking. The authors argue that conservatives’ financial risk taking increases as their self-efficacy increases because of their greater social dominance orientation, whereas liberals’ financial risk taking is invariant to their self-efficacy. This central hypothesis is verified in six studies using different measures of political identity, self-efficacy, and financial risk taking. The studies also use different samples of U.S. consumers, including online panels, a large-scale data set spanning five election cycles, and a secondary data set of political donations made by managers at companies. Finally, the authors articulate and demonstrate the mediating effect of individuals’ focus on the upside potential of a decision among conservatives but not liberals.</p>

<p>Savary, J., Li, C. X., & Newman, G. E. (2020). Exalted purchases or tainted donations? Self-signaling and the evaluation of charitable incentives. <i>Journal of Consumer Psychology</i>, 30(4), 671-679.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>It is common for charities to bundle donation requests with some type of product, such as a tote bag, pen, or coffee mug. The current studies find that people are more likely to donate when those bundles are framed as “charitable purchases” vs. “donations with a gift.” We show that this effect arises because consumers want to avoid the negative self-signal associated with receiving a gift in exchange for donating. Five experiments provide evidence for the role of self-signaling, identify key moderators of the framing effect, and demonstrate the downstream consequences for people’s likelihood of donating in the future. More broadly, the current studies lend further evidence to the role of self-signaling in charitable giving and provide greater clarity regarding how and when different donation solicitation techniques may be most effective.</p>
<p>Shang, J., Reed, A., Sargeant, A., & Carpenter, K. (2020). Marketplace Donations: The Role of Moral Identity Discrepancy and Gender. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 57(2), 375-393.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>A demonstration field experiment in a live-radio fund drive shows that women (but not men) primed with moral traits give about 20% more. The authors test one understudied explanation for this finding: gender differences in how market behavior (e.g., giving and supporting a nonprofit) shrinks moral identity discrepancy (i.e., the gap between actual and ideal moral identity). Field Survey 1 demonstrates the basic effect: the less money women (but not men) have historically given on average to a nonprofit, the larger their moral identity discrepancy. Field Experiment 2 shows a managerial implication of this basic effect: when primed with moral identity, women (but not men) who have supported the nonprofit less frequently in the past are more likely to follow an emailed link to help the nonprofit again. Study 3 tests one possible pathway underpinning this finding: even though giving makes women and men experience similar feelings of encouragement and uplift and similar reinforcement of their moral identity, only women with larger pre behavior moral identity discrepancy consequently shrink this discrepancy.</p>
<p>Liu, P. J., McFerran, B., & Haws, K. L. (2020). Mindful Matching: Ordinal Versus Nominal Attributes. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 57(1), 134-155.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>The authors propose a new conceptual basis for predicting when and why consumers match others’ consumption choices. Specifically, they distinguish between ordinal (“ranked”) versus nominal (“unranked”) attributes and propose that consumers are more likely to match others on ordinal than on nominal attributes. Eleven studies involving a range of different ways of operationalizing ordinal versus nominal attributes collectively support this hypothesis. The authors’ conceptualization helps resolve divergent findings in prior literature and provides guidance to managers on how to leverage information about prior customers’ choices and employees’ recommendations to shape and predict future customers’ choices. Furthermore, the authors find process evidence that this effect is driven in part by consumers’ beliefs that a failure to match on ordinal (but not nominal) attributes will lead to social discomfort for one or both parties. Although the primary focus is on food choices, the effects are also demonstrated in other domains (including donation), extending the generalizability of the findings and implications for managerial practice and theory. Finally, the conceptual framework offers additional paths for future research.</p>
<p>Anik, L., & Norton, M. I. (2020). On Being the Tipping Point: Social Threshold Incentives Motivate Behavior. <i>Journal of the Association for Consumer Research</i>, 5(1), 19-33.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>We document the impact of making a consumer the tipping point whose behavior causes some aggregate behavior to tip over a social threshold, increasing the impact of all others who have already engaged in a target behavior. In study 1, consumers were more likely to agree to get a blood screening when they were the tipping point who caused an incentive to exceed a threshold. Study 2 shows that being the tipping point can be more effective in changing behavior than equivalent-in-value incentives for the self. Studies 3A and 3B demonstrate that sense of impact on and obligation toward fellow actors- in contrast to similar feelings toward recipients - drives consumers’ increased</p>

<p>Joireman, J., Mulder, M., Grégoire, Y., Sprott, D. E., & Munaganti, P. (2020). You Did What with My Donation?! Betrayal of Moral Mandates Increases Negative Responses to Redirected Donations to Donor-to-Recipient Charities. <i>Journal of the Association for Consumer Research</i>, 5(1), 83-94.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>likelihood of action near social thresholds. Finally, study 4 further shows that visually highlighting precisely how actions benefit fellow actors increases the effectiveness of threshold incentives.</p> <p>While research identifies predictors of charitable giving, little is known about what happens after the donation takes place. Accordingly, the present work examines how consumers respond when they learn their donation to a donor-to-recipient (traditional) charity such as donorschoose.org (unitedway.org) has been used for a project that the donor did not select (prefer). Highlighting the dark side of charitable giving, the present work conceptualizes redirected donations as a service failure within a betrayal-based framework. Consistent with the proposed framework, three studies demonstrate that redirected donations increase perceived betrayal, which leads to lower future donation intentions and volunteering, and heightened negative word of mouth intentions and switching charities. Results also indicate that the sense of betrayal is magnified when the charity has a moral mandate to carry out the advertised project (i.e., the charity is a donor-to-recipient vs. a traditional charity, and the project is seen as morally imperative).</p>
<p>Anisman-Razin, M., & Levontin, L. (2020). Prosocial Behavior Reframed: How Consumer Mindsets Shape Dependency-Oriented versus Autonomy-Oriented Helping. <i>Journal of the Association for Consumer Research</i>, 5(1), 95-105.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Prosocial behaviors can be autonomy-oriented, providing recipients with the means to succeed in future situations but not supplying an immediate solution, or they can be dependency-oriented, providing an immediate solution but not supplying tools for future success. Thus far, consumer research on prosocial behavior has devoted little attention to this distinction. Distinguishing between autonomy- and dependency-oriented prosocial behaviors is important as we show that not all consumers are equally likely to engage in dependency-oriented prosocial behavior. Specifically, we show that growth mindset consumers, who believe that personality is malleable, are less likely to engage in dependency-oriented prosocial behavior compared with fixed mindset consumers, who believe that personality is relatively stable over time. We further show that this relation is mediated by consumers' autonomous-help orientation, their beliefs about the efficacy of autonomy-oriented help. We propose that more research about dependency- versus autonomy-oriented prosocial behavior is warranted and discuss future research opportunities.</p>
<p>Yang, X., Deng, X., & Bhadauria, A. (2020). Does Mere Exposure to Beauty-Related Words Promote Prosocial Behavior? Exploring the Mental Association between Beauty and Prosociality. <i>Journal of the Association for Consumer Research</i>, 5(1), 106-116.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Drawing from research on prosocial behavior, aesthetics, and conceptual metaphor, we posit and find that simply exposing consumers to beauty-related words activates the concept of prosociality (study 1), improves their prosocial tendency in general (study 2), and lowers their evaluations and purchase intentions of products with corporate social responsibility issues (but has no effect on products without such issues) (study 3). Our research contributes to the existing literature by establishing the mental association between verbal beauty primes (activated by mere exposure to beauty-related words) and prosociality. Additionally, by identifying exposure to beauty-related words as a situational antecedent of prosocial tendency, we suggest that verbal beauty primes may be used as an effective strategy to enhance consumers' prosocial behavior. These findings have implications for both nonprofit and for-profit marketers.</p>
<p>Barros, L. S., Zucco Jr, C., Andrade, E. B., & Brogliato, M. S. (2020). From Visitors to Donors: How and Why Funding Rates Vary over Time in All-or-Nothing Noninvestment Crowdfunding Projects. <i>Journal of the Association for Consumer Research</i>, 5(1), 117-127.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>The number of donations to all-or-nothing noninvestment crowdfunding campaigns follows a U-shape. Increased promotional efforts at the beginning and the end of the campaign period raise the number of visits to the project webpage, which in turn increases funding. However, whether there is any variation across the duration of the campaign in the likelihood of a potential donor already on the project webpage actually contributing to the project is an open question. This article demonstrates that, unlike the number of donations, the funding rate (i.e., the ratio of number of donations to number of visits) increases monotonically throughout the funding period. Webpage visitors prefer to fund projects later in the campaign period because that is when they perceive their contribution will be most useful. Analyses of the association between circumstantial information displayed on the project webpage and the</p>

<p>Tingting Fan, Leilei Gao, Yael Steinhart, The Small Predicts Large Effect in Crowdfunding, <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, Volume 47, Issue 4, December 2020, Pages 544–565</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>funding rate provide evidence consistent with the proposed rationale. A follow-up experiment corroborates the mediating role of perceived usefulness.</p> <p>Entrepreneurs are increasingly relying on online crowdfunding—the use of online platforms to raise money from a large number of people—to finance their ventures. This research explores the proposition that the amounts contributed by the majority of funders in the early stages of a crowdfunding campaign may have a counterintuitive influence on follow-up contributions and on the campaign’s fundraising success. Findings from an analysis of real-world large-scale crowdfunding data and five experiments show that potential funders are more (vs. less) likely to contribute to a newly launched project when early contributions consist mainly of relatively <i>small</i> (vs. <i>large</i>) amounts. The results further show that this <i>Small Predicts Large</i> effect is driven by people’s relationship inferences: when contributions made at the early stages of a crowdfunding campaign mainly comprise relatively large amounts, consumers tend to infer that those large contributions were made by the entrepreneur’s friends or relatives. Because of this relationship inference, prospective funders perceive larger contributions as being less diagnostic of others’ true opinions of the project and this perception negatively affects their willingness to contribute. However, if a crowdfunding campaign provides sufficient justification for the early-stage large contributions, this <i>Small Predicts Large</i> effect will be eliminated.</p>
<p>Dunn, L., White, K., & Dahl, D. W. (2020). A little piece of me: When mortality reminders lead to giving to others. <i>Journal of Consumer Research</i>, 47(3), 431-453.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Past research demonstrates that reminders of one’s own mortality can lead to materialistic and self-serving consumer behaviors. In contrast, across five studies, we explore a condition under which mortality salience (MS) leads to increased tendency to give away one’s possessions—when the donation act is high in transcendence potential. We propose and find that consumers are more likely to donate their possessions to charity under MS (vs. comparison conditions) when the product is considered highly (vs. not highly) connected to the self. Moreover, we demonstrate that this tendency manifests only when transcendence is attainable through donation. In support of the proposition of transcendence as the underlying mechanism, the observed effects are attenuated under conditions where: (1) transcendence has already been satiated via alternative means or (2) the donated possession will not transcend the self (i.e., its physical integrity is lost by being broken down and recycled). The theoretical and practical implications of the work are discussed.</p>

<p>Bradford, T. W., & Boyd, N. W. (2020). Help Me Help You! Employing the Marketing Mix to Alleviate Experiences of Donor Sacrifice. <i>Journal of Marketing</i>, 84(3), 68-85.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Nonprofit organizations often rely on individuals to execute their mission of addressing unmet societal needs. Indeed, one of the most significant challenges facing such organizations is that of enlisting individuals to provide support through the volunteering of time or donation of money. To address this challenge, prior studies have examined how promotional messages can be leveraged to motivate individuals to support the missions of nonprofit organizations. Yet promotional messages are only one aspect of the marketing mix that may be employed. The present study examines how donor-based nonprofit organizations can employ the marketing mix—product, price, promotion, place, process, and people—to influence the experiences of sacrifice associated with donation. The authors do so through an ethnographic study of individuals participating in living organ donation. First, they identify the manifestation of sacrifice in donation. Next, they define three complementary and interactive types of sacrifice: psychic, pecuniary, and physical. Then, they articulate how the marketing mix can be employed to mitigate experiences of sacrifice that emerge through the donation process. The authors conclude by discussing implications for marketing practice and identifying additional research opportunities for sacrifice in the realm of donation.</p>
<p>Yin, B., Li, Y. J., & Singh, S. (2020). Coins Are Cold and Cards Are Caring: The Effect of Pregiving Incentives on Charity Perceptions, Relationship Norms, and Donation Behavior. <i>Journal of Marketing</i>, 84(6), 57-73.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Charities often include low-value monetary (e.g., coins) and nonmonetary (e.g., greeting cards) pre giving incentives (PGIs) in their donation request letters. Yet little is known about how donors respond to this marketing strategy. In seven studies, including two large-scale field experiments, the authors demonstrate that the effectiveness of PGIs depends on the organization’s goals. People are more likely to open and read a letter containing a monetary PGI (vs. a nonmonetary PGI or no PGI). In addition, monetary PGIs increase response rates in donor acquisition campaigns. However, the return on investment for direct mail campaigns drops significantly when PGIs are included. Furthermore, average donations for appeals with a nonmonetary PGI or no PGI are similar, while those with a monetary PGI are actually <i>lower</i> than when a nonmonetary PGI or no PGI is included. This is because monetary PGIs increase exchange norms while decreasing communal norms. This effect remains significant when accounting for alternative explanations such as manipulative intent and the anchoring and adjustment heuristic.</p>
<p>Tsiros, M., & Irmak, C. (2020). Lowering the minimum donation amount increases consumer purchase likelihood of products associated with cause-related marketing campaigns. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 57(4), 755-770.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Both the total amount to be donated and the way it is communicated can influence consumer reactions to cause-related marketing (CM) campaigns. While companies often choose not to explicate any donation limit, this study argues that donation frames (e.g., minimum or maximum total donation) can enhance the likelihood of consumer purchases associated with CM campaigns. In a series of four studies, the authors find that consumers often respond more favorably to minimum-frame CM campaigns with a relatively low donation amount (e.g., at least \$100,000 will be donated) than those with a high donation amount (e.g., at least \$10 million will be donated) despite the superiority of the latter for the recipient cause. This effect is inverted for maximum donation frames, such that a high donation amount leads to greater consumer participation. This research also demonstrates that this effect is driven by the consumer desire to make a personal contribution to a cause, which is more likely to be observed when consumers endow it with high importance. These effects are obtained with attitudes, behavioral intentions, and actual expenditures.</p>

<p>Shang, J., Reed, A., Sargeant, A., & Carpenter, K. (2020). Marketplace Donations: The Role of Moral Identity Discrepancy and Gender. <i>Journal of Marketing Research</i>, 57(2), 375-393.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>A demonstration field experiment in a live-radio fund drive shows that women (but not men) primed with moral traits give about 20% more. The authors test one understudied explanation for this finding: gender differences in how market behavior (e.g., giving and supporting a nonprofit) shrinks moral identity discrepancy (i.e., the gap between actual and ideal moral identity). Field Survey 1 demonstrates the basic effect: the less money women (but not men) have historically given on average to a nonprofit, the larger their moral identity discrepancy. Field Experiment 2 shows a managerial implication of this basic effect: when primed with moral identity, women (but not men) who have supported the nonprofit less frequently in the past are more likely to follow an emailed link to help the nonprofit again. Study 3 tests one possible pathway underpinning this finding: even though giving makes women and men experience similar feelings of encouragement and uplift and similar reinforcement of their moral identity, only women with larger pre behavior moral identity discrepancy consequently shrink this discrepancy.</p>
<p>Farmer, A., Kidwell, B., & Hardesty, D. M. (2020). Helping a few a lot or many a little: political ideology and charitable giving. <i>Journal of Consumer Psychology</i>, 30(4), 614-630.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>The authors examine political ideology as it influences how people distribute their donations across multiple charities. Findings from five studies indicate that liberals and conservatives donate similar overall amounts of money; however, liberals tend to give to a greater number of charities, people, and causes overall while giving less to each (breadth). Conservatives tend to donate to fewer charities, people, and causes overall while giving more to each (depth). Using the model of moral motives, conservatives' endorsement of social order led to their focus on smaller groups and protecting members of these groups as they give with depth. In contrast, liberals' endorsement of social justice led to their focus on eliminating broad inequality as they give with breadth. However, these ideological tendencies can be reversed as conservatives gave with breadth when protecting social order and liberals gave with depth when equality was restored.</p>
<p>Xu, Q., Kwan, C. M., & Zhou, X. (2020). Helping yourself before helping others: How sense of control promotes charitable behaviors. <i>Journal of Consumer Psychology</i>, 30(3), 486-505.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>This research elucidates the conditions under which distress appeals can evoke the instinct to help without turning recipients away from uncomfortable situations. Five experiments demonstrated with behavioral evidence that evoking a sense of control by irrelevant causes prior to appeal exposure can increase the likelihood of registering as a volunteer (Studies 1 and 3) and the tendency to donate (Studies 2, 4, and 5) in a subsequent unrelated situation. The authors found that this effect was not evident in the absence of distress and for participants with enhanced distress tolerance. The results further showed that enhanced control increased distress tolerance, which mediated the observed effect on charitable acts but had no impact on self-efficacy in contributing as a helper. The findings have both theoretical and managerial implications for promoting charitable behaviors.</p>
<p>Blekher, M., Danziger, S., & Grinstein, A. (2020). Salient Volunteering Behavior Increases Monetary Risk-taking. <i>Journal of Consumer Psychology</i>, 30(3), 525-533.</p>	<p>Helper-centric</p>	<p>Research finds that engaging in prosocial behavior has many positive psychological outcomes (e.g., enhanced well-being, optimism, perceived control, and a boost in self-concept), and research on monetary risk-taking reveals these psychological outcomes are associated with increased risk-taking. Merging these findings, we propose that when people's volunteering behavior is made salient in their minds, they take more monetary risks. Making research participants' volunteering behavior salient by having them recall an act of prior volunteering (studies 1 and 3), choosing whether to volunteer (study 2), or choosing one of two volunteering activities (study 4), four experiments (and a fifth reported in the Appendix S2) reveal increased risk-taking across several monetary-risk outcomes (incentive-compatible gambles, allocation of a windfall gain, and a behavioral risk-taking measure involving</p>

<p>Baker, S. M., & Hill, R. P. (2013). A community psychology of object meanings: Identity negotiation during disaster recovery. <i>Journal of Consumer Psychology, 23</i>(3), 275-287.</p>	<p>Recipient-centric</p>	<p>escalating risk). Lastly, when the decision maker attributes a decision to volunteer to an external source, the effect of salient volunteering on monetary risk-taking attenuates.</p>
<p>Kim, S., Chen, R. P., & Zhang, K. (2016). Anthropomorphized helpers undermine autonomy and enjoyment in computer games. <i>Journal of Consumer Research, 43</i>(2), 282-302.</p>	<p>Recipient-centric</p>	<p>What do material goods intended for personal consumption mean to community? We use the extreme example of natural disaster recovery in a community to explore this question. Our work describes how members make sense of material objects that transition from private to public possessions (damaged goods) and public to private possessions (donated goods). By blending consumer and community psychology perspectives with our narratives, we employ a three-dimensional framework for analyzing object meanings: (1) material objects as agents of <i>communitas</i> (a shared sense of “we”), (2) material objects as agents of individualism (a focus on “me”), and (3) material objects as agents of opposition (the “we” that speaks for “me” and “us” versus “them”). This theoretical frame allows us to show how different conceptions of identity lead to conflicting meanings of objects within community, and to explain how and why object meanings shift as objects move across time and space from private to public and from scarcity to abundance. We also provide implications for coping with disasters that consider collective and individual identities as well as oppositional stances in between.</p> <p>Although digital assistants with humanlike features have become prevalent in computer games, few marketing studies have demonstrated the psychological mechanisms underlying consumers’ reactions to digital assistants and their subsequent influence on consumers’ game enjoyment. To fill this gap, the current study examined the effect of anthropomorphic representations of computerized helpers in computer games on game enjoyment. In the current research, consumers enjoyed a computer game less when they received assistance from a computerized helper imbued with humanlike features than from a helper construed as a mindless entity. We offer a novel mechanism that the presence of an anthropomorphized helper can undermine individuals’ perceived autonomy during a computer game. Across six experiments, we show that the presence of an anthropomorphized helper reduced game enjoyment across three different games. By measuring participants’ perceived autonomy (study 1) and employing moderators such as importance of autonomy (studies 2, 3, and 4), we also provide evidence that the reduced feeling of autonomy serves as the mechanism underlying the backfiring effect. Finally, we demonstrate that the effect of anthropomorphism on game enjoyment can be extended to other game-related outcomes, such as individuals’ motivation to persist in the game (studies 4 and 5).</p>

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I Need Help, Not Yours: The Effect of Distant (vs. Close) Helpers on Disposition to Accept Help at the Bottom of the Socioeconomic Status Ladder

The number of people at the bottom of the socioeconomic status (SES) ladder grows in different countries as Brazil and the United States each year (The Economist, 2019). More people are low on SES, more they face constraints of financial, educational, and social resources (Dubois & Ordabayeva, 2015), needing external support. Not surprisingly, many initiatives are tailored to help those people (Olson et al., 2016). While researchers have been devoted great attention to the effects of *having less* on helping others (Chen et al., 2013; Piff et al., 2010; Piff & Robinson, 2017), consumers who have less are also potential recipients of help, what seems to be largely ignored by previous literature. In this research, I address part of this gap by exploring lower SES consumers' disposition to accept help in view of who offers help, if a distant or a close helper.

Having less should increase disposition to accept help. Indeed, restriction of resources increases individuals' disposition to accept help, while abundance decreases this disposition (Vohs et al., 2006). Nevertheless, I propose that who offers help (i.e., the individual or organization that provides help, the helper) may change this logic in which restriction of resources increases disposition to accept help.

Lower levels of SES activate an interdependent model of self, so that the normatively appropriate individual should be more focused on and connected with others (Stephens et al., 2019). Interdependency makes consumers' intentions and behaviors more susceptible to the identity of individuals they interact with – they tend to follow whom they identified with, but not whom they cannot share some basis for social identification (Shang et al., 2008). Thus, lower SES consumers should accept less help from a distant helper than from a close helper. I call this effect “the helper effect”.

In this sense, we should expect that lower SES citizens in Brazil should accept less help from UNICEF (i.e., an international organization) than from CUFA (i.e., a well-known Brazilian organization created in a slum to support people in need), for example. On the other hand, higher levels of SES foster an independent model of self that prizes independency from, less focus on and connection with others (Dietze & Knowles, 2021; Stephens et al., 2019). In this case, I do not predict the “helper effect” among higher SES consumers as they may be less influenced by whom they interact with.

Results from three experimental studies using a diverse set of contexts, math quiz, Monopoly game match, and the Covid-19 pandemic, bring initial evidence for the proposed interaction between lower levels of SES and the helper. The explicative mechanism underlying this effect – interdependency and independency activated by lower or higher levels of SES respectively – is also investigated.

This research contributes to extend prosocial consumer behavior theory by investigating an overlooked topic, disposition to accept help among lower SES consumers. Many governmental and non-governmental initiatives are designed to help these consumers (Olson et al. 2016; Anisman-Razin & Levontin, 2020; White et al., 2020). Lyft offers free rides for unemployed consumers (Vera, 2019), scholarships are available for low-income students each year in the U.S. (Wasik, 2017) and in Brazil (Education Ministry, Brazil), food is available for lower-income consumers in the U.S (Food and Nutritional Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture). Unfortunately, some of those helpful resources may go unused or unclaimed (Fisher et al., 1982; Wasik, 2017). In this sense, exploring the factors influencing lower SES consumers’ disposition to accept help seems crucial for both academics, managers, and public policymakers interested in promoting well-being among those consumers.

Furthermore, previous literature on prosocial consumer behavior tends to focus on the determinants of willingness to donate and help others (White et al., 2020), but not on the factors influencing disposition to accept help among consumers who need support, as lower SES consumers, what may promote ineffective prosocial relationships. For example, it is known that feeling love increases donation aimed to help distant others, making Americans donate more money to causes against poverty in Africa (Cavanaugh et al., 2015). Nevertheless, in this paper, I show that lower SES consumers tend to accept less help from a distant than from a close helper. This finding highlights the importance of studies that consider the recipients of help, otherwise we incur the risk of generating more offer than demand in prosocial relationships. Last but not least, this research can contribute to public policymakers, governments, NGO's, and business companies that design programs to help consumers exposed to low SES contexts. By knowing the factors influencing those consumers' disposition to accept help, it is possible to be more assertive when developing and communicating the programs.

Socioeconomic Status and Disposition to Accept Help

The relative standing in society based on both economic and social resources shapes a person's socioeconomic status (Adler et al., 2000; Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). Lower SES individuals face restrictions of different resources. They attend lowest quality high schools, have the worst jobs and positions, and accumulate less material and financial resources than their higher SES counterparts (Griskevicius et al., 2013; Hill et al., 2016). Restriction of a diverse set of resources (education, social capital, money) reduces individuals' capabilities to deal with troublesome events alone. Thus, lower SES individuals may need more help and should accept more help. Indeed, restriction of resources increases disposition to accept help while abundance of resources drops this disposition (Vohs et al., 2006). Nevertheless, I suggest a boundary

condition for the effect of restriction of resources on disposition to accept help: who offers help.

Different models of self are activated by the two opposite ends of the socioeconomic spectrum. For example, lower levels of SES elicit an interdependent model of self, fostering greater focus on and connection with others, what makes lower SES individuals be more influenced by others when behaving and making decisions (Dietze & Knowles, 2021; Kraus et al., 2012; Stephens et al., 2002). Conversely, higher levels of SES elicit an independent model of self in which individuals are less focused on and connected with others, what encourages higher SES individuals to behave and make decisions regardless of others (Kraus et al., 2012; Stephens et al., 2002).

Moreover, interdependency makes consumers more susceptible to identity congruency effects (Shang et al., 2008), so that consumers high on interdependency behave in accordance with whom is viewed as similar to them (e.g., close others) and in discordance with whom they consider different from them (e.g., distant others). On the other hand, independency does not elicit those effects. Therefore, identity congruency effects should be seen at the lowest levels of SES but not at the highest levels.

This logic supports the idea that who the helper is should play an important role on disposition to accept help among lower SES consumers, but not among their higher SES counterparts. I predict that when the helper is viewed as a distant helper (e.g., an out-group individual), and so there is an incongruency between recipient's and helper's identity, lower SES consumers should accept less help. The opposite is expected when the helper is viewed as a close helper (e.g., an in-group individual), as in this case lower SES consumers should accept more help. For higher SES consumers, I do not expect a helper effect, so their disposition to accept help should not depend on who the helper is (i.e., whether or not the helper is a distant or a close other).

H1: Lower SES consumers' disposition to accept help depends on how distant (vs. close) the helper is, so that they accept more help from a close than from a distant helper.

The *helper effect* expected at the lowest levels of SES should be explained by the activation of an interdependent model of self.

H2: Lower levels of SES activate an interdependent model of self that explains consumers' disposition to accept less help from a distant (vs. close) helper.

Next, I present three experimental studies to test the proposed hypotheses by using a diverse set of contexts. Experiment 1 shows the helper effect among lower SES students who participated in a math quiz where they could accept or not help provided by a confederate from a different (vs. theirs) university. Experiment 2 replicates findings from experiment 1 by using a Monopoly game match and a different manipulation to the helper condition. Finally, experiment 3 supports the robustness of the helper effect among lower SES consumers by manipulating SES and the helper and using the Covid-19 pandemic context and financial support as the focal help. In this experiment, I also explored the interdependent model of self as an explicative mechanism.

Experiment 1: The Helper Effect in the Math Quiz²

The objective of this study was to present initial evidence of the helper effect. University students participated in a math quiz in which they could accept or not help provided by a math student, who was close with or distant to them.

Procedures

One hundred and eighty-five university students ($M_{\text{age}} = 19.6$, $SD = 1.22$, 41.4% female) participated in a between subjects experiment in a university laboratory where

² This study was conducted at Vanderbilt University lab with the support of Erick Mas, who provided valuable insights into the experimental conditions and the questionnaire.

the manipulated factor was the helper (distant vs. close). The students were invited to complete a short math quiz with five multiple choice questions aimed to evaluate basic math skills. Students assigned to the *distant* helper condition read that, for that quiz, a group of math students from *another* university in the same city were asked to provide hints to help them as they complete the quiz, and that, at the bottom of each question, they would see a hint button that they could click on if they needed and wanted those students' help. Students in the *close* helper condition read the same text but were informed that a group of math students from their university provided the hints – students could indeed access the hints if they wanted. Participants' assignment was in a random order. Then, students answered the quiz (available in appendix), the manipulation check item, personal questions including information to measure their SES, and reported their impressions on the helpers.

The number of hints accessed by participants in each condition was the dependent variable. The z-scores of students' income, job, and type of residence composed an index to measure objective SES (Ostrove et al., 2000). I expected that lower SES students would be less likely to accept hints in the distant than in the close helper condition. I did not expect the effect of the helper conditions at the highest levels of SES.

Manipulation Check

The manipulation was checked with an item from the inclusion of other in the self scale (Aron et al., 1992) – this scale is available in appendix. In this measure, participants selected a picture with two diagrams, from a list of ten pictures (picture 1 representing no intersection and picture 10 the biggest intersection), that best described their relationship with the helper where one diagram represented themselves and the other diagram represented the helper. Pictures representing bigger intersections between

the two diagrams indicated that students feel close with the helpers. The manipulation worked as expected, students in the close helper condition felt closer with the helpers ($M = 3.72$; $SD = 1.31$) than students in the distant helper condition ($M = 3.16$; $SD = 1.78$), $t(185) = 2.45$, $p = .015$.

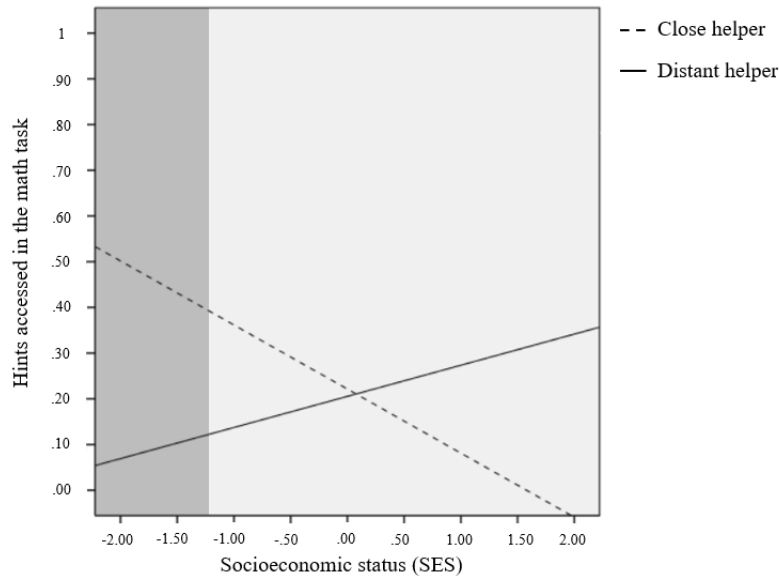
Since participants could view students from a different university as less capable to provide hints, what might affect their disposition to accept help provided by those students, we asked them about their perceptions on the helpers' knowledge to provide hints for the quiz (*The math students have the knowledge needed to provide hints for the task*, 1 - Strongly disagree; 7 - Strongly agree). There was not difference on this item among the helper conditions (distant helpers, $M = 4.45$, $SD = 1.70$; close helpers, $M = 4.41$, $SD = 1.73$), $p = n.s.$

Results

An analysis using PROCESS model 1 (Hayes, 2013) indicates, a marginally significant negative effect of SES ($-.14$), $p = .054$, no direct effect of the helper manipulation ($-.01$), $n.s.$, and a statistically significant interaction between SES and the helper manipulation, $F(1,181) = 4.36$, $p = .038$. I opted to apply the Johnson-Neyman technique (figure 1) where SES was included in the model as a moderator variable to detect at which levels of SES the interaction effect was significant (Spiller et al., 2013). The floodlight analysis reveals significant effects that at the lowest levels of SES (JN < -1.25 , mean centered), so that lower SES students accepted less help from distant than from close hint providers, as expected.

Figure 1

The interaction effect of SES and the helper on number of hints accessed.



Note. Gray area represents statistical significance ($JN \leq -1.25$).

Discussion

This study brings initial evidence of the helper effect among lower SES students but not among higher SES students, supporting H1. Findings from experiment 1 are in line with the idea that lower SES consumers are more affected by whom they interact with than higher SES consumers, as lower SES consumers' disposition to accept help varies according to who the helper is. Next, I present the second experiment that aimed to check the robustness of the helper effect among lower SES consumers by using a different sample and a new context – a Monopoly game match. Also, in the new study, I used a subjective measure of SES and a new helper manipulation.

Experiment 2: The Helper Effect in the Monopoly Game

The objective of this experiment was to show the robustness of the helper effect. For this, I used a new context (Monopoly match) and a new helper manipulation. This time the helper's citizenship was used to manipulate if the helper was a close or a distant helper. Citizenship is an important reference group that is meaningful to people's

social identity (Goldstein et al., 2008). In this experiment, instead of providing hints to participants (experiment 1), the helper offered money and properties, helpful resources when one plays a Monopoly match. In addition, I used a subjective measure of SES to show that the helper effect is consistent with both objective and subjective self-reported measures of SES.

Procedures

American participants living in the U.S ($N = 240$, $M_{\text{age}} = 38.89$, $SD = 11.62$, 36.7% female) were recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk to participate in a single factor (helper: distant vs. close) between subjects experiment. Participants were invited to play a new version of the Monopoly game with one other player and informed that in the new versions there was an angel investor (i.e., the helper) who was not in the match but available to help players. To have this help, the player needed to draw the “Helper’s Card”. Sequentially, all participants were informed that they needed to draw a card and make some decisions based on this card. The “Helper’s Card” was displayed for all participants, who were randomly allocated to the distant (vs. close) helper conditions. In the distant [close] helper condition, the card said that the angel investor was a Canadian [American]. For American participants, a Canadian represented a distant helper and an American a close helper.

Following this procedure, participants saw the available help provided by the helper: \$1,000 and 10 properties. Inspired by the dictator game (see Camerer & Thaler, 1995), participants were asked to decide how they would allocate the available help so that they could keep all money and properties to themselves or share the available help with the other player in the match. Participants wrote down in an appropriate space, for each type of help, how much help they would keep and how much they would share with the other player. The available help as well as the questions relative to allocation of

help were displayed in a random order. More participants kept help to themselves, more they accepted help.

Finally, participants reported their SES in a slider scale (1 - Low SES, 100 - High SES), competitiveness ($\alpha = .864$, 5 items) (Houston et al., 2002), and demographics. The competitiveness scale is available in appendix. Since participants were invited to be players in a Monopoly game match, it was important to control for their competitiveness as higher levels of competitiveness might increase the amount of money and number of properties participants kept to themselves.

Manipulation Check

The helper manipulation was previously pre-tested with sixty-one Americans on Amazon Mechanical Turk ($M_{\text{age}} = 36.30$, $SD = 10.37$, 37.7% female) to investigate how close they felt with Americans and Canadians. Participants in this pre-test were first told that they would participate in a study about how they felt about people living in other countries. Then, they indicated how close they felt with people from the U.S. and Canada (How close do you feel with Americans [Canadians]? 1 - Not close at all; 7-Very close). Americans considered themselves closer with Americans ($M = 5.87$, $SD = 1.19$) than with Canadians ($M = 4.87$, $SD = 1.48$), $p < .001$, as expected.

In addition, using the inclusion of other in the self scale (Aron et al., 1992) – the same measure used in experiment 1 to check the helper manipulation – participants evaluated their relationship with Americans and Canadians. As expected, Americans selected pictures representing bigger intersections when evaluating their relationship with other Americans ($M = 5.08$, $SD = 1.61$) than with Canadians ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.72$), $p < .01$.

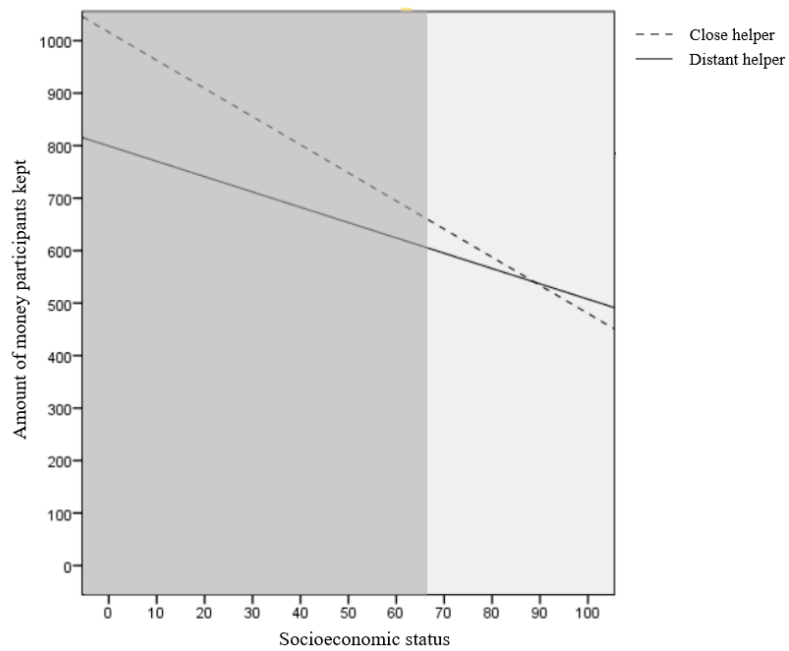
Results

Two multilinear regression analyses using PROCESS model 1 (Hayes, 2013) investigated the effect of SES, helper and the interaction (SES x helper) on participants disposition to keep either money or properties.

For both money and properties there are negatively significant direct effects of SES (money, $\beta = - 5.35, p < .001$; properties, $\beta = - .053, p < .001$) and the helper (money, $\beta = - 216.80, p < .01$; properties, $\beta = - 2.40, p < .001$) on participants' disposition to keep help. The results revealed an interaction effect of SES and the helper manipulation on disposition to keep money ($\beta = 2.44, p < .05$) and properties ($\beta = .02, p < .01$). Those effects rich statistical significance at the lowest levels of SES and disappear as participants' SES increase - Johnson-Neyman technique indicates non-significant results above 65.56 for money and 65.16 for properties. At the lowest levels of SES, participants accepted less money and properties offered by a distant (vs. close) helper, supporting the helper effect proposed in H1. There was not an interaction effect at the highest levels of SES. There were similar effects when controlling for participants competitiveness. The graphs (figure 2 and 3) illustrate the interaction effects for both money and properties.

Figure 2

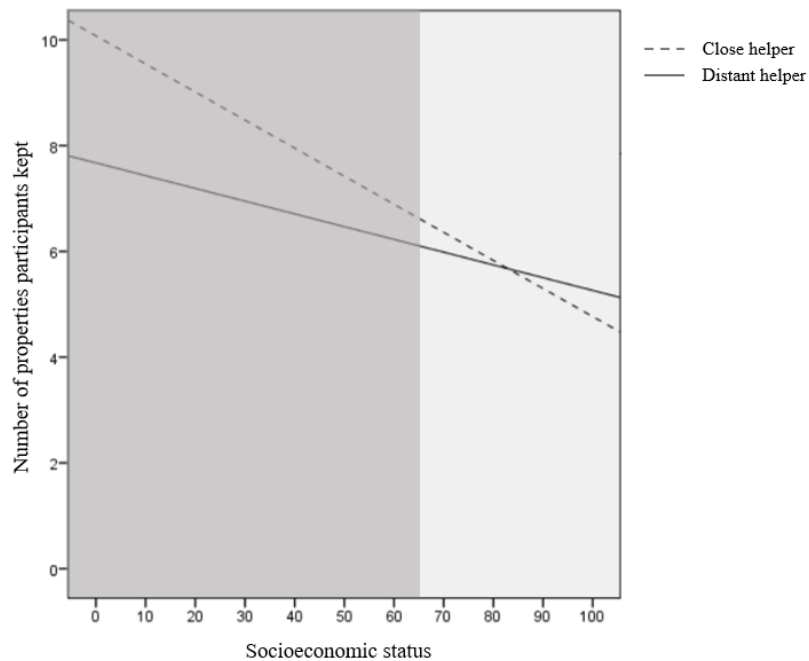
The interaction effect of SES and the helper on disposition to accept help (money).



Note. Gray area represents statistical significance ($JN \leq 65.56$).

Figure 3

The interaction effect of SES and the helper on disposition to accept help (properties).



Note. Gray area represents statistical significance ($JN \leq 65.16$).

Discussion

Findings from experiment 2 support the hypothesis that lower SES consumers tend to accept less help when who offers help is a distant (vs. a close) helper. By using a different sample, context, new self-reported measure of SES, helper manipulation and measures for disposition to accept help, I replicate findings from experiment 1, what indicates the robustness of the proposed interaction. It is noteworthy that in this study participants were not asked about their disposition to accept help *per se*, instead they needed to decide how they would allocate available help between them and the other player. The amount of help participants kept to themselves was a proxy of their disposition to accept help. This is a possible limitation of this study that I address in the next study.

In experiment 3, the Covid-19 pandemic context is used to still investigating the robustness of the helper effect. There are two main changes in this new study. First, SES was manipulated instead of being measured. Second, a different helper manipulation was used to show that the helper effect is consistent among different manipulations. Finally, I started addressing the effects proposed in H2.

Experiment 3: The Helper Effect in the Covid-19 Pandemic

The Covid-19 pandemic has elicited different needs that people may not be able to suppress by themselves since many of them lost their jobs, could not work as they are in the high-risk groups for Covid-19, or were exposed to other situations that dropped their household income (Goldsmith & Lee, 2021; Menickella, 2020). So, people may need more help during the pandemic - by using this context, I could provide a more conservative test for H1.

In this study, participants' SES and the helper were manipulated, and I started addressing the models of self as possible explanations for the helper effect elicited at the lowest levels of SES but not at the highest levels.

Procedures

Four hundred and sixty-one Americans were recruited on Amazon Mechanical Turk ($Age_{\text{mean}} = 46.06$, $SD = 15.08$, 56.4% female, 220 liberals, 241 conservatives) to participate in a 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (helper: close vs. distant) between subjects experiment. Initially, participants were told that they were going to participate in a study about their decisions during the Covid-19 pandemic. To manipulate participants' SES, first all participants reported their household income and with how many people they lived. Then, they were told that the information they gave was compared to information provided by other participants that had already participated in the study and that, according to this comparison, they were classified as being low or high on SES. Indeed, they were randomly assigned to the SES conditions. Participants read the following description about being low or high on SES, based on to the group they were allocated to:

Your annual household income was compared to other Mechanical Turk respondents' income.

*We found out that your socioeconomic status is **higher** [**lower**] than other Mechanical Turk respondents' socioeconomic status.*

*This means that you are in the group of people high on socioeconomic status. These people have the **most** [**least**] money, **most** [**least**] education, and the **most** [**least**] respected jobs.*

The SES manipulation was checked using two self-reported measures of SES, the MacArthur scale (10-rug ladder that represents a person's sense of place in society in terms of economic and social resources, with lower levels of the ladder representing lower levels of SES and higher levels representing higher levels of SES; Adler et al.,

2000), and SES slider scale (the same used in experiment 2). Although manipulating SES may arise some concern, previous studies have successfully manipulated participants' socio and economic status (Cardel et al., 2019; Piff et al., 2020), so I opted to manipulate participants' SES in this study.

Sequentially, participants were randomly assigned to the helper condition which was manipulated by using the affective polarization phenomenon. Affective polarization works as a natural offshoot of the partisan group identity, being the tendency of identifying oneself as a republican or a democrat to view copartisans positively and opposing partisans negatively (Iyengar et al., 2019). Affective polarization is widespread across the United States (Boxell et al., 2020) where I collected data for this study. In this study, the helper was manipulated to be either a republican or a democrat. Since I could not identify democrat and republican participants due to the selection of only democrats and republicans on Amazon Mechanical Turk, before launching the study, and questions where participants reported their political orientation as well as political party, for republicans (i.e., conservatives), a democrat [republican] helper would be a distant [close] helper. Conversely, for democrats (i.e., liberals), a republican [democrat] helper would be a distant [close] helper.

Some participants were allocated to the condition where Barack Obama (Democratic Party) was working on helpful initiatives to help American citizens during the Covid-19 pandemic, while other participants were allocated to the condition where Donald Trump (Republican Party) was working on those helpful initiatives. This manipulation was checked by asking participants about the political orientation of the helper, so I could confirm if indeed participants viewed the helper's political orientation as similar or different from their own political orientation. Participants should have classified Barack Obama as more liberal than Donald Trump, what would help me to

have the conditions in which Barack Obama and Donald Trump could be either close or distant helpers, depending on the political orientation/party of participants.

Then, according to the condition they were assigned to, participants were exposed to two helpful initiatives offered by either Barack Obama or Donald Trump to Americans deal with the Covid-19 pandemic – \$500 per three months and a \$1,200 check – and indicated the extent to which they would accept or not each form of help (1 – Definitely I would not accept, 7 – Definitely I would accept). Finally, they reported their political orientation (slider scale, 0 – Liberal, 100 – Conservative) and political party, interdependency tendencies – used to test the mechanism underlying the helper effect ($\alpha = .924$, 11 items, scale available in appendix) (Cross et al. 2000) – and demographics.

Manipulation Check

The manipulations worked as expected. An analysis of variance revealed a statistically significant effect of SES on the slider scale used to check the SES manipulation, $F(1, 457) = 57.69, p < .001$, and non-significant effect of the helper manipulation, $F(1, 457) = .666, n.s.$, and the interaction, $F(1, 457) = .013, n.s.$ ³ Participants in the low SES condition reported lower levels of SES ($M = 39.13$) than participants in the high SES condition ($M = 56.54$). The helper manipulation was successful as well. There was a statistically significant effect of the helper condition on helper's political orientation ("*In the situation I read the president was...*", 1 - Liberal, 7 - Conservative), so that participants viewed Barack Obama as more liberal ($M = 2.07, SD = 1.50$) than Donald Trump ($M = 6.23, SD = 1.25$), $F(1, 457) = 1026.17, p < .001$. There were non-significant effects of SES manipulation, $F(1, 457) = .894, n.s.$, and the interaction (SES*Helper), $F(1, 457) = .212, n.s.$, on helper's political orientation.

³ I found the same results when using the ladder scale to check the SES manipulation.

Results

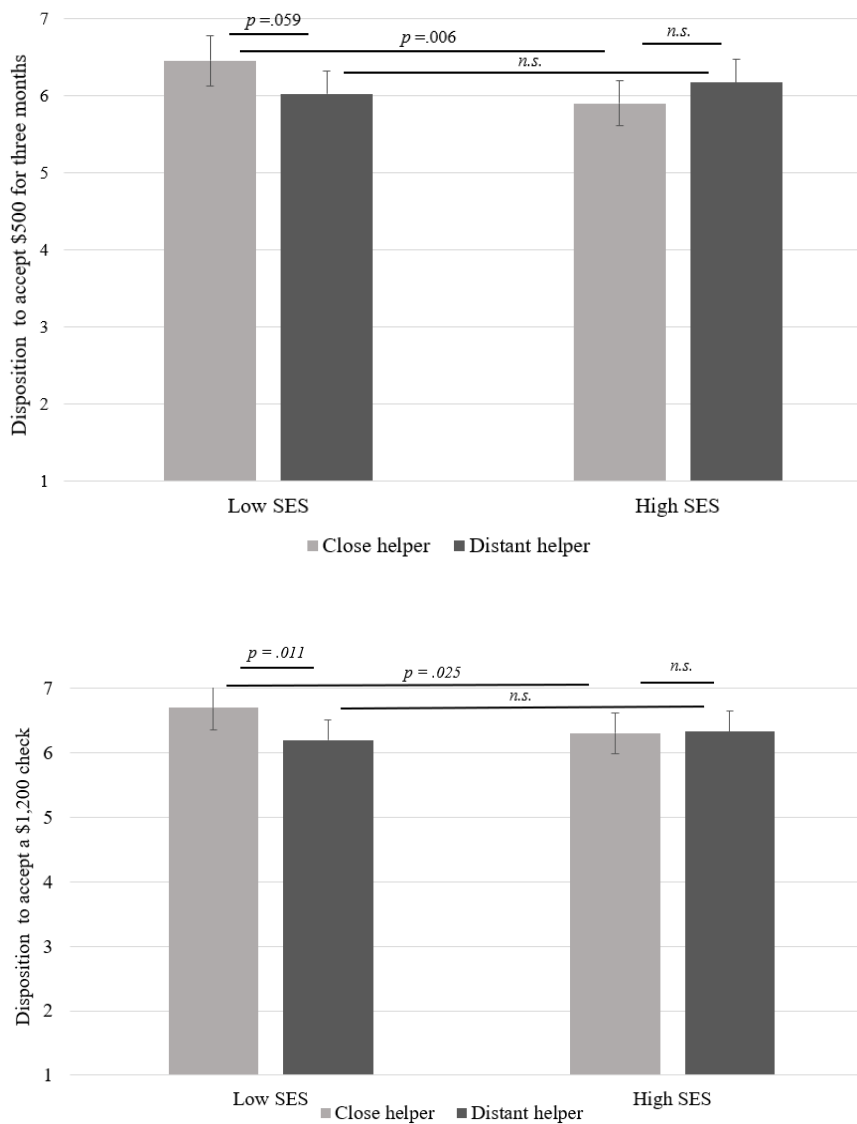
First, a multivariate analysis of variance on participants' disposition to accept help – \$500 per month and \$1,200 – was conducted by controlling participants' political orientation, since it might affect participants' disposition to accept help from either Barack Obama or Donald Trump. The MANOVA revealed a significant effect of political orientation, $F(2, 455) = 11.43, p < .001$. Besides, there was a statistically significant effect of the helper condition, $F(2, 455) = 3.17, p < .05$, participants were more likely to accept help from a close helper (\$500 per month, $M = 6.17, SD = 1.59$; \$1,200 check, $M = 6.50, SD = 1.23$) than from a distant helper (\$500 per month, $M = 6.10, SD = 1.70$; \$1,200 check, $M = 6.27, SD = 1.57$). Interestingly, there was not an effect of the SES manipulation on that disposition, $F(2, 455) = .950, n.s.$ The MANOVA revealed a marginally significant interaction effect (SES x helper) on disposition to accept help, $F(2, 455) = 2.78, p = .063, \eta_p^2 = .012$.

Pairwise comparisons showed that this effect occurs for consumers in the low SES group, as expected. Consumers in this group demonstrated lower disposition to accept help provided by a distant helper (\$500 per three months, $M = 6.01, SD = 1.81, p = .059$; \$1200 check, $M = 6.19, SD = 1.69, p = .011$) than by a close helper (\$500 per month, $M = 6.44, SD = 1.29$; \$1,200 check, $M = 6.69, SD = .97$). In the high SES group, there was not difference on disposition to accept help from a distant (\$500 per three months = 6.17, $SD = 1.60, n.s.$; \$1,200 check, $M = 6.33, SD = 1.47, n.s.$) or a close helper (\$500 per three months = 5.91, $SD = 1.76$; \$1,200 check, $M = 6.31, SD = 1.41$). Additionally, low and high SES groups differed on their disposition to accept \$500 for three months and a \$1,200 check only in the close helper condition. In the low SES group, participants accepted more help from a close helper (\$500 for three months, $M = 6.44, SD = 1.29$; \$1,200 check, $M = 6.69, SD = .97$) than participants in the high

SES group (\$500 for three months, $M = 5.91$, $SD = 1.76$; \$1,200 check, $M = 6.31$, $SD = 1.41$). There was not difference among SES groups in the distant helper condition (see figure 4).

Figure 4

The effect of SES x Helper on disposition to accept financial support during the Covid-19 pandemic.



I also tested the proposed interaction by controlling participants' concerns with the pandemic (*Covid-19 isn't a big deal; I'm not afraid of Covid-19; I don't need help to*

deal with the Covid-19 pandemic, 1 – I strongly disagree and 7 – I strongly agree, $\alpha = .805$), since more concern should increase disposition to accept help. The results remained the same for participants' political orientation, the helper and SES manipulation. Interestingly, less concern tend to lead to more disposition to accept help, $F(2, 454) = 10.49, p < .001$. There was a marginally significant interaction effect, $F(2, 455) = 2.78, p = .056, \eta_p^2 = .013$, and pairwise comparison reveals that the interaction effect emerged only in the low SES group. So, the results remain the same by controlling for pandemic concerns.

When not controlling for participants' political orientation and pandemic concerns, the direct effects of the helper and SES manipulation remain the same, the interaction effect still marginally significant, $F(2, 456) = 2.65, p = .071, \eta_p^2 = .012$, and pairwise comparison reveals that the interaction effect arises only in the low SES group, as expected.

Finally, a multilinear regression analysis using PROCESS (model 15, Hayes, 2013) was conducted to investigate H2 (figures 5 and 6).

Figure 5

Moderated mediation - disposition to accept \$500 for three months.

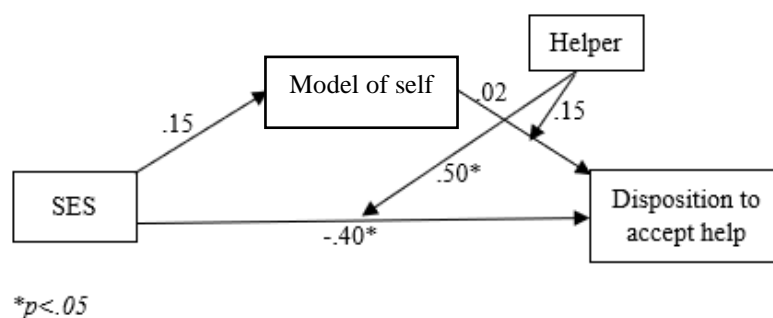
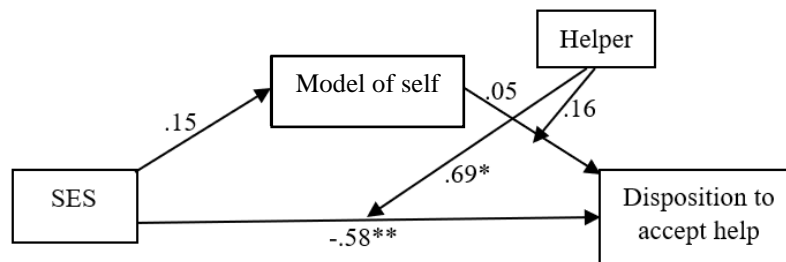


Figure 6

Moderated mediation - disposition to accept a \$1,200 check.



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

The results indicate that for both forms of financial support there is not a moderated mediation as proposed by H2. There is a negatively significant effect of SES, indicating that low SES leads to more disposition to accept help, and an interaction effect of SES and helper conditions.

Discussion

Experiment 3 supports the robustness of the helper effect among lower SES consumers as the experiment replicates findings from experiment 1 and 2 in the Covid-19 pandemic context by manipulating SES and using a new helper manipulation. It is noteworthy that, overall, participants in this study tended to report high disposition to accept financial support to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic, as expected. Interestingly, who offers help plays an important role on that disposition, especially in the low SES group. Participants in this group reported lower disposition to accept help from a distant than from a close helper, supporting H1, though they are the ones who may need help the most, mainly during a pandemic. On the other hand, who the helper is did not affect disposition to accept help in the high SES group. This experiment does not provide evidence of the interdependent model of self, activated by lower levels of SES, as the mechanism that explains why lower and higher SES people react differently towards help when presented to a distant (vs. close) helper. There are two possible reasons for

that, first it is possible that the effect is not captured by interdependency-independency measures (Stephens et al., 2002) or specifically by the scale used in this study.

Second, other mechanisms may explain why lower SES consumers who are potential recipients of help are more affected by who the helper is. One possible mechanism is tolerance of outgroups at the lowest levels of SES. Lower SES individuals tend to be less tolerant with outgroups. First, facing economic uncertainty drops psychological security, increasing stress and lack of control (Haushofer & Fehr, 2014), what decreases tolerance of deviant groups (Grabb, 1979). Besides, lower educational levels may arise a tendency to view relationships in black-and-white terms and a sharp distinction between “them” and “us” (Grabb, 1979). This way, it is possible that lower SES consumers are less tolerant with individuals viewed as outgroups (e.g., a distant helper), what may reduce their disposition to accept help from a distant helper. However, a recent study suggests that people at both lowest and highest levels of SES tend to be less tolerant with outgroups individuals (Coté et al., 2017). So, if tolerance of outgroups is a possible mechanism, results observed at the lowest and highest levels of SES should have been similar – at the lowest and highest levels of SES consumers should have accepted more help from a close than from a distant helper as at those levels there is more intolerance of outgroups (Coté et al., 2017). Indeed, I found that participants in the high SES group accepted less help from a close helper than participants assigned to the low SES group and that the groups did not differ when help was offered by a distant helper.

Overall, the models of self seem a reasonable explicative mechanism, and further studies are needed to investigate these models as the mechanism underlying the helper effect.

General Discussion

The present paper aimed to show a new effect, the helper effect among lower SES consumers, and propose a possible mechanism underlying this effect. Three experimental studies using different contexts, measures of SES, helper manipulations, and both behavioral and attitudinal measures for disposition to accept help bring evidence that supports the existence of the helper effect, especially among lower SES consumers who change their disposition to accept help depending on who the helper is – a distant or a close helper. This effect is not observed among higher SES consumers. Those findings have important theoretical and managerial contributions that will be discussed next. It is noteworthy that in experiment 3 I started exploring the mechanism that may explain the helper effect among lower SES consumers and the absence of this effect among higher SES consumers. Unfortunately, this study did not support this mechanism, that I should explore in further studies. This way, I focus on the helper effect when presenting the contributions of this paper in the next sections.

Theoretical Implications

Differently from a traditional stream of research on prosocial consumer behavior that has been exclusively focused on the helper side of prosocial relationships (Allen et al., 2018; Goenka & Osselaer, 2019; Kulow & Karmer, 2016; Liu & Aaker, 2008; Marcoux, 2009; Small & Verrochi, 2009; Winterich & Barone, 2011), this paper devotes attention to potential recipients of help. In a broad sense, the paper contributes for advancing prosocial consumers behavior literature as it inaugurates a new stream of research where the focus is on consumers who have greater needs (i.e., lower SES consumers), being potential recipients of help. The paper provides a better understanding of the factors influencing potential recipients' disposition to accept help, as it demonstrates the impact of distant (vs. close) helpers on lower SES consumers'

disposition to accept hints in a math quiz, help in a game match and financial support during the Covid-19 pandemic. These results call attention for the real effectiveness of donation or help provided by donors/helpers viewed as distant others by potential recipients, yet there is some effort to increase those donors/helpers' disposition to donate or help. For instance, Cavanaugh et al. (2015) show that making Americans feel love increases their donations to causes against poverty in Africa, that is donations to recipients that are not close with them. In the present paper, findings from three experimental studies indicate that lower SES consumers tend to adjust their disposition to accept different forms of help in view of the helper, decreasing that disposition when help is offered by a distant helper and increasing the disposition when help is provided by a close helper. Thus, encouraging donation or help from 'distant helpers' may lead to non-effective prosocial relationships, especially when potential recipients of donation/help are lower SES individuals.

Overall, this paper presents an unprecedented contribution for prosocial consumer behavior literature by shedding light on the influence of who the helper is on lower SES consumers, the ones that need help the most.

Managerial Implications

Many governmental and non-governmental initiatives are designed to help lower SES consumers (Olson et al., 2016; Anisman-Razin & Levontin, 2020; White et al., 2020). Unfortunately, some of the helpful resources provided by those initiatives may go unused or unclaimed (Wasik, 2017). In this sense, the present paper contributes to governments, NGO's, international organizations and business companies that develop programs to help consumers exposed to low SES contexts as it explores the factors that influence those consumers' disposition to accept help, what is crucial to design as well as communicate those programs properly.

International organizations as United Nations often design programs to support lower SES people living in emerging countries as Brazil, India and South Africa following well-defined objectives as mitigate poverty. The effectiveness of those programs depends in part on how they are communicated. For instance, public assistance programs when designed for lower SES citizens should be positioned as coming from a close helper (e.g., well-known community leaders or community organizations) not from a distant helper (e.g., federal government or international organizations). In the same hand, brands that invest in initiatives to help lower SES consumers should communicate these initiatives by positioning the brand as a close friend who wants to help, for example.

The helper effect should be also considered when developing the programs. Instead of having only academics, public policymakers, and managers who are often distant from lower SES contexts during the development process, it would be interesting to invite community leaders and people from lower SES contexts to be part of that process, as they can help with ideas and perspectives that are more in line with people who will benefit from those programs. When communicating the programs, using lower SES people, who participated in that process, would help to increase the acceptance of those programs among its beneficiaries.

Limitations and Future Research

This research is not without limitations. First, future research is needed to provide further support for the mechanism underlying the helper effect in which the interdependent and independent models of self, activated by lower and higher levels of SES respectively, are responsible for the effect of distant (vs. close) helper on lower SES consumers' disposition to accept help as well as the absence of effect among higher SES consumers. Since self-reported measures, as the one used in experiment 3,

tend not to capture effects elicited by those models (Stephens et al., 2002), interdependency and independency could be manipulated to explore specifically the effect of their interaction with the helper (distant vs. close other) on disposition to accept help. In this case, one should expect the helper effect among consumers in the interdependent model group, a model activated in low SES contexts, but not among consumers allocated to the independent model group, that is activated in high SES contexts.

Second, although experiment 1 and 2 used behavioral-measures for disposition to accept help (i.e., hints accessed in a math task and money and properties kept in a Monopoly game match), further field studies could use more realistic behavioral-measures (i.e., actual amount of help accepted in poor (vs. rich) neighborhoods when manipulating who offers help).

Finally, experiment 3 may have important confounders regarding the helper manipulation (Barack Obama vs. Donald Trump). Further studies can manipulate the distant (vs. close) helper condition by using helper's political orientation in a different way (e.g., conservative vs. liberal NGO) instead of using American presidents.

Appendix

Math quiz questions

What is the value of x if $x^2 = 169$

- 17
- 13
- 169
- 338

For help, click the button below and proceed to the next page for a hint provided by the **\$(e://Field/SelfOther) University** student.

- Please help me**
- No thank you**

What is the symbol of pi?

- €
- π
- Ω
- ∞

For help, click the button below and proceed to the next page for a hint provided by the **\$(e://Field/SelfOther) University** student.

- Please help me**
- No thank you**

What is three fifths of 100?

- 3
- 5
- 20
- 60

For help, click the button below and proceed to the next page for a hint provided by the **\$(e://Field/SelfOther) University** student.

- Please help me**
- No thank you**

Find the value of x ; if $x = (2 \times 3) + 11$.

- 55
- 192
- 17
- 66

For help, click the button below and proceed to the next page for a hint provided by the **Self/Other** University student.

- Please help me**
- No thank you**

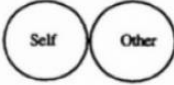
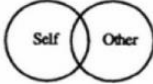
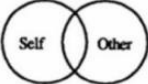
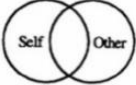

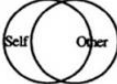

What is the square of 15?

- 15
- 30
- 252
- 225

For help, click the button below and proceed to the next page for a hint provided by the **Self/Other** University student.

- Please help me**
- No thank you**

Inclusion of other in the self scale (Aron et al., 1992)

- 
- 
- 
- 
- 
- 
- 

Competitiveness index (Houston et al., 2002)

1. I like competition.
2. I am a competitive individual.
3. I enjoy competing against an opponent.
4. I don't like competing against other people. (R)
5. I get satisfied from competing with others.

Relational interdependence self-construal (Cross et al., 2000)

1. My close relationships are an important reflection of who I am.
2. When I feel very close to someone, it often feels to me like that person is an important part of who I am.
3. I usually feel a strong sense of pride when someone close to me has an important accomplishment.

4. I think one of the most important parts of who I am can be captured by looking at my close friends and understanding who they are.
5. When I think of myself, I often think of my close friends or family also.
6. If a person hurts someone close to me, I feel personally hurt as well.
7. In general, my close relationships are an important part of my self-image.
8. Overall, my close relationships have very little to do with how I feel about myself. (R)
9. My close relationships are unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
(R)
10. My sense of pride comes from knowing who I have as close friends.
11. When I establish a close friendship with someone, I usually develop a strong sense of identification with that person.

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