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# The Post-Brexit Donor: Segmenting the UK Charitable Marketplace using Political Attitudes and National Identity

### 1 Introduction

The British public are recognized as being particularly generous in their charitable giving, with annual private donations estimated at £9.7bn (CAF 2017). However, with over 165,000 active charities (NPT 2016), a small cluster of 'super-major' charities taking 81% of the sector's income (NCVO 2018) and an increased pressure on charities because of public spending cuts (Besemer and Bramley 2012), many charities have been forced to rethink how they can compete for donations with limited marketing resources.

Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989) proposed donor segmentation (identifying and delineating homogenous groups of individuals for commercial purposes) as a technique that allows fundraisers to focus on those individuals most likely to donate. This act of prioritising particular donors is a "widely accepted and implemented customer relationship management tactic used by non-profit organizations" (Boenigk and Scherhag 2014, 308). In a recent review of academic attempts to segment donors, Rupp et al. (2014) noted that prior work has been based largely on sociodemographic factors. This study will add to the existing donor segmentation field by encompassing two issues that belong to the psychographic area of segmentation: political attitudes and national identity.

An individual's support for political policies may influence donation preferences (Atkinson,2009), particularly towards international causes (Rajan et al. 2009). Wiepking (2010) has previously concluded that individuals with left-leaning political views were more likely to support international causes. However, the 2016 referendum which triggered the United Kingdom's (UK) departure from the European Union (EU) represents a step change in the country's social and political landscape. The successful 'Vote Leave' campaign was built largely on the principles of taking back control of borders, reducing immigration and a perceived loss of national identity (Hobolt 2016; Swales 2016). We therefore contend that the idea of segmenting donors based on such political debates requires reinvestigation in the post-Brexit era. The current study will incorporate four political issues: future voting intention, EU referendum voting behavior and attitudes towards two areas of government policy which appear connected to issues of national identity: austerity and overseas development aid (ODA, which refers to money utilised by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office with the aim of defeating property, tackling instability and creating prosperity in developing countries).

Stevenson and Manning (2010) have previously acknowledged that membership of national groups may influence charitable giving, as donors feel greater empathy towards beneficiaries they personally identify with (Einolf et al. 2013). Such a sense of fit with beneficiaries may arise from nationality, one of the strongest forms of in-group attachment (Schatz et al. 1999). As such, an individual's level of national identity may provide a useful means to distinguish between donors and the causes they opt to support. A review of studies across economics and psychology provide a useful summary of how race, ethnicity and national identity may influence prosocial behavior. Greenwald and Pettigrew (2014) report that studies consistently illustrate the potential for racial discrimination in helping or favoring others. Strombach et al. (2014) determined that willingness to give appeared to reduce as social distance between donor and beneficiary increased. When given a choice between a local and an international charity, Winterich and Barone (2011) found higher levels of identity-congruence with the former, although this did not necessarily translate into financial support. Perhaps most pertinent to the current study, Fong and Luttmer (2009) identified the presence of subjective racial group loyalty in charitable giving. Here, those who reported higher levels of subjective identification with their own racial group in turn prioritized fellow group members when allocating donations. Such work suggests that, when segmenting the donor marketplace, there may be a notable distinction between groups based on their support of domestic versus international causes.

Bringing the above discussion together, the current study attempts to segment a nationally representative sample of the UK population based upon their charitable giving behavior, intentions and trust, feelings of national identity and political attitudes. It is hoped that this will add to our theoretical understanding on how donors can be segmented, with specific emphasis on psychographic criteria (Rupp et al. 2014), and carry practical relevance for fundraisers across a wide range of causes.

## 2 Donor Segmentation

Donor segmentation is a marketing vehicle used to improve fundraising efficiency for charitable organisations (De Vries et al. 2015). Non-profit interest in segmentation was instigated by changes in the competitive environment and emerging technologies which enable more sophisticated forms of data manipulation (Masters 2000). Indeed, it was the systematic adoption of such marketing techniques by charities that accounted for increased charitable revenues throughout the 1980s (Schlegelmilch and Tynan 1989). Such techniques allow for effective resource allocation (Tsiotsou 2007), targeted fundraising activity (Shelley and Polonsky 2002) and donor prioritisation (Boenigk and Scharhag 2014).

Potential segmentation criteria range from extrinsic demographic measures through to intrinsic psychographic characteristics (Lee and Chang 2007). Between these extremes are a wide range of behavioral and value-based criteria, which include donation patterns, preferred methods of giving and levels of charitable interest that can be used to inform life time value (LTV) or recency, frequency, monetary value (RFM) analysis (Bennett 2006; Durango-Cohen et al. 2013). Little wonder then that non-profit managers struggle to select the most appropriate segmentation criteria (Boenigk and Leipnitz 2016).

A review of existing non-profit segmentation work by Rupp et al. (2014) identifies that much donor segmentation research has focused on the influence of various socio-demographic traits and has produced inconsistent results. Studies have suggested that those most likely to support charities are older, from higher social classes (Srnka et al. 2003), women and those with higher educational attainment (Lee and Chang 2007) and married (Andreoni et al. 2003). However, from a relatively early point in non-profit research the general consensus has remained that demographic characteristics alone have limited power and do not drive into more complex issues of why people choose to support certain charities (Schlegelmilch and Tynan 1989).

# <PLEASE INSERT TABLE 1 HERE>

## 3 The Current Study

Table 1 provides a summary of empirical work from a range of non-profit scenarios where different combinations of segmentation criteria have been used to develop donor segments. These studies span a range of contexts (including donations of money, time and blood) but when combined demonstrate three notable gaps in existing donor segmentation research. Firstly, only Dolnicar and Randle (2006) addressed the role of political attitudes in charitable giving, identifying that men were more likely to volunteer for political charities (such as trade associations or labour unions). Secondly, most studies were focused on support for a specific type of charity as opposed to understanding giving across the third sector. Finally, whilst some studies did include self-reported ethnicity, none have addressed issues of national identity. Together, these underline the need for work which combines demographic, behavioral and psychographic criteria that reflect current issues of national significance. In the following section, we will introduce the factors utilized in the current study.

*3.1 Political Attitudes:* Politics and charity are difficult to separate because non-profits fulfil various important public purposes on behalf of the Government (Van Slyke et al. 2007). Whilst facing reduced central funding, the non-profit sector has also taken on additional responsibilities from the state in the wake of post-financial crisis austerity measures (Konzelmann 2014). This was branded as part of the 'Big Society' movement (Besemer and Bramley 2012), which represents a partial

decoupling of the state and the third sector (Macmillan 2013). The approach promised charities greater autonomy and a framework for heightened community engagement, but at the same time drastically reduced financial support (Milbourne and Cushman 2013). In practice, Clifford (2017) observed that those voluntary organisations in deprived areas (who are in greatest need of central government funding owing to the communities they serve) have been most significantly hit by austerity measures. Austerity has therefore "exacerbated voluntary sector failure in deprived areas" (Jones et al. 2016, p. 2076). One pertinent example is the increased food bank dependency observed across the UK. The (typically mid-sized) charitable organisations who have stepped up to provide assistance in such cases have experienced the greatest decline in local government support, which "challenges the discourse of a 'shared burden' and emphasises the social costs that accompany austerity" (Loopstra et al. 2015, p. 2).

Firstly, our survey will capture future general election voting intention. Winterich et al. (2012) argued that individuals are most likely to donate when a charity's mission is closely aligned to their own political identity. The study will also capture voting behavior in the 2016 UK EU membership referendum. Immigration has been identified as a core driver of many leave voters (Goodwin and Heath 2016; Hobolt 2016). As such, the decision to leave or remain in the EU may explain priorities for charities that are domestic and international in remit, with Rajan et al. (2009) earlier suggesting that political ideologies were especially relevant in the decision to support overseas causes. Whilst CAF data (2017) suggests that remain voters are more likely to engage in charitable activity than leave voters (93% and 87% respectively), research to date has not assessed the extent to which an individual's vote on Brexit may reflect their charitable preferences.

Attitudes towards austerity policy and ODA are also addressed in the current study. The 2008 financial crisis and subsequent austerity measures shifted individual's emphasis to the welfare of one's family and those in their immediacy rather than causes further afield (Flatters and Willmott 2009). As economic downturns result in greater nationalistic sentiment at both Government (Piercy et al. 2010) and individual levels (Blythe 2013), it also appears logical that a person's support for ODA will be relevant in their personal donation preferences. In times of economic struggle, populations show a hardened commitment to buying local products over imports (Krugman 2012). Voters that are predisposed to more bellicose foreign policies are likely to oppose ODA (Bonikowski 2016), whilst those with a more cosmopolitan perspective on inter-country relations are likely to be more supportive (Tsai et al. 2013).

3.2 National Identity: Significant UK referendums (on Scottish Independence and EU membership) have acted as a catalyst for heightened levels of debate on national identity. The growing political autonomy awarded to Scotland and Northern Ireland resulted in heightened emphasis on English national identity, and in particular the use of the St George's Cross (Fenton 2007). Taken here to describe an individual's feelings of attachment towards one's country (Blank et al. 2001), national identity has been shown to increase in times of economic or military threat (e.g. Tsai et al. 2013).

Based on the seminal work of Kosterman and Feshbach (1989), academics in the field have increasingly advocated for the existence of three dimensions relevant to an individual's relationship with nations (Balabanis et al. 2001). The first two of these, nationalism and patriotism, are positively correlated as they both share a love of and willingness to make sacrifices for one's country (Lee, Hong and Lee 2003). However they are considered as conceptually and empirically distinct based on attitudes towards out-groups. Whilst nationalism incorporates a desire for superiority, domination over other countries and fanaticism (Federico et al. 2005), patriotism refers to a more critical form of attachment and a more open view of other nations (Williams et al. 2008). The third dimension, internationalism, describes a wider concern for the well-being of the global population that transcends national borders, an admiration for the qualities of other nations and a willingness to co-operate to address global problems (Tsai et al. 2013). Past research has demonstrated that these dimensions influence individual behavior toward other nations and the marketplace (e.g. Yang et al. 2015). Inclusion of these dimensions in the current study will ascertain if such behaviors transfer to the act of charitable giving.

3.3 Charitable Preferences: Whilst it is logical to segment the marketplace by recent giving behavior (both in terms of value and number of charities supported), the current study sought to provide a deeper insight into giving. Previous research has largely concentrated on the reasons people donate in general as opposed to their preferred types of charity (Andorfer and Otte 2013), or only focused on a single cause (Tsiotsou 2007). As such, this study will assess the level of support individuals have for a range of charities. This will include causes that are in close proximity to the individual (local projects and services), within the same country (e.g. healthcare causes or animal welfare) and those further afield (e.g. international relief operations). Prior research has suggested that attitudes may vary across types of charitable cause (Lafferty and Edmondson 2014) and consistently shown a higher level of support for domestic over international causes (Casale and Baumann 2015; Mickelwright and Schnepf 2009).

To address individual preference for domestic versus international causes, the constructs charitable ethnocentrism and charitable cosmopolitanism have been utilized. The former describes "an individual's preference to support charitable causes that serve beneficiaries within their own nation or national group" (CITATION REMOVED TO CONCEAL AUTHORS) and conforms to the 'charity begins at home' axiom. In contrast, charitable cosmopolitanism describes an individual who will make charitable donations to other countries based upon factors such as perceived acuteness of need. In this case it will be useful to explore if these constructs can act as useful donor segmentation criteria.

It is widely accepted that trust is a strong antecedent of charitable giving (Bennett and Barkensjo 2005) and should be seen as the pinnacle of a charity's existence (de Vries et al. 2015). It has been suggested that donors need to share common values with a charitable cause in order to maintain trust (MacMillan et al. 2005). As there is evidence to suggest that donors make distinctions between trust levels for charities based on their geographic remit (Charity Commission 2016), trust will be assessed for local, national and international charities.

The channel used to donate to charity is also a potentially interesting means by which to segment the marketplace. Peloza and Hassay (2007) distinguished between low and high involvement support behaviors, the former including cash donations and charity shop donations whilst the latter extended to longer-term financial pledges or fundraising activity. As these channels vary in terms of the effort required to donate and the longevity of the commitment, they may add further insight into specific segments. Finally, donation intention refers to an individual's self-reported likelihood to donate to charity in the near future (Smith and McSweney 2007) and has been found to be a sound predictor of actual giving behavior (e.g. Kashif et al. 2015). Much like trust, understanding if this differs across local, national and international charities may provide a further basis for donor segmentation.

## 4 Study Design and Methods

To enable the segmentation of a nationally representative sample, a quantitative survey approach was adopted. To ensure our subsequent cluster analysis was based on a range of demographic, psychographic and behavioral criteria, the survey was broken into three core sections as outlined below and summarised in Table 2.

Charitable Giving: In this section respondents reported their giving patterns for the three months prior to completing the survey (both in terms of amount donated and number of charities supported). Respondents also indicated preferred donation channels, trust levels and their likelihood of supporting 13 charitable categories (which included two specific to international causes). In each category example charities were provided to ensure respondent understanding. The section also included 8 items on preferences for domestic versus international charities (4 each for charitable ethnocentrism and charitable cosmopolitanism). These items were developed in conjunction with senior UK charitable organisations such as the Charity Commission for England and Wales, and assessed via a pilot survey prior to the main study.

Psychographic: The substantive part of the survey included a range of items that addressed political beliefs (including recent voting behavior / future voting intentions) and attitudes towards one's country (national identity). To assess support for both ODA and austerity, pre-existing items were taken from studies utilized to inform public policy. National Identity was operationalised into the three sub-dimensions of nationalism, patriotism and internationalism using items adapted from a number of studies. All of these items were presented on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree (coded 1-7 respectively), with details on the sources of these items provided in Table 2. As media consumption has been previously liked to both political beliefs and charitable giving (e.g. Feeny and Clarke 2007), respondents also indicated how frequently they engaged with various national newspapers.

*Socio-Demographics:* At the end of the survey, respondents also provided answers to a range of demographic questions, including age, gender, income, ethnicity and region.

## <PLEASE INSERT TABLE 2 HERE>

# 4.1 Sampling and Procedure

Prior to full data collection, a pilot survey was conducted (n = 112) to assess the rigour of the proposed research instrument. This pilot allowed for exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to assess a series of scales (and constituent items) that sought to measure a range of constructs: charitable ethnocentrism, charitable cosmopolitanism, national identity (with separate dimensions for nationalism, patriotism and internationalism) attitudes towards ODA and attitudes towards austerity. As outlined in Table 2, these scales were largely adopted from existing studies, however the items for charitable ethnocentrism and charitable cosmopolitanism were newly devised in line with the scale development procedures outlined by Churchill (1979). The outcome of the analysis and subsequent fine tuning of the items was the creation of a group of valid and reliable scales employed in the substantive study.

For the main survey, data was collected through accessing a national consumer panel, with a quota sampling approach adopted to ensure a nationally representative sample was accessed. In targeting respondents, the only criteria for selection was being at least 18 years of age (to comply with university ethical requirements) and being resident in the UK (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland). Respondents were not required to be active donors, as the intention of the study was to create meaningful segments that varied in terms of their charitable engagement. Data was collected in March 2017, with a total of 1,004 completed responses received. No major fundraising initiatives or political events occurred immediately before or during the time of data collection.

## 4.2 Data Analysis and Study Findings

In line with accepted cluster analysis practice (Andendelfer and Blashfield 1994) the current study adopts a post-hoc segmentation methodology. This represents a powerful approach to understanding donor segments (Beonigk and Liepnitz 2016) by defining segments further after an initial cluster / conjoint analysis. Despite the merits of this strategy, the majority of donor segmentation studies have opted for a priori perspectives (Rupp et al. 2014).

Based on the availability of numerous alternative approaches to clustering and a level of judgement in the choice of an individual "best method" (Manly 1994), a k-means method to clustering was adopted here as a practical approach to clustering a manageable number of clusters involving a large number of variables. An initial challenge involved determining the k-value (number of distinct donor segments) rather than setting this arbitrarily. An initial hierarchical cluster analysis (including assessment of its graphical output) alluded to six potential clusters of charitable donors emerging. Setting k to the value of six, the k-means cluster analysis was then conducted to allocate each

respondent to one of the six clusters. No standardisation of the data were necessary given the use of a suite of 7-point scales, and similarly the presence of outlying values was not problematic.

A post-hoc one-way ANOVA indicates the cluster variables capturing identity, political attitudes and several of the charitable preferences were significant at the 0.1% level (p = 0.000). Consideration was given to the mean score by variable for each cluster to inform the characteristics of the cluster members. To add further definition to the six emerging clusters, additional post-hoc analysis was undertaken on a number of additional variables (including gender, income, ethnicity, education, newspaper readership and voting intentions) using the chi-squared test for statistical independence. The reported cluster characteristics indicate where these variables demonstrated statistically significant cluster association at the standard 5%, 1% or 0.1% significance levels. The variables considered in the definition and post-hoc profiling of each cluster are presented in Table 2.

#### 5 Our Post-Brexit Donation Clusters

A review of our survey respondents can be found in Table 3. As a quota sampling approach was adopted, our sample of 1,004 is broadly nationally representative in terms of gender, age, ethnicity and income. The sample is representative of the UK population in their EU referendum voting behavior; just over half (51.2%) of our sample voted to leave the EU in 2016, compared to the overall national result (51.9%). The only criteria on which the sample is not proportionate concerns respondent geographic location: the number of respondents from Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales was inflated to allow for meaningful country comparisons. Just over 80% of the sample have engaged in some form of charitable giving within the past three months, which is consistent with CAF (2017) data.

In Table 3 the data reported for income and EU referendum vote excludes those who selected the 'prefer not to say' option. However we are confident that such small amounts of missing data does not compromise the usefulness of the findings presented. For example, 83.4% of respondents did indicate their vote in the EU referendum (11.9% declared they did not vote and a further 4.9% preferred not to say), whereas the actual turnout for the referendum was 72.2% (Electoral Commission, 2019). Additionally, the percentage of our respondents voting leave or remain (51.2% versus 48.8%) was very similar to the actual referendum result (51.9% versus 48.1%). We did observe some interesting associations with certain segments here: those who did not vote were over-represented in the *Cautious Pragmatists* and *Disengaged Cynics* clusters, whilst those who preferred not to say were also over-represented in the *Cautious Pragmatists* cluster. As will be discussed in the sections that follow, this fits nicely with their wider ambivalence towards political issues.

## <PLEASE INSERT TABLE 3 HERE>

A summary of our six identified clusters can be found in Table 4 (cluster names were informed by the characteristics uncovered through the post-hoc analysis). In the following discussion we will review the core characteristics of each group and consider what this may mean for fundraisers seeking to identify and effectively target individuals from these clusters.

## <PLEASE INSERT TABLE 4 HERE>

5.1 Educated Liberals: Our first cluster represents those individuals most likely to support charities with an international remit. They are especially likely to donate to support health, children's, international and disaster-relief charities. Politically, they display support for left-wing parties, support the provision of ODA, oppose austerity policy and voted to remain in the EU. Individuals in this group are likely to be highly educated (degree level or equivalent) and demonstrate an internationalist perspective on global affairs (although they do also report moderate levels of patriotism). This group is most likely to read the Guardian newspaper and avoid publications such as

the *Mail* and *Express*. From the above, it would appear that all manner of charities may benefit from targeting this largely professional group, but their education level means they are more likely to be aware of issues outside of their own country and respond to fundraising messages that focus on inequity across populations. *Educated Liberals* are more likely to be women and are typically aged 45-54, with an above average income that allows them to support both international and domestic causes via multiple channels (with the exception of employer salary sacrifice schemes).

- 5.2 Young Urban Altruists: For fundraisers across all types of charities, Young Urban Altruists appear to be the single most feasible group on which to focus their efforts. This group reports the highest levels of trust in local, national and international charities, high levels of both charitable ethnocentrism and cosmopolitanism and support the largest number of individual charities. Despite being a largely youthful group (18-44) and based in cities such as London where cost of living is high, they donate above average amounts to charity and can be seen as a group where there is genuine long-term donor potential. This is the cluster most likely to include individuals from minority ethnic groups (which might explain their stronger support for religious charities and their more complex national identity, with nationalism, patriotism and internationalism all evident to differing extents). They are supportive of a range of charitable causes, but are unlikely to support political organisations. They also have largely left-wing political perspectives, voted strongly in favour of remaining in the EU and are broadly supportive of ODA. They are especially positive towards donating via cash, sponsorships or donating to charity retail stores.
- 5.3 Cautious Pragmatists: The next cluster is the largest in our study (n=327), are also typically young (18-44) but with a larger proportion of individuals from Scotland and Northern Ireland. As their name suggests, they are characterized by more middling attitudes to a range of charity and political issues. They have only moderate levels of trust for charities, support only a small number of causes and typically give around £3 per month in total (which may be explained by the fact that they are more likely to be unemployed). What they do donate is most likely to be done in either cash or donation to charity retail stores. This cluster does evidence some country-first sentiments, holding negatives attitudes towards ODA and slightly higher levels of nationalism than the Educated Liberals and Young Urban Altruists. This group do not report especially positive feelings for any type of charity, but are least likely to support cultural, educational, religious or political charities. Given their trust levels, messages to this cluster should focus upon evidencing impact and emphasising that small donations can still make a tangible difference.
- 5.4 Disengaged Cynics: As the name suggests, our fourth and smallest (n=100) cluster is characterized by low propensity to donate across all charity types and low levels of charitable trust. As such, they represent perhaps the least viable group for fundraisers to target in general, but as they do report higher levels of charitable ethnocentrism they are potentially more open to local fundraising where they can see the tangible impacts of their donation. The group is typically comprised of men aged 45-54, many of which are unemployed or on long-term absence from work. This group is concentrated in the South-East of England (excluding London) with lower reported levels of education. Whilst they are unlikely to vote in future elections, they strongly support leaving the EU, support austerity and oppose ODA. In keeping with their wider attitudes toward charitable giving, they are not positive towards any particular donation channel, but their inconsistent income means that one-off donations are more likely than regular forms of giving.
- **5.5 Home-first Casuals:** Largely from the East and South-West of England and with low levels of education, this cluster displays a clear preference for local and national charities. They report moderate levels of trust for local, national and international charities, yet are far less likely to donate to the latter. They exhibit high levels of charitable ethnocentrism and low charitable cosmopolitanism, but are more supportive of ODA than *Disengaged Cynics*.

Individuals in this group typically donate lower amounts and support only a limited number of charities. Whilst they do not have positive attitudes to any charitable cause, they are most likely to support charities focusing on health, animal welfare, the armed forces and children. They are most

willing to donate via charity retail stores but are averse to direct debit or other technological forms of giving. Politically speaking, they typically voted to leave the EU and are more likely to vote Conservative in future elections.

5.6 Anti-EU Nationalists: Our final cluster represents those individuals with the clearest 'procountry' values. Our second largest segment (n=185), this is largely composed of men from Scotland and Wales, typically over 55 years of age, with low or no education qualifications. This group is the least likely to include individuals from ethnic minority groups. This group reports the highest levels of charitable ethnocentrism and nationalism in the sample, the second-lowest level of charitable cosmopolitanism and the most negative attitudes towards ODA. The voted strongly in favour of leaving the EU and are most likely to vote either Conservative or UKIP in future elections, and are more likely than other groups to read the Sun, Mail and Express newspapers.

Naturally, the above characteristics translates into a clear preference for domestic over international charitable causes. Although this group does not donate in large amounts, they are most likely to support health charities and are particularly opposed to recreational, environmental, political or international causes. As such, charitable appeals to this group are more likely to be successful should they demonstrate a clear link to national interests.

## **6 Discussion**

Our cluster analysis has demonstrated that donors can be segmented into distinct groups based upon their political attitudes, feelings of national identity and charitable preferences. This is further illustrated through a review of descriptive measures across the six clusters (Figures 1 and 2). In particular, how an individual voted in the EU membership referendum appears to be a powerful indicator of their wider attitudes towards their country and their future donation intentions. This is best illustrated by looking closely at two notably differing segments: *Educated Liberals* voted to remain in the EU by a significant majority (90%), reported the lowest scores for nationalism, were the only segment to primarily identify as internationalist and are most likely to support international charities in the future. At the other extreme, *Disengaged Cynics* voted strongly in favour of leaving the EU (86%), reported the lowest levels of internationalism and are the group least likely to support any causes (whilst demonstrating a preference for causes closest to home). These differences also extend to the types of charitable causes people are most willing to support: Leave voters prioritise health (62% likely to give), armed forces and emergency services (55%) and animal charities (47%). Remain voters share the view that health causes are to be prioritised (69%), but instead follow that with a willingness to support children's charities (62%) and international disaster relief funds (57%).

## <PLEASE INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE>

Figure 1 also suggests that an individual's attitude towards ODA is a useful indicator of their wider national identity and giving behavior. Whilst *Educated Liberals* and *Young Urban Altruists* strongly support ODA (and are the two segments with the highest international donation intention), the *Disengaged Cynics* and *Anti-EU Nationalists* are most opposed to ODA and least likely to support international causes. The findings for attitudes towards austerity are less telling: only the *Educated Liberals* had particularly negative attitudes towards austerity policy, whilst the remaining five segments shared similar, ambivalent attitudes. It had been thought that as austerity policy impacts the financial well-being of individuals (and as such their disposable income), their attitudes towards such policies may reflect in their charitable giving. However with the exception of one segment where views towards austerity were particularly negative, attitudes in this area do not vary significantly across segments. Linked to this, an important feature of the overall cluster definition and membership is limited association with UK geographic region; given that austerity policy has been argued to have different levels of impact across the UK (Child Poverty Action Group 2017) it is somewhat surprising that attitudes in this area were not a more defining variable for cluster membership. Based on the above, and whilst acknowledging the need for further work to verify this claim, an individual's views

on political policies with a more international remit (i.e. EU membership and ODA) may be more powerful in understanding their charitable preferences.

The study has also provided insights on the role of national identity in charitable giving. Five of our six segments primarily identify as patriotic, followed by nationalistic and internationalist (only the *Educated Liberals* are distinct here with a primarily internationalist identity). This pattern extends to future donation intention, where the same five segments report the largest intention to donate to national-level causes and least likely to support international charities. In particular, the *Disengaged Cynics* and *Anti-EU Nationalists* demonstrate a clear unwillingness to support international causes which resonates with their strong opposition to ODA. Perhaps the most intriguing cluster in terms of national identity is the *Young Urban Altruists*, an ethnically diverse group who report the highest levels of both patriotism and nationalism, but also the second highest level of internationalism. As this group also reports the highest donation intentions across local, national and international charities, more work to understand their underlying values would be of real use to the third sector.

## <PLEASE INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE>

In line with prior work in the US (Casale and Baumann 2015) and Europe (Micklewright and Schnepf 2009), as a collective our sample do present higher intentions to support domestic over international charities (Figure 2). That said, two of our segments (which represent around 27% of our nationally representative sample) show a clear willingness to help with causes further afield, especially so for international disaster relief efforts. This suggests that despite the broad preference for domestic charities, international causes can still enjoy fundraising success subject to effective targeting.

## 7 Conclusions

The current study provides three key contributions to understanding charitable preferences. Firstly, an individual's political attitudes, particularly on Brexit and ODA, are significant indicators of their donation intentions. Those who voted to leave the EU typically show lower donation intentions, but a stronger preferences for local and national causes that focus on military and animal welfare. In contrast, remain voters tend to give more, are more open to international charities and appear to have a more global outlook. As such, this study provides strong empirical evidence that political attitudes and giving are intertwined. Secondly, we further uncover the role of national identity in charitable giving. Those with more internationalist mind-sets demonstrate their global citizenship by supporting international causes, whereas those who view themselves as nationalistic allocate their giving to domestic alternatives (with the exception of the multiple-identity Young Urban Altruists). The role of national identity in general consumer behavior has been widely explored (see work on consumer ethnocentrism largely instigated by Shimp and Sharma 1987), and this study extends this idea to the act of charitable giving. Finally, we add to the limited body of knowledge that focuses on charitable choice, specifically by considering the distinction between causes that serve local, national and international beneficiaries. The study uncovered notable distinctions in levels of charitable trust: As a collective, our sample showed the greatest level of trust in local charities and the least in international causes, and those segments with lower levels of internationalism had the most cynical views towards all categories of charity. We also identify that segments have differing priorities when it comes to charities, and that (to come full circle) this may be a consequence of their political attitudes and national identity.

In practical terms, we recognize that detailed psychographic information on donor's political attitudes and national identity is far from straightforward to access. However, the segments uncovered here can be meaningfully acted upon by non-profit fundraisers. Firstly, the very nature of the charity may align them more to certain segments than others. For example, a charity providing support for military servicemen and women may find that *Young Urban Altruists* are less amenable to their messages than *Home-First Casuals*, whilst an animal welfare charity may wish to focus their attention on those segments who voted leave in the EU referendum. Charities could match their existing database against data available from the Electoral Commission to build a stronger understanding of particular

geographical areas which may inform their fundraising activity. Additionally, such a heightened psychographic understanding of each segment allows charities to produce messaging that will more closely align with the donor's personal values and priorities. Finally, organisations looking to invest in various corporate social responsibility efforts can utilize the findings of this work. As a core goal of such activity is to positively influence reputation (Saxton et al. 2017), organisations can identify potential partnerships with charitable causes that will resonate positively with their target audience.

The limitations of this study provide some potential fruitful lines of enquiry for fellow non-profit research. The cluster analysis is based upon a snapshot in time and therefore fails to capture longitudinal changes in donation behavior. As national identity fluctuates in line with economic or political factors and charitable giving can fluctuate throughout the year (CAF 2017), research which tracks the behavior of segments over a period of time would aid non-profits notably in their long-term fundraising planning. This research does capture ethnic minority populations but only as a proportion of the UK population, and more broadly there appears to be a very limited understanding of the charitable giving patterns of various minority groups. Future research could utilize the concept of acculturation to investigate how migrant populations feel about the domestic versus international charity distinction. Finally, the current study could be built upon by qualitative research which seeks to better understand the attitudes of certain segments. Why do *Home-first Casuals* have such a negative disposition to charities? As *Young Urban Altruists* are willing support both domestic and international charities, how do they choose between them? Answering such questions may further help fundraisers to understand the various segments and tailor solicitation messages more effectively.

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Author	Context	Segmentation Criteria	Cluster Names		
Boenigk and	Blood Donors	Benefits Sought	Enthusiastic Cluster		
Liepnitz (2016)		Need Preferences	Easy-Living Cluster		
•			Informational Cluster		
			High-Quality Cluster		
			Event Cluster		
			Corporate Cluster		
			Uninterested Cluster		
Cernak, File	Large Donors	Motivation to Donate	Affiliators		
	Large Dollors				
and Prince		Benefits Sought	Pragmatists		
(1994)			Dynasts		
			Repayers		
De Vries, Reis	Charitable	Trust and Confidence	Non-institutionalist charity supporters		
and Moscato	Donors	Donation Behavior	Resource Allocation Critics		
(2015)			Information-seeking financial Sceptics		
• /			Information-seeking Charity Supporters		
			Non-trusting Sceptics		
			Charity Management Believers		
			Institutionalist Charity Believers		
Dolnicar and	Volunteering	Types of Charity supported	Altruists		
Randle (2006)	, ordineering	Political Activism	Leisure Volunteers		
Kanule (2000)		Charity Confidence	Political Volunteers		
		-	Church Volunteers		
		Religiosity	Church volunteers		
		Environment			
		Work			
		Justifiable behavior			
		Life Priorities			
		Demographics			
Durango-	Alumni	Behavioral (donation value,	Low Variance		
0			Low Variance Transient		
Cohen, Torres	Alumni Fundraising	Behavioral (donation value, frequency)	Transient		
Cohen, Torres and Durango-					
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013)	Fundraising	frequency)	Transient High Variance		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine	Fundraising Student	frequency)  Volunteering Behaviors	Transient High Variance Egoists		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall	Fundraising	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine	Fundraising Student	frequency)  Volunteering Behaviors	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009)	Fundraising Student Volunteering	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer,	Student Volunteering Art Gallery	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and	Fundraising Student Volunteering	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison	Student Volunteering Art Gallery	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011)	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists Hard-hearts		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists Hard-hearts		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989)	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable Donors	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle Psychometrics  Behavioral (donation value,	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists Hard-hearts Glory-givers High Involvement		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989)	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable Donors  Intercollegiate	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle Psychometrics  Behavioral (donation value, frequency)	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists Hard-hearts Glory-givers		
Cohen, Torres and Durango- Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989)	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable Donors  Intercollegiate Athletics	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle Psychometrics  Behavioral (donation value, frequency) Charity Supported	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists Hard-hearts Glory-givers High Involvement		
Cohen, Torres and Durango-Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989) Tsiotsou (2007)	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable Donors  Intercollegiate Athletics Donors	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle Psychometrics  Behavioral (donation value, frequency) Charity Supported Benefits Sought	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists Hard-hearts Glory-givers High Involvement Low Involvement		
Cohen, Torres and Durango-Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989) Tsiotsou (2007)	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable Donors  Intercollegiate Athletics Donors  Charity Sport	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle Psychometrics  Behavioral (donation value, frequency) Charity Supported Benefits Sought  Event Identification	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists Hard-hearts Glory-givers  High Involvement Low Involvement  Event Enthusiasts		
Cohen, Torres and Durango-Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989) Tsiotsou (2007) Wood, Snelgrove and	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable Donors  Intercollegiate Athletics Donors	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle Psychometrics  Behavioral (donation value, frequency) Charity Supported Benefits Sought  Event Identification Cause Identification	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists Hard-hearts Glory-givers High Involvement Low Involvement  Event Enthusiasts Cause Fundraisers		
Cohen, Torres and Durango-Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989) Tsiotsou (2007) Wood, Snelgrove and Danylchuk	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable Donors  Intercollegiate Athletics Donors  Charity Sport	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle Psychometrics  Behavioral (donation value, frequency) Charity Supported Benefits Sought  Event Identification Cause Identification Amount Raised	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists Hard-hearts Glory-givers High Involvement Low Involvement  Event Enthusiasts Cause Fundraisers Road Warriors		
Cohen, Torres and Durango-Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009)  Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989)  Tsiotsou (2007)  Wood, Snelgrove and Danylchuk (2010)	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable Donors  Intercollegiate Athletics Donors  Charity Sport Fundraisers	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle Psychometrics  Behavioral (donation value, frequency) Charity Supported Benefits Sought  Event Identification Cause Identification Amount Raised Event History	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists Hard-hearts Glory-givers High Involvement Low Involvement  Event Enthusiasts Cause Fundraisers Road Warriors Non-identifiers		
Cohen, Torres and Durango-Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009)  Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989)  Tsiotsou (2007)  Wood, Snelgrove and Danylchuk (2010) Yavas and	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable Donors  Intercollegiate Athletics Donors  Charity Sport Fundraisers  Charitable	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle Psychometrics  Behavioral (donation value, frequency) Charity Supported Benefits Sought  Event Identification Cause Identification Amount Raised Event History Perceived Risk	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists Hard-hearts Glory-givers High Involvement Low Involvement  Event Enthusiasts Cause Fundraisers Road Warriors Non-identifiers Non-Donors		
Cohen, Torres and Durango-Cohen (2013) Garver, Divine and Sprall (2009) Kleinschafer, Dowell and Morrison (2011) Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989) Tsiotsou (2007) Wood, Snelgrove and Danylchuk (2010)	Student Volunteering  Art Gallery Donors  General Charitable Donors  Intercollegiate Athletics Donors  Charity Sport Fundraisers	Volunteering Behaviors Distance from Cause Benefits Sought  Demographics Membership Behaviors Identification  Demographics Lifestyle Psychometrics  Behavioral (donation value, frequency) Charity Supported Benefits Sought  Event Identification Cause Identification Amount Raised Event History	Transient High Variance  Egoists Die-hards Virtuals Capables Promoters Donors Committee Members  Sympathetic Benevolents Indifferent Individualists Pragmatic Philanthropists Hard-hearts Glory-givers High Involvement Low Involvement  Event Enthusiasts Cause Fundraisers Road Warriors Non-identifiers		

 Table 1: Selected Donor Segmentation Studies

Segmentation Criteria	Role in Data Analysis	Survey Questions	Notes
Charitable	Post-Hoc Testing using Chi-Square	Preferred type of charity	Based on 13 categories of charitable cause Culture and Recreation; Education and Training; Health; Social Services; Environmental; Animal Welfare; Armed Forces and Emergency Services; Religious; Political, Legal or Human Rights; International; Local Development; Children; International Disaster Relief)
Giving		Donation Channel	Included range of giving channels, including cash, direct debits, charity shop donations and digital methods
		Amount donated	Based on self-reported giving over previous three months
		No. of charities supported	Based on self-reported giving over previous three months
	Cluster Analysis, post-hoc using one-way ANOVA	Future donation Intention	Likelihood of donating to local / national / international charities in near future
		Charitable Trust	Trust was assessed separately for local, national and international charities
		Charitable Ethnocentrism	A bank of eight items were used to assess these newly validated constructs, with
		Charitable Cosmopolitanism	items subjected to exploratory factor analysis to ensure validity
	Cluster Analysis, post-hoc using one-way ANOVA	Nationalism	Five items were adapted from the work of Kosterman and Feshbach (1989)
		Patriotism	Five items were adopted from the works of Blank and Schmidt (2003), Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) and Schatz, Staub and Levine (1999).
		Internationalism	Five items were adapted from the work of Kosterman and Feshbach (1989)
		Attitudes towards ODA	Five items taken from Glennie, Straw and Wild (2012) and IPSOS (2015)
Psychographic		Attitudes towards Austerity	Five items were utilized from Whiteley et al. (2013)
-		Britishness	Respondents reported to what extent they identified as British versus their own country (i.e. English, Scottish, Welsh or Northern Irish)
	Post-Hoc Testing	Future Voting Intention	Respondents were asked their likely vote in event of an immediate election
	using Chi-Square	EU Referendum Vote	Respondents were asked if they voted to Remain / Leave the EU
		Newspaper Readership	Based on 10 national newspapers plus 'local press' option
Socio- demographics	Post-Hoc Testing using Chi-Square	Age	Respondents were provided with a 'prefer not to say' option (those who did so were excluded from the analysis)
		Gender	Respondents were provided with a 'prefer not to say' option (those who did so
		Income	were excluded from the analysis)
		Employment Type	Based on UK census question (ranging from no qualifications through to high
		Education Level	level degrees
		Country of Residence	UK sample: England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland
		Region	To capture further differences, England was further segmented into regions
		Ethnicity	Based on UK census question (categories including White, Asian, Black, Multiple ethnic groups etc.)

 Table 2: Review of variables utilized in Cluster Analysis

Variable	Groups	%
Gender	Men	48.3
	Women	51.7
	18-24	8.6
	25-34	16.5
	35-44	16.7
Age	45-54	18.9
	55-64	15.6
	65-74	30.2
	75+	3.4
	Under £10,000	19.5
	£10,001-£20,000	27.4
	£20,001-£30,000	22.6
Income *	£30,001-£40,000	14.5
	£40,001-£50,000	7.8
	£50,001-£75,000	5.3
	£75,001-£100,000	1.4
	£100,000+	1.5
<b>Country of Residence</b>	England	49.8
•	Northern Ireland	10.1
	Scotland	19.9
	Wales	20.2
EU Referendum Vote *	Leave	51.2
	Remain	48.8
	Nothing	19.4
	£1-£5	13.9
	£6-£10	14.2
	£11-£20	17.5
Charitable Giving in	£21-£30	13.7
Past Three months	£31-£50	9.8
	£51-£75	3.7
	£76-£100	3.7
	£101+	4.0

 Table 3: Respondent Profile

<sup>\*</sup> Percentages exclude those individuals who ticked '*Prefer not to say*'. For income, this was 14.6% of respondents, for the EU referendum vote, this excludes the 11.9% who did not vote and 4.9% who preferred not to say. All of the other questions were completed by the 1004 participants.

Cluster Name	Size	Core Characteristics
Educated Liberals	124	Typically highly educated, with a global perspective on politics and charity and left-wing political tendencies
Young Urban Altruists	149	Remain voters, aged 18-44, with positive attitudes towards both domestic and international charities and highest donation intentions
Cautious Pragmatists	327	Usually report higher levels of nationalism, give modest amounts to charity but have negative views on ODA
Disengaged Cynics	100	Tend to distrust all charities, hold more right-wing political beliefs but are less likely to be politically engaged
Home-first Casuals	119	Display a clear preference for domestic over international charities but typically do not donate large amounts to any charity
Anti-EU Nationalists	185	A group dominated by men with the strongest 'pro- country' tendencies, readership of right-wing newspapers and mistrust of international charities

Table 4: Summary of Donor Clusters

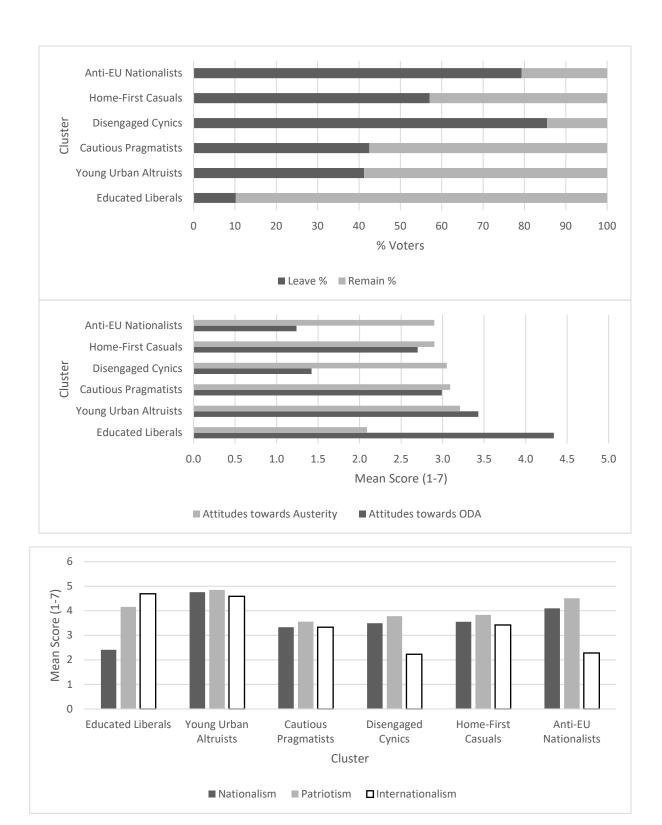


Figure 1: Political Attitudes and National Identity across Donor Segments

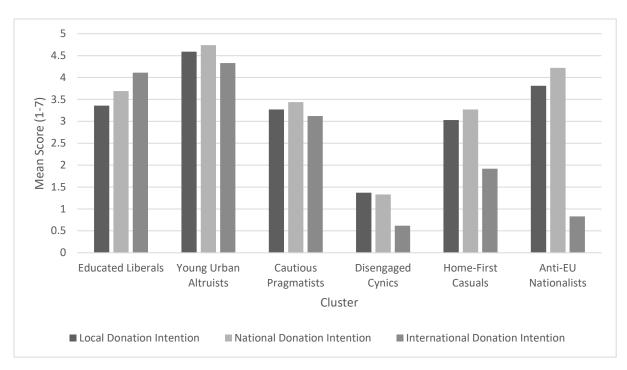


Figure 2: Future Donation Intention across Donor Segments