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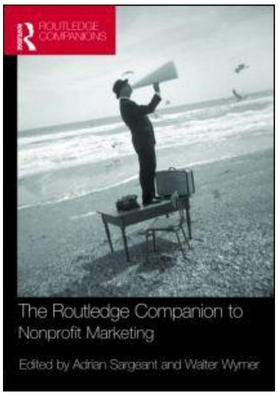

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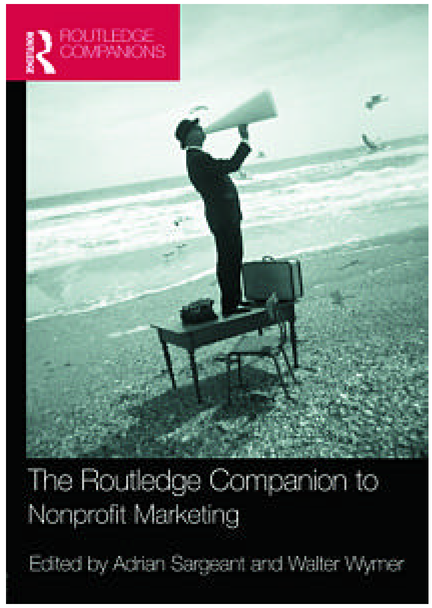

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7

Individual giving behaviour

A multidisciplinary review

Adrian Sargeant and Lucy Woodliffe

Introduction

In the USA, total giving to the nonprofit sector in 2004 stood at $248.52 billion, representing a 2 per cent increase over the previous year (AAFRC Trust 2005). A staggering 90 per cent of Americans offer donations to nonprofits with people giving on average 2 per cent of their income and contributing 76 per cent of the total income accruing to the sector (the balance coming from corporations, foundations and bequests) (AAFRC Trust 2005).

Explaining this generosity is a topic that has long been of interest (Wispe 1978). Over the past three centuries, several schools of thought have emerged from the economics, clinical psychology, social psychology, anthropology and sociology literatures. More recently, marketing's contribution to the subject has been recognized and a succession of authors has now demonstrated its utility (Bendapudi *et al.* 1996). The intention of this chapter is to draw together the disparate strands of this literature, highlighting the implications of prior research, and developing a composite model of giving behaviour.

The model proposed is illustrated in Figure 7.1. In the review that follows, each dimension of the model is considered and justified in turn. A review of all pertinent work is presented and the key findings from empirical studies are summarized in a table accompanying the explanation of each stage of the model. For the sake of brevity, the more intuitive findings are omitted and those most likely to be of interest to fundraising practitioners focused on.

The literature presented was compiled in 2006/7 by reference to the Proquest, PsychINFO and Business Source Premier databases. In addition, since a number of the nonprofit journals are not abstracted on these services, a manual review was undertaken of all articles published in these sources. Finally, a review was undertaken of books stored in the Indiana University Philanthropic Studies Library. The keywords donor, donation, fundraising and fund-raising were employed for the purposes of each search. While it is impractical here to cite every work identified, the works listed in the review that follows are felt to be representative of the current state of research in this field.

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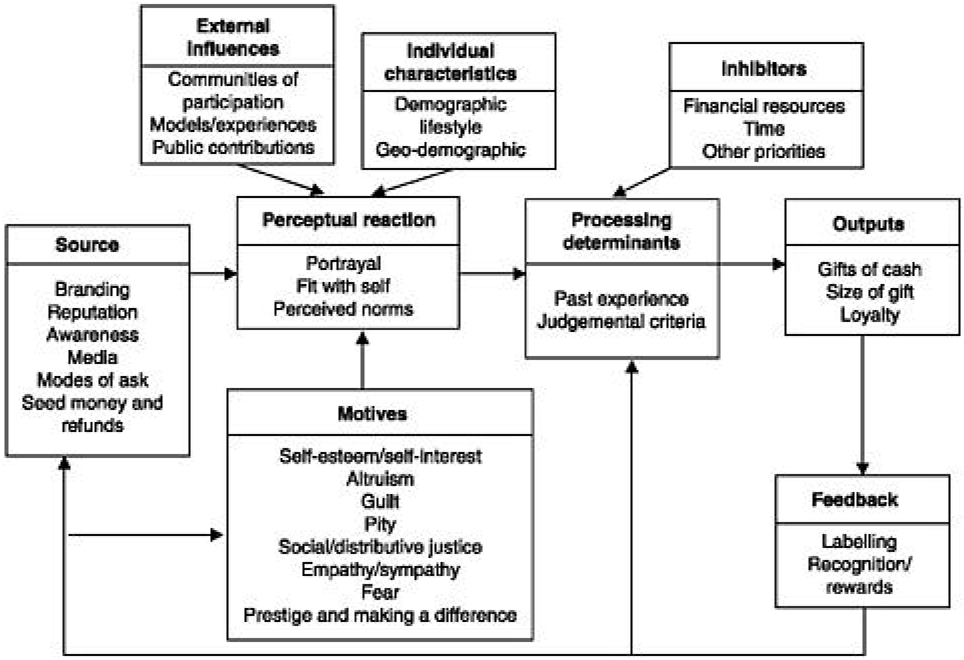

Figure 7.1 Giving-behaviour model

Source

Analysis begins by examining extant work on the 'source' of the fundraising solicitation. Emergent work on nonprofit branding, the impact of awareness, the use of specific media and the overall approach adopted have developed our understanding of the characteristics of successful fundraising solicitations.

Branding

As Tapp (1996:335) notes, while 'charities do not describe much of what they do as "brand-ing", organizations have long been concerned with maintaining a consistent style and tone of voice and conducting periodic reviews of both policies and actions to ensure that a consistent personality is projected'. In his view, the clarity with which this 'personality' is projected will have a direct impact on an organization's ability to fundraise (see also Grounds and Harkness 1998). Venable *et al*. (2005), following Aaker (1997), identify four dimensions to the nonprofit brand personality, namely integrity, nurturance, sophistication and ruggedness. Sargeant and Hudson (2005) argue that the picture is more complex, identifying three facets of charity personality shared by the sector as a whole. In a study of 9,000 individual donors the authors find that only values pertaining to the dimensions of 'emotional stimulation', 'service', 'voice' and 'tradition' are capable of distinguishing between organizations. Interestingly, it is only those facets of personality perceived to be distinctive that are linked to donor behaviour.

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Reputation and awareness

Work by Kelman (1961) suggested that messages are more likely to be accepted by donors when the organization is already known to them and is perceived as reputable. McNair (2005) demonstrates empirically a link between awareness and donations, while Bendapudi *et al*. (1996) offer a potential explanation, suggesting that if understanding of the nonprofit's image is lacking, donors may either ignore communications or 'distort' them to preclude their support. Stark (1989) highlights the significance of agency theory in relation to this issue, since in making donations donors are in effect requiring nonprofits to act as their agents in disbursing funds. The reputation of a nonprofit will provide numerous clues as to how well a particular nonprofit will perform in this capacity.

Social impact theory (Latane 1981) also tells us that the role of reputation may vary by context. In less personal forms of fundraising, for example, direct mail, press or radio advertising, donors may be entirely reliant on their perception of the organization in deciding to offer a donation. In face-to-face forms of fundraising, the donor will have a number of more immediate cues that may trigger a donation, such as the number, gender and appearance of solicitors.

Media

Nonprofits currently engage in a variety of different fundraising techniques employing media such as direct mail, telemarketing, face to face (on the street), door to door, press advertising, radio advertising and DRTV (direct response television) (Sargeant and Kaehler 1998). An emergent body of literature on benchmarking the performance of specific media suggests that both initial returns and the lifetime value of supporters recruited will vary by media employed (Sargeant and McKenzie 1998; Sargeant *et al*. 2006). Extant work also reports that the profile of the donors recruited by each media may vary in terms of their demographic, lifestyle and behavioural characteristics (Jay 2002; Aldrich 2004).

Mode of ask

As Levis (1990) reminds us, to get a donation it is necessary to ask, since few gifts arrive unsolicited. The form of the solicitation, or mode of ask, has received considerable attention. Authors such as Fraser *et al*. (1988), Reeves *et al*. (1987) and Weyant (1984) identified that legitimizing low-value contributions (i.e. with a phrase such as 'every penny will help') can greatly improve compliance in face-to-face forms of solicitation. Brockner *et al*. (1984), Reeves *et al*. (1987) and Weyant and Smith (1987) conclude that this approach is less effective in other less personal forms of fundraising such as direct mail (see also Weyant 1996). The appeals scale (i.e. the discrete menu of amounts from which potential donors choose the level of their donation, for example, $2, $10, $25, $50, etc.) used by the fundraiser has also been shown to influence donor behaviour, notably the distribution of donations received (Desmet and Feinberg 2003). This suggests that fundraisers should use appeals scales as a way to optimize, rather than facilitate donations, by considering whether the scale is in line with donor expectations and reference systems.

Work by Wang *et al.* (1989:181) notes the impact of 'reciprocal concession' on fundraising. Individuals, they note, 'are obliged to respond with a favor after other individuals have made a concession to them'. Thus in personal forms of solicitation, the authors argue it is better to begin by asking for a high sum and then if the donation is refused at that level to offer a

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concession (see also Cann *et al*. 1975; Cialdini and Ascani 1976; Mowen and Cialdini 1980). It is interesting to note, however, that other studies have found that multiple asks will also be effective where the initial request is *lower* than the target (Cann *et al.* 1975; Freedman and Fraser 1966), so we may only conclude that multiple asks are more effective in generating compliance than solus asks.

Freedman and Fraser (1966) argue that charities should solicit new donors by beginning with requests for small sums and then building these up over time. This is echoed in modern fundraising practice where many UK charities solicit gifts of as little as $5 per month (Pidgeon 2001). Zuckerman *et al.* (1979) suggest that this process works well since a low-value ask eliminates many potential barriers to giving. Where donors cannot post-rationalize their giving as a response to social or other pressures they are significantly more likely to attribute their first donation to caring about the cause and hence to continue to support the organization.

The utilization of techniques which engender a stronger sense of relationship has also been found to increase compliance (Roloff 1987; Roloff *et al*. 1988; Aune and Basil 1994), with a number of writers noting the 'foot-in-the-mouth' effect. In essence, there is strong evidence to suggest that on commencing a solicitation, asking people how they feel, acknowledging their response and then asking for a donation greatly enhances compliance. Howard (1990) argues that people will behave in a manner consistent with the state that they have described themselves as feeling. If prospects reply that they 'feel great' they will strive to maintain a consistency in what Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955) refer to as their 'general affective state'. It is therefore much less likely that a donation will be refused (see also Bem 1965; Howard 1990; Cialdini and Schroeder 1976). It is interesting to note that the gender of the asker would also appear to have an impact (Lindskold *et al.* 1977), as would the level of familiarity the prospect has with the individual making the request (Macaulay 1975).

Empirical studies pertaining to mode of ask are summarized in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Empirical studies pertaining to mode of ask

Author(s)	*Method*	*N*	*Key findings*
Aune and Basil (1994)	Field experiment; face-to-face solicitations	153 (students)	Foot-in-the-mouth (FITM) approaches generate positive relational perceptions, but relational obligations approaches produce more positive relational perceptions than the FITM approach.
Brockner *et al*. (1984)	Field experiment; telephone and face-to-face solicitations	90	Requests for smaller sums increase compliance without lowering the value of the mean contribution. Compliance greater in face-to-face contexts.
Cann *et al*. (1975)	Field experiment	60	In face-to-face contexts it is optimal to ask for a high sum and then offer a concession on refusal.
Cialdini and Ascani (1976)	Experiment	189	Rejection then retreat procedures are superior to techniques that do not involve the offering of a concession.
Cialdini and Schroeder	Two field experiments; door-	84 + 169	Utilizing the phrase 'even a penny will help' enhances compliance

(1976)	to-door solicitations	without lowering the mean contribution – hence maximizing donated funds.

Author(s)	*Method*	*N*	*Key findings*
Desmet and Feinberg (2003)	Experiment	'large-scale'	Both the appeals scale used and the values on the scale influence the distribution of donations received. Three reference systems (points on the appeals scale, values of common denominations, intended or anticipated amount) should be taken into account when designing the appeals scale, to avoid donors 'resisting' the options on the scale and engaging in habitual behaviour.
Fraser *et al*. (1988)	Field experiment; house-to-house solicitation	640	Utilizing the phrase 'even a penny will help' enhances compliance without lowering the mean contribution – hence maximizing donated funds.
Freedman and Fraser (1966)	Two field experiments; telephone solicitation	156 + 127	Multiple asks effective where initial request is lower than the target. Finding holds even where second ask is unrelated and carried out by a different person.
Howard (1990)	Multiple field experiments; telephone solicitations	80, 120, 160	Asking someone how they feel, and then acknowledging that response facilitates compliance with a charitable request.
Lindskold *et al*. (1977)	Field experiment; face-to-face solicitations	3,000 (students)	Female solicitors generate more compliance in personal asks.
List and Lucking-Reiley (2002)	Field experiment	3,000	Increasing seed money from 10% to 67% of a campaign goal produces a nearly sixfold increase in contributions.
Macaulay (1975)	Experiment	131	Increase in familiarity leads to increased positive action irrespective of the attractiveness of the requester.
Mowen and Cialdini (1980)	Two field experiments; face-to-face solicitation	192 +216	By making a second request for a reduced proportion of the original the researcher can increase a target's perception of a concession which invokes the norm that concessions should be reciprocated.
Reeves *et al*. (1987)	Field experiment; house-to-house solicitation	240	Requests for smaller sums increase compliance without lowering the mean value of the contribution.
Reingen (1978)	Field experiment; face-to-face solicitation	224 (student sample)	Utilizing the phrase 'even a penny will help' enhances compliance without lowering the mean contribution – hence maximizing donated funds.
Roloff *et al*. (1988)	Questionnaire	60 (students)	Increasing intimacy with a potential helper increased obligations to grant

			requests for resources.
Staub and Baer (1974)	Field experiment	58	Individuals more likely to help when ‘escape’ is hindered, or subject is in their path.

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Author(s)	Method	N	Key findings
Wang *et al*. (1989)	Field experiment; house-to-house solicitation	409	In face-to-face contexts it is optimal to ask for a high sum and then offer a concession on refusal.
Weyant (1984)	Field experiment; house-to-house solicitation	359	Requests for smaller sums increase compliance without lowering the value of the mean contribution.
Weyant and Smith (1987)	Field experiment; postal solicitation	6,000	Requests for smaller sums increase compliance without lowering the mean value of the contribution.
Zuckerman *et al*. (1979)	Experiment; telephone solicitation	127	Foot-in-the-door technique increased the likelihood of compliance with a relatively large demand.

Seed money and refunds

Some professional fundraisers believe that a substantial amount (40 to 50 per cent) of the total fundraising goal should be pledged as seed money before starting a public campaign (Fundraising School 1999). This is in keeping with Andreoni's (1998) positive theory of capital campaigns (for example, an initiative to build a new university building) for public goods. Later, Andreoni (2006) argues that 'leadership giving' – where a large donation is made by an individual, foundation or even government at the start of a fundraising project – can inspire others to donate, as it acts as a signal of the quality of the charitable good. List and Lucking-Reiley (2002) were the first to provide quantitative empirical support for this model of charitable giving, finding that increasing seed money from 10 per cent to 67 per cent of the campaign goal produced a nearly sixfold increase in contributions, both through more individuals contributing, and larger sizes of gifts.

Perceptual reaction

Whatever form the ask might eventually take, there are a number of variables which the literature suggests will tend to impact on a potential donor's perceptual reaction to the message being conveyed. In particular, donors receiving positively framed messages, designed to make them feel good, are statistically more likely to respond than those donors offered primarily negative messages, designed to make them feel bad (Benson and Catt 1978). The key variables impacting on perceptual reaction would appear, however, to be the portrayal of the individual(s) in need, the fit of the charity with a given donor's self-image and the existence of perceived norms of behaviour. Each of these variables will now be considered in turn.

Beneficiary portrayal

The portrayal of the charitable 'product' can have an impact on recall, attitudes towards support and actual giving behaviour. Donors will tend to support those charities that represent the needy in an acceptable way (Eayrs and Ellis 1990). Pictures of, for example, an overtly handicapped child have been shown to actually decrease the response to door-to-door giving

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solicitations. Similarly Isen and Noonberg (1979) report that a picture of a starving child in door-to-door solicitations reduced compliance. Brehm (1966) argues from reactance theory that people possess a number of behavioural and attitudinal freedoms. Distressing photographs act to reduce a prospective donor's perceived ability to be able to spend their monies elsewhere and hence, ironically, create barriers to the gift being made (see also Brehm and Brehm 1981). It has also been argued that donors perceive depictions of 'excessive' need as manipulative and, hence, compliance falls (Moore *et al*. 1985). The balance of evidence thus suggests that the strength of need depicted should be strong enough to indicate the worthiness of the case, but not so strong that it is seen as a 'hard sell'.

Appeals for charities concerned with disability often emphasize the dependence of those individuals with the respective disability. There is now considerable evidence that such appeals are successful in engendering feelings of sympathy (Brolley and Anderson 1986; Feldman and Feldman 1985; Lattin 1977; Jones 1985; Roehler 1961) and feelings of guilt and pity (Feldman and Feldman 1985; Krebs and Whitten 1972; Pieper 1975). The literature is less united, however, in respect of the degree to which dependency should be exhibited. Writers such as Berkowitz and Daniels (1962) and Midlarsky (1971) conclude that greater degrees of perceived dependency are related to greater degrees of help. Wagner and Wheeler (1969) meanwhile conclude that when the level of dependency is perceived as permanent, the level of dependency has no effect on the amount likely to be given. Using different terminology, Adler *et al.* (1991) identify that portraying recipients as succumbing to their condition (in contrast to coping) has no impact on the pattern of donations. They do however identify a strong impact on the subsequent attitudes of the donor towards the recipient group.

This latter point is of particular interest since many authors argue that portraying people with disabilities as dependent may well harm the long-term interests of the beneficiary group by reinforcing negative stereotypes and attitudes (Elliot and Byrd 1982; Harris and Harris 1977). Positive portrayals, on the other hand, seem to engender positive attitudes (Harris 1975; Shurka *et al.* 1982). On a related theme, there is evidence that attractive people are perceived as more worthy than unattractive people (Latane and Nida 1981) and that female subjects would appear to engender greater rates of compliance than male subjects (Feinman 1978; Gruder and Cook 1971). The portrayal of the responsibility of recipients for their own condition can also impact on compliance. Piliavin *et al*. (1975) identified that the extent to which an individual could be blamed for his/her needy condition would directly impact on both the degree of compliance and the levels of support proffered.

The discussion above has focused on portrayals made on behalf of the beneficiaries by the charity. In some cases, the appeal may be made and donation received directly by the beneficiary. While research on direct donations is limited, Hibbert *et al.* (2005) have studied beneficiary portrayal in the case of the *Big Issue*, a magazine produced by independent UK companies and sold by homeless, ex-homeless and vulnerably accommodated individuals on urban streets, as part of a social franchise. The vendors make a profit on each magazine, which provides them with an income. Hibbert *et al.* (2005) found that consumers preferred to buy the magazine from those who appeared more needy than those who were getting back on their feet. They conclude that the manner and behaviour of vendors is assessed by buyers and potential buyers, which influences whether they purchase or repeat purchase.

Empirical studies pertaining to portrayal are summarized in Table 7.2.

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Table 7.2 Empirical studies pertaining to portrayal

Author(s)	*Method*	*N*	*Key findings*
Adler *et al.* (1991)	Experiment	148 (students)	Coping portrayals led to more positive attitudes towards people with disabilities than subjects in a succumbing condition. No differences were found between the two conditions in respect of the sums donated.
Berkowitz and Daniels (1962)	Experiment	32 (students)	Significantly greater levels of performance are associated with a high dependency condition.
Brolley and Anderson (1986)	Experiment and questionnaire	91 (students)	Positive advertisements do not foster more positive attitudes towards disabled persons than negative advertisements.
Eayrs and Ellis (1990)	Experiment	100	Commitment to give money is most closely associated with feelings such as guilt, sympathy and pity and was negatively associated with posters which illustrate people with a mental handicap as having the same rights, values and capability as non-handicapped persons.
Feinman (1978)	Experiment	156	Female subjects receive more help than male subjects.
Feldman and Feldman (1985)	Experiment	60 (students)	Telethons have a strong positive influence on the viewing public's perception of disabled persons. These attitudes do not impact significantly on donation behaviour.
Gruder and Cook (1971)	Experiment	113 (students)	Dependency made no difference to the help given to males, but females who were dependent received significantly more help than females who were not dependent. They also received marginally more help than males who were dependent.
Hibbert *et al.* (2005)	Focus groups and questionnaire (interviewer administered)	645	The appearance and manner of *Big Issue* vendors influences public reactions towards the initiative.
Midlarsky (1971)	Experiment	80 (students)	Greater degrees of perceived dependency are related to greater degrees of help.
Milgram (1970)	Experiment	160	Female subjects receive more help than male subjects.

Moore *et al*. (1985)	Panel	360 (198 of which present in all time periods)	A significant direct relationship was found between labelling conditions and attitudes towards giving and perceptions of the nonprofit organization.
Piliavin *et al*. (1975)	Field experiment	166 trials	The natural appearance of a victim impacts on the rendering of help. Attractive subjects generate more help than unattractive subjects. The extent to which a subject could be blamed for their own condition also impacts on helping behaviour.

Author(s)	Method	N	Key findings
Shurka *et al*. (1982)	Four experiments	Four groups of 24 (students)	The order of favourability for portrayals is 'coping not responsible', 'coping responsible', 'succumbing not responsible', 'succumbing responsible'.
Wagner and Wheeler (1969)	Experiment	144	Need as defined by the solicitor had no impact on helping, but adjunctive analyses suggested that models could influence need as perceived by the prospective donor, which in turn could affect helping.

Fit with self

In respect of the second variable, fit with desired self-image, Coliazzi *et al*. (1984) noted that individuals are more likely to help those who are perceived as being similar to themselves. They will thus tend to filter those messages from charities existing to support disparate segments of society. The extremely wealthy, for example, tend to avoid causes involving the overtly poor (such as homelessness) and are much more likely to patronize organizations from which they, or members of their social class, can draw benefit. As Ostrower (1997:133) notes, they carve out a separate and exclusive arena for themselves quite distinct from the 'philanthropic arena of the economically disadvantaged', supporting causes such as the arts, education and healthcare. Similarly, Millett and Orosz (2001) identify that those from ethnic minorities are significantly more likely to filter out messages from nonprofits not serving members of their community. Similarity may also take the form of similarity of values, which as Heider (1958) notes, may be just as powerful as physical similarity. Interestingly, differences in response to perceived similarity have been reported between individuals of different personality types. Individuals with authoritarian personalities are much more likely to be motivated by perceived similarity than those with egalitarian personalities (Mitchell and Byrne 1973).

Perceived norms

A factor closely related to the above is the issue of perceived norms. Donors will be motivated to filter messages on the basis of normative concerns (Morgan *et al*. 1979). People appear to pay considerable attention to what others contribute within their respective societal group. According to Rege (2004), the social approval a person gets from adhering to the norm is positively correlated with the share of the population adhering to this norm. Thus not only will donors tend to support individuals perceived as similar to themselves, the pattern of that response (or lack thereof) will be made in terms of beliefs about what is normative for the group (Blake *et al.* 1955; Macaulay 1970).

Cialdini (1984), for example, notes that the knowledge that others are contributing legitimizes contribution, and Reingen (1978) identified that showing prospective donors a fictitious list of previous donors led to higher donations and increased compliance. It is interesting to note that the length of the list of previous contributors also appeared to be an issue with longer lists outperforming shorter ones. More recently, Jones and McKee (2004) demonstrate that feedback information on relative sizes of received contributions during a fundraising campaign impacted positively on individual and total contributions, although Andreoni and Petrie (2004)

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found that revealing the identity of the donor, as well as the contribution amounts was necessary for giving to increase significantly. Experimental research by Gächter and Fehr (1999) reveals that social approval incentives (revealing the identity and contributions of each subject, and making subjects discuss the contributions) have a significant effect on giving behaviour, but only on those who know each other. However, Rege and Telle (2001) found that this effect extended to strangers too – the social approval incentive of writing contributions on a blackboard in front of subjects unknown to each other increased contributions by as much as 100 per cent.

Empirical studies pertaining to 'fit with self' and 'perceived norms' are summarized in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Empirical studies pertaining to fit with self and perceived norms

Author(s)	*Method*	*N*	*Key findings*
Andreoni and Petrie (2004)	Experiment	200 (students)	Revealing the identity of the donor, as well as the contribution amounts is necessary for giving to significantly increase.
Blake *et al.* (1955)	Experiment	50 (students)	Size of a donation is governed by the size of gift presumed to be 'standard' by the group as a whole.
Bryan and Test (1967)	Four field experiments	4000 + 730 + 140 + 3703	Presence of a helping model significantly increased helping behaviour. Interpersonal attraction is a relevant variable in affecting donations.
Callero *et al*. (1987)	Postal questionnaire	685	Role-person merger strongly associated with a history of helping. Role-person merger predicts helping behaviour.
Cialdini *et al*. (1990)	Multiple experiments	139 + 358 + 484 +127 +87	If other members of a particular group are contributing, then the pressure to comply to social norms mounts.
Coliazzi *et al*. (1984)	Experiment	128	Factors which facilitated altruism include amount of need, similarity to the person in need and cost to the helper.
Gächter and Fehr (1999)	Experiment		Social approval incentives have a significant effect on people who have some knowledge of each other, but no effect among subjects who are strangers.
Jones and McKee (2004)	Experiment	90 (students)	Feedback information on relative sizes of received contributions offered during a fundraising campaign impacted positively on individual and total contributions.
Keating *et al.* (1981)	Telephone interviews	1,000	Rates of giving are positively related to social pressure and income. More personal forms of solicitation are more effective.

List and Lucking-Reiley (2002)	Experiment	3000	Increasing seed money from 10% to 67% of a campaign total increased contributions by a factor of six.
Macaulay (1970)	Experiment	131	Increase in familiarity leads to increased positive action irrespective of the attractiveness of the requester.

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Author(s)	Method	N	Key findings
Mitchell and Byrne (1973)	Experiment	139	Individuals with authoritarian personalities are much more likely to be motivated by perceived similarity than those with egalitarian personalities.
Radley and Kennedy (1995)	Semi-structured interview	49	Charitable giving reflects variations in the relationship of the individual to the community of which they are a part.
Rege and Telle (2001)	Experiment	80 (students)	Contributions to a public good enhanced by allowing stakeholders to monitor others' behaviour.
Yavas *et al*. (1980)	Self-administered questionnaire	100	Donors appear to be more sympathetic, generous, loving and helpful than non-donors.

Processing determinants

Two key categories of variable appear to impact on the manner in which the giving decision is processed, namely the donor's past experience with a given charity (and with charitable giving in general), and the criteria he/she might use to evaluate potential organizations for support. Each of these dimensions will now be considered in turn.

Judgemental criteria

Economists have long argued that donors make decisions in respect of their giving by reference to the degree of utility they will attain (Collard 1978). While historically it was argued that this would take material form, it has recently been accepted that utility may also derive from the emotions evoked from giving (Arrow 1972). Under this view donors will select charities to support on the basis of whether they have benefited in the past or believe that they will in the future (Krebs 1982; Frisch and Gerrard 1981; Amos 1982). Individuals could, for example, give to those organizations that will do them political good and/or serve to enhance their career, perhaps through the networking opportunities that will be accorded (Amos 1982; Frisch and Gerrard 1981). Donors may also evaluate potential recipient organizations against the extent to which their support will be visible, or noticeable by others within their social group, thereby enhancing the donor's standing therein (Stroebe and Frey 1982; Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991).

Individuals will also evaluate potential recipient organizations on the basis of the extent to which their performance is viewed as acceptable (Cutlip 1990). Glaser (1994:178) found that the variable 'an adequate amount spent per program' was the most important factor in the decision to contribute to charitable organizations. Donors appear to have a clear idea of what represents an acceptable percentage of income that may be applied to both administration and fundraising costs. Warwick (1994) identified that donors expect that the ratio between adminis-tration–fundraising costs and so-called charitable expenditure would be 20:80. It is interesting to note that despite this expectation most donors believe that the actual ratio is closer to 50:50. For example, Bennett and Savani's (2003) research shows that respondents perceived that only 46 per cent of the focal charities' expenditures reached beneficiaries, when in reality the

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average figure was 82 per cent. Harvey and McCrohan (1988) found that 60 per cent was a significant threshold, with charities spending at least 60 per cent of their donations on charitable programmes achieving significantly higher levels of donation. Steinberg (1986) suggests that this is something of an anomaly since fundraising costs in particular are sunk, and should therefore not enter into a donor's decision to support a given charity.

On a related theme, perceived effectiveness is also an issue. Sargeant *et al*. (2001) identify that the degree to which the organization is seen to achieve its stated goals impacts on compliance, the total amount donated and the lifetime value of individual donors. To help individuals rate charity performance more accurately, it has been shown that charitable organizations need to provide relevant information in the public domain such as the ratio of salary costs to total income, or the rate of change in charity income for each £1 spent on marketing (Bennett and Savani 2003).

The extent to which an organization is regarded as being professionally run has also received attention in the literature. In two separate studies, Sargeant *et al.* (2001) and Sargeant *et al*. (2004) conclude that the extent to which an organization's management may be regarded as professional impacts on the value of gifts, the lifetime value of donors and their loyalty to the organization. It is interesting to note that in the USA the relationship is positive, while in the UK the relationship is negative, implying that an increase in perceived professionalism would lower donations. It appears as though the British public regards amateurism as a virtue.

Past experience

A variety of authors have argued that once recruited to support a charity, a given donor will be significantly more likely to give again in the future (see e.g. Kaehler and Sargeant 1998). This may be because donors begin to build trust with the organization, which in turn fosters commitment and higher levels of support over time. Indeed, these relationships were tested empirically by Sargeant and Lee (2004) who were able to explain 20 per cent of the variation in giving by reference to their model. Further quantitative work by Sargeant *et al*. (2006) shows a significant positive causal link between trust and commitment, and commitment and giving behaviour (measured by average donation). In this study, the drivers of trust were identified as the performance of the organization (as discussed above), and the quality of the communications received from the organization after making a donation.

The issue of donor loyalty has received comparatively little attention, although empirical work by Sargeant (2001) identified that the perceived quality of service provided by the fundraising department to the donor, the perceived impact of previous donations and the extent to which the donor felt that he/she had been able to exert influence and control over his/her relationship with the nonprofit were all positively correlated with retention and lifetime value (see also Burnett 2002). Donors indicating they were 'very satisfied' with the quality of service provided were twice as likely to offer a second or subsequent gift than those who identified themselves as merely 'satisfied'. More empirical work (albeit based on a relatively small sample) by Bennett and Barkensjo (2005) also provides support that there is a significant and positive relationship between a donor's perception of the quality of marketing activity undertaken and his/her future intentions/behaviour, particularly their intended level of donation.

Empirical studies pertaining to 'judgemental criteria' and 'past experience' are summarized in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Summary of empirical studies pertaining to judgemental criteria and past experience

Author(s)	*Method*	*N*	*Key findings*
Amos (1982)	Analysis of secondary data including income tax returns	N/A	Both indirect and Kantian motives for support of voluntary organizations can be identified.
Bennett and Barkensjo (2005)	Face-to-face survey	141	Donors' perceptions of a charity's relationship-marketing activities are strongly associated with perceptions of the organization's advertising (presenting personally relevant messages, generating feelings of trust in and commitment to charity, convince donor of charity's desire to interact with them), and with two-way personal contact methods such as special events and PR. Direct marketing has the lowest, although still significant impact on perceptions of relationship-marketing activities.
Bennett and Savani (2003)	Survey	286	The provision of small amounts of relevant information about a charity improves the accuracy of a person's ratings of the charity across a range of disparate attributes, such as level of efficiency. An individual's general knowledge and familiarity with the charity sector is a significant determinant of how they feel about charities, and their ability to rate accurately their performance attributes.
Frisch and Gerrard (1981)	Postal survey	195	Younger individuals place greater emphasis on self-serving motives for volunteering.
Frumkin and Kim (2001)	Panel	2,359 Nonprofits	Nonprofits with low administrative to total expense ratios perform no better in fundraising from individuals, trusts and corporations than those with higher expense ratios.
Harvey and McCrohan (1988)	Self-administered questionnaire	5,000	Perceived organizational efficiency is positively correlated with level of giving.
Sargeant *et al*. (2003)	Postal survey	10,000	Factors including the demonstrable/ familial utility deriving from the gift, organizational effectiveness, the perceived professionalism of an organization, together with the quality of service

			supplied, all have the capacity to influence gift levels, lifetime value and the longevity of the donor–nonprofit relationship (UK sample).
Sargeant *et al*. (2003)	Postal survey	10,000	Factors including the demonstrable utility deriving from the gift, organizational effectiveness, the perceived professionalism of an organization, together with the quality of service supplied, all have the

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Author(s)	Method	N	Key findings
			capacity to influence gift levels and the value of particular donors (US sample).
Sargeant *et al.* (2006)	Postal survey	1,300	There is a significant positive causal link between trust and commitment, and commitment and giving behaviour.
Sargeant and Lee (2004)	Postal survey	1,000	Commitment mediates the impact of trust on giving behaviour.

External influences

Models/experiences

Schervish and Havens (1997) argue that models and experiences from one's youth will shape future adult giving behaviour. Thus those growing up in a family with a strong tradition of charitable support will be significantly more likely to exhibit such behaviours themselves. Sociologists have also argued that the provision of 'models' (e.g. a celebrity seen to be offering support) can influence contributory behaviour. This occurs through the creation of social norms, thereby legitimizing and encouraging the giving behaviour (Krebs 1982; Krebs and Miller 1985; Wilson and Petruska 1984). Role models are regarded as particularly effective in situations of social ambiguity, where the behaviour is rare or unusual (Festinger 1954). Sargeant *et al.* (2003) thus argue that it is particularly effective in bequest solicitations where an individual will often be considering such a gift for the first time and may be unaware of the behaviour of others.

Communities of participation

Communities of participation are networks of formal and informal relationships entered into either by choice or by circumstance (e.g. schools, soup kitchens, soccer groups) that bring an individual into contact with need. Authors such as Schervish (1993, 1997) argue that a basic connection to a cause (e.g. being a graduate of a school) is not enough in itself to prompt subsequent donations to that school and that some degree of socialization is required. This, the author argues, is experienced through communities of participation and thus donors will be predisposed to give to causes connected in some way with these communities. Schervish and Havens (1997) found empirical support for this proposition.

Similarly Conley (1999) in a study of the predictors of alumni giving found that involvement in school activities and involvement in alumni activities were both primary indicators of whether an individual would give. Lohmann (1992) also found that giving frequently related to personal membership of networks, societies, political groups, social movements or religious, artistic or scientific communities. This reflects many of the themes developed in the psychology and sociological literatures where the concept of 'we-ness' is seen as a spur to caring (e.g. Piliavin *et al*. 1981; Jenks 1990; Coleman 1990). Indeed Brady *et al*. (2002) in a study of university giving, focus on organizational identification or 'oneness' towards the organization. They find that the construct is a key determinant of 'intent to give'.

It is important however, for a nonprofit not to overemphasize the role of communities of participation. Self-perception theory (Bem 1972) tells us that external triggers for giving can

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cause a donor to discount any intrinsic motives they might have had (Scott 1977), making it difficult to sustain that giving in the longer term, particularly when contact with that community comes to an end.

Empirical studies pertaining to 'models/experiences' are summarized in Table 7.5.

Public policy contributions and crowding out

The majority of studies on this topic suggest that government contributions discourage or crowd out private contributions, but that the crowding out is incomplete. However, the extent of the crowding-out effect varies from under 30 per cent (Abrams and Schmitz 1978; Clotfelter 1985; Kingma 1989; Andreoni 1993; Ribar and Wilhelm 2002), to approximately 70 per cent (Andreoni 1993; Bolton and Katok 1998). Simmons and Emanuele (2004) found that crowding out takes place for both donations of money and time. The accepted explanation for crowding out has been that givers treat government contributions as imperfect substitutes for private giving. According to Andreoni and Payne (2003), it may also occur as a result of a charity's behavioural response to receiving a government grant, leading to a reduction in fundraising efforts. Research is not conclusive, however, and Nyborg and Rege (2003) acknowledge that whether public policy contributions crowd out or indeed crowd in (see e.g. Khanna and Sandler 2000) private contributions, and the extent of this effect depends largely on which model of moral-based motivation (altruism, norm, fairness, commitment and cognitive evaluation) is adopted. They also suggest that the policy implications of each model are likely to be quite different.

Table 7.5 Summary of empirical studies pertaining to models/experiences

Author(s)	*Method*	*N*	*Key findings*
Brady *et al*. (2002)	Postal survey	595 (students)	Organizational identification, philanthropic predisposition and perceived need influence intention to give.
Sargeant *et al*. (2003)	Postal survey	5,000	Factors determining bequest giving include role models, family connections to the cause, perceptions of efficiency and impact on cause.
Schervish and Havens (1997)	Secondary analysis of survey of giving and volunteering in the USA	2,671	Variables/constructs associated with giving behaviour include participation and commitment to religious institutions, household income, retirement status, invitation to participate and communities of participation.
Scott (1977)	Field experiment	315	Compliance with a small initial request under conditions of no incentive enhances the likelihood of positive behavioural intentions for subsequent moderate and large requests.
Wilson and Petruska (1984)	Experiment	112 (students)	Esteem-oriented individuals were more likely to initiate helping behaviour and were more strongly influenced by

competence models.

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Individual characteristics

Demographics

A variety of demographic factors can influence giving. Variables such as age (Halfpenny 1990; Nichols 1992; Pharoah and Tanner 1997), gender (Mesch *et al*. 2002; Hall 2004), social class (Jones and Posnett 1991; Bryant *et al*. 2003; McClelland *et al*. 2004), social norms (Morgan *et al*. 1979; Piliavin and Chang 1990; Radley and Kennedy 1995) and the degree of religious conviction (Halfpenny 1990; Pharoah and Tanner 1997; Jackson 2001) have all been shown to impact on giving behaviour.

The variable 'gender' warrants some elaboration. Marx (2000) identified that women are more likely to support human services organizations and to be committed to the organization. In the USA, the Council of Economic Advisors determined that women tended to give more frequently than men, although they donate very similar amounts in aggregate. Further attitudinal and behavioural differences have been identified. Braus (1994:48), for example, identified that women tend to want more information about how the money is actually going to be used, prefer one-off donations as opposed to regular (or committed) giving and to give more 'from the heart than the head'.

How potential gender differences are resolved within a marriage may also impact on giving behaviour. Andreoni *et al*. (2003) found that when bargaining over charitable giving takes place within a marriage (rather than one spouse taking charge), household giving is reduced by at least 6 per cent. Joint decisions are more likely to reflect the husband's, rather than the wife's tastes, and the husband is more likely to become the chief decision-maker if he earns more, or is more highly educated than the wife. These findings suggest that there are complex interrelationships between the variables of gender, marital status, education and income in the context of charitable giving.

Not surprisingly, the variable social class/income has also received considerable attention. Writers such as Mears (1992) and Jones and Posnett (1991) see giving as income elastic, although it is important to note that not only the amounts given will vary as one moves up the social strata, but also the rationale for support. Radley and Kennedy (1992, 1995) identified that the lower socio-economic groups tend to see the needy as a group to be pitied because of their treatment at the hand of fate. Promotional messages stressing the ability of even a small gift to alleviate pain and suffering are therefore likely to be most effective. The higher socio-economic groups by contrast, particularly those from the professions, give not only for the amelioration of suffering but also for the longer-term change in their situation. Authors such as Amato (1985) add that professional people tend to become more involved in their charitable giving, while preliminary evidence provided by Kottasz (2004) suggests that the profession itself may be associated with giving behaviour. In her study of high-earning male professionals, lawyers tended to donate larger amounts of money to charity and on a more regular basis than respondents working in financial services, possibly because the former were significantly more empathetic than the latter, an empathetic disposition being positively associated with giving.

Interestingly, in the USA the poor and extremely wealthy give a much higher proportion of their income than the middle class (Silver 1980) and those living in small-town/rural settings are more willing to exhibit helping behaviours than city dwellers (Latane and Nida 1981).

Lifestyle/geo-demographic

Schlegelmilch (1988) shows that attitudinal and lifestyle variables improve the prediction of whether an individual will give versus chance by 32 per cent and Yankelovich (1985) reported

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that the most important characteristics of the generous giver are all related to the donor's perceptions and values. Perceptions of financial security, discretionary funds, attendance at religious services and whether an individual volunteers time for charity were all shown to be good indicators of a propensity to give. Hansler and Riggin (1989) also report success using the geo-demographic system VISION to segment potential support for the Arthritis Foundation.

In addition to this work, a small number of authors have explored the potential for such variables to be used in predicting *which* nonprofit organizations might be supported. Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989), for example, identified that no significant differences could be found between the donors to a number of different charities in respect of lifestyle. However, the authors defined lifestyle somewhat narrowly as what people like to do in their spare time. Other authors such as Sargeant (1996) and Bennett (2003) have found lifestyle and values offer significant utility in distinguishing donors from one category of cause to another.

Personality

Studies in the field of psychology have shown that empathy and other prosocial tendencies emerge during childhood, and are then relatively stable across a person's lifetime (see e.g. Eisenberg *et al.* 2002). According to Penner *et al.* (1995), the 'prosocial personality' consists of two dimensions, which have significant associations with prosocial behaviours and actions. The first concerns 'other-orientated empathy', such as a sense of responsibility and ability to experience cognitive and affective empathy, and the second concerns 'helpfulness', the self-perception of being a helpful and competent individual (Penner *et al*. 2005). Other authors to find an association between empathetic tendencies and donating and volunteering behaviours include Davis *et al*. (1999). 'Agreeableness', a trait from the big five theory of personality (developed by Goldberg, 1981, 1993) has also been shown to influence an individual's propensity to act prosocially (Graziano and Eisenberg 1997; Ashton *et al*. 1998). Agreeableness is the tendency to be compassionate and cooperative, and is measured by 'likeability', 'friendly compliance' and 'need for affiliation.'

Personality inventories have been used by some authors (Piferi *et al*. 2006; Rytting *et al*. 1994) to assess an individual's prosocial disposition, including the multiple perspectives inventory (Gorenflo and Crano 1998), (empathy) and the empathy subscale from the impulsiveness, venturesomeness and empathy (IVE) inventory (Eysenck *et al*. 1985). The Myers–Briggs-type indicator has also been applied to philanthropic donors. It was found that the thinking–feeling factor helped to identify the motives for giving (for example, 'feelers' give for more personal and internal reasons), but it did not influence whether or not an individual donates to charity (Rytting *et al*. 1994).

Empirical studies pertaining to individual characteristics are summarized in Table 7.6.

Motives

There are a variety of intrinsic motives for charitable support. Motives can assist donors in filtering out those charity appeals that are likely to be of most relevance and can help in structuring the evaluation process that will subsequently be conducted to define ultimately the pattern of support exhibited. Each major category is now reviewed in turn.

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Table 7.6 Summary of empirical studies pertaining to individual characteristics

Author(s)	*Method*	*N*	*Key findings*
Amato (1985)	Diary and self-administered questionnaire	97 (Students)	People in helping professions have higher levels of involvement in everyday planned helping than do people in non-helping professions. Attitudinal and demographic variables predict participation in formal helping situations.
Andreoni *et al*. (2003)	Secondary analysis of Gallup surveys	4,180 households	Women give to more charities than men, but offer lower amounts. In marriage, bargaining over giving preferences appears to reduce giving by at least 6%.
Ashton *et al*. (1998)	Self-administered questionnaire	118 (students)	Empathy positively related to 'agreeableness' and negatively related to 'emotional stability'.
Bennett (2003)	Interviews	250	Possession of certain personal values correlated significantly with specific organizational values that the respondents most admired.
Boris (1987)	Interviews	100	Giving among the wealthy motivated by civic responsibility, egoism, progressivism and scientific problem-solving.
Davis *et al.* (1999)	Three experiments	191 (students)	Empathy influences choice of situations where needy individuals may be found.
Graney and Graney (1974)	Panel study	60 + 46	Giving to charity may be viewed as a form of pseudo-social interaction among the wealthy.
Hansler and Riggin (1989)	Database analysis	N/A	Giving to the Arthritis Foundation is related to membership of VISION (geo-demographic) categories.
Jones and Posnett (1991)	Secondary analysis of family expenditure survey	7,000	Participation in giving is sensitive to income, the tax-price of income, demographic variables and the level of giving varies primarily with income.
Kottasz (2003)	Survey (email and face-to-face)	158	High-earning professional males represent a distinct market segment, attracted to giving to arts and cultural charities, well-established organizations with a good reputation and image and enjoying invitations to special events. Profession may have a bearing on giving behaviour which suggests that occupationally differentially marketing strategies and communications may be a useful

			approach for charitable organizations.
Mears (1992)	In-home interviews	239	Strong donors had higher educations, higher incomes and higher general awareness of charities.
Midlarsky and Hannah (1989)	Two experiments	2,715 + 2,735	Linear increase with age in numbers of people donating. When controlled for financial costs, elderly persons proved to be the most generous.

Author(s)	*Method*	*N*	*Key findings*
Piferi *et al*. (2006)	Survey	343 (students)	Of the six motives investigated, only the motive to relieve others' distress was associated with sustained giving.
Radley and Kennedy (1992)	Interviews	49	Motives for giving vary between socioeconomic groups.
Radley and Kennedy (1995)	Interviews	49	Charitable giving reflects variations in the relationship of individuals to the community of which they are a part.
Sargeant (1996)	Postal survey	3,000	Donors to three distinct categories of cause differ significantly in psychographic/lifestyle characteristics.
Schlegelmilch (1979)	Postal survey	800	Attitude and lifestyle variables improve prediction of giving versus non-giving by 32% over chance.
Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989)	Postal survey	800	Different fundraising strategies appeal to segments with particular demographic and psychographic profiles. Segmentation by activity and lifestyle profiles is possible for some specific fundraising strategies, but not for others.
Yavas *et al*. (1980)	Self-administered questionnaire	100	Donors appear to be more sympathetic, generous, loving and helpful than non-donors.

Altruism and self-interest

Authors such as Collard (1978) argue that all giving can be explained by reference to the benefits that will accrue to the donor as a consequence of their gift. In this sense the process is rational and the donor simply evaluates the costs and benefits of engaging in a particular donation. However, this fails to explain a large proportion of gifts where no direct benefit accrues to the individual and where perhaps the gift may be made anonymously (Walker and Pharoah 2002). Economists such as Andreoni (1989, 1990, 2001) have recently argued that the utility deriving from a gift can take a variety of different forms and have explained giving by reference to public good theory, exchange theory and the so-called 'warm-glow-effect' where the benefits of giving are purely psychological in nature. Other such benefits are considered in the discussion below.

Empathy

While empathy has been discussed as a personality trait above, with some individuals being more predisposed to prosocial and empathetic behaviour than others, it can also be viewed as a motive which drives giving behaviour. Empathy may be defined as an individual's emotional arousal elicited by the expression of emotion in another (Aronfreed 1968; Berger 1962; Shelton and Rogers 1981). While intuitively sound, the concept of empathy suffers from a lack of construct validity and a lack of clear measurement and manipulation techniques (Wispe 1986). Despite the difficulties of definition a number of studies have explicitly addressed the impact of empathy on giving behaviour and found a strong association between the level of

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empathy attained and the likelihood of providing help (e.g. Mount and Quirion 1988). To be effective, the psychology literature suggests manipulations must be powerful enough to arouse empathy, but not so powerful that they become personally distressing to the donor (Fultz *et al*. 1986).

However, Schaller and Cialdini (1988) argue that the presence of empathy can also increase feelings of sadness or personal distress. Separate analyses of empathy and sadness suggest it is actually *sadness*, not empathy that increases helping behaviour. Therefore, rather than empathy being an altruistic motive, individuals may be egoistically motivated to help so as to reduce the negative emotions from someone else's distress, known as the 'negative state–relief model' (Cialdini *et al.* 1987). These authors go on to propose that giving may occur to improve an individual's mood. When individuals were told that helping would not improve their mood because of a (placebo) drug they had taken, they were less motivated to help. However, others have provided evidence to the contrary (Batson *et al*. 1989; Schroeder *et al*. 1988).

Davis (1983) and Hoffman (1984) identified that a person is more likely to experience empathy when he/she has a high empathic ability, prior experience with the need and emotional attachment to the cause. Work by Davis *et al.* (1987) also established that in seeking to build empathy in fundraising communications, nonprofits should ask prospective donors to imagine how the beneficiary must feel, rather than asking the donor to imagine how they would feel in their place.

Sympathy

The motive 'sympathy' has also received attention in the literature, largely being viewed as a value expressive function, aiding individuals to conform to personally held norms (Clary and Synder 1991; Schwartz 1977). Again, there would appear to be a relationship between the degree of sympathy engendered and both the propensity to donate and the chosen level of support (Batson 1990).

Fear/pity/guilt

A variety of other potential motives for giving have been identified including fear, guilt and pity. These have been found to impact positively both on compliance and the extent thereof (Krebs and Whitten 1972; Pieper 1975). In general, the findings are similar to those reported above in the sense that the development of each motive in fundraising communications should be strong enough to demand action, but not so strong that it becomes personally distressing to the donor.

Social justice

Miller (1977) argued from social justice motivation theory (Lerner 1975) that if people witness undue suffering their belief in a just world will be threatened – consequently they will be motivated to respond to restore their faith in a just world. Thus as Bendapudi, Singh and Bendapudi (1996) note, donors motivated by social justice would be more likely to support breast cancer than lung cancer, since rightly or wrongly they might blame smokers for causing their own condition (see also Griffin *et al*. 1993). The organizational justice literature lends support for this proposition since it suggests that people asked to allocate resources will be concerned about the fairness of the allocation. Donors acknowledge injustice and act to reduce it (Greenberg 1987; Bies 1987; Tyler 1994).

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Miller (1977) also identified that helping behaviour would be increased when the need is not widespread and the duration of the need (persistence) is short. It is interesting to note that most charity communications appear to be based on the exact opposite of this position. Appeals tend to stress the ongoing nature of the need for support and make much of the number of individuals currently being impacted with the affliction or cause for concern.

Prestige and 'making a difference'

Two newer and related motives for philanthropy have been identified as prestige (donors being motivated by the public recognition their contributions bring) and the desire to make a difference, known as impact philanthropy. These have not yet been empirically tested, but do suggest that certain fundraising techniques are better suited to each of these motivations, as will be discussed.

The prestige-based model proposed by Harbaugh (1998) is closely linked to the 'warm-glow' effect referred to earlier in this section, but rather than being about the internal satisfaction derived from charitable giving, prestige is the utility that comes from having the amount of a donation made publicly known. Being seen to give may enhance a donor's social status, or serve as a sign of wealth or reliability. Donors may wish to access a particular group, and thus desire to be defined by their philanthropic activity (Ostrower 1997). Prestige is clearly about recognition and is therefore also relevant to the feedback aspect of the giving-behaviour model presented in this chapter. To respond to the motive of prestige, charities can create gift categories and then disclose publicly donors who contribute to various categories. Categories may carry certain titles, such as 'patron' or 'founder', depending on the size of the gift. This type of motivation may be more relevant when addressing younger givers since Mathur (1996) has identified that for older adults, esteem enhancement motivations were negatively related to gift-giving.

Impact philanthropy, posited by Duncan (2004), is based on a donor's desire to personally make a difference. The defining assumption of this model is that donors give because they enjoy personally increasing the output of a good. For example, some donors prefer to give directly to a homeless person, rather than give to a charity for the homeless where their donation is distributed over a large number of recipients. An impact philanthropist prefers to target his or her gift as this increases the perceived impact on the cause or recipient. Sponsorship offers are therefore likely to attract individuals who value making a difference.

Tax

A number of studies have examined the relationship between income tax rates and charitable support and although findings vary, the responsiveness of individual giving to changes in taxation appears relatively great (Clotfelter 1985). Okten and Weisbrod (2000), for example, calculate that a change in the price of donating of a given percentage results in a 24 per cent greater percentage change in donations. A recent meta-analysis of previous work on the effects of changes in tax deductibility on charitable donations spanning forty years of literature (Peloza and Steel 2005) concluded that tax deductions are treasury efficient. That is, a decrease of $1 in the cost of giving can be expected to result in more than $1 being donated to charity. More specifically, their meta-analysis revealed that a 1 per cent reduction in the cost of charitable giving resulted in an average increase in donations of 1.44 per cent. Tax relief is therefore considered by many to be an important motive for charitable support (Ostrower 1987; Cermak *et al.* 1994) although as Sargeant and Jay (2004:100) note, 'it is important not to overstate the influence of taxation … (since) … donors will always be better off not making a donation'.

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Empirical studies pertaining to ‘motives’ are summarized in Table 7.7.

Table 7.7 Summary of empirical studies pertaining to motives

Author(s)	*Method*	*N*	*Key findings*
Batson *et al.* (1988)	Five experiments	80 + 120 + 88 + 60 + 48 (students)	Empathic emotion evokes altruistic motivation.
Coke *et al*. (1978)	Two experiments	44 (students)	Those subjects who experienced the most empathic emotion offered the most help.
Davis (1983)	Multiple questionnaires	1,354 (students)	A person is more likely to experienceempathy when he/she scores highly on emotionality, shyness and a non-selfish concern for others.
Davis *et al.* (1987)	Experiment	144 (students)	Positive emotional reactions were affected primarily by cognitive empathy and negative emotional reactions were most heavily influenced by emotional empathy.
Eisenberg and Miller (1987)	Meta-analysis	N/A	Low to moderate relationships were found between empathy and pro-social behaviour.
Feldman and Feldman (1985)	Experiment	60 (students)	Telethons have a strong positive influence on the viewing public’s perception of disabled persons. These attitudes do not impact significantly on donation behaviour.
Fultz *et al.* (1986)	Two experiments	22 + 32 (students)	Empathy evokes altruistic motivation to reduce victim’s need.
Griffin *et al.* (1993)	Self-administered questionnaire	468	Causal attributions assigned to a victim lead to lower levels of empathy, personal distress and intentions to give.
Griffin *et al.* (1993)	Questionnaires	468	Under conditions where an audience is not captive, appeals should be designed to evoke maximum levels of empathy and minimum levels of distress.
Schaller and Cialdini (1988)	Experiment	90 (students)	Empathy produces sadness which is alleviated by enhanced helping behaviour, unless less costly means of bolstering mood are available.
Schroeder *et al.* (1988)	Experiment	128 (students)	When helping not personally costly, concern about another’s distress rather than about one’s own emotional state is the primary motive for helping.

Shelton and Rogers (1981)	Experiment	118 (Students)	Empathy-arousing appeals facilitate attitudinal change. Fear appeals can persuade individuals to protect themselves even through the mediation of social organizations.
Tyler (1994)	Two sets of telephone interviews	652 + 409	Distributive justice judgements are shaped by both resource and relational judgements. Procedural justice judgements are shaped by relational concerns.

Inhibitors

A number of factors have been shown to inhibit individual giving. Riecken *et al.* (1995) contend that lack of money, time or ego risks are the most notable of these. In respect of the latter Steffey and Jones (1988) concur that some donors may experience anxiety over ridicule that may result from the support of unpopular or 'fringe' causes (see also Yavas and Riecken 1985). A further notable barrier to giving has been shown to be doubts over the worthiness of the cause (Wagner and Wheeler 1969; Ford 1976; Mahatoo and Banting 1988) and in particular concerns in respect of how the donated resources will actually be used (Shuptrine and Moore 1980).

Feedback

Having decided to offer a donation to a nonprofit, donors will typically be thanked by the respective organization in the hope that this will be the first stage in building an ongoing relationship with the individual concerned. The literature suggests that there are two significant components of the feedback process that fundraisers should seek to address.

Labelling

In thanking donors for their gift, organizations often append labels to the donor such as kind, generous and/or helpful. Work by authors such as Swinyard and Ray (1977) has implied that this elicits a greater motivation to help and fosters favourable attitudes on the part of the donor (Moore *et al*. 1985). The impact of labels will be particularly potent when there are concrete prior behaviours to be labelled and when the label stresses the uniqueness of the donor's behaviour (McGuire and Padawer-Singer 1976). Consolidating donor self-perceptions via labelling thus furnishes an intrinsic motive to sustain behaviour (Kraut 1973). Repetitive labelling has been found to enhance efficacy (Tybout and Yalch 1980) and labels have been found to work only where the donor accepts the label (Allen 1982), emphasizing the need for the label to be credible and be supplied by a credible source.

Recognition/rewards

The fundraising literature is replete with references to the need for adequate donor recognition (e.g. Warwick and Hitchcock 2001; Irwin-Wells 2002; McKinnon 1999). Failure to provide adequate and appropriate recognition, it has been argued, will lead either to a lowering of future support or its complete termination (Boulding 1973). Sargeant *et al*. (2001) provide the first empirical support for this proposition indicating a link between the perception of adequate recognition and the level of gifts/lifetime value.

Conclusions

As the reader will by now appreciate there has been a plethora of different studies conducted in the realm of individual giving (albeit in many cases with student samples) in the disciplines of marketing, economics, clinical psychology, social psychology, anthropology and sociology. Academic interest in the marketing discipline has tended to focus on the characteristics of

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givers, distinguishing donors from non-donors and latterly in distinguishing high-value givers from low-value givers. There has also been considerable interest across the whole range of disciplines in the motives for the support of nonprofits and the links (if any) between these and different facets of giving and helping behaviour.

Other facets of giving behaviour have received less attention. There has been little interest, for example, in the use of particular fundraising techniques (with the notable exception of personal solicitations). There therefore remains a need to understand the factors that might drive giving in each key media (e.g. direct mail, direct response television, door to door, face to face, and so on). Many of the studies cited in this review talk of giving in general and fail to offer insight into how their findings might differ by the media employed. It would be particularly instructive to conduct work looking at the profiles of individuals who give through each fundraising medium and the promotional messages that might work best with each of these groups. An examination of demographic, lifestyle and geo-demographic characteristics would be warranted.

Allied to this there is a need for research to explore how new fundraising audiences could be identified and targeted. Some authors, such as Pharoah and Tanner (1997), have posited that the percentage of households electing to support nonprofits (and in particular younger households) may be in decline. Further empirical work is warranted to test both this assertion and identify how nonprofits can tailor their message to become more appealing to a broader percentage of society. Little work has been attempted with non-givers.

It would also be instructive to examine key ‘output’ variables such as lifetime value and donor loyalty. While a handful of studies has been conducted in this realm, there remains a significant opportunity to learn much more about the factors that drive donor loyalty and conversely give rise to attrition. Since many nonprofits now report attrition rates in the year immediately following acquisition of over 50 per cent (Sargeant and Jay 2004) this is becoming a major issue that nonprofits must address. It is interesting to note that academic interest has tended to focus around recruitment issues to date, rather than considering in detail how best to retain and develop individuals over time.

A further significant gap in the extant research pertains to the issue of cross-cultural comparisons. Individuals in the USA, for example, give approximately 2 per cent per annum of their household income to good causes (AAFRC 2005). In the UK it is less than 1 per cent (Walker and Pharoah 2002). Thus any attempt to understand why people give and how individuals might be encouraged to offer higher levels of support to the voluntary sector could be greatly informed through developing an understanding of why national differences in generosity might exist. The implications for public policy would be profound.

There is also a need for research around the issue of fundraising products. These have recently become popular in the UK and have been shown to be an aid to donor loyalty and retention. Fundraising products (e.g. Sponsor a Dog) have also been created with success in the USA, yet academic interest has been scant. While some research has been conducted into issues such as the portrayal of beneficiaries (particularly in the discipline of psychology), only Harvey (1990) has really addressed the components of the fundraising product and no researchers have to date explored issues pertaining to product design, portfolio management or the relationship between donor needs and the pattern of nonprofit responses.

Finally and allied to this there is a need to examine the take-up and perceptions of new or developing forms of giving, such as planned giving, committed or monthly giving and venture philanthropy. All three methods of giving have proved increasingly popular in recent years, yet the broad base of research continues to focus on the solicitation of one-off or cash gifts. This is particularly disappointing in relation to planned and legacy giving, which collectively is

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estimated to account for over 40 per cent of the voluntary income accruing to nonprofits in the USA (AAFRC 2005). Presently very little is understood about the motives for selecting such mechanisms for giving, perceptions of the fundraising communications designed to solicit these gifts and indeed most other dimensions of the model presented in this chapter as they apply to this context.

In the course of conducting this review it has been encouraging to note that there appears to be increasing interest in giving and fundraising on the part of marketing academicians. The emergence and success of two dedicated scholarly nonprofit journals has undoubtedly increased participation in the field but there nevertheless remain a number of highly significant gaps which need to be addressed. The authors consider this to be important not only for the sake of expanding knowledge, but also because unlike organizations in other sectors, nonprofits frequently do not have the resources to undertake detailed research of their own. Thus the view of the authors of this chapter is that the academic community has much to offer this increasingly hungry audience as they seek to inform and develop their professional practice.

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