

Ilia Gugenishvili

**Norms and Behavior:
Effects of Social Information on
Charitable Giving**





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To my parents, Lado and Lela

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Abstract

As a result of social, environmental, and economic crises, demand for public donations has increased drastically, putting charitable organizations in tough competition with each other. In these uncertain times, when every penny counts, researchers and practitioners have identified several antecedents, drivers, and mechanisms of individual donations. Nevertheless, social norms remain one of the most important influencers of individuals' attitudes, intentions, and behaviors. Despite their importance, norms as drivers of charitable intentions and behavior have not been thoroughly studied. This dissertation addresses the gaps in the literature and explores the influence of injunctive (what others approve of) and descriptive (what others do) norms on individuals' charitable intentions and behavior. Across four studies reported in three articles, my coauthors and I address not only *whether* social norms matter but also *how* and *when*.

Surveying 288 respondents, in the first article, we not only identified that descriptive norms influence donation intentions but also determined two mediators: perceived impact and personal involvement. Although intentions often predict behavior, the relationship between the two does not always exist. The second article examines whether aligned (both injunctive and descriptive norms being either supportive or unsupportive of the action) and unaligned (one of the types being supportive and the other unsupportive) social norms moderate the intention-behavior link. An experiment involving 428 participants demonstrated a positive relationship between intentions and behavior. Surprisingly, both aligned (both types of norms being supportive) and unaligned (unsupportive injunctive and supportive descriptive) social norms moderate the intention-behavior relationship. The third article reports on two experiments involving 347 participants. The findings suggest that (a) both supportive and unsupportive norms affect giving intentions, (b) injunctive norms are more powerful than descriptive ones, and (c) unaligned social norms decrease donation intentions by negatively influencing collective efficacy.

The dissertation contributes to the scientific literature by furthering several theories, including *social norms theory*, *social expectation theory*, *focus theory*, *collective action theory*, *theory of planned behavior*, and *attitude-behavior theory*. The findings also have practical implications for content creation and persuasion techniques that charitable organizations can use to increase individual donations.

Abstrakt

Till följd av sociala, miljömässiga och ekonomiska kriser har efterfrågan på offentliga donationer ökat drastiskt, vilket sätter välgörenhetsorganisationerna i hård konkurrens med varandra. I dessa osäkra tider, då varje cent räknas, har forskare och yrkesutövare identifierat flera bakomliggande orsaker, drivkrafter och mekanismer för individuella donationer. Ändå förblir sociala normer en av de viktigaste påverkarna av individers attityder, avsikter och beteenden. Trots deras betydelse har normer som drivkraft för välgörande avsikter och beteenden inte studerats grundligt. Den här avhandlingen behandlar klyftorna i litteraturen och undersöker inverkan av föreskrivna eller injunktiva (vad andra godkänner) och deskriptiva (vad andra gör) normer på individers avsikter och beteende inom välgörenhet. I fyra studier som rapporterats i tre artiklar tar jag och mina medförfattare upp inte enbart huruvida sociala normer spelar en roll, utan också hur och när de gör det.

Genom att undersöka 288 respondenter i den första artikeln fick vi reda på att beskrivande normer påverkar donationsavsikter. Vi identifierade också två medlare: upplevd inverkan och personligt engagemang. Även om avsikter ofta förutsäger beteende, finns det inte alltid en relation mellan dessa två. Den andra artikeln undersöker huruvida förenliga (både föreskrivna och deskriptiva normer är antingen stödjande eller icke-stödjande för handlingen) och oförenliga (en av typerna är stödjande och den andra icke-stödjande) sociala normer modererar beteenden. Ett experiment med 428 deltagare visade ett positivt samband mellan avsikter och beteende. Överraskande nog, både förenliga (båda typer av normer är stödjande) och oförenliga (ostödjande föreskrivna och stödjande deskriptiva) sociala normer modererar intention-beteenderelationen. Den tredje artikeln rapporterar två experiment med 347 deltagare. Resultaten tyder på att (a) både stödjande och icke-stödjande normer påverkar donationsavsikter, (b) föreskrivna normer är kraftigare än de deskriptiva, och (c) oförenliga sociala normer minskar donationsavsikter genom att negativt påverka kollektiv effektivitet.

Avhandlingen bidrar till den vetenskapliga litteraturen genom att främja flera teorier, inklusive teorin om sociala normer, teorin om sociala förväntningar, teorin om fokus, teorin om kollektiv handling, teorin om planerat beteende och teorin om attityd-beteende. Resultaten har också praktiska konsekvenser för innehållsskapande och övertalningstekniker som välgörenhetsorganisationer kan använda för att öka individuella donationer.

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List of publications and contribution of the author

This thesis is based on the following articles:

Article 1

Gugenishvili, I., Francu, R. E., & Koporcic, N. (2021). I give a dime if you do, too! The influence of descriptive norms on perceived impact, personal involvement, and monetary donation intentions. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*.

First author. The author was responsible for choosing the conceptual framework, developing the hypotheses, collecting the data, analyzing the data, and writing the article.

Ruxandra Elena Francu co-analyzed the data, edited the final version of the article, and addressed the reviewers' comments. Nikolina Koporcic edited the final version of the article and addressed the reviewers' comments.

Link to the article- <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/cb.1980>

Article 2

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First author. The author was responsible for choosing the conceptual framework, developing the hypotheses, collecting the data, analyzing the data, and writing the article.

Jonas Colliander supervised the planning of the experiments and edited the final version of the article.

Article 3

Gugenishvili, I. (forthcoming). I was thinking of helping, but then I changed my mind! The influence of injunctive and descriptive norms on monetary donation intention-behavior link. *Journal of Nonprofit and Public Sector Marketing*.

Single author. The author was responsible for choosing the conceptual framework, developing the hypotheses, collecting the data, analyzing the data, and writing the article.

Prologue

In 1927, Tbilisi Zoological Park was founded on the outskirts of Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia. This magical place that no visitor to Georgia wanted to miss included indoor and outdoor zoos, an entrance hub, a boulevard, a playground with carousels, cafes, and a marine aquarium. In the 1930s, forest surrounded the entire park, and the small Vere River ran to its south. As the city grew, the park became part of the central district of Saburtalo, right next to Tbilisi State University, brightly lit designer shops, and overcrowded residential buildings.

June 13 2015, started as a sunny day in Georgia. The zoo and its surrounding park were full of the joyful voices of happy children. No one knew that this was the last day of an almost 90-year-old zoo. Indeed, in just a few hours, many of the zoo's employees, visitors, and ordinary Tbilisians would have the opportunity to become heroes when saving the lives of people and animals fighting to stay afloat in floodwaters—a biblical scene without an ark (The Guardian, 2015).

The sunny weather of June 13 began changing by noon, and it started to rain in the evening. Hours of heavy rainfall released a landslide about 20 km southwest of Tbilisi, which carried one million cubic meters of land, mud, and trees and dammed up the Vere River in two places. In a few hours, the blocked river flooded the Vere valley, zoological park, and surrounding streets, claiming the lives of 21 people and over 400 animals. More than a thousand people lost their homes and/or businesses as almost 250 houses were either fully destroyed or seriously damaged. The flood inflicted over one hundred million Georgian Lari (GEL) in damage to the city's infrastructure, according to the World Bank's assessment (Agenda, 2015).

June 13 was a day of devastating tragedy, which wiped away the iconic zoo and drowned people and animals. At the same time, this day unified the Georgian people and motivated them to show extraordinary courage to help, support, and save others at the risk of their own lives. During the flooding and rescue efforts, several zoo, police, emergency, and army personnel died, and in the following days, hundreds of people volunteered to clean up the flooded area or give shelter to victims. Individuals and companies also collected essential everyday items and, most importantly, donated 26 million GEL for the flood victims (Agenda, 2017; Jam News, 2019; The Guardian, 2015).

Inspired by the incredible heroism following this tragedy, this doctoral dissertation aims to understand what motivates individuals to act prosocially and how to effectively nudge them to donate money.

1 Introduction

Charitable giving, a type of prosocial behavior, mainly includes the donation of money, time, goods, and organs (Brodie et al., 2011). The recipients of charitable donations are mostly unknown as the relationship between the parties is mediated by charitable organizations (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011a). These organizations assist minority, disabled, ill, displaced, abandoned, homeless, or otherwise vulnerable adults and children. They also promote health and education, address animal welfare issues such as cruelty against animals, and support the mitigation of environmental issues. The importance of charitable organizations has been accentuated by recent environmental, health, and refugee-related crises, which have placed millions of people in a position of needing help. To fund their operations, charitable organizations raise money from multiple sources, such as governments and private companies. However, the main source of income remains individuals, who donate as much as 80% of all received income (Giving USA, 2018). In these uncertain times, when every penny counts, it is vital to understand what motivates individuals to make monetary donations and how individual, group, and societal antecedents influence human intentions and, ultimately, behaviors.

Human behavior, including charitable giving, is influenced by numerous forces (Smeets et al., 2015), such as social information – information about others' behavior (Croson et al., 2009). One of the forms of such information is norms, which represent group-based unwritten codes of conduct (Bicchieri & Muldoon, 2011; Shaffer, 1983). According to the theories of *social norms* (Cialdini et al., 1990) and *social expectation* (Bicchieri, 2005), norms communicate what is acceptable to (injunctive norms) or commonly performed by the members of a specific social group (descriptive norms) (Bicchieri & Muldoon, 2011; Cialdini et al., 1990; Young, 2015). Injunctive and descriptive norms have independent influence (Lönnqvist et al., 2009; Nipedal et al., 2010). On the one hand, people submit to injunctive norms to attain social approval, thus building and maintaining relationships; on the other hand, they follow descriptive norms to act effectively (Cialdini et al., 1990).

Individuals learn social norms from their interactions with family members, peers, or others within the social group (Cialdini et al., 1990). Young (2015) calls norms “building blocks of social order” (p. 360) as they spur cooperation, fairness, and welfare maximization (Bicchieri & Muldoon, 2011). Therefore, individuals often

understand that following norms mostly creates a better state of affairs than not doing so (Anderson & Dunning, 2014). Understanding the importance of social norms, researchers in various disciplines, including marketing and communications, have investigated their roots, influence, and functions. However, despite decades of such research, several gaps in the literature remain.

1.1 Research problem

After a careful and extensive literature review, three main gaps in the literature were identified.

First, even though the influence of injunctive norms on charitable giving is relatively well understood (e.g., Clowes & Masser, 2012; Grunert, 2018; McAuliffe et al., 2017; Wong & Chow, 2018), the effect of descriptive norms has received much less attention (Agerström et al., 2016). The research that does exist on the topic is inconclusive. Specifically, some studies report a significant influence of descriptive norms on donation behavior (e.g., McAuliffe et al., 2017; Shang & Croson, 2009), while others find no impact (e.g., Raihani & McAuliffe, 2014; Shang & Croson, 2009).

Second, researchers have mostly studied the influences of injunctive and descriptive norms independently from each other. Thus, the literature remains somewhat ambiguous regarding whether injunctive or descriptive norms are more powerful in directing charitable giving. Even an understanding of the relative power of injunctive and descriptive norms would only partially explain the phenomenon of normative influence. The real world is complex; most of the time, injunctive and descriptive norms exist simultaneously (Raihani & McAuliffe, 2014), and, adding another level of complexity, sometimes they do not align. In other words, while people may approve of a behavior (supportive injunctive norms), they may not always behave accordingly (unsupportive descriptive norms). Literature on the simultaneous effects of injunctive and descriptive norms is limited and inconclusive. According to Smith et al. (2012), for example, unaligned social norms demotivate individuals to behave pro-environmentally. Conversely, Rimal and Real (2003) found a motivating effect of unaligned social norms on alcohol consumption. Moreover, these studies on the simultaneous influence of social norms almost exclusively address environmental and health-related issues (e.g., Rimal & Real, 2003; J. R. Smith et al., 2012; J. R. Smith &

Louis, 2008). Thus, how aligned versus unaligned injunctive and descriptive norms influence donations needs further investigation (J. R. Smith & Louis, 2008).

Third, to understand how various stimuli motivate behavior, researchers have mainly used the *theory of planned behavior* (TPB) (Ajzen, 1985a, 1991). According to the TPB, (1) attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control influence intentions, and (2) intentions inform behavior. Multiple studies report a strong correlation between intentions and behavior (Ajzen et al., 2009; Hassan et al., 2016). However, sometimes intentions are not actualized: “Some (intentions) are abandoned altogether while others are revisited to fit changing circumstances” (Ajzen, 1985b, p. 11). Learning about particular social norms is one example of these “changing circumstances” (Carrington et al., 2010; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2009). Social norms may be supportive/encouraging or unsupportive/discouraging of a particular attitude or behavior. Until now, the studies have mostly focused on intentions rather than behavior (e.g., Rimal & Real, 2003; J. R. Smith et al., 2012) and researchers have not investigated whether charitable intentions lead to actual donations and what is the role of injunctive and descriptive norms in this process.

Understanding the power of social norms is important as they can be effective tools for raising donations. These donations are especially important at present, when, as a result of recent events, millions of people need the help of charitable organizations. Therefore, filling the above-mentioned gaps in the literature is vital to extend theoretical knowledge on social norms and prosocial behavior and to provide practical suggestions to charitable organizations competing for donations.

1.2 Purpose & research questions

The overarching aim of this dissertation is to investigate whether, when, and how do social norms influence charitable giving intentions and behavior. To pursue this objective, I derived three research questions (RQ) from the research problems.

RQ1: Whether, when, and how do descriptive norms influence monetary donation intentions?

In answering RQ1, I seek to understand not only *whether* descriptive norms influence donation intentions but also *when* and *how* they do so. The objectives of article 1, which answers this research question, are to understand whether:

- (1) descriptive norms influence donation intentions;

- (2) the relationship between descriptive norms and donation intentions is mediated by perceived impact and/or personal involvement; and
- (3) the link between descriptive norms and donation intentions is moderated by beneficiary responsibility.

RQ2: When and how does simultaneous exposure to injunctive and descriptive norms influence monetary donation intentions?

Article 2, which answers RQ2, considers the process by which injunctive and descriptive norms affect donation intentions. That is, I aim to study situations in which people ostensibly support a charitable cause but fail to act accordingly. The objectives of the two independent experiments that respond to this question are to understand whether:

- (1) exposure to supportive versus unsupportive norms influences donation intentions;
- (2) injunctive or descriptive norms are more powerful in motivating charitable giving;
- (3) aligned versus unaligned injunctive and descriptive norms influence donation intentions; and
- (4) the relationship between aligned/unaligned norms and donation intentions is mediated by collective efficacy.

RQ3: How does simultaneous exposure to injunctive and descriptive norms influence the monetary donation intention-behavior link?

RQ3 addresses the complex relationship between donation intentions and donation behavior and how this link is moderated by injunctive and descriptive social norms. The objectives of article 3, which addresses RQ3, are to understand whether:

- (1) donation intentions lead to donation behavior;
- (2) the link between donation intentions and behavior is moderated by injunctive and descriptive norms;
- (3) the moderating powers of injunctive and descriptive norms are similar to each other; and
- (4) the influence of social norms is moderated by the personal involvement of the donor with the issue at hand.

1.3 Research approach

In addressing the identified research questions, this dissertation mainly contributes to the field of consumer behavior, which emerged after World War II, when the seller's market shifted toward consumers (Prasad, 1971). Consumer behavior studies consider individuals, groups, and/ or organizations and the processes of purchase, use, and disposal of products and services in the context of individuals, groups, and organizations, as well as the emotional, mental, and behavioral responses preceding or following these processes. The field investigates how emotions, attitudes, preferences, and characteristics of the individual, group, and society affect behavior (Armstrong, 1991).

There are several perspectives on consumer behavior. One general classification of the perspectives is based on the fundamental assumptions that the researchers make (Solomon, 2010) regarding what constitutes reality (ontology), what the form of knowledge is (epistemology), and how knowledge can be obtained (methodology) (Remenyi et al., 1998). Using ontology, epistemology, and methodology as criteria, the two fundamental philosophical paradigms of positivism (sometimes referred to as objectivism or realism) and interpretivism (subjectivism or nominalism) can be derived. These philosophical approaches also differ in terms of their goals. These two paradigms had been evaluated to choose the one fitting the aim and objectives of this dissertation.

Ontology is concerned with the philosophical question "What is reality?" (Burrell & Morgan, 2017). From an ontological perspective, the world, viewed through a positivism paradigm, has a concrete existence that is essentially unchanging and independent of observers' perceptions (Tadajewski, 2004). The interpretivist perspective, however, highlights the subjective meaning of the consumer's individual experience and assumes that any behavior can be interpreted subjectively rather than as having a single explanation (Solomon, 2010). The assumptions that the researcher makes about ontology ultimately affect her or his approaches to science.

Epistemology considers the nature of knowledge and seeks to answer the philosophical question of "How is it possible, if it is, for us to gain knowledge of the world?" (Hughes et al., 2005, p. 5). Positivists search for general laws by assuming that the object of research, regardless of the study domain, can be broken into constituent parts (Tadajewski, 2004). Interpretivists, however, aim to determine a specific phenomenon that is time- and context-bound (Solomon, 2010). Moreover, positivists believe in "causality," while

interpretivists believe in shaping by multiple and simultaneous influences (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991). Finally, positivists consider the researcher to be independent of the research process, while interpretivists see the researcher as a participant and believe that knowledge cannot be objectively obtained (Simonson et al., 2001).

The methodology represents the researcher’s toolkit for investigating the phenomena. Generally speaking, positivists employ a systematic research protocol and believe that controlled experiments lead to the discovery of causal relationships. Therefore, in most cases, researchers following the positivism paradigm employ quantitative methods, formulating hypotheses and seeking to support or reject these hypotheses based on the observed effects (Stubb, 2019). When testing hypotheses, positivists are concerned with internal and external validities, reliability, generalizability, and operationalization (Johnson & Duberley, 2000). In contrast, interpretivists evaluate research processes as continually evolving and believe that studies should be conducted in natural environments rather than controlled experiments. Therefore, they prefer to employ qualitative methods (Tadajewski, 2004). It is important to note, however, that this general categorization of methodologies is not rigid and that positivists and interpretivists occasionally use methodologies not typically employed in their paradigms (Lin, 1998).

The goals of positivism and interpretivism also differ. Positivists aim to reach an explanation by predictions and to produce practically useful knowledge geared toward the requirements of the respective stakeholders. By contrast, interpretivists aim to reach an understanding and they evaluate this understanding process as “never-ending”. This difference in goals is the main reason for making specific methodological choices (Kocyigit, 2021).

The table below summarizes the assumptions of positivism and interpretivism.

Table 1: Assumptions of the positivism and interpretivism paradigms

	<i>Ontology</i>	<i>Epistemology</i>	<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Goals</i>
Positivism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Single and objective reality ▪ Individuals behave reactively 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Generalistic approach ▪ Causality ▪ Independent researcher 	Mostly quantitative	Explanation
Interpretivism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Multiple, subjective, socially constructed realities ▪ Individuals behave actively 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Particularistic approach ▪ Multiple and simultaneous shaping ▪ Participant researcher 	Mostly qualitative	Understanding

Note. Adapted from Kocyigit (2013). Copyright 2021 by erenkocyigit.com.

As mentioned earlier, this dissertation contributes to the field of consumer behavior. The purpose was to explore the causality/ effect relationship between social norms and charitable giving. To do so already-existing theoretical models had been applied. Specifically, I checked whether these models can be supported by the actual facts. Thus, considering the previous literature, aim, and research objectives and questions, I deemed using positivism paradigm a rational choice. Therefore, the theoretical framework of the dissertation is derived mainly from the literature that adopts a positivism. The findings are also interpreted in line with this strand of research.

1.4 Definition of key concepts

The table below defines the key concepts of this dissertation. Other concepts are further elaborated on in the literature review in Chapter 2.

Table 2: Key concepts

<i>Concept</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Social norms	Group-based situation-specific customary rules or unwritten codes of conduct that govern behavior within specific groups of people (Bicchieri & Muldoon, 2011; McDonald & Crandall, 2015a; J. R. Smith et al., 2012). The Social Norms Approach (Perkins, 2003) categorizes social norms into injunctive and descriptive norms.
Injunctive social norms	Norms of behavior accepted by the members of a specific group (Cialdini et al., 1990).
Descriptive social norms	Norms of behavior commonly performed by the members of a specific group (Cialdini et al., 1990).
Prosocial behavior	Wide range of actions that are intentional, voluntary, somewhat costly to the benefactors, and beneficial to the beneficiaries (Espinosa & Kovářik, 2015; Thielmann et al., 2020). Such behavior is not motivated by professional obligations, and actors are not organizations (except charities) (Bierhoff, 2002). Prosocial behavior includes helping, volunteering, donating, and cooperating.
Charitable giving	A subcategory of helping-type of prosocial behavior (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). Charitable giving usually comprises donations of money, time, goods, and body organs or blood (Brodie et al., 2011). In this dissertation, the concepts of <i>charitable giving</i> and <i>donation behavior</i> (or simply <i>donations</i>) are used interchangeably.
Charitable organizations	Non-for-profit organizations that work to help vulnerable people, such as those who are displaced, disabled, poor, or abandoned. These organizations also promote health and education and work to eliminate or mitigate the neglect, cruelty, and abuse of animals, as well as environmental issues (List, 2011).

1.5 Outline of the dissertation

The remainder of the dissertation is organized as follows. After the introduction (Chapter 1), I review the literature on prosocial behavior, social norms, and interactions between charitable donations and social norms (Chapter 2). The methods of the four empirical studies reported in this dissertation are then described (Chapter 3). Next, I introduce and summarize the three articles forming the empirical bases of the dissertation (Chapter 4). Finally, the findings of the articles are discussed, followed by their theoretical and practical implications, their limitations, and suggestions for future research (Chapter 5).

2 Literature review

2.1 Prosocial behavior

2.1.1 Introduction

What motivates people to, at times, sacrifice their own lives to help others and, at other times, to turn blind eye to desperate calls for help? (Bierhoff, 2002). This question has fascinated scholars for centuries as it engages fundamental philosophical questions. Are humans good or bad? Are they selfish, or can their motives be purely altruistic? Are they born kind and inclined to act prosocially, or are they shaped by their environments? If we can better understand the antecedents and reasons for prosocial behavior, we can design interventions to achieve multiple social goals and solve pressing societal issues (Stürmer & Snyder, 2010).

Prosocial behavior refers to a wide range of actions that are intentional, voluntary, somewhat costly to the actors, and beneficial to the recipient (Espinosa & Kovářík, 2015; Thielmann et al., 2020). These behaviors, which include helping, volunteering, donating, and cooperating, are not motivated by professional obligations, and the engaged parties are not organizations (except charities) (Bierhoff, 2002). Humans start exhibiting signs of prosocial behavior as early as infancy by fetching toys for others or pointing out the useful qualities of objects (Warneken & Tomasello, 2009). Prosociality increases as a child grows up and adopts a wider range of prosocial behaviors (Dunfield & Kuhlmeier, 2013; Malti et al., 2016). By the age of two, the child starts showing empathy and sharing resources, such as food, with others (Brownell et al., 2013).

Prosocial behaviors support the functioning of relationships (Thielmann et al., 2020) in dyads (Murray & Holmes, 2009; Rusbult & Van Lange, 2003), groups (Fehr et al., 2002), and societies (Nowak, 2006), ultimately yielding economic benefits and improving the well-being of individuals and society at a large (Martin-Raugh et al., 2016). Such behavior is associated with increased life satisfaction (Wheeler et al., 1998), self-esteem (Newman et al., 1985), quality of interactions (Weinstein & Ryan, 2010), as well as decreased depression (Wilson & Musick, 1999).

The next section further describes the concept of prosocial behavior and provides its classification.

2.1.2 Classification of prosocial behavior

Researchers have defined prosocial behavior in various ways. At the most basic level, it is an action that benefits others (Dovidio et al., 2006). This simple definition implies that prosocial behavior is a social act for which both the benefactor and recipient(s) are present and the recipient receives some kind of benefit (Thielmann et al., 2020). It does not imply that the benefactor knows who the recipient is or that recipient expects aid. Moreover, engaging in prosocial behavior is typically somewhat costly to the benefactor (Thielmann et al., 2020) and is intentional and voluntary (Espinosa & Kovářík, 2015). Therefore, it should not be motivated by professional obligations (Bierhoff, 2002).

Prosocial behaviors encompass a wide range of actions, such as helping, volunteerism, sharing, and collaborating. Proper categorization of these behaviors helps structure the search for their antecedents and underlying processes and mechanisms.

Hay and Cook (2007) categorized prosocial behaviors based on developments of (a) feeling for another, (b) working with another, and (c) ministering to another. Feeling for another includes the possession of other-oriented emotions, such as empathy, friendliness, and affection. Working with another involves the ability to cooperate, provide help, and share. Lastly, ministering to another encompasses the ability to nurture, provide resources, and respond to another's needs. This classification focuses on the interactions between humans but disregards the cognitive ability to identify needs and respond accordingly. As a result, in this classification, prosocial behaviors that significantly differ from each other in terms of cognitive requirements fall in the same category; for example, both helping and sharing are categorized as working with others (Dunfield & Kuhlmeier, 2013).

Employing an economic analogy, Warneken and Tomasello (2009) suggested a system of categorization based on intentions of providing (a) services by helping, (b) goods by sharing, and (c) information by informing. The limitation of this categorization is that behaviors are multiply determined, meaning they are influenced by more than one factor. This makes it practically impossible to differentiate what motivates action. For instance, fetching an object for another person may be motivated by the desire to alleviate negative feelings by helping (Svetlova et al., 2010) or to assist in achieving a goal by sharing (Warneken & Tomasello, 2006).

Finally, Dunfield and Kuhlmeier (2013) suggested that prosocial behaviors encompass the following three steps, in which one must: (1) detect that another person experiences negative cues or states; (2) identify the intervention that might alleviate the person's negative cues or states; and (3) engage in an identified intervention to mitigate the negative cues or states. These negative cues or states fall into the following three categories: (a) instrumental need, defined as being unable to attain a particular goal; (b) emotional distress, defined as experiencing unpleasant emotions; and (c) material desire, defined as being unable to possess the desired resource (Dunfield et al., 2011; Dunfield & Kuhlmeier, 2013). Dunfield et al. (2011) found that observing these negative cues motivates infants to respond prosocially. Specifically, participants who observed an instrumental need or a material desire were more likely to help and share than those in a control group where the negative cues were absent. In another study, Dunfield and Kuhlmeier (2013) demonstrated that children can detect negative cues, distinguish between instrumental need, emotional distress, and material desire, and respond accordingly. However, they concluded that the ability and willingness to respond to one type of cue does not necessarily transfer to another. Based on the negative cues that prompted specific prosocial behaviors, Dunfield and Kuhlmeier (2013) categorized the emerging behaviors as helping, comforting, and sharing. Specifically, they suggested that helping occurs in response to instrumental need, comforting in response to emotional distress, and sharing in response to material desire.

Having established what prosocial behavior is and how it can be classified, this chapter now turns to the motives of such behavior.

2.1.3 Theories of prosocial behavior

Long-lasting philosophical debates about prosocial behavior have resulted in three general paradigms, which trace the roots of prosocial behavior to genes, egoism, or altruism.

2.1.3.1 Evolutionary socio-biological factors

Evolutionary psychology explains social behaviors as based on genetic factors (Aronson et al., 2005) and suggests that such behaviors increase the individual's chance of survival and of passing down his or her genetic material to future

generations (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). Scholars have identified the three following processes related to the tendency of humans to exhibit prosocial behavior toward others: kin selection, reciprocal altruism, and learning social norms (Aronson et al., 2005; Bierhoff, 2002; Schroeder & Graziano, 2015).

First, the *theory of kin selection* suggests that humans ensure the transmission of their genes to future generations by direct and indirect fitnesses. Direct fitness refers to an individual's own reproductive success and thus self-protection to ensure the survival and transmission of his or her own genes. Indirect fitness refers to the reproductive success of blood relatives and thus the protection of relatives to allow at least a fraction of one's genes to survive and be transmitted. This process explains why humans help blood relatives with whom they share genetic material, such as siblings or nieces and nephews (Bierhoff, 2002; Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). Burnstein et al. (1994) provided empirical evidence supporting the *theory of kin selection* and suggested that people are more willing to exhibit prosocial behavior toward a sibling (genetic relatedness of .5) than a niece or a nephew (.25), who in turn receives more prosocial treatment than a cousin (.125) or acquaintance (.00).

Trivers (1971) introduced the *theory of reciprocal altruism*, which explains why humans exhibit prosocial behavior to non-kin, such as biologically unrelated friends (Bierhoff, 2002). The theory refers to the giving-and-receiving cycle and suggests that humans act prosocially because they are motivated by the expectation of receiving the favor in return. That is, humans come together to share resources and protect each other from predators by watching each other's back (Bierhoff, 2002; Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). Hill (2002) illustrated reciprocal altruism with an example of the behavior in the Ache tribe, whose members inhabit the remote mountains of Paraguay and spend approximately 10% of their time helping non-kin others, often at a personal cost. The food-sharing practice in the tribe is based on a person's needs and experiences of past interactions rather than genetic relatedness (Simpson & Beckes, 2010).

Finally, the *learning social norms* approach offered by Herbert Simon (1990) argues that humans learn social norms from the members of society as an adaptive practice. According to Cialdini and Trost (1998), social norms are rules and standards that are understood by members of a group, and that group and/or constrain social behavior without the force of laws. These norms emerge out of interaction with others; they may or may not be stated explicitly, and any sanctions for deviating from them come

from social networks, not the legal system. Many of these norms are premised on survival values, such as which foods are poisonous and how to cooperate. Those who learn to follow them are more likely to survive, which has led to learning social norms becoming part of a human's genetic makeup (Aronson et al., 2005).

The evolutionary approach to prosocial behavior has several flaws. For instance, evolutionary factors cannot explain why people help strangers with whom they do not share genetic material and from whom they do not expect future correspondence to receive a favor in return. Moreover, because individuals are more likely to save a family member than a stranger from a burning building, this does not mean their actions are necessarily motivated by the desire to transmit a fraction of their own genes. The reason may simply be love for the person they know (Aronson et al., 2005).

From the biological perspective, nervous systems are also partly responsible for prosocial behavior exhibited by humans. The biological roots of prosocial behavior are somewhat aligned with the evolutionary approach as neuroscience recognizes that nervous systems are largely influenced by evolutionary forces. Two separate systems that support prosocial behavior are the *mirror neuron system* (MNS) and the *theory of mind* (ToM) (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015).

According to the MNS, humans are actively engaged in observing and mirroring others' emotions and behaviors. This process involves the brain regions of the premotor cortex in the frontal lobes and anterior intraparietal sulcus and inferior parietal lobes (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015), which observe goal-directed actions, including emotional expressions (Flournoy et al., 2016). Pfeifer et al. (2008) tested MNS's association with empathy by having 16 children observe various emotions while undergoing an MRI scan. Researchers found a significant correlation between self-reported empathy and MNS activity, which supported the hypothesis that internal mirroring allows individuals to feel what others feel. Experiencing events and feelings as others do helps individuals gain perspective, ultimately motivating them to behave prosocially.

The ToM also relates to gaining perspective and suggests that having insights into others' mental states allows behavior to be predicted. The attribution of mental states facilitates social coordination, empathy, and prosocial behavior (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015), which can be observed even in childhood, when children start helping others (Warneken & Tomasello, 2006, 2007). As the child grows, the diversity of prosocial behavior gradually increases to incorporate sharing, comforting,

cooperating, and so forth (Dunfield & Kuhlmeier, 2013; Paal & Bereczkei, 2007). Individuals differ in terms of their ToM abilities. Several studies have assigned these differences to genetic factors (Hughes et al., 2005; Knafo et al., 2011; Knafo & Plomin, 2006), while some have suggested that ToM ability can be further developed by continuous engagement in prosocial behaviors (Astington, 2003; Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998).

The fact that evolutionary psychology and biological factors largely focus on genetic determinants of behavior does not exclude the moderating power of the immediate situation and environment. In fact, individuals' actions are largely determined by a complex interplay between genetic make-up, traits, social learning, and contextual circumstances (Bierhoff, 2002; Buss, 2004).

2.1.3.2 Egoism and social exchange

Social exchange theorists oppose the argument that prosocial behavior has evolutionary or genetic roots. At the same time, they agree that such behavior is often motivated by self-interest. According to the social exchange paradigm, humans engage in a series of sequential transactions to exchange resources (Aronson et al., 2005; Cropanzano et al., 2017). In these transactions, actors behave based on the desire to maximize rewards while minimizing costs, and they implicitly keep track of what they give and receive in social relationships (Aronson et al., 2005). Adopting *social exchange theory*, Li (2015) demonstrated that reciprocity, rather than altruism, increased members' willingness to share information in a virtual community.

Social exchange theories relate to egoistic motivation, which suggests that in any actions humans try to secure self-benefit or avoid punishment, making the benefits of the recipient secondary concerns. Self-benefit can come in various forms (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015), such as material, social or personal benefits or simply the avoidance of material, social or personal punishment (Ho, 2011). Thus, prosocial behavior is an instrument for the benefactor to attain desired outcomes (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015).

Reciprocal altruism claims that one benefit benefactors can obtain by acting prosocially is receiving help for help ("I will watch your back if you watch mine"), which makes helping someone an investment in the future (Aronson et al., 2005). Prosocial behavior can enhance positive self-reinforcement or mitigate negative ones. Positive self-reinforcement refers to the receipt of a prize, praise, or good feelings. For

instance, helping one's own child successfully accomplish a task can give the parent reason for pride. The idea of positive self-reinforcement forms the basis of the *warm-glow theory* proposed by Andreoni (1990), who observed that when helping others, people gain a "warm glow" in the form of joy and self-satisfaction. Andreoni (1990) also suggested that people are motivated to act prosocially when placed under social pressure or presented with an opportunity to gain prestige or respect. Applying the theory, Ferguson et al. (2012) conducted four experiments to determine the motivations of blood donors. They found that while "warm glow" motivated blood donations, there was no evidence for the motivating power of reciprocity or empathy. Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) also mention gaining reputation and benefits among the mechanisms of prosocial behavior.

Negative reinforcement includes the avoidance of punishments and the elimination of bad feelings or distress of a bystander (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). People are disturbed when exposed to negative cues, such as someone's suffering. Upon recognizing the victim's distress, an observer may experience unpleasant feelings and seek ways to reduce these negative arousals (Cialdini, 1991), meaning that, at least partially, people help to relieve their own distress (Aronson et al., 2005). For instance, assisting a suffering friend can help a person avoid or mitigate feelings of guilt. Following the same logic, Cialdini et al. (1987) proposed the *negative state relief model*, which suggests that people mainly behave prosocially when they are in a bad mood. Such behavior allows them to mitigate their negative emotions or replace them with positive ones. This model implies that for prosocial behavior to occur, people need to be aware of the positive effect their behavior will have. Whether the action will provide positive or negative self-reinforcement is learned from the individual's past experiences of engaging in this behavior. Receiving the benefits of self-reinforcement once increases the likelihood that the person will repeatedly engage in prosocial behavior in the future (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015).

The second element of *social exchange theory* is cost. Because humans wish to minimize costs, helping decreases when the costs outweigh the benefits. Therefore, people refrain from helping if doing so costs "too much" to them. These costs may involve placing oneself or one's belonging in physical danger, imposing pain or embarrassment, or simply needing too much time to be able to help. In fact, according to this theory, true altruism, which focuses on increasing the recipient's welfare at the benefactor's cost, does not exist (Aronson et al., 2005; Schroeder & Graziano, 2015).

A negative correlation between costs and helping is demonstrated by Böhm et al. (2018), who aimed to identify the factors influencing the (un)willingness of host country citizens to help refugees. Throughout three controlled experiments, they demonstrated that citizens are less likely to help when doing so imposes high individual costs on citizens.

In conclusion, social exchange theories continually return to the notion of egoism and suggest that the motive of any prosocial behavior is to gain self-benefit or increase personal welfare. These benefits can be material, social, or personal in the form of a favor in return, positive or negative self-enforcement, or the avoidance of punishment. Critics of this paradigm argue that sometimes behaviors are motivated by both egoistic and altruistic motives, making it difficult to understand why people behave prosocially (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). Opponents of social exchange theories state that not all actions are motivated by the desire to gain personal benefits. They ask, for instance, why people consciously give up their lives to help others, as did the heroes of the Tbilisi flooding. The theory I introduce in the following section aims to shed light on this question.

2.1.3.3 Altruism and empathy

The opposite of egoism is altruism, for which the ultimate goal is to help the recipient rather than the self, even if doing so demands sacrifices from the benefactor. Eisenberg et al. (2006) defined altruism as an “intrinsically motivated voluntary behavior intended to benefit others” (p. 647), encouraged by concerns for others rather than self-benefits, such as attaining rewards or avoiding punishment.

Batson et al. (1991) proposed the empathy-altruism hypothesis that suggests that “empathic concern produces altruistic motivation” (Batson, 2011, p. 11). In other words, when feeling empathetic toward the recipient, people may behave based on purely altruistic motives (Aronson et al., 2005). Empathy or empathic concern is “other-oriented emotion elicited by and congruent with the perceived welfare of someone in need” (Batson, 2011, p. 11). Batson (2011) clarifies four points regarding this statement. First, “congruent” in his definition does not refer to the specific content of the emotion but to the valence, which is positive when the perceived welfare of someone in need is positive and negative when it is negative. Second, not all empathic emotions produce altruistic motivation; only empathic concern does. Third, rather than being a single emotion, empathy includes a whole spectrum of negative

feelings, such as compassion, sorrow, sadness, and distress. Finally, while people may experience negative feelings for the self or others, empathic concern refers to the latter (Batson, 2011). According to the empathy-altruism hypothesis, when feeling empathetic, people help others regardless of whether they can gain something in return and thus act with altruistic motives. However, when not feeling empathetic, social exchange processes take over, and people start thinking about what they can gain in return (Aronson et al., 2005). Benefactors' empathic concerns strengthen as recipients' need for help increases and to the degree that benefactors value the recipients' welfare (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) also point to altruism when describing mechanisms of charitable giving.

Costs are essential elements of altruistic motives, just as they are of egoistic ones. Acting altruistically, benefactors consider the costs of their actions and are usually willing to accept moderate costs of helping. At the same time, because altruism is “a fragile flower, easily crushed by self-concern” (Batson et al., 1983, p. 718), high costs can prompt the benefactor to reconsider the planned behavior and decide not to help at all (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). Cost-benefit evaluations represent one mechanism of prosocial behavior derived by Bekkers and Wiepking (2011), who suggested that costs may not necessarily be objective. They can also be benefactors' subjective perceptions (Wiepking & Maas, 2009).

The empathy-altruism hypothesis has received its share of criticism (e.g., Cialdini et al., 1997; Dovidio et al., 1991), which has primarily focused on the notion that altruism and egoism can motivate behavior simultaneously. Researchers have claimed that from any prosocial behavior, the benefactor gains internal rewards, which makes the behavior egoistic. They suggest that understanding whether the behavior is altruistically or egoistically motivated is difficult as these behaviors may look the same (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). Critics of the empathy-altruism paradigm have incorporated egoism into altruistic explanations of prosocial behavior and suggested the four following categories: empathy-specific punishment, empathy-specific reward, sadness relief, and self-other merging (Batson, 2011). Proponents of empathy-specific punishment have suggested that people engage in prosocial behavior because they fear that (a) others will judge them for not doing so or that (b) they will experience negative emotions if not acting prosocially. The empathy-specific reward category posits that personal rewards are the main motive behind the actions of empathically concerned benefactors. The sadness relief explanation is based on the

negative state relief model by Cialdini et al. (1987), discussed above, and posits that empathically concerned benefactors are motivated to relieve their own distress caused by observing another person in distress. The last category of the self-other merging hypothesis suggests shared personal drives for seemingly empathetic behavior. According to this hypothesis, empathy leads to merging or confusing one's own identity with the recipient(s), meaning that helping others is, *ipso facto*, helping the self (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015).

Several researchers have provided empirical support for each of the above-mentioned alternatives to the empathy-altruism motive. In response, Batson conducted numerous studies to contradict these alternative explanations (e.g., Batson, 1998; Batson et al., 1983, 1997). At the same time, Batson (2011) acknowledges the possible co-presence of altruistic and egoistic motives and suggests that in such cases, the primary motives for prosocial behavior should be identified. Disentangling empathic concerns from egoistic ones is difficult and requires examining the act within a broader context and determining whether the benefactor accepted some costs or engaged in behavior that would not directly result in some personal gains. Only in this case may the idea of pure altruism be entertained (Maner & Gailliot, 2007; Schroeder & Graziano, 2015).

2.1.4 Charitable giving

Charitable giving has been studied in various disciplines, including marketing, communications, psychology, economics, biology, and political science (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011a). Schroeder and Graziano (2015) classified charitable giving as helping, which is a broad category of actions that includes behaviors ranging from handing a pencil to giving an organ (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). Pearce and Amato (1980) outlined the three following classification components for helping: (a) formality, (b) seriousness, and (c) involvement. First, help can be planned and formal, spontaneous and informal, or anything in between. For instance, donating to a charitable organization is usually planned and formal as it is done after careful consideration. Contrarily, saving a neighbor from a burning apartment is a spontaneous action. Second, situations where helping occurs differ in terms of their seriousness. Factors leading to loaning a pen to a friend may differ significantly from those leading to donating an organ. The third dimension is the level of involvement.

For example, donating 15 euros to a charitable organization requires far less investment than entering a burning bus to save someone. Building on the work of Pearce and Amato (1980), McGuire (1994) grouped helping into four categories: (a) casual (e.g., small favors), (b) substantial (e.g., tangible benefits), (c) emotional (e.g., support), and (d) emergency (e.g., aid given in dangerous situations).

Charitable giving is one manifestation of helping. It includes contributions of money, time, goods, blood, or organs, buying products from charitable organizations, and supporting or protesting on behalf of charitable causes in other ways (Brodie et al., 2011). According to Bekkers and Wiepking (2011), unlike in other forms of helping, the recipient in charitable giving is often unknown to the benefactor or absent from the context because the relationship between the helper and the help recipient is mediated by charitable organizations. Thus, in the process of charity, the following three parties are present: a benefactor or a donor, who provides help; a beneficiary or recipient, who receives help; and a charitable organization that mediates the interaction between the benefactor and recipient(s).

Charitable organizations work to provide relief to displaced, minority, poor, and disabled populations, as well as abandoned adults and children. Actions of these organizations include promoting health and education, eliminating human and animal neglect, cruelty, and abuse, and easing environmental issues. Charitable donations arise from the following four central sources: individuals, bequests, corporations, and charitable foundations (List, 2011). As 80% of all giving comes from private donors (Giving USA, 2018), individual donations represent the major source of income for charitable organizations.

Given their importance, researchers and practitioners alike have tried to determine what drives individual donations. Identified drivers include demographics (age, gender, religious beliefs, and culture) (e.g., Wunderink, 2002), situations (cause severity, media coverage, and solicitation technique) (e.g., Zagefka et al., 2011), and psychological characteristics (empathy and compassion) (e.g., Abreu et al., 2013). However, one of the most important drivers is social influence, which represents the focus of this dissertation.

2.2 Social norms

2.2.1 Introduction

Living among humans is a difficult task, but most people manage by submitting to the rules that they learn from their families, peers, or society in general. People know that they can scream at a rock concert but should remain silent at an opera. They know that one does not signal disagreement by punching another in the face. They know that it is graceful to hold the door for the person behind but tacky to ask for money in return. From birth to death, human life is regulated by rules, standards, and expectations that govern social interactions. Considering these rules of behavior, known as social norms (Anderson & Dunning, 2014), researchers over the last few decades have asked: How do group members share information on social norms? What factors increase the impact of norms? When do individuals decide to ignore social norms and behave according to their own judgment? (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005).

Social norms are born from social interactions (Bicchieri & Muldoon, 2011) and represent unwritten codes. The theories of social norms (Cialdini et al., 1990) and social expectation (Bicchieri, 2005) suggest that norms communicate what is and is not acceptable for or commonly performed by group members and, thus, govern behavior within societies (Bicchieri & Muldoon, 2011; Young, 2015). Generally, researchers believe that submission to social norms is triggered when a person acknowledges that others behave according to norms. However, this is not always the case, as multiple examples exist in which individuals disregard norms and behave differently, regardless of group pressure. These delineations from what is accepted and commonly performed make the study of norms especially fruitful (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005).

Social norms are usually unofficial, but their influence is important in preventing human interactions from becoming nasty, violent, or brutish (Anderson & Dunning, 2014). Norms also represent the building blocks of social order (Young, 2015) as they spark cooperation, retribution, fairness, and welfare maximization (Bicchieri & Muldoon, 2011). Therefore, humans understand that following norms mostly creates a better state of affairs than not doing so, thus promising harmonious living within a specific social context (Anderson & Dunning, 2014).

Understanding the power of social norms, many social science researchers have studied them (Bicchieri & Muldoon, 2011), focusing on different functions of norms depending on the researchers' disciplines. Anthropologists, for example, have investigated how social norms function in different societies (Geertz, 1973). Sociologists and legal scholars have focused on the social function of norms and how they motivate people to act (Hechter & Opp, 2001; Posner, 2009). Economists, in turn, have explored how adherence to norms influences market behavior (Young, 1998).

2.2.2 Classification of social norms

Disagreeing on the true essence of norms, scholars use various terms, such as custom, role, identity, and culture, to refer to concepts sharing certain characteristics of norms. The concept of norms is also used differently depending on the research focus. Sometimes researchers use norms as an umbrella term for formal or informal control mechanisms, whereas at other times, they use the term more narrowly (Hechter & Opp, 2001).

To better understand social norms, we first need to distinguish between norms that exist at the group, community, or cultural level (collective norms) and at the individual level (perceived norms). At the collective level, norms work as a so-called grammar of social interactions or code of conduct and prescribe or proscribe certain types of behaviors that group members should or should not enact. Collective norms, which are socially constructed, emerge and are transmitted through interactions among members of the group (Bicchieri, 2005). Perceived norms are individuals' interpretations or understanding of collective norms. They exist at the individuals' psychological level. These interpretations of collective norms are not always correct (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005) and may result in pluralistic ignorance, defined as a mismatch between collective and perceived norms (O'Gorman, 1988). This inconsistency is caused by the informal codification and implicit formulation of collective norms (Cruz et al., 2000).

Because collective norms are informal and implicit, their measurement is challenging and requires a collective-level approach, such as analyzing the media environment or characteristics of social networks. Simply asking individuals about perceived norms and aggregating their responses does not always provide a correct representation of the prevailing collective norms. Rather, collecting the data from individuals may yield opinions on perceived rather than collective norms, which may

or may not be consistent with each other. Following the same line of argumentation, using collective norms to make conclusions about perceived norms could lead to ecological fallacy. Thus, perceived norms should be measured on an individual level (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005).

In addition to collective versus perceived norms, it is necessary to differentiate between injunctive and descriptive social norms, which according to the *focus theory* (Cialdini et al., 1990), represent the two distinct sources of social information (Shaffer, 1983). The terms *injunctive* and *descriptive* social norms were proposed by Cialdini et al. (1990) to refer to these two types of information. Injunctive norms communicate what the members of society approve and thus refer to individuals' beliefs regarding how they should behave. By contrast, descriptive norms refer to the popularity of specific attitudes and behaviors among the members of a specific group or society (Cialdini et al., 1990). Based on this categorization, the primary difference between injunctive and descriptive norms is that descriptive norms do not involve expectations of social sanctions for non-compliance (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005).

Both injunctive and descriptive norms can exist at collective and individual levels. At the collective level, information on injunctive norms can be collected by investigating policies enforced by specific groups to prescribe or proscribe behaviors. Similarly, descriptive norms can be studied by examining media depictions of trends on a particular issue. At the individual level, injunctive norms and descriptive norms can be studied by looking at the perceived pressure to conform to social norms and perceptions of the prevalence of the behavior, respectively (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005).

Some researchers also use the concept of subjective norms. As originally conceptualized in the *theory of reasoned action* (TRA) (Ajzen, 1980) and TPB (Ajzen, 1988), subjective norms relate to injunctive norms. Specifically, these norms overlook descriptive norms, referring to an individual's motivations to submit to the beliefs of important others (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). Later on, though, Ajzen and Fishbein (2005) acknowledged the importance of descriptive norms and suggested using both injunctive and descriptive as normative measures (Manning, 2009).

Having established what social norms are and how they can be classified, this chapter next presents the mechanisms of their influence.

2.2.3 Motives to submit to social norms

Broadly speaking, individuals want to achieve three goals when they submit to social norms. These goals concern building and maintaining social relationships, acting effectively, and managing self-concept (Cialdini & Trost, 1998).

2.2.3.1 The goal of building and maintaining relationships

The goals of building and maintaining relationships motivate individuals to fit in. Wearing the football jersey of the club one supports is a good example of this motive. In 1967, Jones and Gerard proposed the concept of effect dependence, which builds on the argument of Festinger (1954), who stated that people compare their own beliefs to social reality and use the information derived from this comparison to guide their own behavior (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). According to Jones and Gerard (1967), individuals are motivated to behave according to social norms as they depend on others to meet their needs and so are concerned about others' evaluation of their behaviors. Thus, by submitting to social norms, they hope to gain social approval and avoid punishment (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). For instance, if queuing is the social norm, individuals will comply with it even though jumping the queue might better serve their interests and seem appealing at times.

Effect dependency is especially profound when social norms are injunctive by nature. These norms suggest what people should be doing and impose external influence in the form of "perceived social pressure to perform or not perform a behavior" (Ajzen, 1991, p. 188). In other words, these norms are accompanied by the acceptance, approval, or disapproval of others (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). Depending on whether individuals submit to the norms or not, they can be sanctioned or receive social rewards (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). Therefore, injunctive norms are well suited for the interpersonal goal of building and maintaining relationships (Jacobson et al., 2011).

Jacobson et al. (2011) tested whether individuals associated injunctive information with the goal of social approval. They hypothesized that semantic associations between injunctive norms and goal-related concepts would reflect the consideration of the social approval goal. To test their hypothesis, they designed a lexical task that subliminally primed norm-related constructs and assessed the associations participants established between the injunctive norm and social approval goal. They

found that priming with words related to injunctive norms that referred to social obligation, such as *ought* and *responsibility*, increased the accessibility of words related to social approval goals, such as *approval*, *others*, and *team*.

Because the social approval of others is a motive for submitting to injunctive norms, the source of injunctive norms is of utmost importance. For individuals to submit to injunctive norms, they should feel obligated to the source of these norms. Therefore, a similar source of in-group referents can better motivate norm-biding behavior than a dissimilar source of out-group referents (Jacobson et al., 2011). For example, by taking the Reference Group Perspective, Phua (2013) investigated the influence of friends, colleagues, and family members on smoking and found that these groups of referents differently influenced smoking as the participants identified with the group members to various degrees. Moreover, depending on behavior and immediate context, the influences from various referents within the in-group also differ. For instance, while friends and parents can both be categorized as in-group, Lac and Donaldson (2018) found that friends' injunctive norms were more predictive of alcohol attitudes and use among college students than those of parents. LaBrie et al. (2010) similarly found that friends' approval of marijuana use directly influenced students' consumption of marijuana, whereas parents' approval was fully mediated by the students' own approval.

Finally, according to Lapinski and Rimal (2005), injunctive norms might have a lower effect on individuals' behavior if this behavior is conducted privately. Haun and Tomasello (2011), for example, studied preschool children's conformity to peer pressure and found that even though children did not change their "real" judgment of the situation, they modified their behavior to avoid the judgment of their peers. The researchers concluded that individuals are sensitive to peer pressure and social referencing even at the preschool age.

2.2.3.2 The goal of effective action

The goal of effective action refers to the motivation to make accurate decisions that ensure effective interaction with the environment in a specific context and situation (Cialdini et al., 1990). According to White (1959), interest in accurately perceiving and managing the environment is an adaptive strategy that humans use from infancy. One source of information on effective, appropriate, or adaptive behavior in a specific context is descriptive norms (Smith et al., 2012). Individuals observe what others do

to learn what is the “right” course of action. Jones and Gerard (1967) call this information dependence (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). For example, if the norm is to drive on the right side of the road, people comply with the norm to avoid car accidents.

In their experiment, discussed in the previous section, Jacobson et al. (2011) also demonstrated a positive correlation between descriptive norms and the goal of effective action. Using the lexical task, the researchers found that priming words related to descriptive norms that referred to common and prevalent actions, such as *typical* and *widespread*, increased the accessibility of words related to effective action goals, such as *accurate*, *beneficial*, and *effective*.

Descriptive norms are especially powerful in directing behavior in ambiguous, novel, or uncertain situations, where effective behavior is unclear. In such situations, individuals are more inclined to seek information on effective behavior by observing others; the greater the number of people behaving in a particular manner, the more correct individuals consider this behavior to be (Cialdini et al., 1990). Hertz and Wiese (2016) investigated conformity to social information in ambiguous versus unambiguous situations. They observed some level of conformity with the participant’s social interaction partner, regardless of whether this partner was a human, computer, or robot. The conformity was also significantly higher when performing the ambiguous task than the unambiguous one.

Moreover, some studies have suggested that as in the case of injunctive norms, the source of descriptive norms makes a significant difference to whether individuals submit to those norms or not. For instance, Spink et al. (2013) examined how friends’ descriptive norms influenced adolescents’ efforts in sports. The results suggested that norm-abiding behavior significantly correlated with the personal similarities that the participants shared with the groups. Similarly, Collins and Spelman (2013) found that descriptive norms positively correlated with college students’ alcohol consumption when the reference groups were closer to the students (e.g., close friends or other people whose opinions students valued). Contrarily, even though Meisel and Goodie (2014) identified an influence of descriptive norms, their results suggest no difference in terms of the source of these norms; descriptive norms of close (e.g., friends and family members) and distant-proximity referents (e.g., other students) similarly influenced college students’ behaviors.

Finally, similar to injunctive norms, descriptive norms are more powerful in enhancing norm-abiding behavior when this behavior is public rather than private

(Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). In other words, individuals may observe others to learn what the prevailing behavior is but then ignore this information when their actions will not become public. For instance, individuals may see that others sort their waste but choose not to themselves as long as others will not learn about their behavior (Ewing, 2001).

2.2.3.3 The goal of managing self-concept

The third mechanism of social influence is internalization, which is an outcome of socialization (Etzioni, 2000) and refers to the process by which people develop a psychological need to follow shared norms. After an individual internalizes social norms, these norms shape her or his needs and preferences and, therefore, serve as crucial criteria for selecting among action alternatives. As a result, the individual perceives the norm-abiding behavior to be good and appropriate; conversely, deviation from the normative prescriptions causes negative feelings, such as guilt or shame. By voluntarily submitting to social norms, individuals “enhance or preserve one’s sense of self-worth and avoid self-concept distress” (Schwartz, 1977, p. 226). In other words, as a result of internalization, people come to appreciate the norm for its own sake and follow it voluntarily (Bicchieri & Muldoon, 2011; Hechter & Opp, 2001). Because internalized social norms can be seen as part of the internal self, scholars often use the term *personal norms* to refer to them.

Some researchers have stressed the importance of external sanctions (Hechter & Opp, 2001) and suggested that internalization never occurs to the extent that an external sanctioning system is no longer needed (Scott, 1971). This theorization is incompatible with the *theory of internalization*, as well as experimental evidence, which suggests that after internalization, external sanctions are no longer necessary to encourage conformity and motivate norm-abiding behavior (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). Empirical studies have demonstrated that after people internalize the norm of avoiding littering, they will self-reinforce the norm and avoid littering even in situations where no one can see them (Bicchieri & Muldoon, 2011). Similarly, Bicchieri (2005) found that individuals playing ultimatum games make fairness considerations even when their behaviors are anonymous.

The downside of norm internalization is that it causes people’s preferences and social expectations to become consistent with each other. As a result, individual actors, as the unit of analysis, disappear (Bicchieri & Muldoon, 2011). Haslam et al. (1999)

investigated the phenomenon by manipulating Australian participants with social or personal identities. They found that manipulating individuals with social identity affected self-categorization, leading to increased stereotype consensus and favorableness.

2.2.4 Interplay between injunctive and descriptive norms

Injunctive and descriptive norms differ significantly from each other and influence behaviors through different processes (Cestac et al., 2014). Jones and Gerard (1967) have proposed the terms effect and information dependence to describe what drives submission to social norms. On the one hand, injunctive norms suggest what kind of behavior is approved by the majority of the members within a social group and impose external pressure on an individual to submit to this information (effect dependency). On the other hand, descriptive norms give information on what is commonly performed by most others, thus suggesting the “right” behavior (information dependency).

According to the *focus theory* (Cialdini et al., 1990), injunctive and descriptive norms influence behavior to the extent of their salience. The degree of their salience depends on factors that are situational, such as message framing, and dispositional, such as personal resistance to specific norms. The challenge is that most of the time, both types of social norms are present and influence behavior simultaneously. As an example of aligned or congruent social norms, people might say that they disapprove of littering (unsupportive injunctive norms), and an observation of public areas indicates that most people do not litter (unsupportive descriptive norms) (Jacobson et al., 2011; Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). How aligned social norms influence attitudes and behavior is relatively easy to hypothesize as aligned injunctive and descriptive norms guide behavior in the same direction. However, often injunctive and descriptive norms do not align or are incongruent. For example, people might disapprove of drinking (unsupportive injunctive norms), but observation of their behavior reveals that most people consume alcohol (supportive descriptive norms). How unaligned social norms influence attitudes and behavior remains relatively unexplored (Keizer et al., 2008; J. R. Smith et al., 2012).

Earlier researchers studying the simultaneous influence of injunctive and descriptive norms have argued that when both norms are present, usually one set

influences attitudes and behavior. Most researchers deem injunctive norms to be more powerful in directing behavior than descriptive ones (e.g., Cialdini et al., 1990; Reno et al., 1993). Their proposition is based on the argument that injunctive norms can motivate behavior across a range of contexts, while descriptive norms only motivate in the immediate context in which others' behavior occurs (J. R. Smith et al., 2012).

Other researchers studying the interaction of injunctive and descriptive norms have argued that unaligned social norms can demotivate or motivate certain behaviors. However, scholars have also pointed out that unaligned norms can cause doubts about behavioral utility and/or signal to individuals that it is acceptable to say something (injunctive norms) and behave differently (descriptive norms), prompting them to ignore social norms entirely (Olson, 2009). For example, in their experiments, Smith et al. (2012) manipulated group-level social norms and measured participants' intentions to behave pro-environmentally. According to their findings, unaligned norms deterred people from behaving pro-environmentally. Moreover, norm alignment determined intentions even when attitudes, behavioral control, and interpersonal-level norms were controlled. However, in another study in which they manipulated students' injunctive and descriptive norms on different issues, Smith & Louis (2008) obtained conflicting results, finding a motivating power in unaligned norms in the first study but a demotivating influence in the second one. A possible explanation for these inconclusive results may be that the issue was more important for students (therefore, they held stronger attitudes) in the first study than in the second study.

Unaligned norms may also motivate some types of behaviors as they highlight to individuals the criticality of their personal actions (McDonald et al., 2014) by stressing what they as a group are doing and should be doing (Cestac et al., 2014; Smith et al., 2012). People may also use unaligned norms as an excuse to engage in undesirable or risky behaviors. For example, Rimal and Real (2003) found that unaligned norms increased students' alcohol consumption. According to their findings, students who perceived social disapproval of drinking but frequent consumption of alcohol by their peers were more likely to consume alcohol than those whose perceptions of injunctive and descriptive norms aligned with each other. Rimal and Real (2003) suggested that by engaging in undesirable behavior in the presence of unaligned social norms, the students possibly expressed rebellion. Studying students' speeding intentions in the presence of the aligned and unaligned social norms of their parents and friends, Cestac

et al. (2014) found the additive influence of injunctive and descriptive norms. However, the respondents who received conflicting information on speeding norms (referent groups speeded even though they disapproved of such behavior) exhibited higher speeding intentions. This motivating effect of unaligned social norms on risk behavior was strongest when the source of the norms was the mother.

In summary, the limited research that exists on the simultaneous effect of injunctive and descriptive norms indicates the power of either set of norms or observes that unaligned norms motivate or demotivate environmental or risk behaviors. In addition to the literature being inconclusive, no study has been conducted on charitable behavior.

2.3 Social norms and prosocial behavior

The world is currently facing raging environmental and refugee crises, which highlight the important role that charitable organizations play in society. These entities support a wide range of groups, such as displaced, poor, disabled, abandoned, or otherwise disadvantaged adults and children. Charities' actions include the promotion of health and education, mitigation of environmental crises, and elimination of cruelty and abuse of humans and animals. The funding for charitable organizations mainly comes from individuals (Giving USA, 2018). Therefore, understanding *when*, *why*, and *how* individuals donate has vital implications for charitable organizations.

The literature identifies numerous factors and drivers of individual donations (Smeets et al., 2015). Among these are social norms, which suggest what kind of behavior is approved of and commonly performed by the majority of others within a social group (Cialdini et al., 1990). Literature about the dynamics between social norms and donations is limited (Agerström et al., 2016) and inconclusive.

On the one hand, some studies report the positive influence of social norms and suggest that people behave prosocially and donate money and time depending on the behavior of others. For instance, Frey and Meier (2004) compared whether high-versus low norm conditions influenced students' donation behaviors. They informed one group that 64% (high-norm condition) of previous students had donated to the charitable funds at the University of Zurich and informed a second group that 46% (low-norm condition) of previous students had donated. They found that students in

the high-norm condition were significantly more willing to donate than those in the low-norm condition, but only after controlling for the history of the previous donations. Similarly, across two studies Croson and Shang (2008) and Croson et al. (2009) demonstrated that individuals use their perceptions of descriptive norms and norms signaled by others to guide or even modify their own donation behaviors. Moreover, in their natural experiments, Martin and Randal (2008, 2009) manipulated descriptive norms by displaying low versus high bills in clear donation boxes at an art gallery. They found that the donation boxes showcasing higher bills received more donations by leveraging higher donation amounts per donor. The propensity to donate, however, was lower in the high-bills condition. McAuliffe et al. (2017) found that descriptive norms affect even children. Croson et al. (2010) studied gender differences in the influence of social norms on charitable giving and, across two studies (survey and laboratory experiments), established that males were more likely to be influenced by social norms than females. Furthermore, Raihani and McAuliffe (2014) found that in a Dictator Game, players were more generous when they were informed of what they had to do. Agerström et al. (2016) compared the influence of descriptive norms to industry-standard altruistic appeals and found that descriptive norms were more successful in motivating charitable donations. They further concluded that local norms were more effective in increasing charitable giving than global norms. In a more recent study, Lindersson et al. (2019) and Andersson et al. (2021) also identified the positive influence of descriptive norms on charitable giving. However, unlike Agerström et al. (2016) and Hysenbelli et al. (2013), Lindersson et al. (2019) did not find local norms to be more powerful than global or social identity norms.

Conversely, some scholars have observed an insignificant or absent effect of social norms on donation intentions and behavior. For instance, Catt and Benson (1977) investigated whether the modeling effect in helping existed when respondents were either told how much their neighbors donated or allowed to observe the actual behavior of others. The researchers concluded that while communicating what others do is not sufficient to cause modeling behavior, the behavior did occur when participants actually observed what others do. Smith and McSweeney (2007) and Raihani and McAuliffe (2014) concluded that descriptive norms did not direct charitable intentions and behavior. In addition, even though Kubo et al. (2018) found

that informing individuals about others' contributions increased the likelihood of their donations, the average amount of each contribution decreased.

Finally, some researchers have concluded that social norms influence donations but not consistently. Shang and Croson (2009), for example, observed that telling people how much previous donors donated increased their contributions. However, this information only influenced some of the new respondents who heard that the previous respondent had made an unusually large donation. In their replication of the study by Shang and Croson (2009), Murphy et al. (2015) found no evidence of the social information influence on donation decisions. They suggested that a possible reason for their insignificant findings was the sample, which mainly included renewing donors, a group that was similarly not influenced by the social information in the study by Shang and Croson (2009). Recently, Siemens et al. (2020) compared the influence of social norms on the giving intentions of culturally loose U.S. respondents and culturally tight Korean ones. They found that those in tight cultures were more likely to submit to social norms based on internal motivations to norm adherence. By contrast, respondents from loose cultural backgrounds were less likely to comply with social norms but more likely to donate when others were present.

Table 3: Overview of studies on social norms and prosocial behavior

<i>Authors & year</i>	<i>Title of paper</i>	<i>Focus</i>	<i>Method</i>	<i>Main findings</i>
Agerström et al. (2016)	Using descriptive social norms to increase charitable giving: The power of local norms	Influence of local versus global descriptive norms on charitable giving	A field experiment with 196 students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Descriptive norms increase charitable donations. ▪ Local norms are more successful in increasing donations than global norms. ▪ Donations double when charitable brochures include local norms in addition to altruistic appeals.
Andersson et al. (2021)	Norm avoiders: The effect of optional descriptive norms on charitable donations	Influence of optional descriptive norms on charitable donation	Online experiment with 2250 participants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ People who avoid social norms donate less often but higher amounts on average.
Croson et al. (2009)	Keeping up with the Joneses: The relationship of perceived descriptive social norms, social information, and charitable giving	Influence of descriptive norms on charitable giving	Study 1: Survey with 394 respondents Study 2: A laboratory experiment with 142 undergraduate students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Beliefs of descriptive norms inform the donation behaviors of the donors. ▪ Social information determines perceived descriptive norms, ultimately influencing donation behaviors.
Croson et al. (2010)	Gendered giving: The influence of social norms on the donation behavior of men and women	Comparison of the influence of social norms on men and women	Study 1: Survey with 945 respondents Study 2: Laboratory experiment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The donation behavior of males is influenced to a greater extent by social norms than that of females.
Croson and Shang (2008)	The impact of downward social information on contribution decisions	Influence of descriptive norms on charitable contributions	A field experiment with 225 respondents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Individuals match their charitable contributions to those of previous donors. ▪ Donors are more likely to decrease their contributions when learning that previous donors contributed less than what they intended to contribute than to increase the contributions when learning that previous donors contributed more.
Frey and Meier (2004)	Social comparisons and prosocial behavior: Testing “conditional cooperation” in a field experiment	Influence of descriptive norms on voluntary contributions	A field experiment with 37 624 students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ People are influenced by the prosocial behavior of others; the higher the expectations of the group behavior, the more likely people are to match their behaviors. ▪ People who never or always donated are more resistant to the influence of descriptive norms than those who changed their behavior in the past.

Hysenbelli et al. (2013)	Others' opinions count, but not all of them: Anchoring to ingroup versus outgroup members' behavior in charitable giving	Effect of the anchor of ingroup and outgroup descriptive norms on charitable giving	Three experiments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ High versus low anchor significantly influences donation amounts. ▪ Anchoring is more effective when descriptive norms belong to in-group rather than out-group members.
Kubo et al. (2018)	Voluntary contributions to hiking trail maintenance: Evidence from a field experiment in a national park, Japan	Influence of (1) government funding and (2) descriptive norms on the donation behavior	A field experiment with 935 participants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Announcing governmental funding increases the propensity of donating and average donation amounts. ▪ Descriptive norms positively influence propensity but not the average donation amounts.
Lindersson et al. (2019)	Reassessing the impact of descriptive norms on charitable giving	Influence of local and global descriptive norms and social identity norms on charitable giving	Two experiments with 748 participants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Descriptive norms positively influence charitable giving intentions. ▪ Local and global descriptive norms and social identity norms influence charitable giving intentions equally.
Martin and Randal (2008)	How is donation behavior affected by the donations of others?	Influence of descriptive norms on donations to an art gallery	A field experiment with 184 art gallery visitors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ People match their behavior to those of others due to following social norms rather than reciprocity. ▪ Situations that increase the likelihood of making donations decrease the average donations per donor and vice versa. ▪ Indirectly provided social information is more likely to influence behavior than directly provided information.
Martin and Randal (2009)	How Sunday, price, and social norms influence donation behavior	Influence of signs on the donation box—(1) no sign, (2) thank you sign, (3) a sign indicating that donations would be matched—and descriptive norms on donation behavior	Field experiment for 72 days at an art gallery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Larger donations of previous donors increase the average donations per donor but decrease the propensity to donate. ▪ Donation matching increases both average donations and propensity to donate.
McAuliffe et al. (2017)	Children are sensitive to norms of giving	Influence of social norms on children's giving	Dictator Game with 268 children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Injunctive and descriptive norms affect children's generosity equally. ▪ Younger children are influenced by selfish norms more than older ones.
Murphy et al. (2015)	The impact of social information on the voluntary provision of public goods: A replication study	Influence of descriptive norms on donation behavior to public goods	Field experiment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Descriptive norms do not influence donation behavior.

Raihani and McAuliffe (2014)	Dictator game giving: The importance of descriptive versus injunctive norms	Influence of injunctive and descriptive norms on donation behavior	Online Dictator Game with 1200 participants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Injunctive norms influence donation behavior but descriptive norms do not.
Shang and Croson (2009)	A field experiment in charitable contribution: The impact of social information on the voluntary provision of public goods	Influence of descriptive norms on donation behavior to public goods	Field experiment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Descriptive norms influence the donation behavior of new but not previous donors.
Siemens et al. (2020)	The influence of message appeal, social norms and donation social context on charitable giving: Investigating the role of cultural tightness-looseness	Comparison of the influence of social norms on donation behavior in tight versus loose cultures	Two experiments with 661 undergraduate university students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The donation behavior of people from tight cultures is more likely to be influenced by social norms than that of people from loose cultures. • The donation behavior of people from loose cultures is more likely to be affected by the observation of others than that of people from loose cultures.
Smith and McSweeney (2007)	Charitable giving: The effectiveness of a revised <i>theory of planned behavior</i> in predicting donating intentions and behavior	Application of the revised <i>theory of planned behavior</i> to charitable giving	Longitudinal survey with 227 respondents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attitudes, perceived behavioral control, injunctive norms, moral norms, and past behavior predict giving intentions. • Descriptive norms do not predict giving intentions. • Giving intentions lead to actual giving.

2.4 Summary of the literature review

To sum up, prosocial behavior covers a big variety of actions that aim to benefit others (Espinosa & Kovářik, 2015; Thielmann et al., 2020) and help humans, groups, and societies in multiple ways. One of these actions is the donation of money. Long-running philosophical debates regarding prosocial behavior have resulted in three general paradigms that trace the origins of prosocial behavior in genes, egoism and social exchange, or altruism. According to the egoism and social exchange theories, humans behave prosocially to maximize rewards and minimize costs (Aronson et al., 2005). These rewards and costs might be monetary and/ or non-monetary, such as judgment or praise by others within the social context. Aligned with this argumentation, Bekkers and Wiepking (2011b, 2012) concluded that among others, reputation and psychological benefits represent two main mechanisms of charitable giving. In other words, individuals donate money to gain a good reputation (by extension shield their reputation from tainting) or receive the benefits such as self-satisfaction.

Following the social information derived from the observations of how others behave, represents one of the mechanisms through which reputation or psychological benefits can be attained. Such social information is exhibited by social norms, which represent group-based standards or rules of attitudes and behavior and signal what the majority of others do (descriptive norms) and approve of (injunctive norms) (Cialdini et al., 1990). In other words, people follow social norms since they are motivated to satisfy the expectations of others (Bicchieri, 2005) and in return attain benefits.

In chapter 2, I reviewed the literature on prosocial behavior and social norms as they represent two main concepts of the dissertation. Specifically, the dissertation aims to understand how one of the forms of prosocial behaviors – charitable giving – can be encouraged using social norms. Thus, the common theme of all of the articles is charitable giving and social norms, and these articles build on the previously-developed theories, classifications, and findings covered in the literature review. I describe the specific theories, mechanisms, findings, and their relationship with the existing body of knowledge in the following chapters.

3 Methodology

The purpose of this dissertation is to extend knowledge on human behavior by examining *whether, when, and how* social norms influence donation intentions and behavior. This purpose was reached by carrying out four studies, which are reported in three articles. A correlational study design was used in one, and an experimental study design was employed in three of the studies. The following chapter summarizes the methodologies of each study.

Table 4 summarizes the design and methodology of each study.

Table 4: Summary of research design and methodology

<i>Study design</i>	<i>Data collection tools</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>Independent variable(s)</i>	<i>Dependent variable(s)</i>	<i>Mediator^(ME) & moderator^(MO) variable(s)</i>
ARTICLE 1: I give a dime if you do, too!					
The influence of descriptive norms on perceived impact, personal involvement, and monetary donation intentions					
Correlational study	Online consumer panel	288 respondents	Descriptive norms	Donation intentions	Perceived impact ^(ME) ; Personal involvement ^(ME) ; Beneficiary responsibility ^(MO)
ARTICLE 2: I will only help if others tell me to do so!					
Simultaneous influence of injunctive and descriptive norms on donations					
2 between-subjects controlled experiments	Online consumer panel	347 respondents	<i>Experiment 1:</i> Injunctive norms; Descriptive norms <i>Experiment 2:</i> Injunctive norms; Descriptive norms	<i>Experiment 1:</i> Donation intentions <i>Experiment 2:</i> Donation intentions	<i>Experiment 2:</i> Collective efficacy ^(ME)
ARTICLE 3: I was thinking of helping, but then I changed my mind!					
The influence of injunctive and descriptive norms on monetary donation intention-behavior link					
1 between-subjects controlled experiment	Online consumer panel	428 respondents	Donation intentions	Donation behavior	Injunctive norms ^(MO) ; Descriptive norms ^(MO) ; Personal involvement ^(MO)

3.1 Study designs

3.1.1 Correlational study

Correlational research is a nonexperimental research design in which two or more variables are measured to assess the statistical relationship between or among them (Price et al., 2018). A correlation is detected whenever variables are related to each other in some manner. This relationship is direct or positive when the increase in one causes an increase in the other or when a decrease in one causes a decrease in the other. The relationship is negative when the relationship is inverse, with an increase in one variable causing a decrease in the other or a decrease in one causing an increase in the other (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2016). Analytic methods commonly used in correlational studies are regression analysis, linear modeling, correlation analysis, and structural equation modeling (B. Thompson et al., 2005).

There are two reasons researchers use a correlational study design. The first is that the relationship between variables is not perceived as causal. In some studies, none of the variables is thought to cause changes in others, resulting in no independent variables. The second reason is that the relationship between the variables is thought to be causal, but the researcher either cannot manipulate the independent variable or chooses not to do so for practical, ethical, or logic-related reasons (Price et al., 2018). The latter is the reason why we chose to employ a correlational study design in article 1, where we investigated whether preconceived social norms influenced the respondents' donation intentions. This relationship and the processes associated with it were further investigated in the following articles (2 and 3), which employed a controlled experimental design.

Correlational studies are carried out by conducting a survey. During surveying, the researcher collects information from a sample of people by asking them questions about attitudes, motives, perceptions, beliefs, opinions, and so forth. The steps of the survey include sampling, choosing variables, designing a questionnaire, pre-testing the questionnaire in a small group of participants, and collecting the data (Chrysochou, 2017).

The correlational design has multiple advantages. First, in such studies, the physical space in which the variables are measured makes no difference. In other words, the data collection can occur in a laboratory or any other setting, such as a

classroom, apartment, or library. This allows the researcher to collect the data in conditions that are familiar and neutral to participants, thus making the results applicable to everyday life. Second, correlational research provides a good starting point for the investigation into a phenomenon. Having understood the correlation between variables, the causation and strength of this relationship can be further investigated using other study designs, such as experiments. Therefore, correlational research opens up avenues for future research (Price et al., 2018). Moreover, surveys have an advantage over other methods in terms of their time and resource efficiency (Chrysochou, 2017).

Correlational design is often criticized for its low internal validity due to the *third variable problem*. When such a problem occurs, the researcher does not directly control for extraneous variables. This means that the independent variable can cause changes in the dependent variable ($A \rightarrow B$), but these changes may also occur due to another third variable ($C \rightarrow A$ and B) (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2016; Price et al., 2018). Another issue associated with correlational studies is the *directionality problem*. The correlation alone does not allow us to assume the direction of causality (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2016). In some cases, A may cause B ($A \rightarrow B$), but this relationship may be reversed, with B causing A ($B \rightarrow A$) (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2016; Price et al., 2018). Correlational studies carried out by surveying participants are also prone to several types of biases, including sampling bias, measurement bias, response bias, and researcher bias (Chrysochou, 2017).

The procedures of the data collection, as well as the development of measurement scales and questionnaires, are discussed in section 3.2. In section 3.2, I also explain the measures for overcoming or compensating for the limitations of the correlational study design.

3.1.2 Controlled experiment

Unlike the correlational study design, experimental research examines whether a causal relationship exists between two or more variables. Such studies have two fundamental characteristics. First, in experiments, the level of the independent variable is manipulated. Various levels of the independent variable represent the conditions. Second, all the extraneous variables that may affect the relationship between the independent and dependent variables are controlled (Price et al., 2018).

If not controlled, these variables can introduce noise into the data or changes in independent and dependent variables that are unexplainable by the study design (Aronson et al., 1985). As a result, controlled experiments are usually characterized by high internal validity (Lynn & Lynn, 2003).

An experimental design allows the causal relationship between or among two or more variables to be assessed (Stangor & Walinga, 2014). Thus, this study design can provide more definitive conclusions about causation than the correlational design and is particularly suitable when the relationship between the variables is perceived to be causal. In article 1, we investigated the correlations between the variables. To further understand the relationship by determining its causation and process, we chose an experimental design for the studies reported in articles 2 and 3.

Experiments are carried out in three steps. First, the independent variable is manipulated by stimuli. In all the experiments presented in this dissertation, we experimentally manipulated descriptive, injunctive, or both sets of social norms.

Second, participants are randomly assigned to conditions. Randomization reduces researcher- and participant-related biases (e.g., self-selection bias) and ensures balance by preventing the overrepresentation of participants with specific characteristics (e.g., males) (Aronson et al., 1985). To further increase the internal validity of the experiment, Kirk (2013) recommends the inclusion of a control group that is free of manipulation. The randomization of participants' grouping in the studies of this dissertation was achieved by using an automatic function in the data collection online software. In article 3, a control group was included, but in article 2, it was not. The exclusion of control groups in the experiments reported in article 2 was deemed suitable as the focus of the study was to compare the differences between experimental groups.

Finally, the correlation between independent and dependent variables is determined by assessing the change in the dependent variable as a function of varying levels of the independent variable (Perdue & Summers, 1986). When this change is detected by controlling for all the other influences, the causation is concluded (Söderlund, 2018). Details of the findings of the studies can be found in chapters 4 and 5.

Experiments have several advantages over other methods. The main advantage of the experimental study design is its ability to determine causation (Stangor & Walinga, 2014). In experiments, researchers also have full control over the variables, which

allows them to obtain more accurate results. Controlling the variables, researchers make sure the obtained results are due to the treatment and not to confounding factors. Furthermore, experiments can be repeated over time on other groups of people, thus allowing researchers to gain confidence in their results (Chrysochou, 2017).

Like any other design, the experimental design has limitations. The results obtained through laboratory experiments might not be valid in real-life situations due to a lack of realism in the conditions (Stangor & Walinga, 2014). At the same time, the realism requirement may vary depending on the goal of the research. In some cases, such as in studies developing theories, enhancing realism is not necessary or even preferred (Morales et al., 2017). Second, experiments are not suitable for some research questions as many social variables cannot be manipulated by the researcher. For instance, an experiment cannot be used to understand whether a relationship between personality types and joining suicide cults exists. In this case, a correlational study design is suitable. Thus, careful consideration is required when evaluating whether the experimental design is suitable for the specific study. Moreover, conducting experiments is often more expansive and time-consuming than collecting correlational data through surveys (Stangor & Walinga, 2014). Furthermore, like surveys, experiments are vulnerable to various types of bias and human error, which may undermine the reliability of the findings (Chrysochou, 2017).

The procedures of the data collection, as well as the development of measurement scales, questionnaires, and stimuli, are discussed in section 3.2. In section 3.2, I also explain the measures for overcoming or compensating for the limitations of the experimental design.

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 Sampling and data collection

Sampling is the process of selecting the participants of a study. At this stage, the researcher makes decisions on which type and how many individuals will participate, how they will be reached (i.e., a probabilistic or a non-probabilistic method), and how the survey will be administered (e.g., written, verbal, online) (Chrysochou, 2017).

The data for all of the studies were collected from British respondents. We chose to recruit British participants for two reasons. First, the issues at hand (homelessness

and animal welfare) are pressing issues in the United Kingdom. Thus, we believed that British participants would be more conscious of these issues than the respondents from other European countries, such as Finland and Sweden, where these issues are not so prominent. The second reason for choosing the British respondents was practical. As my coauthors and I are fluent in English, we avoided the translation and back-translation of the questionnaires. Moreover, www.prolific.ac (ProA), an online consumer panel from which the respondents were recruited, offered a large pool of British participants of approximately 140 000.

The ProA respondents were filtered to match the following criteria: (a) British by nationality; (b) living in the United Kingdom; and (c) fluent in English. Participants were paid £7.5 per hour. The majority of the respondents, approximately 70%, in all the studies were female, and all were over the age of 18 (min. = 18; max. = 81, mean = 35). The exclusion of immigrants helped prevent changes in the dependent variables due to cultural differences.

Randomly assigned to one of the groups, respondents were provided with a general introduction to the study, which did not disclose the true essence of the study. They were informed that participation was voluntary, responses were anonymous, and they had the right to withdraw from the study at any stage, even after the data collection. After reading the introduction, respondents were directed to the data collection tool SurveyMonkey.

Initially, face-to-face data collection was planned. However, this was made impossible by the restrictions introduced in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus, ProA was deemed to be a suitable alternative to face-to-face data collection. Online consumer panels, such as Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) and ProA, provide fast and cost-efficient access to a large pool of participants from any chosen region. Moreover, respondents on these platforms can be filtered based on specific characteristics (e.g., age, gender, education, marital status, the device used, interests, and experience). Collecting the data through these platforms outperforms the face-to-face data collection methods for several reasons. First, it enables the collection of high-quality data (Peer et al., 2017) from representative samples quickly and cost-efficiently (Vargas et al., 2017). Second, online platforms allow respondents to participate from familiar spaces (e.g., home), which eliminates biases introduced by the presence of the researcher (Catania et al., 1996; Davis et al., 2010). Acknowledging the multiple

advantages of using online consumer panels, hundreds of scientists have used ProA for their data collections (Prolific, 2021).

However, like any other data collection method, collecting data through online consumer panels has disadvantages. The main concern is that by repeatedly working on the platform, many respondents gain deep experience in study participation. This can bias their responses and make them resistant to manipulations. ProA outperforms MTurk in this respect as it offers a large pool of relatively naïve participants (Peer et al., 2017). The second issue is the integrity of some respondents. Rather than carefully reading the questions and providing genuine answers, some are interested in finishing the questionnaire and being paid as soon as possible. This motivates them to skim the questionnaire or not read it at all. To address these concerns, we implemented several measures at both the stages of data collection and data analysis. First, we tracked the participation time durations and checked the responses of those who finished the study unexpectedly quickly. Second, we included attention checks in all of the studies. Third, we asked the participants to summarize the content of experimental stimuli (for the studies of articles 2 and 3) and conducted manipulation checks. Fourth, we included negatively worded and reverse-scaled items in all the questionnaires. Fifth, we carried out assumptions testing before the hypotheses testing, which allowed us to identify possible deviations and outliers. The answers of participants who did not seem to follow the standards of the measures and procedures were either eliminated from the analysis or examined with additional scrutiny (e.g., comparing the answers of positively and negatively worded items).

In a study reported in article 1, participants were asked to indicate their levels of agreeableness to the statements and answer the questions in the questionnaire. In the experiments for article 2, participants were first manipulated with social norms and only afterward invited to fill in the questionnaire. In an experiment for article 3, however, my goal was to investigate the moderating power of social norms. Thus, I adopted a procedure from Smith and Louis (2008), which differed from the procedure of the experiments for article 2. Specifically, in an experiment for article 3, to prevent participants from matching their behaviors to previously stated intentions, they were informed that the survey included multiple questionnaires for various researchers within the School of Psychology. After this, I measured independent variables, conducted the manipulation, and proceeded to measure the dependent variables. I

also included a distractor task¹ to bolster the perception that the survey included questionnaires from various studies. In the end, respondents were asked to guess the hypotheses of the study and evaluate whether they believed the stimulus depicted real information. Those who guessed the hypotheses correctly or did not believe that the stimulus content was accurate were subsequently excluded from the analysis.

Validity is an important concern in any study. Scholars distinguish between internal, external, and construct validity (Aronson et al., 1985). Internal validity refers to the effects in the study caused by the manipulation itself and not other factors (Söderlund, 2018). The internal validity of the studies was ensured by controlling for all extraneous variables, a random grouping of participants, eliminating the researcher effects, and using standardized instructions throughout the experimental conditions. External validity refers to the generalizability of the findings across settings (ecological), people (population), and time (historical) (Aronson et al., 1985). Guaranteeing external validity in controlled experiments is a challenge. However, we tried to achieve external validity by creating as realistic manipulations as possible and randomly assigning participants to experimental conditions. Construct validity addresses whether the measurements successfully captured the theoretical construct or trait (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). Measures for ensuring construct validity are discussed in the following section 3.2.2 on measurement scales and the questionnaire construction.

3.2.2 Measurement scales, questionnaire construction, and data analysis

At the stage of questionnaire construction, researchers decide what and how many questions will be used, how the questions will be worded, what measurement scale will be used, and how the questionnaire will be organized. The researcher should aim for questions that are clear and easy to answer. At this point, the data analysis should also be considered as the scales used will ultimately condition which statistical tests can be used (Chrysochou, 2017).

The questionnaires for all of the studies were built and administered using the survey tool SurveyMonkey. Multiple submissions from the same participant were avoided using a built-in feature of the survey tool.

¹ A distractor task is a task performed between the acquisition and the test phases of memory to prevent respondents from mentally rehearsing the material that has been studied (Baddeley, 1988).

Although widely used in almost all science disciplines, questionnaires are not perfect as they require the participants to recall their past behaviors. Moreover, the survey questions might bias judgments and answers (Schwarz, 1999). To overcome these disadvantages, scholars have suggested using complementary techniques to conduct surveys, such as email, telephone, or face-to-face interviews, and content analysis (Andrews et al., 2007). This approach improves the quality of the results (C. B. Smith, 1997) and the representativeness of the sample (Swoboda et al., 1997; Yun & Trumbo, 2000). However, research costs, access to participants, the scope of the research, and the nature of the behavior studied may make it impractical or financially unfeasible to use more than one data collection approach (Andrews et al., 2007). Evaluating their advantages and disadvantages, I decided to proceed with using questionnaires. However, in an experiment for article 3, I measured an actual donation behavior rather than a past behavior.

Items of the questionnaires were adapted from the previous literature. Most variables were measured using more than one item on a seven-point Likert scale. This corresponds to the general recommendation in the literature to use between five- and nine-point scales (Cox, 1980; Schwarz et al., 1991). Answers to multiple items belonging to the same variable were averaged to form an overall index. As mentioned earlier, some items were negatively worded and reverse-scaled to avoid response biases. The questionnaires also included attention and manipulation checks.

Before the actual data collection, the questionnaires were pre-tested in smaller groups. Using IBM SPSS Statistics 26, we conducted the assumptions testing appropriate for the data and tests used later on. We also evaluated the construct validity, which, as mentioned earlier, addresses whether the measurements successfully capture the theoretical construct or trait (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). The questionnaire's reliability and validity were verified by calculating the average variance extracted (AVE), composite reliability (CR), and Cronbach's alpha. All the final constructs showed good or excellent levels of reliability and validity.

The questionnaire results were analyzed using the moderation and mediation analysis software IBM SPSS Statistics 26 and its plug-in SPSS PROCESS macro by Andrew F. Hayes (2017; Hong & Li, 2020; Rockwood & Hayes, 2020). Appropriate quantitative tests, such as independent samples *t*-tests, analyses of variance, and regression analyses, were used to analyze the data.

3.2.3 Stimuli development

Stimuli for the experiments included an abstract presenting the findings of a fictitious 2019 study attributed to The Office of National Statistics U.K. (articles 2 and 3) and fictional Facebook posts with supportive or unsupportive social norms (article 2).

The abstract and findings of the 2019 study presented the percentages of British people who, according to the study, supported monetary donations (injunctive norms) and who actually donated (descriptive norms). In this study, the moderation of personal involvement was checked. Thus, I wanted to choose the cause which would yield varied outcomes in terms of personal involvement. Pre-testing several causes (e.g., cancer research, homelessness, and animal welfare) animal welfare was deemed as a suitable topic.

By presenting percentages for both, injunctive and descriptive norms were manipulated at the same level of specificity. The percentage numbers were chosen, in line with the research by Smith et al. (2012), as well as pre-testing to make sure the percentages seemed believable and had a sufficiently strong effect on the participants. To increase the strength of manipulation, we presented two pie charts in the abstract to illustrate the results. After reading the abstract and checking the pie charts, participants were instructed to summarize the findings of the study. The stimuli can be found in Appendix 2.

Other stimuli used depicted Facebook posts with supportive or unsupportive social norms. In this stimuli, a fictional organization, the Cancer Research Fund, with a fictional logo was used. Employing the fictional organization, we avoided the response bias caused by pre-defined attitudes.

Two identical posts were created featuring a young woman as a “cancer victim.” The picture was produced by a professional photographer for the specific study. To increase the advertisement’s believability, we borrowed the structure and text from the real advertisements.

For the manipulation of the injunctive norms, sets of supportive and unsupportive comments (five comments in each set) were used. The number of comments (five) was determined based on previous literature and extensive pre-testing, according to which the number was deemed suitable for the respondents to establish the pattern (supportive or unsupportive). The sets included either three supportive comments or three unsupportive comments regarding donating money to the charitable

organization at hand. These comments were matched with each other in terms of their strength in conveying their meanings (support/not support). The other two comments in the set of five were neutral and identical in each set, which ensured that the stimuli were believable and prevented the participants from guessing the hypotheses of the experiment. The comments were inspired by or copied from a real thread of comments on the Cancer Research U.K.'s Facebook page (e.g., supportive: "Stand up for survivors of cancer. These funds are going to a good cause"; unsupportive: "Time to wake up. These funds are going nowhere other than big salaries and no cures").

In-group versus out-group belonging biases were avoided by presenting both the victim and users (authors of the comments) as British (by presenting their British-sounding names, e.g., Olivia Smith).

Descriptive norms were manipulated by informing participants of the percentage of British people who donated money to the Cancer Research Fund after seeing the Facebook post. As mentioned above, the percentages were chosen by following previous studies (e.g., Smith et al., 2012) and the results of the pre-testing. The stimuli can be found in Appendix 2.

All the stimuli used in the studies were pre-tested and evaluated by a group of experienced researchers and teachers who were active on social media. Manipulation checks were conducted to evaluate whether the manipulations were successful.

4 Summary & contributions of the original articles

The empirical section of the thesis comprises three articles featuring four studies. The articles are published or accepted for publication in academic journals on marketing, and/or social psychology. The three articles investigate the processes by which descriptive and injunctive norms influence monetary donation intentions and behavior. In this chapter, I briefly introduce the articles.

Table 5: Overview of the research articles

<i>Study design</i>	<i>Independent variable(s)</i>	<i>Dependent variable(s)</i>	<i>Mediator^(ME) & moderator^(MO) variable(s)</i>	<i>Research question addressed</i>
ARTICLE 1: I give a dime if you do, too!				
The influence of descriptive norms on perceived impact, personal involvement, and monetary donation intentions				
Coauthored, first author. Published in <i>Journal of Consumer Behaviour</i>				
Correlational study	Descriptive norms	Donation intentions	Perceived impact ^(ME) ; Personal involvement ^(ME) ; Beneficiary responsibility ^(MO)	RQ 1
ARTICLE 2: I will only help if others tell me to do so!				
Simultaneous influence of injunctive and descriptive norms on donations				
Coauthored, first author. Accepted at <i>Voluntary Sector Review</i>				
2 between-subjects controlled experiments	<i>Experiment 1:</i> Injunctive norms; Descriptive norms <i>Experiment 2:</i> Injunctive norms; Descriptive norms	<i>Experiment 1:</i> Donation intentions <i>Experiment 2:</i> Donation intentions	<i>Experiment 2:</i> Collective efficacy ^(ME)	RQ 2
ARTICLE 3: I was thinking of helping, but then I changed my mind!				
The influence of injunctive and descriptive norms on monetary donation intention-behavior link				
Single-authored. Accepted at <i>Journal of Nonprofit and Public Sector Marketing</i>				
Between-subjects controlled experiment	Donation intentions	Donation behavior	Injunctive norms ^(MO) ; Descriptive norms ^(MO) ; Personal involvement ^(MO)	RQ 3

4.1 Article 1: I give a dime if you do, too! The influence of descriptive norms on perceived impact, personal involvement, and monetary donation intentions

(Coauthored, first author. Published in *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*)

The purpose of this study was to clarify the influence that descriptive norms have on charitable giving. Charitable giving is a prosocial behavior (Mayr & Freund, 2020) and represents the main source of income for charitable organizations in the United Kingdom. Recently, however, several charity-related scandals have surfaced, staining the entire sector and eroding the public's trust in charitable organizations. Subsequently, the proportion of British people who donated money to charities decreased by 4% from 2016 to 2018 (Brindle, 2019).

Seeking ways to increase private donations, researchers have identified social norms as possible influencers of donation behavior (e.g., Lay et al., 2020; Martin & Randal, 2008; McAuliffe et al., 2017; Shang & Croson, 2009; Siemens et al., 2020). Social norms, defined as group-based and situation-specific standards of attitudes and behaviors (McDonald & Crandall, 2015a; J. R. Smith et al., 2012), are categorized into two groups: injunctive, defined as communicating what other people approve of, and descriptive, defined as suggesting what other people do (Cialdini et al., 1990; Manning, 2009; Rimal & Real, 2003). Researchers have mainly focused their attention on injunctive norms (e.g., Clowes & Masser, 2012; Grunert, 2018; McAuliffe et al., 2017; Raihani & McAuliffe, 2014; Wong & Chow, 2018), leaving descriptive norms relatively unexplored. The limited literature that does exist on the influence of descriptive norms is inconclusive; some studies observe the power of these norms (e.g., Martin & Randal, 2008; McAuliffe et al., 2017; Shang & Croson, 2009), while others do not (e.g., Raihani & McAuliffe, 2014; Shang & Croson, 2009; J. R. Smith & McSweeney, 2007).

Responding to the scarcity and inconsistency in the literature, we set out to investigate not only *whether* but also *when* and *how* descriptive norms influence monetary donation intentions. By uncovering mediation and moderation processes related to this influence, we shed light on *how* and *why* descriptive norms matter in some situations more than in others. Therefore, this article answers the following research question:

RQ1: Whether, when, and how do descriptive norms influence monetary donation intentions?

To answer this research question, we proposed four hypotheses concerning the main, mediation, and moderation effects.

H1: The more favorable the descriptive norms, the higher the donation intentions.

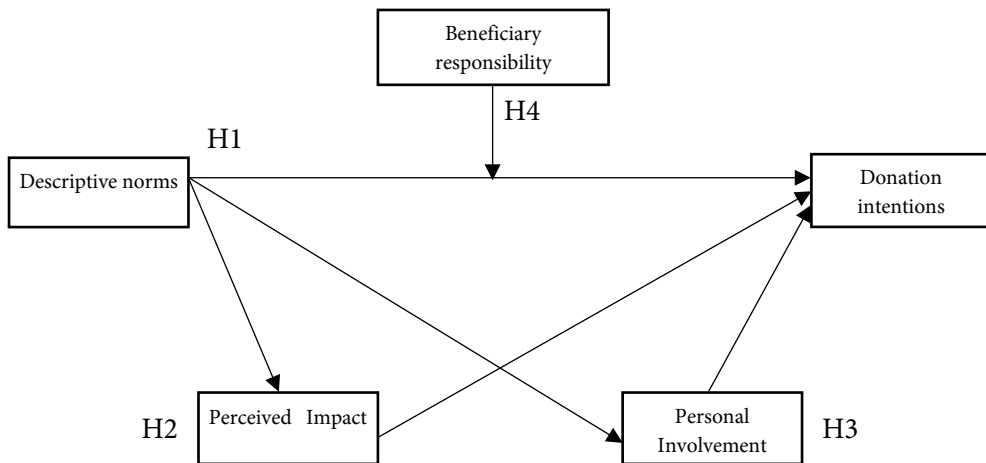
H2: Perceived impact mediates the relationship between descriptive norms and donation intentions.

H3: Personal involvement mediates the relationship between descriptive norms and donation intentions.

H4: Beneficiary responsibility negatively moderates the positive relationship between favorable descriptive norms and donation intentions.

Figure 1 shows the conceptual model for the study.

Figure 1: Conceptual model of article 1



Note. Adopted from Gugenishvili et al. (2021). Copyright (2021) by Gugenishvili, et al.

The data were collected from 288 British respondents through a crowd working marketplace ProA. Approximately 70% of the respondents were female, with a mean age of 35 (min. = 18; max. = 81). All the variables were measured using well-established and validated questions with a seven-point Likert scale.

Table 6: Items measuring key constructs of article 1

Variables and items	Cronbach's α	if item deleted	M	SD
Donation intentions (DONI) (Ajzen, 2002)	.882			
How likely do you think that in the next 4 weeks you will donate money to a charitable organization that helps homeless people?	.843		2.97	1.629
In the next 4 weeks, I will donate money to a charitable organization that helps homeless people.	.832		2.96	1.565
In the next 4 weeks, I would like to donate money to a charitable organization that helps homeless people.	.861		4.18	1.745
In the next 4 weeks, I do not intend to donate money to a charitable organization that helps homeless people. (R)	.91		3.81	1.965
In the next 4 weeks, I intend to donate money to a charitable organization that helps homeless people.	.836		3.26	1.693
Descriptive norms (DESN) (Lay et al., 2020)	.864			
My family members often donate to charitable organizations	.815		4.18	1.946
My family members often donate to homeless people	.830		3.26	1.760
My friends often donate to charitable organizations	.832		3.95	1.633
My friends often donate to homeless people	.828		3.35	1.53
Perceived impact (PIM) (Erlandsson et al., 2015)	.908			
I think by donating to a charitable organization that helps homeless people one can do a lot of good.	.858		5.12	1.309
I think by donating to a charitable organization that helps homeless people it seems possible to make a big difference.	.886		4.66	1.437
I believe the expected consequences of donating to a charitable organization that helps homeless people are very positive.	.862		5.11	1.282
Personal involvement (PIN) (Göckeritz et al., 2010)	.745			
How much do you think about the issue of homelessness in your day to day life?	.577		3.32	1.553
In the past, have you taken personal or political actions to address the issue of homelessness?	.694		2.8	1.886
How much do you care about the issue of homelessness?	.691		5.00	1.340
Beneficiary responsibility (BRE) (Lee et al., 2014; Sperry & Siegel, 2013)				
To what extent do you think homeless people are responsible for their problems?			3.14	1.268
Attitude towards charitable organizations (ATC) (Webb et al., 2000)	.924			
The money given to charities goes to good causes.	.904		5.15	1.273
My image of charitable organizations is positive.	.890		5.16	1.340
Charitable organizations have been quite successful in helping the needy.	.906		5.17	1.255
Charitable organizations perform a useful function for society.	.905		5.67	1.282
Discretionary funds (DIF) (Lay et al., 2020)				
I feel like I have a lot of money to spend each month on what I want.			2.75	1.692

Note. Adopted from Gugenishvili et al. (2021). Copyright (2021) by Gugenishvili, et al.

For the analysis, a tool for moderation and mediation path analysis, SPSS PROCESS macro by Andrew F. Hayes (2017; Hong & Li, 2020; Rockwood & Hayes, 2020), was used. The mediation analysis by model 4 revealed that descriptive norms do influence donation intentions ($p = .000$) and that this process is mediated by perceived impact (IE = .0284, 95% CI = .0006– .0594) and personal involvement (IE = .0946, 95% CI = .0398– .1622). Thus, three of our hypotheses (H1, H2, and H3) were empirically supported. The moderation analysis by model 1, however, revealed that beneficiary responsibility did not significantly moderate the relationship between descriptive norms and donation intentions ($p = .47$). Therefore, H4 was not empirically supported.

The study contributes to the limited literature on the influence of descriptive norms in the context of charitable giving, as well as the literature on perceived impact, personal involvement, and beneficiary responsibility. We provide evidence that descriptive norms do influence donations. We also revealed the two following ways through which this connection is established: (a) perceived impact and (b) personal involvement. Therefore, this is the first empirical investigation that not only documents that descriptive norms matter but also shows *how* they matter. By doing so, we bring further clarity to the dynamics between descriptive norms and monetary donation intentions. Moreover, the findings have managerial relevance. Specifically, we suggest that highlighting information on descriptive norms in marketing materials can be a powerful tactic for increasing public donations. Learning of favorable descriptive norms increases individuals' perceptions that even their small donations can have an impact on the cause. We also recommend that charitable organizations encourage donors to share information about their donations and discuss their opinions with others. This can increase the personal involvement of others and encourage monetary donations. Given a large number of charitable organizations and decreased state and public donations in recent years, our findings can help managers inform their practice and effectively recruit donors.

4.2 Article 2: I will only help if others tell me to do so! Simultaneous influence of injunctive and descriptive norms on donations

(Coauthored, first author. Accepted at *Voluntary Sector Review*)

The purpose of this study was to understand which set of norms (injunctive versus descriptive) is most powerful in directing donation intentions and through what process unaligned norms demotivate monetary donation intentions. Social norms represent group-based rules of behavior. Following the norms typically creates a better state of affairs for individuals than the alternative, thus promising harmonious living among humans (Anderson & Dunning, 2014).

Multiple studies have demonstrated the influence of injunctive (what the majority of people approve of) and descriptive norms (what the majority of people do) in various contexts (e.g., Goldstein & Cialdini, 2009; Okun et al., 2002; Rimal & Real, 2003; Walters & Neighbors, 2005). Therefore, many organizations, including charitable ones, employ norms to influence intentions and behavior. At the same time, it is unclear whether descriptive or injunctive norms are more powerful in the context of charity. Moreover, most studies have investigated the independent influence of injunctive and descriptive norms (Lönngqvist et al., 2009; Nipedal et al., 2010), while in the real world, both sets of norms may be present and even unaligned with each other (J. R. Smith et al., 2012). Whether and how unaligned social norms influence monetary donation intentions remains to be determined.

To address these gaps in our current understanding, we conducted two experiments. Experiment 1 investigated how injunctive and descriptive norms independently influence monetary donation intentions. Experiment 2 goes a step further by examining the process of the simultaneous effect of aligned versus unaligned social norms on donation intentions. Therefore, this article answers the following research question:

RQ2: When and how does simultaneous exposure to injunctive and descriptive norms influence monetary donation intentions?

To answer the research question above, we proposed the following hypotheses:

H1: Exposure to supportive norms more positively influences charitable donation intentions than exposure to unsupportive norms.

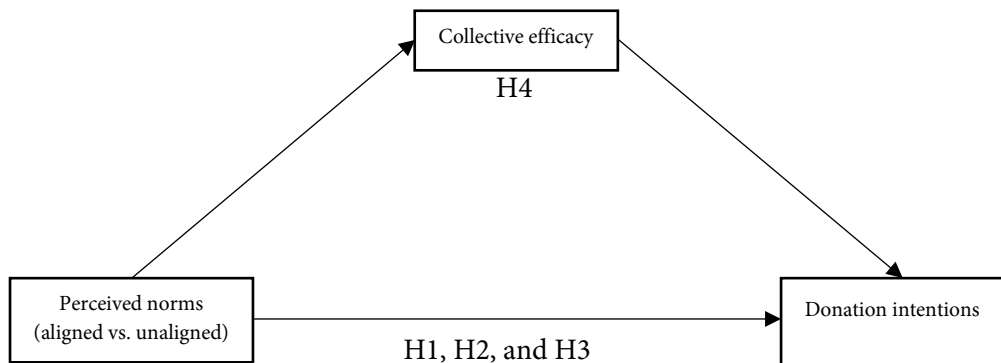
H2: Injunctive norms influence charitable donation intentions more than descriptive norms.

H3: Aligned versus unaligned norms influence charitable donation intentions. That is, respondents form higher donation intentions when exposed to aligned supportive norms than to unaligned norms.

H4: The relationship between aligned/unaligned norms and donation intentions is mediated by collective efficacy.

The figure below illustrates the conceptual model of the study.

Figure 2: Conceptual model of article 2



Note. Adopted from Gugenishvili & Coliander (forthcoming). Copyright (forthcoming) by Gugenishvili, I, & Coliander, J.

Experiment 1 addressed H1 and H2. A total of 187 respondents organized into four groups were recruited through the crowdsourcing marketplace ProA. Of the participants, 63% were female, and the average age was 35 (min. = 18; max. = 74). The four groups did not significantly differ in terms of gender ($p = .192$) and age ($p = .111$).

Social norms were manipulated by presenting an ostensible Facebook post by a fictional organization, the Cancer Research Fund, as well as the comments under the post (table 9).

Table 7: Experimental manipulations of experiment 1 of article 2

Group	Condition	Manipulation
Group 1	Supportive injunctive norm	Facebook post with supportive comments.
Group 2	Unsupportive injunctive norm	Facebook post with unsupportive comments.
Group 3	Supportive descriptive norm	Facebook post with information that approximately 84% of British people, who saw the Facebook post donated to the Cancer Research Fund.
Group 4	Unsupportive descriptive norm	Facebook post with information that approximately 22% of British people, who saw the Facebook post donated to the Cancer Research Fund.

Note. Adopted from Gugenishvili & Coliander (forthcoming). Copyright (forthcoming) by Gugenishvili, I, & Coliander, J.

All the variables were measured on a seven-point Likert scale using pre-developed and validated questions (table 10).

Table 8: Items measuring key constructs of experiment 1 of article 2

Level	Variables and items	α if item deleted	M	SD
DV	Donation intentions (Bruner & Gordon, 1995; Hornikx et al., 2010) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .9$; CR = .9; AVE = .82)			
	After reading the post and comments how likely are you to consider donating money to this charity?	-	3.98	1.61
	After reading the post and comments how likely are you to actually donate money to this charity?	-	3.35	1.48
Ctrl	Credibility (Coliander & Marder, 2018) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .94$; CR = .94; AVE = .85)			
	I think the charitable organization in the advertisement is credible	.92	5.24	1.38
	I think the charitable organization in the advertisement is believable	.88	5.37	1.32
	I think the charitable organization in the advertisement is honest	.95	5.27	1.38
	General attitudes towards charitable donations (Osgood et al., 1957) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .9$; CR = .93; AVE = .78)			
	I think giving money to charity is irresponsible/ responsible	.87	5.91	1.15
	I think giving money to charity is bad/ good	.88	6.24	1.04
	I think giving money to charity is stupid/ smart	.9	5.57	1.21
	I think giving money to charity is unworthy/ worthy	.89	6.02	1.1

Note. Adopted from Gugenishvili & Coliander (forthcoming). Copyright (forthcoming) by Gugenishvili, I, & Coliander, J.

To test H1, we compared the donation intentions of the four groups using the two-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). Groups exposed to supportive social norms exhibited significantly higher donation intentions ($M = 3.96$) than those exposed to unsupportive ones ($M = 3.39$; $p = .027$). Thus, H1 was supported. H2 was tested in two stages. First, using the independent samples t -test, we compared groups based on whether they received information on injunctive or descriptive norms (regardless of them being supportive or unsupportive). The difference in terms of donation intentions was not statistically significant ($p = .7$). Then, we split the data into two (respondents exposed to [1] injunctive and [2] descriptive norms) and analyzed the group differences regarding donation intentions based on whether participants received supportive versus unsupportive norm manipulation. In the injunctive norms' conditions, respondents exhibited significantly higher donation intentions when exposed to supportive norms than unsupportive ones ($p = .03$). However, this was not true among the respondents in the descriptive norms condition ($p = .12$). Therefore, H2 was also supported.

Experiment 2 addressed H3 and H4. A total of 160 respondents organized into two groups were recruited through the crowdsourcing marketplace ProA. Of the participants, 72% were female, with an average age of 36 (min. = 18; max. = 77). The two groups did not significantly differ in terms of gender ($p = .132$) and age ($p = .075$).

Manipulation was conducted by presenting the abstract and results of an ostensible 2019 study on animal welfare conducted in the United Kingdom (table 11).

Table 9: Experimental manipulations of experiment 2 of article 2

Group	Condition	Manipulation
Group 1	Aligned	Information on an ostensible study suggesting that 85% of British people say they approve of donating to animal welfare organizations and in reality, 85% actually donate.
Group 2	Unaligned	Information on an ostensible study suggesting that 85% of British people say they approve of donating to animal welfare organizations and in reality, only 22% actually donate.

Note. Adopted from Gugenishvili & Coliander (forthcoming). Copyright (forthcoming) by Gugenishvili, I, & Coliander, J.

Pre-developed and validated questions were used to measure the variables on a seven-point Likert scale (table 12).

Table 10: Items measuring key constructs of experiment 2 of article 2

Level	Variables and items	α if item deleted	M	SD
DV	Donation intentions (Ajzen, 2002) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .9$; CR = .93; AVE = .72)			
	How likely do you think it is that you will donate money to animal welfare organizations in the next 4 weeks?	.9	2.71	1.87
	I will donate money to an animal welfare organization in the next 4 weeks	.88	2.63	1.83
	I would like to donate money to an animal welfare organization in the next 4 weeks	.67	3.89	2.05
	I do not intend to donate money to an animal welfare organization in the next 4 weeks (R)	.79	3.33	2.23
	I intend to donate money to an animal welfare organization in the next 4 weeks	.87	2.78	1.87
DV	Collective efficacy (Thomas et al., 2016) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .8$; CR = .86; AVE = .65)			
	Together those who donate can change the situation for animals	.74	5.57	1.23
	Together those who donate can stop animal neglect, cruelty, and abuse	.82	4.74	1.55
	Together those who donate can successfully stand up for the animal rights	.77	5.34	1.19
	Together those who donate can really influence animal neglect, cruelty, and abuse	.79	4.89	1.44
Ctrl	Perceived behavioral control (Ajzen, 2002; J. R. Smith & McSweeney, 2007) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$; CR = .85; AVE = .59)			
	If I want to, I could easily donate money to an animal welfare organization in the next 4 weeks	.76	4.4	2
	It is mostly up to me whether I donate money to animal welfare organizations in the next 4 weeks	.85	6.02	1.38
	I am confident that I will be able to donate money to an animal welfare organization in the next 4 weeks	.8	3.56	2
	Donating money to an animal welfare organization in the next 4 weeks is easy for me to do	.75	4.11	2
	Overall, how much control do you have over whether you donate money to an animal welfare organization in the next 4 weeks?	.86	5.76	1.71
	General credibility of charitable organizations (Colliander & Marder, 2018) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .94$; CR = .93; AVE = .81)			
	In general, animal welfare organizations in the UK are credible	.93	5.54	1.06
	In general, animal welfare organizations in the UK are believable	.88	5.53	1.14
	In general, animal welfare organizations in the UK are honest	.92	5.44	1.18

Note. Adopted from Gugenishvili & Coliander (forthcoming). Copyright (forthcoming) by Gugenishvili, I, & Coliander, J.

An independent samples *t*-test revealed that respondents subjected to aligned norms had significantly higher donation intentions than those subjected to unaligned ones ($p = .034$). Thus, H3 was empirically supported. H4 was tested using model 4 of the SPSS PROCESS macro by Andrew F. Hayes, which represents the mediation and moderation path analysis tool (Hayes, 2017; Hong & Li, 2020). The analysis revealed the mediation effect of collective efficacy (IE = .2062, 95% CI = .0571–.3827).

To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study to address the question of whether injunctive or descriptive norms are more powerful in directing individuals' monetary donation intentions. We pushed this investigation further by identifying the process by which aligned versus unaligned social norms influence donation intentions. Thus, by examining the effect of collective efficacy, we also add to the literature on collective action and efficacy. The results of our experiments also have practical implications. We recommend that charitable organizations emphasize injunctive norms in their marketing content. We also found that unaligned social norms can significantly demotivate monetary donation intentions. Therefore, charitable organizations should not highlight the discrepancy between injunctive and descriptive norms. Lastly, experiment 2 showed that unaligned social norms significantly undermine donation intentions by decreasing collective efficacy. Therefore, charities should communicate the impact of collective action to their potential donors. This can be achieved by explaining the importance of individual donations and their contributions to collective action.

4.3 Article 3: I was thinking of helping, but then I changed my mind! The influence of injunctive and descriptive norms on monetary donation intention-behavior link

(Single-authored. Under review at *Journal of Nonprofit and Public Sector Marketing*)
The purpose of this study was to investigate how social norms moderate the relationship between monetary donation intentions and behavior. To understand how various behaviors are encouraged, researchers have primarily used the *theory of planned behavior* (TPB) (Ajzen, 1985b), according to which intentions inform behavior. However, various studies have argued that an intention-behavior gap exists and that intentions are often abandoned or reconsidered due to changing circumstances (e.g., Carrington et al., 2010; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2009).

One reason why individuals may reconsider their intentions is due to learning about social norms (Carrington et al., 2010; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2009), which are situation-specific standards shared by a group of people (McDonald & Crandall, 2015a; J. R. Smith et al., 2012). These norms are categorized as injunctive, which relates to what the majority of people approve of, and descriptive, which refers to what the majority of people do. Researchers have largely studied the independent influence of these two sets of norms (Lönqvist et al., 2009; Nipedal et al., 2010). In the real world, however, both injunctive and descriptive norms might be known to individuals and even contradict each other (J. R. Smith et al., 2012). Whether individuals act upon their intentions when aligned or unaligned social norms are present remains poorly understood.

To address this gap in the literature, I conducted an experiment that investigated *whether* monetary donation intentions lead to donation behavior. I also examined *whether, when, and how* aligned and unaligned social norms moderated the intention-behavior link and whether personal involvement enhanced or mitigated the power of social norms. Therefore, this experimental study answers the following research question:

RQ3: How does simultaneous exposure to injunctive and descriptive norms influence the monetary donation intention-behavior link?

To answer RQ3, I proposed the following hypotheses:

H1: Donation intentions positively influence donation behavior.

H2: Social norms moderate the relationship between donation intentions and donation behavior.

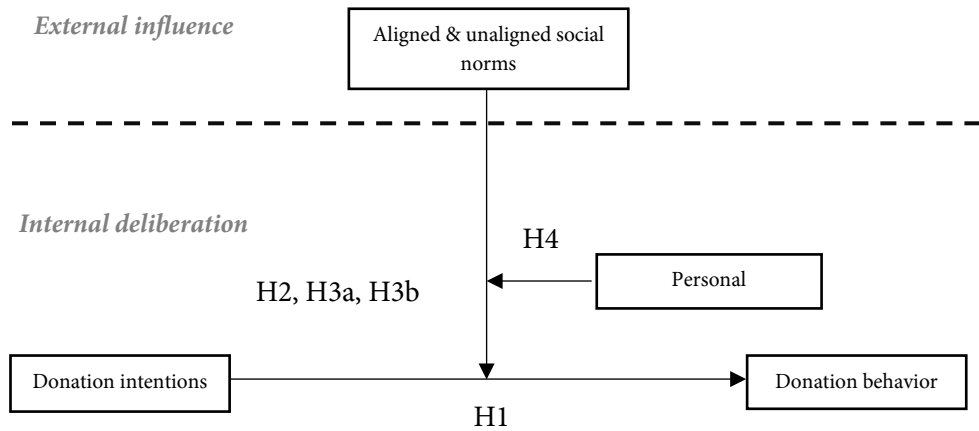
H3a: Aligned social norms moderate the influence of donation intentions on donation behavior.

H3b: Unaligned social norms do not moderate the influence of donation intentions on donation behavior.

H4: Personal involvement negatively moderates the influence of social norms on the relationship between donation intentions and behavior.

The figure below illustrates the conceptual model of the study.

Figure 3: Conceptual model of article 3



Note. Adopted from Gugenishvili. Copyright by Gugenishvili.

The data were collected from 428 respondents organized into five groups. All the respondents were recruited from the crowdsourcing marketplace www.prolific.ac (ProA). Of the respondents, 64% were female, and the average age was 35 (min. = 18; max. = 82). The experimental groups did not significantly differ in terms of gender ($p = .335$) and age ($p = .423$).

Social norms were manipulated by presenting the abstract and results of an ostensible 2019 study on animal welfare conducted in the United Kingdom (table 7).

Table 11: Groups and manipulations of article 3

Group	Condition	Stimulus text	Alignment
Group 1	Supportive injunctive/ supportive descriptive	85% of British people say they approve of donating to animal welfare organizations, and in reality, 84% actually donate.	Aligned supportive
Group 2	Supportive injunctive/ unsupportive descriptive	As much as 85% of British people say they approve of donating to animal welfare organizations, but in reality, only 11% actually donate.	Unaligned
Group 3	Unsupportive injunctive/ unsupportive descriptive	Only 12% of British people say they approve of donating to animal welfare organizations, and in reality, 11% actually donate.	Aligned unsupportive
Group 4	Unsupportive injunctive/ supportive descriptive	Only 12% of British people say they approve of donating to animal welfare organizations, in reality, as much as 85% actually donate.	Unaligned
Group 5	Control	None.	

Note. Adopted from Gugenishvili. Copyright by Gugenishvili.

All the variables were measured on a seven-point Likert scale using well-established and validated questions (table 8).

Table 12: Items measuring key constructs of article 3

	<i>Variables and items</i>	<i>α if item deleted</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
IV	<i>Donation intentions</i> (Ajzen, 2002) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$)			
	I will donate money to animal welfare organizations in the next 4 weeks.	.797	2.33	1.59
	I would like to donate money to animal welfare organizations in the next 4 weeks. (R)	.934	4.14	2.06
	I do not intend to donate money to animal welfare organizations in the next 4 weeks. (R)	.824	3.13	2.12
	I intend to donate money to animal welfare organizations in the next 4 weeks.	.788	2.59	1.73
	How likely do you think it is that you will donate money to animal welfare organizations in the next 4 weeks.	.792	2.38	1.75
IV	<i>Personal involvement</i> (Göckeritz et al., 2010) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$)			
	How much do you think about animal welfare issues in your day to day life?	.636	3.67	1.75
	In the past, have you taken personal or political actions to address animal welfare issues that you have heard about?	.75	3.06	1.96
	How much do you care about animal welfare?	.752	5.41	1.44
DV	<i>Donation behavior</i> (Xu et al., 2020)			
	Thank you for your participation! We will give a bonus of £50 to five randomly chosen participants. Each participant regardless of their answers has an equal chance of winning the bonus. You can keep the bonus for yourself or donate all or part of it to one of our partner animal welfare organizations or an organization of your own choice. If you were to win the £50 bonus, would you like to donate? If you wish to donate please indicate the amount you want to donate in a comment box below. If you want to keep the bonus, please type 0.			
M.C.	<i>Injunctive norms</i> (Ajzen, 2002) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .9$)			
	A majority of people in Great Britain approve of donating money to animal welfare organizations.	.849	4.35	2.49
	A majority of people in Great Britain endorse money donation to animal welfare organizations.	.897	4.16	2.32
	A majority of people in Great Britain support that individuals donate money to animal welfare organizations.	.861	4.29	2.17
	<i>Descriptive norms</i> (Ajzen, 2002) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .96$)			
	A majority of people in Great Britain donate to animal welfare organizations.	.929	3.72	2.42
	A majority of people in Great Britain have donated to animal welfare organizations.	.929	3.81	2.36
	A majority of people in Great Britain do not donate to animal welfare organizations. (R)	.974	3.77	2.47

Note. Adopted from Gugenishvili. Copyright by Gugenishvili.

The data were collected from 428 respondents organized into five groups. All the respondents were recruited from the crowdsourcing marketplace www.prolific.ac (ProA). Of the respondents, 64% were female, and the average age was 35 (min. = 18; max. = 82). The experimental groups did not significantly differ in terms of gender ($p = .335$) and age ($p = .423$).

Social norms were manipulated by presenting the abstract and results of an ostensible 2019 study on animal welfare conducted in the United Kingdom (table 7).

All the variables were measured on a seven-point Likert scale using well-established and validated questions (table 8).

To test the hypotheses, logistic regression analysis was performed using IBM SPSS Statistics 25. The analysis revealed that the odds of donating money were significantly and positively related to donation intentions ($p = .000$) in such a way that every one level increase in donation intentions approximately doubled the likelihood of the participant actually donating money. Moreover, a significant interaction was detected between donation intentions and social norms ($p = .043$). Thus, H1 and H2 were supported. When analyzing each group separately, a negative interaction of donation intentions and social norms was identified in all four groups. Thus, all conditions weakened the donation intentions-behavior link. However, the interaction was significant only for groups one ($p = .01$) and four ($p = .037$). Thus, H3a and H3b were both partially supported as both aligned and unaligned norms moderate the intention-behavior link but not in all cases. The analysis did not show a three-way interaction between donation intentions, norms, and personal involvement ($p = .502$). Thus, H4 was not empirically supported.

The study contributes to the literature on the intention-behavior gap, social norms, and personal involvement in the context of charitable giving. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first study to investigate the moderating power of both aligned and unaligned social norms on the intention-behavior link. This information is important for bridging the gap between intentions and behavior. The findings indicate that monetary donations can be raised even from individuals who initially intended otherwise. Thus, I recommend charitable organizations highlight social norms in their marketing content. Aligned supportive norms were also identified to be the most powerful moderators of the intention-behavior link, resulting in higher donation behavior than in the control group. Therefore, it is ineffective to showcase unsupportive norms in the hope of increasing empathy or the obligation of personal action.

5 Discussion

5.1 Summary and consolidation of the findings

The overarching aim of this dissertation is to investigate the dynamics between social norms and charitable donation intentions and behavior. To achieve this aim, three research questions were outlined and addressed in four studies reported in three articles. The table below provides a summary of the main findings of the articles.

Table 13: Summary of the main findings

<i>Research question</i>	Whether, when, and how do descriptive norms influence monetary donation intentions?	When and how does simultaneous exposure to injunctive and descriptive norms influence monetary donation intentions?	How does simultaneous exposure to injunctive and descriptive norms influence the monetary donation intention-behavior link?
<i>Article</i>	I give a dime if you do, too! The influence of descriptive norms on perceived impact, personal involvement, and monetary donation intentions	I will only help if others tell me to do so! Simultaneous influence of injunctive and descriptive norms on donations	I was thinking of helping, but then I changed my mind! The influence of injunctive and descriptive norms on monetary donation intention-behavior link
<i>Main findings</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Descriptive norms significantly influence donation intentions. Specifically, the more favorable the descriptive norms, the higher the donation intentions, and vice versa. ▪ Perceived impact mediates the relationship between descriptive norms and donation intentions. ▪ Personal involvement mediates the relationship between descriptive norms and donation intentions. ▪ Beneficiary responsibility does not moderate the relationship between descriptive norms and donation intentions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Social norms influence donation intentions. Specifically, individuals are more likely to exhibit donation intentions when exposed to supportive social norms than they are when exposed to unsupportive ones. ▪ Injunctive norms are more powerful influencers of donation intentions than descriptive norms. ▪ Whether social norms align with each other or not defines their influence on donation intentions. That is, respondents are more likely to exhibit donation intentions when they perceive both injunctive and descriptive norms to be supportive than when either is unsupportive. ▪ The relationship between aligned/unaligned norms and donation intentions is mediated by collective efficacy. In other words, either set of norms being unsupportive reduces the collective efficacy perceptions, which ultimately leads to lower donation intentions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The relationship between donation intentions and actual behavior is positive and significant. Specifically, the higher donation intentions are, the more likely donation behavior is to occur. ▪ A combination of injunctive and descriptive norms moderates the donation intentions-behavior relationship in the following two cases: (1) when both injunctive and descriptive norms are supportive of the donation behavior; and (2) when descriptive norms are supportive and injunctive norms are unsupportive. Social norms do not moderate the donation intention- behavior link in the following two other conditions: (1) when both sets of norms are unsupportive of donation behavior; and (2) when injunctive norms are supportive but descriptive norms are unsupportive. In these cases, respondents disregard social norms and act according to previously stated intentions. <p>In other words, personal involvement does not negatively moderate the influence of social norms on the relationship between donation intentions and behavior.</p>

Below I discuss the main findings in more detail in relation to the research questions.

5.1.1 Influence of descriptive norms on monetary donation intentions

Article 1 addressed the first research question, “When and how do descriptive norms influence monetary donation intentions?” The article sought to fill a gap in the literature about the effect of descriptive norms on donation intentions and the process of this effect. Therefore, the main objective of the article was to investigate not only *whether* but also *how* and *when* descriptive norms influence donation intentions.

The findings of the study suggested that descriptive norms directly and significantly influence donation intentions. This assumption aligns with several previous studies. For example, Martin and Randal (2008) found that manipulating descriptive norms significantly affects the frequency and amounts of donations. Shang and Croson (2009) concluded that descriptive norms influence new donors. Studying the influence of descriptive norms on children, McAuliffe et al. (2017) found that donation amounts vary based on the normative information provided by the researchers. Conversely, our findings contradict those of J. R. Smith and McSweeney (2007) and Raihani and McAuliffe (2014), who found no effect of descriptive norms on donation intentions. A possible reason for this inconsistency may be differences in sample, timing, or manipulations. For instance, in their manipulation of descriptive norms, Raihani and McAuliffe (2014) used the phrases “you ought to” or “you should,” which may have been perceived as an order, causing protest in that respondents and creating a counterproductive influence.

We further verified whether perceived impact (PIM) and personal involvement (PIN) mediate the relationship between descriptive norms and donation intentions. We found that the donation behavior of friends and family members informs individuals’ perceptions of the impact of charities. Moreover, supportive descriptive norms of charitable giving increased personal involvement with an issue. Ultimately, increased perceived impact and personal involvement motivate donation intentions. Our findings align with several previous studies in which PIM (e.g., Cryder et al., 2013; Erlandsson et al., 2015) and PIN (e.g., Bae, 2008; Bennett, 2009; Curtis et al., 2014) were found to be significant influencers of donation intentions. However, to the best

of our knowledge, none of the previous studies have investigated the mediating effect of these two variables between descriptive norms and donation intentions.

Finally, we examined whether beneficiary responsibility negatively mediates the positive influence of supportive descriptive norms on donation intentions. That is, we investigated whether individuals use the high responsibility of the beneficiary for her or his own plight as an excuse to disregard descriptive norms and exhibit lower donation intentions. We found no moderation of beneficiary responsibility, meaning that whether respondents considered the benefactor responsible for her or his own plight did not affect the influence of descriptive norms. A possible reason for this finding may be the cause of homelessness used in the study. It is possible that the study participants did not judge homeless people as severely as they would have judged some other minorities, such as people living with HIV. Placing no or less blame on the benefactor would have mitigated the moderating power of the beneficiary responsibility. An alternative explanation of the finding is related to the sample of British respondents. According to the Charities Aid Foundation (2018), 68% of people in the United Kingdom have donated to a charitable organization in the past 30 days. Given this propensity toward donation behavior in the British population, one could argue that using beneficiary responsibility as an excuse not to donate is less profound than it may be in other societies.

5.1.2 Simultaneous influence of injunctive and descriptive norms on monetary donation intentions

In article 2, I addressed the second research question, “When and how does simultaneous exposure to injunctive and descriptive norms influence monetary donation intentions?” Across two experiments, my coauthor and I aimed to find out whether exposure to injunctive or descriptive norms is more powerful in soliciting donations and to explore the process by which aligned versus unaligned social norms influence donations.

The findings demonstrated that social norms influence donation intentions; the participants subjected to supportive norms showed significantly higher donation intentions than those subjected to unsupportive norms. The results are consistent with previous studies that indicate that individuals are inclined to behave according to the beliefs and actions of the members of their social groups (e.g., Ajzen, 1991; Lapinski & Rimal, 2005; Stapel & Blanton, 2007). The results of the first experiment also suggest

that exposure to injunctive norms drives donation intentions but exposure to descriptive norms does not. These findings align with those of Smith and McSweeney (2007) and Raihani and McAuliffe (2014). However, our findings contradict those of some previous studies. For example, Shang and Croson (2009) found that descriptive norms motivated new donors to donate, while Agerström et al. (2016) observed that descriptive norms influenced students' charitable giving. A possible reason for the inconsistency could be the differences between the samples. It is reasonable to argue that to new donors and students, donation behavior is relatively novel. These groups would be more inclined to use descriptive information regarding what type of behavior is effective and appropriate. Our respondents, however, belonged to various age groups who likely had a wide variety of donation experiences. Being familiar with the concept of charitable giving may have made our respondents resistant to descriptive norms. An additional explanation regarding why descriptive norms did not emerge as significant drivers of donation intentions may be the manipulation used in the study. To manipulate descriptive norms, we informed respondents that 84% (favorable descriptive norm condition) versus 22% (unfavorable descriptive norm condition) of people make monetary donations to charities. Although pre-tested, both of these percentages may have been perceived as supportive. Furthermore, the supportive formulation of the descriptive information may have mitigated its power as people are more sensitive to information on how people do not behave than on how they do behave (Bergquist & Nilsson, 2019).

To push the study further, in experiment 2, we investigated how aligned versus unaligned social norms affected donation intentions. Consistent with Smith et al. (2012), we found that the motivating power of supportive injunctive norms is mitigated by unsupportive descriptive norms. That is, even though in experiment 1, descriptive norms did not show a significant influence on donation intentions, they did have an effect when coupled with injunctive norms. Specifically, unsupportive descriptive norms decreased the power of supportive injunctive norms and demotivated individuals to act. In contrast, Rimal and Real (2003) and Cestac et al. (2014) found a motivating effect of unaligned norms on alcohol consumption and speeding intentions. A possible reason for why our results contradict those of these two studies may be the difference in the domain; alcohol consumption and speeding may have been motivated by the participants' rebellion against social norms. It may also be more tempting to consume alcohol or to speed rather than donate money.

Charitable giving requires a certain level of sacrifice from the donor; therefore, unaligned social norms can be easily used as an excuse to refuse the donation.

As mentioned earlier, descriptive norms did not influence donation intentions in experiment 1, but they did in experiment 2. This discrepancy may be due to a difference in the manipulations. Specifically, in experiment 1, the percentages regarding how many people donated were presented separately from the injunctive norms. Thus, both 84% and 22% could have been perceived as supportive. However, in experiment 2, these percentages were provided side by side with the percentage of the injunctive norms (85%). It could be argued that the injunctive norms gave a reference point against which respondents judged whether the descriptive norms were favorable or unfavorable.

Finally, the influence process analysis of social norms showed that whether descriptive norms were aligned or unaligned changed the perceptions of collective efficacy. Doubts in collective efficacy lead to lower donation intentions. Thus, the finding suggests that for people to engage in collective behavior, they should believe in the group's ability to successfully reach its objective (Thomas et al., 2016).

5.1.3 Simultaneous influence of injunctive and descriptive norms on donation intention-behavior link

Article 3 addressed the third research question, "How does simultaneous exposure to injunctive and descriptive norms influence the monetary donation intention-behavior link?" The article aims to investigate *whether* donation intentions influence donation behavior and how social norms moderate this relationship.

First, consistent with previous studies (e.g., Kashif & De Run, 2015; J. R. Smith & McSweeney, 2007), the findings suggest a positive and significant correlation between donation intentions and behavior. That is, respondents with higher donation intentions also exhibited higher donation behaviors and vice versa.

Second, the intention-behavior link may change with the moderation of aligned and unaligned norms. Specifically, social norms moderate the intention-behavior link in the following two conditions: (1) when both injunctive and descriptive norms are supportive of charitable giving (group 1); and (2) when injunctive norms are unsupportive, but descriptive norms are supportive (group 4). The moderating effect of social norms does not emerge in the other conditions, namely when (1) both sets of norms are unsupportive (group 3) and (2) injunctive are supportive, but descriptive

norms are unsupportive (group 2). Comparison of the donation intentions of respondents subject to different conditions revealed no significant difference. However, actual donation behavior was highest in group 1, followed by groups 2, 4, and 3. Taking into account two factors ([a] social norms moderated the intention-behavior link in groups 1 and 4, and [b] donation intentions were higher in group 1 and lower in group 4)], I concluded that it is injunctive norms that mainly drive the moderating force rather than descriptive ones. At the same time, the pressure of injunctive norms is stronger when descriptive norms are also supportive. By contrast, when descriptive norms are unsupportive of behavior, the pressure of injunctive norms is mitigated; thus, individuals behave according to their intentions. Interestingly, the combination of supportive injunctive and unsupportive descriptive norms had an effect in article 2 but not in article 3. This inconsistency is likely caused by two factors: (1) the variables in the model — in article 2 social norms served as independent and donation intentions as dependent variables; in article 3, though, social norms were used as moderators between independent— donation intentions — and dependent variable — donation behavior; (2) aim of the studies — the aim of the article 2 was to uncover the difference between the effects of aligned and unaligned social norms, thus, the influence of unaligned social norms was evaluated against the effect of aligned social norms; the aim of article 3, though, was to compare the influence of aligned and unaligned social norms independently. In other words, the effect of unaligned social norms, in article 3, was evaluated against the effect of control condition — no social norms. It is logical to argue that when compared to aligned norms the effect of unaligned ones was more likely to be detected than when compared to the condition of no social norms. To the best of my knowledge, no previous studies have shown how aligned and unaligned injunctive and descriptive norms moderate the relationship between intention and behavior in the domain of charity.

Finally, unlike J. R. Smith and Louis (2008), I did not find a moderating effect due to PIN in this study. A possible explanation for the insignificant three-way interaction is the cause used in the study — animal welfare. Even though the respondents did differ in terms of their PIN, it is still possible that they did not perceive the issue as having immediate consequences for their own lives. Moreover, animal welfare is not a very pressing issue in the United Kingdom, where the respondents of the study come from. These two factors could have resulted in the less deliberate intention formations.

Such intentions are easily affected by other factors, such as social norms (Kim, 2008; Walia et al., 2016).

5.2 Main theoretical contributions

Examining charity in relation to social norms, this doctoral dissertation mainly contributes to the field of prosocial behavior, which represents a subcategory of consumer behavior. It also adds to the literature on social norms by examining not only *whether* they influence intentions and behavior but also *when* and *how*. Finally, it contributes to the discussion on intention-behavior dynamics and proposes social norms as a way of explaining the gap between intentions and behavior.

Prosocial behavior and social norms

Across three articles, my coauthors and I investigated human prosocial behavior and successfully demonstrated the power of social norms even in modern-day affluent societies. The influence of social norms is especially important to consider in the age of social media, which challenges modern societies by exposing people to an enormous amount of information about others' opinions and actions, ultimately affecting how people understand their social worlds (Armstrong-Carter & Telzer, 2021; Turiel, 1983). This dissertation highlights that social media and social norms can be used to encourage actions, such as charitable giving, which is vital considering the ongoing refugee, environmental, and health-related crises. We also found that the influence of social norms is mediated and moderated by other variables, such as perceived impact (article 1), personal involvement (article 1), and collective efficacy (article 2). Thus, by investigating the process preceding human behavior, this dissertation adds to the literature on consumers and, specifically, prosocial behavior, shedding light on the mechanisms through which prosocial behavior is formed. Moreover, by identifying the effect processes of social norms, we add clarity to the existing literature by showcasing that norms do matter but not consistently as their influence significantly depends on the presence and scale of other variables. Uncovering the mediators and moderators of the influence of social norms, we add to the *social norms theory* (Cialdini et al., 1990), *social expectation theory* (Bicchieri, 2005), and *focus theory* (Cialdini et al., 1990).

Injunctive norms, descriptive norms, and their interaction

In addition to demonstrating the power of social norms, the articles illustrate the effects of injunctive and descriptive norms individually and in combination with each other. First, we revealed that injunctive norms are more powerful influencers of intentions than descriptive ones (article 2). Because the measured behavior in our study was anonymous, we cannot say whether the injunctive norms influenced intentions through the mechanism of reputation proposed by Bekkers and Wiepking (2011). However, injunctive norms evidently impose a certain level of pressure, ultimately directing behavior (Jones & Gerard, 1967). Thus, this dissertation adds to the discussion on whether injunctive or descriptive norms are more powerful in directing human behavior (e.g., Cialdini et al., 1990; Reno et al., 1993). Moreover, we found that descriptive norms significantly influence not only intentions (article 1) but also actual behaviors (article 3) related to charitable giving. This is significant as most previous studies have addressed intentions, which have little impact for charitable organizations unless people follow through on their intentions. Finally, considering the complexity of the real world, we investigated how injunctive and descriptive norms interact when influencing human intentions (article 2) and behavior (article 3). Therefore, the dissertation adds to the contradicting literature in which some researchers have pointed to the demotivating power of unaligned social norms (e.g. Olson, 2009; J. R. Smith et al., 2012; J. R. Smith & Louis, 2008) and others have found the opposite (e.g. Cestac et al., 2014; Rimal & Real, 2003). By further studying the effect process of aligned versus unaligned social norms, the dissertation also contributes to the literature on collective efficacy, which was found to be a mediator between unaligned social norms and donation intentions (article 2). This is significant as none of the previous articles have studied the collective efficacy-social norms dynamics in the domain of charity. Considering how small individual donations usually are, collective action is vital for a successful charitable campaign. Thus, we also contribute to the *collective action theory* (Olson, 1989).

Intentions-behavior gap

In article 3, I challenged the notion that intentions predict behavior (Sheeran, 2002). The results of the experiment indicate that whether intentions translate into behavior significantly depends on the revealed social norms. Specifically, a combination of

injunctive and descriptive norms moderates the relationship between donation intentions and donation behavior in the following two cases: (1) when both injunctive and descriptive norms are supportive of the donation behavior; and (2) when descriptive norms are supportive and injunctive norms are unsupportive. However, social norms do not moderate the donation intention-behavior link in the following two conditions: (1) when both sets of norms are unsupportive of donation behavior; and (2) when injunctive norms are supportive, but descriptive norms are unsupportive. In these cases, people disregard social norms and act according to previously stated intentions. This information is of utmost importance for bridging the gap between intentions and behavior as it identifies one possible moderator between the two and highlights why researchers cannot rely solely on intentions as predictors of behavior. Closing the gap between intentions and behaviors is important as intentions have little impact unless they are actioned, and the end goal of any campaign is always behavior. Therefore, the findings have applicability beyond the charitable context and may explain the intention-behavior gap in other domains, such as sustainability or health-related behaviors. By investigating the intention-behavior link and identifying aligned and unaligned social norms as moderators, the dissertation adds to the *theory of planned behavior* (Ajzen, 1985a, 1991) and the *attitude-behavior theory* (Triandis, 1979).

In conclusion, this dissertation brings social norms to the context of charity and explores their role in driving intention and behavior. A combination of these theoretical contributions furthers the literature not only on charitable giving and social norms but also on intentions and behaviors. Therefore, although this dissertation focuses on prosocial behavior, the explored variables and relationships are not necessarily context-bound and may have implications, or serve as a starting point, for research in other domains where behavioral nudging is desired.

5.3 Implications for business practice

In addition to theoretical contributions, the dissertation offers several practical implications that are vital for charitable organizations seeking to increase private donations.

Social norms and charitable giving

First, the findings demonstrate the power of social norms to motivate donation intentions and behavior. This highlights the importance of communicating the “right” social information to individuals. Such information can affect people by playing on their desires to receive gratification and make effective decisions. Therefore, charitable organizations need to focus on communicating supportive social norms of charitable giving to the public. This can be done by providing percentages of how many people support the organization, showcasing the amounts they donate and highlighting supportive comments and testimonials in digital and traditional marketing content. When using a combination of injunctive and descriptive norms, charitable organizations should present both as supportive as such a combination leverages the largest amount of charitable giving. In other words, unlike in the case of pro-environmental behavior (e.g., McDonald et al., 2014), communicating the mismatch between injunctive and descriptive norms, in the hope of increasing empathy and obligation of personal action, can backfire in the charity context and decrease donations. When people see that others do not behave according to the kind of behavior they approve of, they may use this information as an excuse not to make donations or to justify their inactivity to themselves or others.

Beyond social norms

Article 1 identified perceived impact as a mediator between descriptive norms and donation intentions. Charitable organizations should, therefore, showcase the number of people who have already made monetary donations. This will give the impression to potential donors that they are not alone in supporting the cause and help them realize that even small contributions combine to have a significant impact on the supported cause. As Lay et al. (2020) suggested, descriptive norms can be shown by simply mentioning the usual behavior of individuals within a specific area. Virtual reality (VR) technology can also be useful in influencing personal impact. VR is characterized by a high level of immersiveness (Coyne et al., 2018), which can help benefactors visualize how donations help beneficiaries. Moreover, we established the mediation of personal involvement between the descriptive norms and donation intentions. To this end, charitable organizations should encourage their donors to reach out to others, such as via social media platforms, start discussions, and share

their favorable behaviors and thoughts about donation behaviors. Influenced by their social contexts, more people are likely to become involved in the issue at hand, which will increase the likelihood of their donations. An example of effectively using social media for this purpose is the world-renowned “ice bucket challenge,” which harvested over 98 million dollars in donations (Agerström et al., 2016; Townsend, 2014).

Third, we did not find that beneficiary responsibility negatively moderated the relationship between descriptive norms and donation intentions. Therefore, charitable organizations in the United Kingdom (where the study was conducted) should not pay unnecessary attention to justifying the victims. It is important to point out, however, that given the British propensity toward donation behavior (i.e., 68% of the population in the United Kingdom reported donation behavior within the past 30 days; Charities Aid Foundation, 2018), British people may be less prone to use beneficiary responsibility as an excuse not to donate than people from other societies around the world. Most likely, this is not the case for all societies around the world. In other societies, beneficiary responsibility could negatively affect the positive influence of supportive descriptive norms. Therefore, managers of charitable organizations should be sensitive to the characteristics of their target audiences and create the content that best suits their potential donors.

Moreover, we established that unaligned social norms (e.g., supportive injunctive and unsupportive descriptive norms) cause doubts in collective efficacy and decrease donation intentions. Therefore, managers of charities should highlight the power and positive effect of collective actions. This can be done by explaining how and why individual donations play a significant role in collective efforts as well as by fostering a group spirit by sharing pictures of activities involving groups of donors and employees. Such marketing content can increase collective efficacy and mitigate the negative influence of unaligned injunctive and descriptive norms.

General considerations

From a general perspective, whether charitable organizations are crafting their social media posts or creating texts for their brochures, choosing the “right words” is essential for capturing attention, building trust, and motivating individuals to look beyond their self-interests. Our managerial suggestions can assist charities to utilize media to its fullest potential, allowing managers to better understand their audiences and create tailored, more persuasive marketing content. At the same time, there is a

fine line between persuasion and manipulation. It is vital for charitable organizations not to professionalize and commercialize their fundraising efforts excessively as this can lead the public to perceive charities as businesses or brands, rather than companies helping society (Baggini, 2015).

Other important considerations from the ethical perspective include what kind of organizations raise money and how these funds are spent. Charity scandals occasionally surface, taint the sector, and decrease the trustworthiness and credibility of the entire industry. These scandals sporadically remind society that persuasion and raising as much money as possible are not always positive as peoples' trust may be misused and obligations abused.

Taking an even wider perspective, content tailoring prompts some additional ethical considerations regarding how and for what purpose marketing and social media are used. Exposure to social media content can easily create misleading perceptions or impose pressure. This may lead people toward self-destructive behaviors, such as drinking, smoking, and gambling (e.g. Gunther et al., 2006; Wombacher et al., 2017), as well as hatred and even violence against immigrants, LGBTQ community members, and other minorities (Coyne et al., 2018).

In conclusion, this dissertation provides practical suggestions for strategically creating content that is more persuasive in raising funds. At the same time, the results should be used with great integrity to avoid harming the sector, beneficiaries, or society in general.

5.4 Limitations and future research

Several limitations should be taken into account when interpreting the findings of this dissertation. Below, I discuss these limitations along with future research suggestions.

Contextualization

The first limitation of all the articles is that only British respondents were studied. Choosing British respondents was not a mistake; rather, this decision was made after careful deliberation. The influence of descriptive norms and other (mediating/moderating) variables can significantly differ based on respondents' cultural backgrounds (e.g., individualistic vs. collectivistic and/ or tight vs. loose) (Gelfand et al., 2011; item International, 2016). The purpose of each study was to

investigate the models in the cultural space, where the descriptive norms occur, rather than to study cultural differences. Therefore, we believe the inclusion of only British respondents helped us prevent changes in the dependent variables that would be unexplainable based on the study designs. Moreover, the responses could have been biased not only by the cultural backgrounds but also by the intensity of the studied cases in society. For instance, it is possible that British respondents were especially sensitive to the topics and exhibited behaviors exclusive to the British people. I believe studying only British respondents helped us contextualize and provide findings that can help charities target specific segments rather than bombard audiences with irrelevant content. Future researchers should test the models in other countries that differ from the United Kingdom in terms of cultures, level of economic development, social security systems, and so forth, such as Finland, Sweden, or Norway.

Moreover, the studies did not address the differences that the source of social norms may have caused in terms of results. The effect of social norms greatly depends on the reference groups (Bicchieri & Dimant, 2019). It would be interesting to investigate whether the relationships in the models are still valid when social norms originate from in-group strangers, out-group strangers, or people important to the participants (e.g., friends and/or family members).

Variables in the models

In some cases (e.g., article 1), only partial mediation was detected. Thus, I encourage future studies to investigate the mediation of other variables. Discovering which other variables mediate the link between independent and dependent variables will increase the predictive power of the models.

Furthermore, we did not find the moderation of beneficiary responsibility (article 1) and personal involvement (article 3). The reason for this may be the cause used for the manipulation. Therefore, future studies should check the moderation of these variables in different contexts (e.g., HIV, risky behavior, and environmental protection). Moreover, future studies should control for age, gender, occupation, and level of education, which can significantly influence the relationships.

Methodological considerations

In article 3, I tested the relationship between intentions and behavior. To avoid intentional matching of intentions and behavior, I lead participants to believe that the

experimental sessions included a series of questionnaires for multiple independent studies. I also included a distractor task between the measurements of intentions and actual behaviors. Finally, I asked participants to guess the hypotheses of the study and excluded the data of those who predicted them correctly. However, the previously stated intentions may have had a spillover effect on actual behavior. This limitation can be addressed by conducting a longitudinal study in which donation intentions and actual behaviors are measured at least three weeks apart. Moreover, a longitudinal study design would provide an opportunity to explore not only short-term but also long-term effects of exposure to prosocial content.

From a more general perspective, this dissertation uses the positivism approach and relies on quantitative data collected through a survey and controlled experiments. Future researchers could incorporate more modern and creative methods of data collection, including mobile applications and chat rooms, such as Zoom (Armstrong-Carter & Telzer, 2021). In addition, the interpretivism approach with qualitative data collected through individual or group interviews might serve as a complement to better understand the quantitative responses and draw a more comprehensive picture. Combining positivism and interpretivism approaches would also allow researchers to correct the biases that each approach carries (Lin, 1998). Thus, a mixture of approaches would be fruitful for understanding the phenomenon at hand.

New trends

Finally, new trends and developments should not be neglected. Future studies should investigate how prosocial behavior has changed as a result of the internet, online interactions, and globalization. Technological and societal changes might have a significant impact on how people view content, their own roles and responsibilities, victims, and prosocial actions. For instance, considering the immersiveness of VR technology complemented with 5G networks, VR might influence people differently from more traditional media, such as printed materials, television, or even social media (Coyne et al., 2018). Moreover, as globalization processes bring different people together, this might change the way people in Western countries, who comprise most donors worldwide, perceive out-group or dissimilar others, such as Asians or Africans, who often represent the benefactors. When studying prosocial behavior, researchers should also look at various types and targets of prosocial behavior. These different types of prosocial actions, such as feeling for, working with, and ministering

to another, might have different antecedents and consequences and thus different effect processes associated with them (Coyne et al., 2018; Hay & Cook, 2007).

In conclusion, all the studies reported in the dissertation, like any study, have various limitations. However, these limitations do not indicate theoretical, methodological, or interpretational mistakes. Rather, they open avenues for future research, which can increase our understanding of social norms and prosocial behavior.

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Appendices

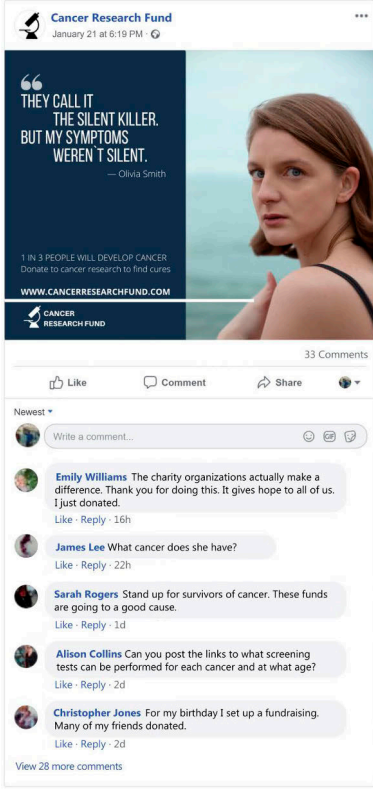
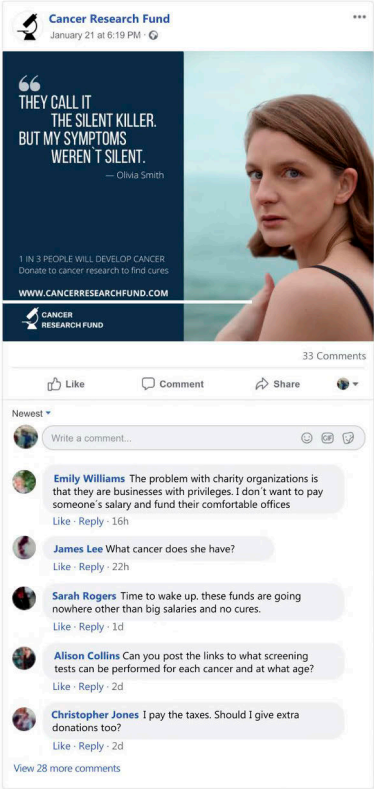
Appendix 1: Stimulus

The stimuli of Article 2

Experiment 1

Supportive injunctive norms

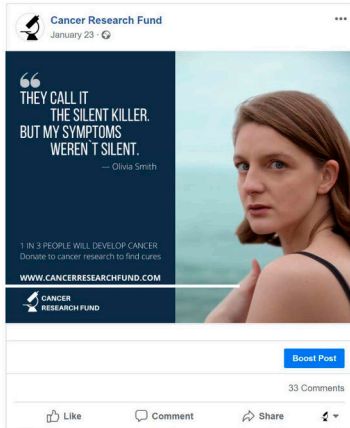
Unsupportive injunctive norms



Supportive descriptive norm

Approximately 84% of British people who saw this Facebook post donated to the Cancer Research Fund.

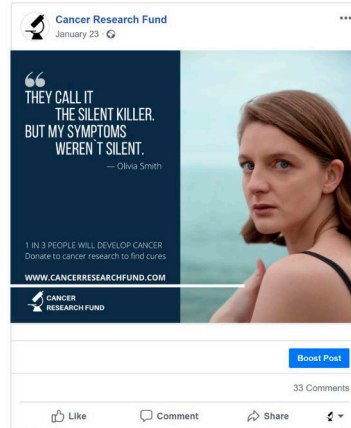
Please read the post and answer the following questions.



Unsupportive descriptive norm

Approximately 22% of British people who saw this Facebook post donated to the Cancer Research Fund.

Please read the post and answer the following questions.



Experiment 2

Aligned norms

According to the nationwide study conducted by the Office for National Statistics UK (2019), animal welfare organisations work to eliminate animal neglect, cruelty, and abuse. Charitable giving is the main source of funding for these organisations. The study shows that as high as **80% of British people say they approve of donating** to animal welfare organisations and in reality, **84% actually donate**.

The figure below illustrates these findings.



Unaligned norms

According to the nationwide study conducted by the Office for National Statistics UK (2019), animal welfare organisations work to eliminate animal neglect, cruelty, and abuse. Charitable giving is the main source of funding for these organisations. The study shows that as high as **80% of British people say they approve of donating** to animal welfare organisations but in reality, **only 22% actually donate**.

The figure below illustrates these findings.

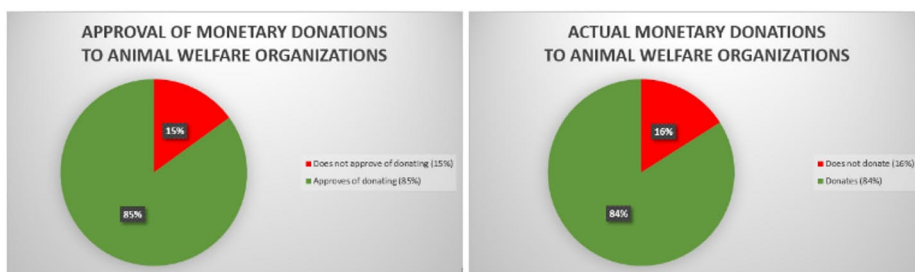


The stimuli of Article 3

Group 1:

Supportive injunctive/ supportive descriptive (Aligned supportive)

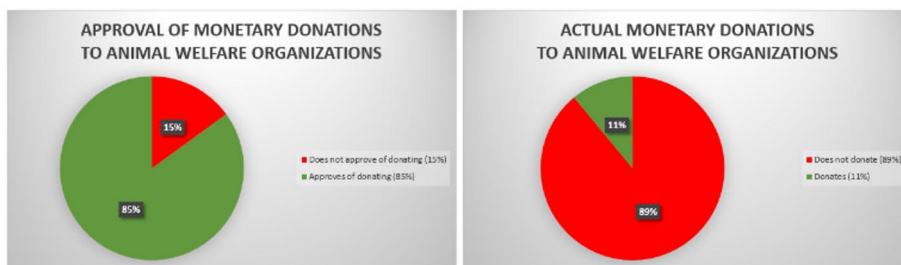
Animal welfare organizations work to eliminate animal neglect, cruelty, and abuse. Charitable giving from the general public represents the main source of funding for these organizations. In 2019, the Office for National Statistics UK conducted a nationwide study to identify the reasons British people donate to animal welfare organizations and outcomes of the operation of these organizations. Among others, the study found that as much as **85% of British people say they approve of donating to animal welfare organizations**, and in reality, **84% actually donate**. The study discusses the theoretical and practical implications of its findings and provides future research suggestions.



Group 2:

Supportive injunctive/ unsupportive descriptive (Unaligned)

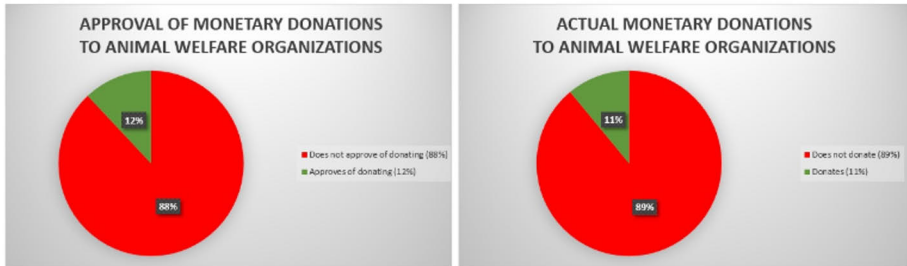
Animal welfare organizations work to eliminate animal neglect, cruelty, and abuse. Charitable giving from the general public represents the main source of funding for these organizations. In 2009, the Office for National Statistics UK conducted a nationwide study to identify the reasons British people donate to animal welfare organizations and outcomes of the operation of these organizations. Among others, the study found that **as much as 85% of British people say they approve of donating to animal welfare organizations**, but in reality, **only 11% actually donate**. The study discusses the theoretical and practical implications of its findings and provides future research suggestions.



Group 3:

Unsupportive injunctive/ unsupportive descriptive (Aligned unsupportive)

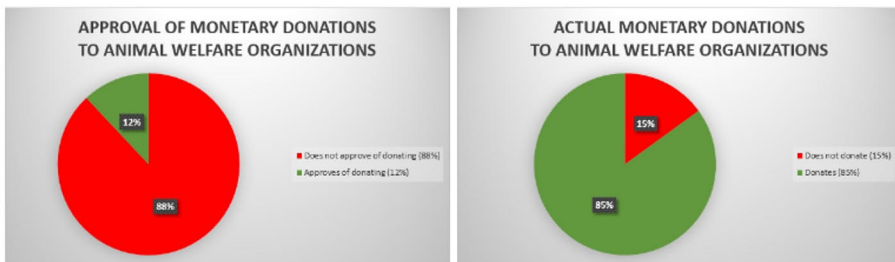
Animal welfare organizations work to eliminate animal neglect, cruelty, and abuse. Charitable giving from the general public represents the main source of funding for these organizations. In 2019, the Office for National Statistics UK conducted a nationwide study to identify the reasons British people donate to animal welfare organizations and outcomes of the operation of these organizations. Among others, the study found that only **12% of British people say they approve of donating to animal welfare organizations**, and in reality, **11% actually donate**. The study discusses the theoretical and practical implications of its findings and provides future research suggestions.



Group 4:

Unsupportive injunctive/ supportive descriptive (Unaligned)

Animal welfare organizations work to eliminate animal neglect, cruelty, and abuse. Charitable giving from the general public represents the main source of funding for these organizations. In 2009, the Office for National Statistics UK conducted a nationwide study to identify the reasons British people donate to animal welfare organizations and outcomes of the operation of these organizations. Among others, the study found that **even though only 12% of British people say they approve of donating to animal welfare organizations**, in reality, **as much as 85% actually donate**. The study discusses the theoretical and practical implications of its findings and provides future research suggestions.



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