”I” Give, but “We” Give More:

The Impact of Identity and the Mere Social Information Effect on Donation Behavior

Jen Shang
Center on Philanthropy
Indiana University
550 W. North St., Suite 301
Indianapolis, IN 46202-3272
Tel: (215) 868-7159
e-mail: yshang@iupui.edu

Rachel Croson
The Wharton School
University of Pennsylvania
567 Jon M. Huntsman Hall
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6340
Tel: (215) 898-3025
e-mail: crosonr@wharton.upenn.edu

Americus Reed, II
The Wharton School
University of Pennsylvania
764 Jon M. Huntsman Hall
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6340
Tel: (215) 898-0651
e-mail: amreed@wharton.upenn.edu

Author note: Jen Shang is a PhD candidate, Center on Philanthropy, Indiana University (E-mail: yshang@iupui.edu). Rachel Croson is an associate professor, the Wharton School, the University of Pennsylvania (E-mail: crosonr@wharton.upenn.edu). Americus Reed II is the Arthur Anderson Term Assistant Professor of Marketing, the Wharton School, the University of Pennsylvania (E-mail: amreed@wharton.upenn.edu). We appreciate the financial support of the dissertation awards from the National Science Foundation, the Aspen Institute and summer research grant from the center on risk management at the Wharton School.

”I” Give, but “We” Give More:

The Impact of Identity and the Mere Social Information Effect on Donation Behavior

Abstract

Three field studies and one laboratory experiment explore the”mere social information” effect: When donation contributions are affected by information about another’s level of giving. Experiments 1a and 1b demonstrate the effect. Experiment 2 shows it can occur when identity congruence is high. Experiment 3 shows that the effect is a joint function of identity congruence, the strength of identification, and the collective nature of underlying focal thoughts at the time of deciding the amount to give. Theoretical and substantive implications of these findings are discussed.

”I” Give, but “We” Give More:

The Impact of Identity and the Mere Social Information Effect on Donation Behavior

The impact of social information (e.g., information about what others have done in the past) is important in a variety of marketing environments (e.g. Reingen, 1982). In the absence of other information, consumers often rely on social information as a basis to make their own consumption decisions (Amaldoss & Jain, 2005). In this research, we examine a particular kind of social information: another person’s contribution to a nonprofit entity—and how that affects contribution behavior. We try to delve into the identity implications of this “mere social information” effect.

This package of studies makes several contributions to the field of marketing and to the knowledge of psychological processes in consumption and donation decision making. First, it is the first study in marketing, to our knowledge, to demonstrate in a field study setting that social information significantly influences the level of contributions. There has been a call for consumer research to focus on more “messier” environments in order to buttress the mundane realism of the body of knowledge in the field (Cohen, 2005). Moreover, we examine a fundraising environment that is different from those used in previous research in nonprofit marketing, where donors were solicited by individual fundraisers before they had made a decision about whether they wanted to contribute. Instead, our research examines the influence of social information on consumers who have already crossed the motivational threshold to give or not (i.e., donors who have called in to a public radio station in order to contribute to the fund-raising campaign). In this environment we can observe the effect of social information and identity on the amount of contribution that is conditional on a consistent 100% response rate. Secondly, there is a growing body of work in consumer behavior that illuminates the importance

of activated identities on consumption decision making (Reed 2004; Forehand, Reed and Deshpande 2002) and how identities shift as a function of contextual and situational cues (cf. DeMarree, Wheeler and Petty 2005; Mandel 2003). We demonstrate and build on this research in the domain of donation behavior. Third, an examination of key identity based constructs in the substantive domain of nonprofit giving should be informative for nonprofit marketing and consumption behavior research. These theoretical and practical contributions should also be informative for practitioners in charge of figuring out how to maximize charitable contributions.

OVERVIEW OF EMPIRICAL WORK

In the first two field experiments we show a very subtle pattern of results we refer to as the "mere social information" effect: Awareness of even a single other's contribution amount can affect the target's contribution level (Experiments 1a and 1b). In Field Experiment 2, we show that the effect can occur due to the congruence between the source of the social information and the target donor along the gender identity dimension. This result compellingly argues that the congruence of the target's identity to the other is one possible precursor for the results (see Sirgy 1982). Finally, in order to examine this effect more closely, we conducted a laboratory study to test at least one possible mechanism through which the kind of social information and congruent identity used in the previous field studies influence behavior. Our results suggest that the kind of effects found may be identification based (as opposed to compliance based). More specifically, consistent with prior theorizing on identity activation (Reed 2004, Forehand et. al 2002), the impact of social information as a reference point for one's own contribution decision is most potent when an identity is activated through congruence with a contributing other, when that identity is chronically important to the giver, and when focal thoughts about how much to give are relatively more collective and interdependent in nature (cf. Mandel 2003). Our results

suggest that social information influences behavior when the social information connects with the giver. Identity driven processes impact donors to give more, because "we" give more than "I" do.

We begin by reviewing the relevant marketing literature on acquiescence to requests for charitable giving (i.e., compliance based techniques). We discuss how the environment that we use and the conceptual nuances of the story our data tell are quite different from those in previous research. We then present three field experiments that show the influence of social information and its identity based implications. Possible psychological mechanisms through which the effect may occur are then discussed within the findings of the laboratory experiment. We then discuss the contributions and limitations of this research, and its implication for future research and for practitioners.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Compliance and Normative Influence. A large literature examines how to increase participation rates of contribution by using social influence techniques. For example the foot-in-the-door technique (Freedman and Fraser, 1978) involves making an initial request that is small enough that virtually everybody will comply. The second (actual) request is then made. Participants who are exposed to both requests are significantly more likely to comply with the second than those who are exposed to only the second request (see Burger 1999 for a review and meta-analysis). Evidence suggests that individuals' desire to be (or appear) consistent causes the increased compliance rate (Guadagno, Asher, Demaine & Cialdini, 2001). The low-ball technique (Cialdini et. al., 1978) also triggers consistency pressure. This technique involves securing agreement with a request that is only partially specified, then naming more demanding or onerous details for its fulfillment. This is a technique typically used by car salesman. After

they made customers agreed to a certain model, they kept adding on more and more features that are worth at least a few hundred dollars more (Cialdini, 1993). This effect has been replicated in getting compliance to answer highly personal interview questions (Hornik, Zaig, & Shadmon 1991), and in nonprofit marketing, where Brownstein and Katzev (1985) showed that this technique increased *participation rate* for an additional contribution request after asking for an initial donation in a museum. Door-in-the-face (Cialdini, Vincent, Lewis, Catalan, Wheetler and Darby, 1975) relies on consistency and it appeals to guilt and the dissonance mechanisms of guilt alleviation. This technique is also sequential requests. Here, the first request is large enough that virtually everybody will deny. The second (actual) request is then made. Participants who are exposed to both requests are significantly more likely to comply with the second than those who are exposed only to the second request (see Fern, Monroe & Avila 1986 a review and meta-analysis). More recent meta-analysis suggests that an individual's desire to alleviate guilt from rejecting the first request causes the increased compliance rate with the second (O'Keefe & Hale, 1997). Finally, legitimization-of-small-donations also relies on guilt alleviation by highlighting the lowest-cost option available. The most commonly tested phrase for this technique is "Even a penny will help." Past research shows that adding this phrase increases the participation rate without changing the contribution amount (Brockner, Guzzi, Kane, Levin, & Shaplen, 1984).

These aforementioned techniques are overt and compliance based, that is—they all rely on an aggressive interaction between the fundraiser and the donor, and work because they trigger some kind of normative "pressure" to respond to internal or external social sanctions and rewards (Fishbein and Ajzen 1974). Conceptually such influence is most likely temporary, because normative influence affects behavior, or expressed attitudes through a compliance based process (Kelman 1961) without affecting true, underlying attitudes. When internal or external pressures

are removed or attenuated (e.g., when decisions are made in private vs. public, or once guilt has been alleviated), then influence should be correspondingly mitigated (Burger, 1999). Moreover, consumers are savvy and may--over time learn to be more defensive, in that a "fool me once--shame on you--fool me twice, shame on me" sentiment may take over in the long run. This kind of "schemer schema" may render normative influence strategies ineffectual at motivating long term behavioral change (Wright, 1986).

Informational and Identification based influence. We examine a subtle form of influence in which the mere presence of social information may affect behavior through informational and identification based processes (Kelman 1961). For example, researchers have found that individual's product evaluations can be significantly affected by quality ratings ostensibly provided by others. This effect does not go away when experimenters assure subjects that their ratings will be anonymous. Hence, researchers (Pincus and Waters 1977) interpret this result as evidence for informational influence because the effect occurs despite no obvious pressures to comply.

In the contribution domain, this kind of subtle social information in nonprofit marketing has been shown to increase participation rates. Bryan & Test (1967) raised the rate of donation to a Salvation Army bell ringer by showing participants cooperative confederates; Reingen (1978) increased participation rate in donations to the Heart Association by showing targets a list of others who had contributed. LaTour and Manrai (1989) found that both informational and normative social information is effective in increasing participation rates. Fisher and Ackerman (1998) found that social information increases participation rates (volunteerism) in the presence of public information. Finally, Frey and Meier (2004) showed that knowing a higher percentage of people had responded to solicitation mails increased the response rate to a college mailing

campaign.

These studies have examined the influence of social information on participation rates, however only one study tests the influence of social information on the amount of contribution. This study, however, could not find significant effects in the general population (Reingen, 1982). We believe, in part, that the lack of results in this area may be due to the psychological constructs involved in such situations and the features of the fundraising environment used in previous research that may attenuate the influence of social information.

Previous research has mostly used cognitive activation of pure information. For example, fundraisers would explicitly ask people, if they would like to contribution $10. Such a request does not activate any psychological constructs that may heighten the social context within which the information is interpreted. Therefore, their effect can only be informational. In this research, we do not only provide a suggested contribution level. In some of our studies we also provide such information in a social context with identity implications. This social context may be strengthened by activating congruent identities of the giver. Compared to previous studies, we believe that we are more likely to observe the effect on the amount of contribution when an identity is activated by the fundraisers, is innately important to donors, and dominates the focal thought processes of donors' decision making.

PUBLIC RADIO STATIONS: ESTABLISHING A FIELD STUDY CONTEXT

In addition to the unique psychological constructs we examine in this article, we believe our *fundraising environment* is also more suitable than previous research environments to observe the effect of social information on the level of contribution because all potential donors are also beneficiaries, these potential donors are familiar with the fundraising logistics, and they are very familiar with most of the contribution levels. Because of this familiarity, donors are well-

informed and are ready to switch to other levels when they are primed with social information (i.e. others' contribution levels) that are different from what they intend to give, and so we are likely to observe the effect of social information on the level of contributions. This is an important context to study for three reasons.

First, virtually all public radio donors are public radio listeners; they are familiar with the service a public radio station provides. They use and enjoy these services over a period of time. Listeners consume the service (listen to public radio) but they do not pay for this service. This is different from satellite radio or commercial radio where listeners either explicitly pay subscriptions to receive satellite signals or they implicitly listen to the commercials on commercial radio. Also, public radio is different from the previous types of nonprofits studied, where most of the donors have not personally benefited from the organization (Burger, 1999). Because of this a public radio station donation context is an important substantive context to study because it is an example of a public good that all have access to, and it provides personal benefit to all; but only a few will maintain the resource. Such contexts, which are social dilemmas (Dawes 1980; Rutte, Wilke and Messick 1987) are important domains to study because individually rational decisions (e.g., too many people not giving money to the radio station fund drive, but "consuming" its service) may lead to collective disaster (e.g., the radio station not being able to stay in business.

Second, public radio has year-round fundraising campaigns that familiarize listeners with the concept of contributing and consistently remind listeners of how they may contribute conveniently over the web and on the phone. Before a typical drive begins, listeners have been exposed to pre-drive messages at least once every hour for two weeks. When a typical drive begins, the station runs two 10-minute intense solicitation appeals every hour (or more) for 5-10

days.[1] During these pledge periods, listeners respond to the on-air messages, call into the station and make their contributions. These fund drives occur at least once every four months. Therefore, from an awareness and a self-efficacy point of view, public radio listeners understand the need for funding during pledge drives and the procedure through which they may make contributions. Over the period of pre-drive preaching, donors have gradually moved towards their motivational threshold of making a contribution.

Third, public radio hosts prime norms of contribution and potential reference points of past donation behavior. DJs mention the expectations of the station; the desirability of making a contribution and the gratitude that will result (including thank-you gifts). This is different from previous research where research assistants approach potential donors who have not been warmed up to the request. LaTour and colleague (1989) found that social information became more effective in increasing participation rates after social norms on making a contribution had been primed in an earlier part of a campaign. Donors do not only decide whether or not they want to contribute, but also start to form a range of the levels of how much they want to contribute.

Therefore, public radio on-air drives provide a situation where potential donors are all benefactors of the station, are aware of the fundraising routines and are primed for making contributions at a variety of levels. These features of our environment make it very different from the settings used in previous research (Reingen, 1982), and make the level of contribution more likely to be influenced by social information (Burger, 1999). We believe that public radio on-air drives provide a much better environment to detect the influence of social information on the level of contribution because listeners who call in to pledge have already crossed the motivational threshold to give. They have had an idea of the range of their contribution. It now

becomes a question of exactly how much to give, which makes the public radio field setting context a fertile ground to study social information effects. This leads us to hypothesize that:

> H1: Social information (i.e., another person's contribution) will influence the behavior of target donors.

We test this hypothesis in experiments 1a and 1b using public radio on-air fund drives.

EXPERIMENTS 1A AND 1B:

DOCUMENTING THE MERE SOCIAL INFORMATION EFFECT

This field experiment was conducted in an anonymous public radio station on the East coast in June and September 2003 during the station's on-air fund drive.

Method

Design. We used a between-subjects design with a social information condition and a control condition. In the social information condition, another member's contribution was mentioned to participants before they made their own pledge; in the control condition no social information was provided.

Participants. Two hundred and forty-eight donors called into the station to make a contribution and were randomly assigned to the experimental or control treatment. To protect confidentiality, we were mandated to retain very little demographic or personal information.

We determined the level of social information to use by analyzing past contribution data from the station, and considering gift levels used by station fundraisers. For this first field experiment, we examined the distribution of contributions from the previous year's fund drives in June and October 2002 (2003 was the first year in which the station conducted its fall fund-drive in September instead of October, thus we used October 2002 data as the closest estimate).

First, we examined the distribution of the contributions. The mean contribution to the station in those two drives was $135. The median contribution was $75. As can be seen in Figure 1, the

distribution is highly skewed to the left. This figure also illustrates the "spiky-ness" of the data, with many contributions at $50, $60, $75, $120, $240 and $360. These spikes represent gift levels that the station uses; as a donor can contribute at or as often occurs, at levels other than these thresholds. In the latter case (s)he receives additional thank-you gifts. While these gifts were present in our drives, they were consistent across treatments.

Insert Figure 1 about here

We further identified the various percentiles of the contribution distribution. The 70^{th} to 80^{th} percentile of contributions corresponds to $120, the 90^{th} to $240 and the 95^{th} to $360. In searching for a social information level to influence behavior, we looked for a level that would induce donors to alter their behavior. A separate literature in goal-setting suggested that offering high but attainable goals, at the 90^{th} – 95^{th} percentile of performance, is the most effective in inducing high effort **(**Locke & Latham, 1990**)**. We applied this concept to our empirical work, and identified the range between $240 and $360 as potentially influential levels of social information.

Next we identified the specific gifts offered for each level. For each level below $360, donors receive only products such as gifts, e.g. CDs, mugs, T-shirts. Starting from $360, donors are invited to social events organized by the station. The station had also started to use labels like "Music Lover Circle", "CD a Month Club", and "Special Producer" to categorize donors who contribute above $360. Since we wanted to identify our effect independent of any additional status or prestige that may be carried by our social information manipulation, we concluded that the social information level should be lower than $360. One natural contribution amount in the 90^{th}-95^{th} percentile range but lower than $360 is $300. We thus used $300 in our first field

experiment for the social information level. Later experiments vary the amount within the appropriate range.

Procedure. This procedure serves as the basis for all field experiments reported in this paper. During the on-air drive, the station DJs interspersed music with appeals for donations. Listeners responded to the on-air appeals during the drive and called the station to make a pledge. Experimenters answered the phone as volunteers for the station, asked the routine questions for the station and implemented the manipulation in the appropriate place in the conversation.

In particular, after answering the phone with the station's identifier: "Hello, STATION_NAME member line", experimenters asked: "Are you a new member or a renewing member of STATION-NAME?" After the caller answered, experimenters read (or did not read in the control condition) the following sentence:

"We had another member, they contributed $300."

The question asked right after the manipulation was: "How much would you like to pledge today?" The dependent measure, the pledge amount, was then collected. We recorded data only during the hours when the station did not give special discounts or premiums.[2]

Other information collected by the station during the phone conversation included callers' name, phone number, email address, billing address, city, zip-code, credit card or check information, and the thank-you gifts they would like to receive. However, for confidentiality reasons and to conform to human subjects protocols, only research-related information was allowed to be recorded and retained by us.

All experimental conditions were randomized within each experimenter and within each hour. An extra step was also taken to avoid any expectation effect or sales effect from the experimenters. The manipulation sentences were printed on labels, and then attached to each

pledge form. These sentences were covered by post-it notes. The experimenter did not remove these covers until they asked the first key question, i.e. what kind of member the callers are. At this point, they removed the post-it note, read the manipulation sentence (or nothing if the control condition) and asked for the pledge amount. Experimenters were thus blind to which condition each caller was in before they read the manipulation, and the dependent measure of pledge was collected right after the manipulation.

Finally we ensured that another member had indeed contributed the amount we suggested, namely $300, earlier in the fund drive, so that our statements would not constitute deception.

Results

We find evidence for the mere social information effect. Our analysis of existing station data suggested that contributions can be dramatically different depending on the fund-raising theme used in each drive, the thank-you gifts offered each day and hour, whether donors are new or renewing donors and their gender. Although not all of these factors significantly explain variance in our experimental data, we include them as control variables in our regression analysis. The coefficient of social information is significant ($t=2.294$, $p<.05$).

As shown in Figure 2, the average contribution is $119.70 in the $300 social information condition and $106.72 in the control condition. This is a $13 difference, and would translate into a 12% increase in revenue for the station had all callers been exposed to the social information manipulation.

Insert Figure 2 about here

We had an opportunity to replicate this result with a smaller anonymous public radio station on the West coast in January 2004 during the station's on-air fund drive. We used the same

criterion as the first experiment to choose the social information levels in this experiment ($200; the 95th percentile) and identical procedures.

Method

Design. We used a between-subjects design with a social information condition ($200) and a control condition with no social information provided.

Participants. Seventy donors received the experimental treatments. This station does not use any special discounts or premiums. Therefore, we recorded data during all the hours made available to us by the station.

Procedure. The same as Experiment 1a

Results

Experiment 1b replicates the findings from experiment 1a. Figure 2 shows that donors on average contribute more in the social information condition (M=$95.34, SD=15.44, N=35) than in the control condition (M=$65.40, SE=7.57, N=35). This represents an extra $30 per donor, or an extra 46% of revenue for the station had the manipulation been used consistently. This experiment was conducted only on new members and during only one drive, due to operational constraints imposed by the station. Therefore, member type and drive did not vary. Also, this West coast station uses a dramatically different fundraising style from the East coast station. There is no variance in programming or thank you gifts offered during their drives. Thus there is no need to control for the date or time of the call.

Since this study represents a replication of Experiment 1a and we use the same procedures, we predicted that the social information condition would yield higher contributions than the control condition. A one-tailed t-test comparing conditions finds them to be significantly different from each other ($t=1.74$, $p<.05$). The result remains the same after controlling for

donors' gender.

Discussion of Experiments 1a and Ib

Experiments 1a and 1b demonstrate the influence of social information on behavior in the field. Our results are consistent with a study by Reingen (1982) on the undergraduate population. Unlike previous experiments we focus on the amount contributed not on the participation rate. It should be noted that all participants who called in completed their contribution via the phone. No callers hung up or were otherwise disconnected immediately after hearing the social information.

Although we have offered a social explanation for this effect, there exist many alternative explanations as well. Experiment 2 was designed to identify the importance of the *social* part of social information. In particular, the extent to which the social information connects with some aspect of the perceiver's identity.

EXPERIMENT 2: CAN IDENTITY CONGRUENCY DRIVE THE MERE SOCIAL INFORMATION EFFECT?

There is a rich literature on the use of reference points to increase nonprofit contributions. Reference points have typically been implemented using appraisal scales (contributions suggested by the nonprofit). Note that this implementation is quite different from the traditional anchoring (and adjustment) effect initially discussed by Tversky and Kahneman (1974). In those original experiments, the anchor value is generated randomly (using a spinner or some other device) and is clearly unrelated to the task at hand (e.g. estimating the number of African nations). In these experiments, in contrast, the anchors are (represented to be) selected intentionally by an interested party; the nonprofit who is trying to increase its revenues.

Unfortunately, findings in the literature are mixed as to whether (or when) reference points affect either the participation rate or the amounts contributed, or why. Smith & Berger (1996) found that higher reference points lead to reduced participation rates but equivalent levels of contribution. In contrast, Fraser, Hite & Sauer (1988) found that a high ($20) reference point increased average contribution over the control, but also lowered the participation rate. Most recently, Desmet & Feinberg (2003) show that high suggested donations do not affect participation rates but do increase contributions. This paper by no means provides a resolution to this literature, However, we do provide one additional data point on how the level of contribution can be influenced by information (in this case, social information) after participants have already made up their minds to contribute.

We propose that the mere social information effect can be a little bit cognitive and a little bit social. What we mean is that the social information can become relatively more diagnostic to a judgment (Feldman and Lynch 1988) when aspects of the information connect to the perceiver's identity (Reed 2004). Hence, when an identity dimension of a perceiver and a source of social information is congruent, this may prompt the perceiver to categorize themselves along that dimension (Forehand, et. al 2002; Reed 2004). Although consumers can consciously assess their relative similarity or dissimilarity with other individuals, a great deal of this self-categorization occurs without conscious processing (cf. Stapel and Koomen 2000; Eiser and Sabine 2001). Nonetheless, this congruence may be one reason why the reference point becomes more diagnostic and affects the donation contribution. One way to examine this possibility is to manipulate the social nature of the information, leaving the reference point the same, and to see if behavior changes. In this experiment, we manipulate the identity congruency between the

target donor and the source of the social information (the previous donor) by having them match (or mismatch) on gender.

Theoretically, males and females have been shown to assimilate to social targets of the same gender in other settings (Mussweiler, Ruter & Epstude, 2004), thus we believe that manipulating the gender match between the target donor and the previous donor is one of many potential identities that may increase the influence of social information. Moreover, gender is a well established dimension of identity in the psychological literature (Bem 1981; Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi and Ethier 1995). For example, people for whom gender is important and accessible have "male" or "female" as part of their self schemata (Bem 1981). Consequently, these individuals tend to attend and react to themselves and others in terms of gender rather than some other social dimension (Frable 1989).

From a practical point of view, we need to select a dimension that is applicable and easily identifiable to all callers (Cialdini, 1993). In the domain of consumer behavior, similar non-experts have been shown to be even more influential in affecting buyer behavior than dissimilar experts (Burnkrant & Cousineau, 1975). Previous research has used incidental similarities like first names, birthdays, or fingerprints; however that information is not available to us in this field setting. Gender, on the other hand, is applicable to all callers, and callers' gender is identifiable from their voice, with only a few exceptions.

Therefore, we test the effect of gender identity congruency with the following hypothesis:

> H2: The more congruent the identity between the giver and the source of the social information, the bigger the influence of social information.

This experiment was conducted in the same anonymous public radio station in the East Coast in June and September 2004 during the station's on-air fund drive.

Method

Design. We used a between-subjects design with two conditions. In the match (same gender) condition, male [female] donors were told: "We had another member, he[she] contributed $240." In the mismatch (different gender) condition, gender was mismatched.

Participants. Seventy-nine new donors received the experimental treatments. We only collected data from new members because the station required that we do this. As before, we recorded data only during the hours when the station did not give special discounts or premiums.

Procedure. The procedure was identical to that of Experiments 1a and 1b. Since we only had access to new members, the 90^{th} to 95^{th} percentile of $240 were selected from the contribution distribution of new members. This contribution level was kept consistent for both the match and the mismatch conditions.

Results

As shown in Figure 3, the matched gender condition (M=$141.88, SE=14.09, N=35) produced higher contributions than the mismatched gender condition (M=$105.70, SE=8.84, N=41). A regression that includes the control variables from Experiment 2 (with the exception of member type, as all participants in this study were new members) shows that the coefficient of condition is significant (t=2.046, p=< .05). There was no main effect of the gender of the participant.

Insert Figure 3 about here

Discussion and Limitations of Experiment 2

The influence of social information on behavior appears to be sensitive to the congruence between the source of the social information and the target. This result is consistent with the

claim that behavior is influenced by social information and more specifically the congruence of the perceiver's identity and the giver's identity along the gender dimension. Although this effect is very impressive in its subtlety, there are several unresolved issues.

First, because we demonstrate only a main effect of gender mismatch, there is the possibility that there may be unobserved differences between the treatment conditions that are responsible for the effect, but that have very little to do with the notion of identity congruence. Although random assignment should disperse these differences across the manipulations, resulting in a reduction in our ability to detect differences, because the pattern results from a two-group design and not a complex higher order interaction, it is much more difficult to rule out alternative explanations. For example, one could argue that gender match heightens involvement, which causes people to pay more attention to the reference point, which makes it "stick" more. This is more of a pure information processing explanation as opposed to an "identity" based explanation. Related to this point is the fact that the *mechanism* through which the social information used in the field studies influences behavior is still unexplored. For example, is it merely an attention/involvement based effect, or is it potentially due to the fact that people actually identify with the identity that is congruent in this context? Unfortunately, we cannot implement "clean" tests of mechanisms in the field, due to the intense and fast-paced nature of public radio during the on-air fund drives. What is needed is a laboratory experiment to address the aforementioned issues. This was the purpose of experiment 3.

EXPERIMENT 3: IDENTITY SALIENCE, SELF-IMPORTANCE, COLLECTIVE MINDSET AND THE MERE SOCIAL INFORMATION EFFECT

Experiments 1a and 1b showed that social information influences the level of contributions made, and Experiment 2 confirmed that the effect varies with the identity congruence between

the source of the social information and the target. If invoking the notion of identity is an appropriate theoretical interpretation of the effect in experiment 2, then the literature on identity activation effects in judgment should provide some insight into the mechanisms that may drive the mere social information effect. For example, differential sensitivity to identity congruent information should be strongest when the relevant identity is an activated component of the consumer's social self-schema (Reed 2004). When this activation occurs, the consumer is argued to be affected by identity salience - a state during which the consumer's sense of self along dimensions of the social identity is altered (cf. Forehand et. al 2002; LeBouf and Shafir 2005). This activation should be most likely to occur when the identity is strongly held within the person's self-concept. That is when the identity is highly "self-important." The self-importance of a person's identity is a relative long-term and stable individual difference.

Although self-importance possesses some similarities to salience, these two constructs are distinct in that they interact with each other (Forehand, et. al 2002). Self importance is an enduring association between an individual's sense of self and his or her identity whereas salience reflects the momentary activation of a particular social identity. As such, salience exists only when individuals process identity-related social information and categorize themselves along identity-related criteria. Hence, the salience of an identity (e.g., when one's identity matches with a target) should interact with the extent which that identity is self important because at any given moment, an individual who strongly associates him or herself with an identity is more likely to have that identity activated than is an individual who weakly associates him or herself with that identity.

Moreover, this salience by self-importance interaction should be further enhanced by the content of cognitive processes (i.e., their social nature) that occur at the time a judgment is made.

For example, "where the dependence on physical reality is low, the dependence upon social reality is correspondingly high" (Festinger, 1950, page 272). Social information may be more correct, valid and proper to the extent that it is anchored in a group of people with similar beliefs, opinions, and attitudes resulting in judgments that are particularly "sticky" (Bolton and Reed 2004). For example, imagine a situation much like the one we have observed in the field studies presented thus far. Suppose a caller is prepared to donate, but then is made aware of a previous amount given by another caller. If the identity of that previous donor is salient (i.e., their gender matches with the caller) and the identity is an important basis for self-definition (i.e., gender is self-important for the caller), and the caller is thinking in terms of a collective mindset (i.e., the reference group of similar others), then it is highly likely that the reference point would affect the caller's amount to contribute. A demonstration of such an effect would lend credibility to conceptual assertions and alternative explanations speculated in the discussion of experiment 2. Therefore, we tested the following hypothesis:

> H3: The effect of social information on contribution intention is a joint function of the match of the target's identity, the self-importance of that identity and the extent to which the target is in a collective mindset when making the decision.

Method

Participants. One hundred and ninety seven undergraduate students in a Northeastern University completed a survey voluntarily. We provided participants with social information of either male or female, assessed their social identity, their thoughts and intended future action.

Design. The study is a 2 (Identity Salience: Gender Match vs. Gender MisMatch) x 2 (Identity Self-Importance: low vs. high) x 2 (Collective Mindset: Individualistic vs. Collective) between subjects design with the latter two factors as measured covariates. We will describe how these variables were measured below.

Procedure: A scenario was carefully developed to mimic the situation in public radio fundraising. Participants are told:

> "Imagine that you have been listening to a public radio station in Philadelphia for the past year.
>
> Another public radio listener, Tom (Mary), listens to the same public radio station. Every morning (s)he wakes up, and (s)he turns on the radio. (S)He has his(her) breakfast, takes his(her) shower and prepares for school with the radio in the background.
>
> Every evening, as soon as (s)he gets home, (s)he turns on the same station and listens to it as he reads, writes or works on other projects. (S)He has been to several station-sponsored events and concerts that the station promotes.
>
> This radio station is very important in his(her) life, and if it were to go away, (s)he would miss it.
>
> This station is currently having its on-air fund drive. You have been listening to the campaign for a few hours each day for the past three days and have decided that you would like to become a contributing member of the station.
>
> ASSUME you called the radio station in order to make a contribution of $25.
>
> During your conversation with a volunteer on the phone, you were told they had just spoken with another donor, Tom(Mary), and that (s)he had contributed $70 this year."

Identity Salience. As can be seen above, and similar to experiment 2, we hold social information constant ($70) and manipulate whether or not the previous contributor was male or female. In the high identity salience condition, participants' gender matched the donors' gender in the scenario. If the participant is a male (female), he(she) received the "Tom" ("Mary") scenario. In the low identity salience condition, the participants' gender did not match the donors' gender in the scenario.

Identity Self-Importance. Identity was measured by modifying Luhtanen & Crocker's (1992) collective self-esteem scale to account for gender. This scale was presented to participants as a separate and unrelated study after participants received the above scenario. The four items were measured on a nine-point scale from (1) Strongly Disagree to (9) Strongly Agree. "I am a worthy

member of my gender group," "I feel I don't have much to offer to my gender group," "I am a cooperative participant in the activities of my gender group," "I often feel I'm a useless member of my gender group." These four items were combined into an aggregate measure (Alpha= .63) that formed an index of the extent to which the participants strongly identified along the gender dimension.

Collective Mindset. We wrote two questions to measure the collective mindset of the participants. We asked participants "how would you describe your decision to donate the amount you wrote down?" This question was answered on a 1-9 point likert scale on the following two dimensions: from based on thoughts about me (1) to based on thoughts about others (9), and from internal consideration (1) to external consideration (9). These two items were combined to form an index (Alpha = .82) that was a measure of the extent to which the participant was more internally focused (individualistic) or externally focused (collective) at the time they decided their own contribution amount.

Dependent Variable. Immediately following the scenario described above, participants responded to the following dependent variable:

Now, this volunteer asks how much you would like to contribute to this radio station:

How much would you likely contribute to this radio station? $_____

Participants wrote down their answers in the blank space provided.

Results

Manipulation Checks. The survey included two manipulation checks ("how much did you contribute", and "how much does the other station member contribute?"). One hundred and eighty eight undergraduate participants correctly responded to the manipulation check questions. We include only the data from those respondents here. In addition, the continuous variables

measured as independent variables (collective mindset and identity self-importance) were unaffected by the identity salience manipulation (Fs < 1).

We tested hypothesis 3 by conducting a hierarchical regression on the dependent variable. In step 1, gender and age were entered into the model. In step two, we entered in the dummy-coded identity salience variable (gender mismatch = 1, gender match = 2); the measure of the extent to which gender was self-important, and the measure of the extent to which participants were thinking collectively as 3 independent main effects. In step three we entered in all three possible higher order 2-way interactions. We mean centered the covariates prior to creating the cross product terms in order to minimize multi-collinearity (Aiken and West 1991). In step 4 we entered the higher order 3-way interaction as our direct test of H3.

The main effects in step two produced a significant change in the R^2 for the omnibus test ($F_{3,178} = 8.23$, $p < .05$) and so did the three-way interaction term ($F_{1, 174} = 6.27$. $p < .05$). The omnibus analysis showed a significant identity salience x identity self-important two-way interaction ($t = -2.16$, $p < .05$) that was qualified by a significant identity salience x identity self-important x collective mindset three-way interaction ($t = 2.50$, $p < .05$). To explore the nature of this effect, we conducted two additional follow-up analyses. The dependent variable was again the intended donation amount. In step one the gender of the participant and their age were added to the model. In step two, the measure of their identity self-importance and the extent to which their thoughts were collective were added. In step three, we added the identity self-importance x collective mindset two-way interaction. We conducted this regression analysis twice, at both levels of the identity salience categorical variable. This analysis showed that in the gender mismatch condition, there was a main effect of collective mindset ($t = 2.51$, $p < .05$) such that for every unit increase in the collective nature of their thoughts, there was a corresponding increase

in the amount donated, irrespective of the other variables. In the gender match condition, however, this main effect of the same pattern was much stronger ($t = 5.05$, $p < .05$) and was qualified by a significant identity self-importance x collective mindset two-way interaction ($t = 2.35$, $p < .05$). In order to understand the nature of these results, we graphed the identity self-importance x collective mindset interaction at both levels of identity salience using procedures recommended by Aiken and West (1991). The identity self-importance variable is on the x-axis and the amount the participants wrote in as their hypothetical donations is on the y-axis, each slope represents this relationship at +1 and -1 standard deviations above and below the mean for the collective mindset measure. These two plots are shown in figure 4.

Insert Figure 4 about here

This pattern is consistent with hypothesis 3. It clearly shows that the effect of the social information on the self-reported contribution to the hypothetical radio station depends on the identity salience, the self-importance of the identity and the collective mindset of the participants at the time they made their judgments. This three way interaction is driven by two different patterns of two-ways at each level of identity salience (i.e., gender match vs. mismatch). More specifically, a sobel test ($z = 2.34$, $p < .05$) showed that the only slope that is different from zero occurs in the gender match condition, for those who were thinking collectively. As the self-importance of their gender identity increases, so too does their intended contribution.

Discussion of Experiment 3

In this last experiment, we found that donation behavior is influenced most by social information when identity is congruent, when that identity is important to the self and when decisions are made based on collective thoughts. In the real world, this may suggest that donors

give more when they think about others who give more than they intend to give, who are like them in certain social categories and when such social categories are important to them. For example, frequent museum goers contribute more than less frequent museum goers (Bhattacharya, Rao and Glynn, 1995). Therefore, the museum can create an identity like "frequent-visiting" members and suggest to them a relatively high contribution from another frequent goer. If this frequent goer can be encouraged to think collectively at the point of making a decision on the amount to give, ("we", frequent goers, give more), then she should give more than she intended to give otherwise.

Overall Discussion: Limitations and Future Research

Social information and identity have been shown to influence behavior in a variety of marketing environments. In this research, we study the influence of social information and identity in the context of nonprofit marketing. We define social information as another person's contribution to the nonprofit. We demonstrate its influence on the amount of contributions observed in the field experiments 1a and 1b. At its most effective, informing a potential donor of another donation drawn from the 90^{th}-95^{th} percentile can increase donations by 46%. We then study the effect of identity along the dimension of gender in field experiment 2, and we show that congruent identity enhances the effect of social information. Finally, we study one possible mechanism through which social information and identity influence donation behavior in laboratory experiment 3, and we show that they influence donation behavior more when thoughts focus on collective and external factors, than when they focus on individual and internal factors.

However, like any study, this research has its limitations. In particular, the generalizability of this research is limited by the level of social information and the type of identity we tested, the fundraising method and the type of nonprofit organizations we studied and the focus on nonprofit

marketing we chose. Below we discuss each of these limitations and some future research projects that they suggest.

One important limitation involves the identity we tested. Gender is a relatively stable trait identity, which does not necessarily closely relate to the donation behavior itself. However, there are other identities that are very much related to the donations. For example, stations may create identities like “music lovers” and “special producers” to encourage high contribution. It would be interesting to test the difference between relatively long-term, unrelated identities and relatively short-term but related identities. Particularly, it would be interesting to test the identities that are amenable to marketing control in terms of their creation and instantiation as an important component of a consumer’s self-concept.

Additionally, implementing the experiments over the phone after donors call in to make their contributions offers an opportunity to test the influence of social information, conditional on giving. However, it also limits our ability to generalize our results to other solicitation situations, like face-to-face solicitations, telemarketing calls or mailing campaigns. One interesting avenue for further research is identifying different fundraising situations with varying levels of pre-committed “buy in.”

Some researchers are currently undergoing a line of research on the influence of social information in the setting of mailing campaigns. In this setting, donors have not decided to make a pledge (as in the phone campaign). However, the recipients of the mailings were current members (and presumably listeners) of the station. Preliminary results suggest that members are influenced by social information by mail as well, with the presence of social information generating higher contributions and having no effect on response rates (Shang & Croson, 2005b).

However, more research is needed to identify the boundaries of the influence of social information.

Another limitation has to do with the level of social information we selected and tested. In our field experiments we used the 90^{th}-95^{th} percentile of previous contributions, and showed a significant effect. However, other levels may work better (or worse). Prior to these experiments Shang and Croson (2005a) conducted a few informal pilot tests of different amounts, which found, consistent with the goal-setting literature that this level was the most effective at inducing behavioral change. A more detailed study of different levels and an investigation into why some are more effective than others seem a fruitful area for future research.

Our final limitation has to do with the specific nonprofit domain we chose and the generalizability of this research to other nonprofit domains and to for-profit marketing. We were directly interested in nonprofit marketing; it is both growing in importance in recent years and seems under-explored. Over the past century, nonprofit organizations have become the third largest economic sector after government and for-profit-firms (Salamon, 2002). In 2003, $240.72 billion was raised by nonprofit organizations. Among the different sources of contributions, individual contributions are by far the most important, accounting for 74.5% of revenue generated (Giving USA, 2004). A significant portion of individual contributions is from small donors who contribute less than $500 a year. Despite their steady growth, many nonprofit organizations face challenges in obtaining funds. With cuts in government funding and the general weakening of the economy over the past five years, marketing and fundraising have become one of their biggest challenges.

We believe that the influence of social information and identity on donation behavior should be generalizable to all nonprofit organizations. However, there are reasons to believe that some

organizations may not be as applicable as others. For example, international humanitarian relief and development nonprofit organizations like CARE and Oxfam may not be applicable because their donors are not necessarily also beneficiaries of the organizations (unlike the public radio situation). Also, small and new organizations may not be applicable because their fundraising logistics and norms are not likely to be known by its potential donors. Therefore, future research is needed to test the effect of social information and identity on fundraising in nonprofit organizations that are different from the public radio industry.

Little work has been done exploring the moderators through which social information and identity effect might operate in the private domain, and we believe that our research can contribute to this endeavor**.** Note that social information may not increase demand for all products. In particular, products that individuals use to signal their uniqueness are likely to be less-valued when others consume them. Further research might examine the boundary conditions of the influence of social information in the for-profit world, and investigate the generalizability of this effect and its mechanisms in other marketing environments. In particular, future research might explore the question of domain-specificity of the mechanism through which the influence of social information may become more or less diagnostic (Feldman & Lynch 1988).

Implications and Conclusions

These results have important implications for both practitioners and for marketing academics. For practitioners, our results suggest techniques to raise revenues without additional costs. The effect sizes are large, between 12% and 46% percent of revenue. Furthermore, the technique has been replicated in different formats. One practitioner concern may involve the long-term impacts of this manipulation; some further research addresses this question. Shang & Croson

(2005a) find that contributions one year later from donors who received social information are about $20 higher than contributions from donors in a control condition. This result suggests that social information can have a lasting influence on behavior.

This research is also important for academics. This is the first paper to demonstrate an influence of social information and identity on amounts contributed in the nonprofit domain. Furthermore, this is the first paper to identify a moderator for its influence**.** Subject to the limitations discussed above, we believe that our result may generalize to both the nonprofit and the for-profit marketing domains. Overall, our results offer advice for practitioners, and identify new directions for academics in the area of nonprofit marketing and identity based marketing.

FIGURE 1

CONTRIBUTION HISTORY DATA FOR JUNE AND OCTOBER 2002

(BY CONTRIBUTION AMOUNT)

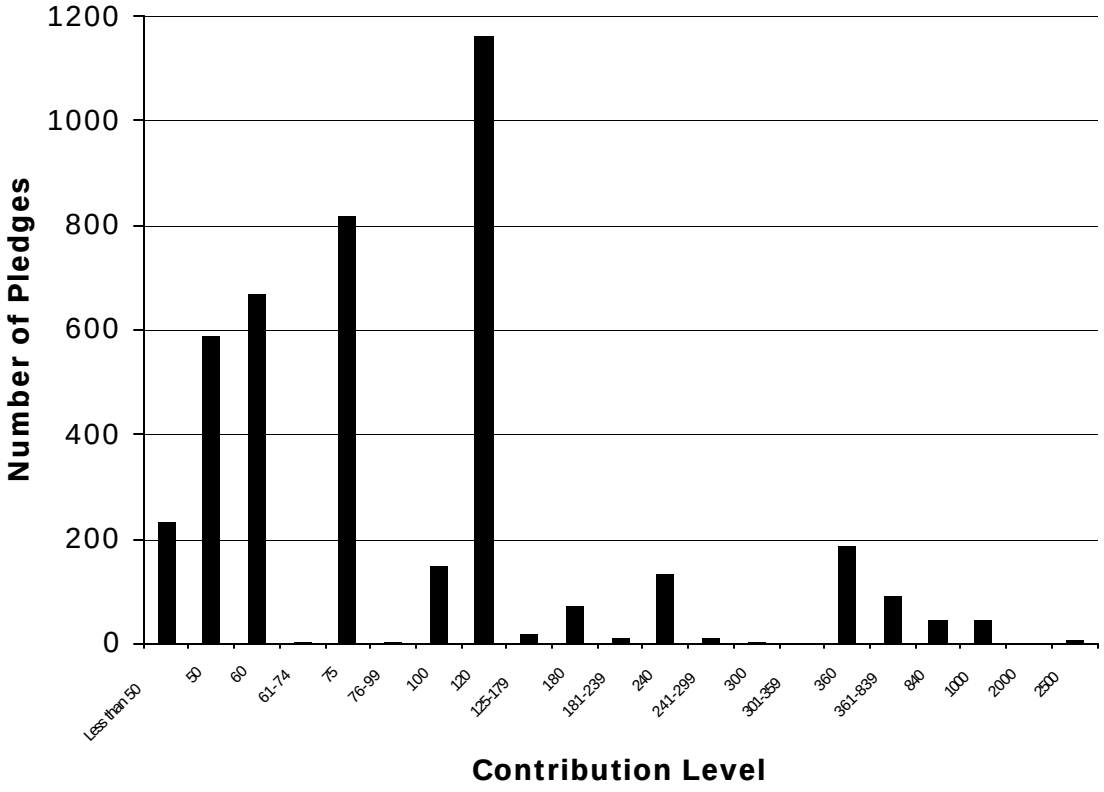


FIGURE 2

EFFECT OF SOCIAL INFORMATION ON CONTRIBUTIONS

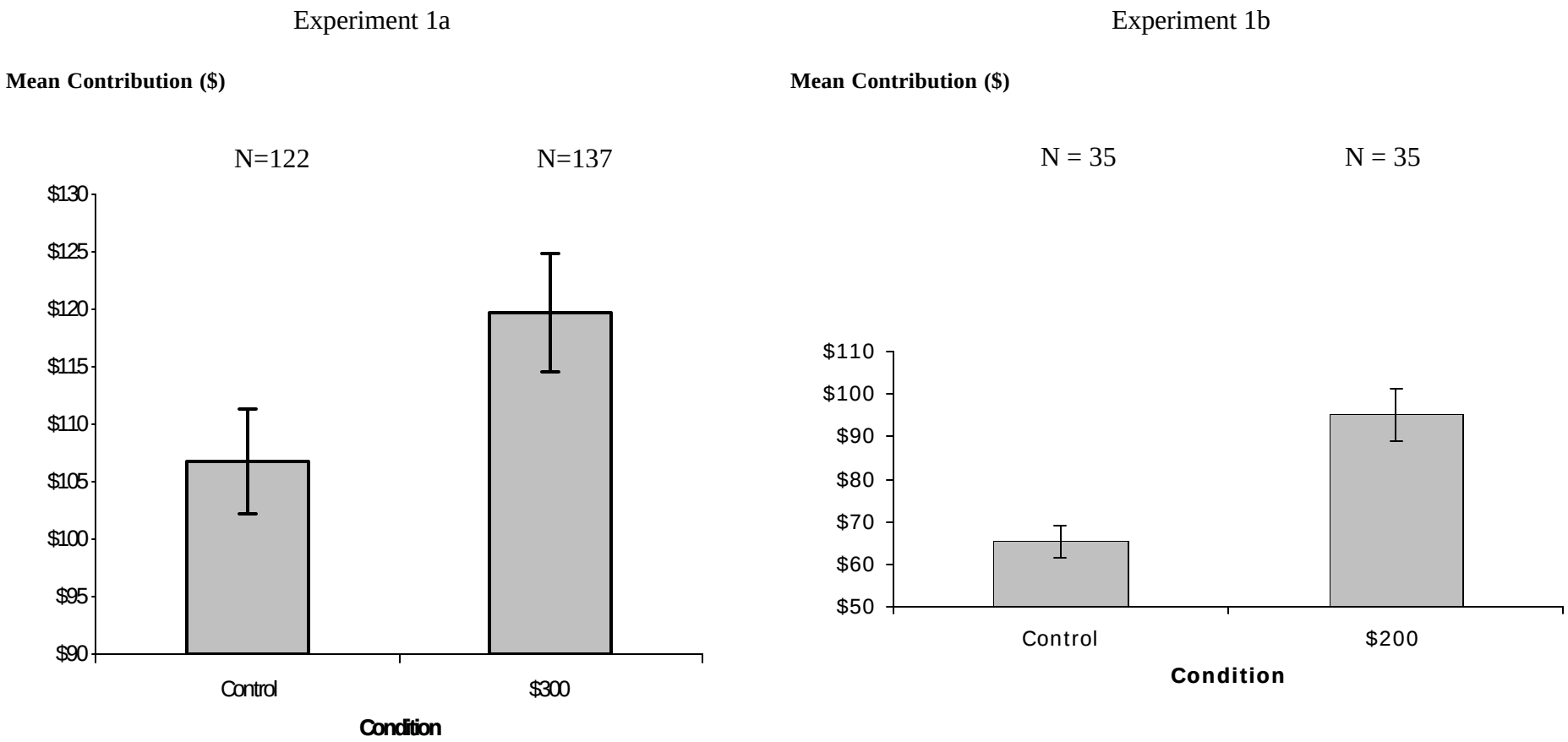


FIGURE 3

EXPERIMENT 2: MATCHED VS. MIS-MATCHED SOCIAL INFORMATION

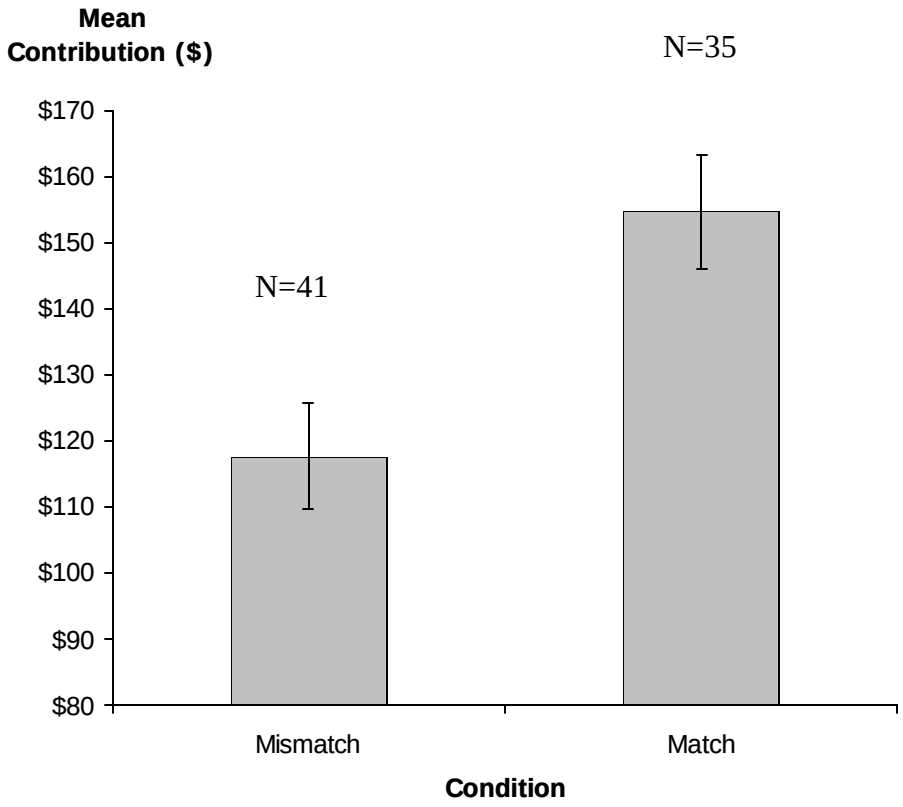
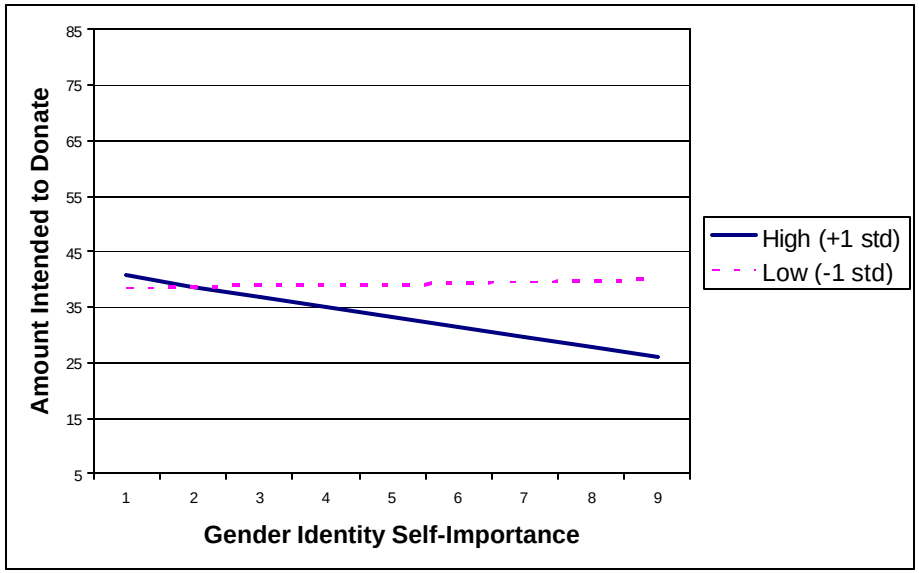


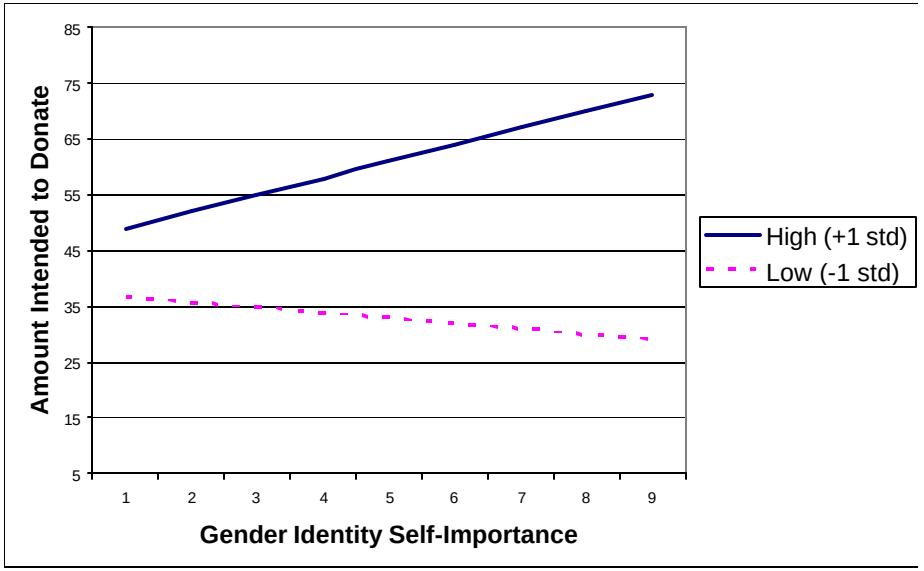
FIGURE 4

EXPERIMENT 3: EFFECT OF IDENTITY SALIENCE, SELF-IMKPORTANCE AND COLLECTIVE MINDSET ON AMOUNT OF CONTRIBUTION

Identity Salience Low: Gender Mismatch Condition



Identity Salience High: Gender Match Condition



Note: N = 188

References

Aiken, Leona S. and West, Stephen G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Amaldoss, Wilfred and Jain Sanjay (2005). Pricing of conspicuous goods: a competitive analysis of social effects. *Journal of Marketing Research*, XLII, 30-42.

Bem, Sandra L. (1981) Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review*. Vol 88(4), 354-364.

Bhattacharya, C. B., Rao, Hayagreeva and Glynn, Mary Ann (1995). Understanding the bond of identification: An investigation of its correlates among art museum members. *Journal of Marketing*, 59(4), 46-58.

Bolton, Lisa E. and Americus Reed, II (2004), "Sticky Priors and Identification Based Judgments" *Journal of Marketing Research*, 41(4), November, 397-410.

Brockner, Joel, Guzzi, Beth, Kane, Julie, Levin, Ellen and Shaplen, Kate (1984). Organizational fundraising: further evidence on the effect of legitimizing small donations. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 11, 611-614.

Brownstein, Richard. J. and Katzev, Richard. D. (1985). The relative effectiveness of three compliance techniques in eliciting donations to a cultural organization. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 15, 564-574.

Bryan, James H. and Test, Mary Ann (1967) Models and helping: naturalistic studies in aiding behavior . *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*. 6, 400-407.

Burger, Jerry. M. (1999). The foot-in-the-door compliance procedure: a multiple-process analysis and review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3, 303-325.

Burnkrant, Robert E. and Cousineau, Alain (1975). Informational and normative social influence in buyer behavior. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 2(3), 206-215.

Cialdini, Robert B. (1993). *Influence: the Psychology of Persuasion*. William Morrow and Company, Inc., New York.

Cialdini Robert B., Cacioppo John. T., Bassett Rodney and Miller John. A. (1978). Low-ball procedure for producing compliance: commitment then cost. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 36, 463-476.

Cialdini, Robert B. and Schroeder, David A. (1976). Increasing compliance by legitimizing paltry contributions: When even a penny helps. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*. 34(4), 599-604.

Cialdini Robert B., Vincent, J. E., Lewis, S. K., Catalan, J., Wheetler, D. and Darby, B. L. (1975). Reciprocal concessions procedure for inducing compliance: The door-in-the-face technique. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 31, 206-215.

Cohen, Joel (2005). "Seeing If", *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 24(2), 181-182.

Dawes, R. M. (1980). Social dilemmas. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 31, 169-193.

Deaux, Kay, Reid Anne, Mizrahi, Kim and Ethier, Kathleen A. (1995). Parameters of social identity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68(2), 280-291.

Demarree, Kenneth G., Wheeler, S. Christian and Petty, Richard E. (2005). Priming a new identity: self-monitoring moderates the effects of nonself primes on self-judgments and behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89(5), 657-671.

Desmet Pierre and Feinberg Fred. M. (2003). Ask and ye shell receive: the effect of the appeals scale on consumers' donation behavior. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 24, 349-376.

Eiser, Richard J. and Sabine, P. (2001), "Optimism, pessimism, and the direction of self other comparisons," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 37, 77-84.

Feldman, Jack M. and Lynch, John, G. (1988). Self-generated validity and other effects of measurement on belief, attitude, intention, and behavior. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 73(3), 421-435.

Fern, Edward F., Monroe, Kent B. and Avila, Ramon A. (1986). Effectiveness of multiple request strategies: A synthesis of research results. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 23, 144-152.

Festinger, Leon (1950) "Informal Social Communication." *Psychological Review*, 57, 271-282. p272.

Fishbein, Martin and Ajzen, Icek (1975). *Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behavior: An Introduction to Theory and Research, Reading*, MA; Addison-Wesley.

Fisher Robert J. and Ackerman David (1998). The effects of recognition and group need on volunteerism: a social norm perspective. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25, 262-275.

Forehand M., Deshpande, R. and Americus Reed, II (2002), "Identity Salience and the Influence of Differential Activation of the Social Self-schema on Advertising Response," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87(6) 1086-1099.

Frable, Deborrah E. (1989). Sex typing and gender ideology: Two facets of the individual's gender psychology that go together. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56(1), 95-108.

Fraser, Cynthia, Hite, Robert E. and Sauer, Paul L. (1988). Increasing contributions in solicitation campaigns: the use of large and small anchor-points. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15, 284-287.

Freedman, Jonathan L. and Fraser, Scott C. (1966). Compliance without pressure: The foot-in-the-door technique. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 4, 195-203.

Frey, Bruno S. and Meier, Stephan (2004). Social comparisons and pro-social behavior: testing "conditional cooperation" in a filed experiment. *American Economic Review*, 94 (5), 1717- 1722.

Giving USA (2004), American Association of Fundraising Counsel Glenview, IL.

Grewal, Rajdeep, Rehta, Rai and Kardes, Frank R. (2004). The timing of repeat purchases of consumer durable goods: the role of functional bases of consumer attitudes. *Journal of Marketing Research*, IXI, 101-115.

Guadagno, Rosanna E., Asher, Terrilee, Demaine, Linda J. and Cialdini, Robert B. (2001). When saying yes leads to saying no: Preferences for consistency and the reverse foot-in-the-door effect. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27(7), 859-867.

Hornik, Jacob, Zaig, Tamar and Shadmon, Dori (1991). Reducing refusals in telephone surveys on sensitive topics. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 31, 49-56.

Kelman (1961) Processes of opinion change. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 25(1), 57-78.

LaTour, Stephen A. and Manrai, Ajay K. (1989). Interactive impact of informational and normative influence on donations. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 26(3). 327-335.

Leboeuf, Robyn A. and Shafir, Eldar (2003). Deep thoughts and shallow frames: on the susceptibility to framing effects. *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making*, 16(2), 77-92.

Locke, Edwin A. and Latham, Gary P. (1990). *A theory of goal setting & task performance*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall.

Luhtanen, R. and Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 18, 302-318.

Mandel, Naomi (2003) "Shifting selves and decision making: The effects of self-construal priming on consumer risk-taking." *Journal of Consumer Research*. 30(1), 30-40.

Mussweiler, Thomas, Ruter, Katja and Epstude, Kai(2004). The ups and downs of social comparison: mechanisms of assimilation and contrast. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87(6), 832-844.

O'Keefe Daniel J. and Figge Marianne (1997). A guilt-based explanation of the door-in-the-face influence strategy. *Human Communication Research*, 24, 64-81.

Pincus, Steven and Waters, L. K. (1977). Informational social influence and product quality judgments. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 62(5), 615-619.

Reed II, Americus (2004), "Activating the Self-Importance of Consumer Selves: Exploring Identity Salience Effects on Judgments" *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31, (2) 286-295.

Reingen, Peter H. (1978). On inducing compliance with requests. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 5, 96-102.

Reingen, Peter H. (1982). Test of a list procedure for inducing compliance with a request to donate money. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 67, 110-118.

Rutte, C. G., Wilke, H. A. M. and Messick, David M. (1987). Scarcity or abundance caused by people or the environment as determinants of behavior in the resource dilemma. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 23, 208-216.

Salamon Lester M. (2002) *The State of Nonprofit America*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, D. D. Published in collaboration with the Aspen Institute.

Shang, Jen and Corson, Rachel (2005a). Field Experiments in Charitable Contribution: The Impact of Social Influence on the Voluntary Provision of Public Goods. Submitted to *American Economic Review*.

Shang, Jen and Croson, Rachel (2005b). The Impact of Social Comparisons on Nonprofit Fundraising. Forthcoming in *Research in Experimental Economics*.

Sirgy, M. Joseph, (1982), "Self-concept in consumer behavior: A critical review," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 9, 287-300.

Smith, Gerald E. and Berger, Paul D. (1996). The impact of direct marketing appeals on charitable marketing effectiveness. *Marketing Science*, 24, 219-231.

Stapel, Diederik A. and Willem Koomen (2000), "How far do we go beyond the information given?: The impact of knowledge activation on interpretation and inference," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 19-37.

Tversky, Amos and Kahneman, Daniel (1974) Judgment under uncertainty: heuristics and biases. *Science*, 185, 1124-1131.

Wright, Peter (1986) Schemer Schema: Consumers' intuitive theoretic about marketers' influence tactics, in Lutz, R. Eds. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 13, 1-3.

ENDNOTES

---

[1] For example, a typical fund drive may start from 6:00am on a Wednesday morning. From 6:00am to 6:10am, DJs would give out phone numbers and typical fund raising appeals like: "You have been listening to the radio on your way to work every morning during the past year, it is finally the time for you to call into our station and make a contribution of $120. Please call PHONE_NUMBER right now" Regular programming is then on the air for about 20 minutes. Sometimes it is news, sometimes it is music or talk-shows, depending on the station. Then another 10 minutes of pledging messages are on the air from 6:30am to 6:40pm.

[2] During special-discount hours for example, the station offered a discount on at least one gift level. For example, it could offer a $10 discount for each $120 contribution that is paid in full on a credit card. That means donors could contribute only $110 to receive gifts normally awarded only to those who contribute $120. When such special discounts are offered, almost all contributions received during those hours are exactly $110, and are unlikely to be responsive to social (or any other) information. During special-premium hours, the station offered unique gifts like concert tickets donated by popular singers or albums signed by famous station DJs. Data from these hours are extremely noisy, so we similarly did not collect data during those hours.