Research Article

Giving from a distance: Putting the charitable organization at the center of the donation appeal☆

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Abstract

Past research has shown repeatedly that people prefer donating to a single identified human victim rather than to unidentified or abstract donation targets. In the current research we show results countering the identifiable victim effect, wherein people prefer to donate to charitable organizations rather than to an identifiable victim. In a series of five studies, we manipulate temporal and social distance, examine a variety of donation targets, and measure intention to donate time or money as well as actual donations of money. We show that people are more willing to donate to a charitable organization when they are temporally or socially distant from the population in need. Willingness to donate to a specific person in need is higher when donors are temporally or socially close to the donation target. Furthermore, we demonstrate that (a) empathy mediates donations to a single victim, yet does not mediate donations to charitable organizations; (b) that donation giving to charitable organizations is unique and is not similar to donations to a group of victims. Theoretical and practical implications are discussed.
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Introduction

Charitable giving is a vital element of today's way of life. Between 60% and 80% of U.S. households donate to more than one million charitable organizations in the United States, and it is estimated that between 1998 and 2052, people will donate between $6.6 and $27.4 trillion to these organizations (National Philanthropic Trust, 2007). While the number of charitable organizations that compete for donors' contributions continues to increase, the economic crisis of 2008 has caused contributions to decrease over the past few years. Thus, raising money has become more challenging than ever for charitable organizations (see also Bendapudi, Singh, & Bendapudi, 1996). The question of how nonprofit organizations should best request donor support is of

critical importance (Reed, Aquino, & Levy, 2007; Smith & Schwartz, 2012), yet the answer is not quite clear.

Many charitable organizations choose to focus on an identifiable victim when designing donation appeals, under the assumption that people donate more to an identified individual in need and less to abstract entities such as a charitable organization. Such campaigns are usually accompanied by vivid images, in an attempt to make the request for donations very personal and emotionally engaging. Recent findings seem to converge to the notion that a vivid display of a single person in need indeed increases donations, mainly because such appeals are emotionally engaging and trigger empathy towards the victim (Loewenstein & Small, 2007; Small, Loewenstein, & Slovic, 2007).

The current research aims to explore donation-giving to charitable organizations per se, rather than to a single identified victim. We suggest that in certain cases, fundraising campaigns can benefit from focusing their appeals on the charitable organization rather than on a specific person in need. In the current paper we explore the circumstances in which each type of donation target

yields greater donations. Specifically, we suggest that when potential donors are psychologically distant from the population in need, they are more willing to donate time or money to a charitable organization rather than to a single victim.

The ability to increase donations without highlighting specific victims is of significant importance to charitable organizations for several reasons. First, excessive usage of appeals highlighting specific victims may lead donors to become "emotionally immune" to these appeals, thus reducing their effectiveness. Second, donor loyalty, which is one of the most important goals of charitable organizations (Nathan & Hallam, 2009), can only be achieved when the non-profit organization is in the focus of the request. Third, since organizations are legally required to use specifically targeted donations for the intended purposes only, organizations may prefer to receive general donations (to the organization) rather than donations to specific targets. Fourth, in cases when it is possible to blame the victims for their current situation, identification of a single target enhances negative perceptions of the victim and decreases donations (Kogut, 2011). Finally, in the current paper we will show that highlighting a specific victim whom potential donors perceive as different and distant from their own state/identity/in-group may also jeopardize willingness to donate.

We propose and show that the two types of donation targets (either a specific victim or a charitable organization) can effectively motivate a donation, depending on the donor's psychological distance from the target. We suggest that the "identifiable victim effect", that is, the preference to donate to a specific person in need, occurs when people feel psychologically close to the donation target (Loewenstein & Small, 2007; Small et al., 2007). However, we suggest that the preference to donate to a general, abstract target such as a charitable organization emerges when people feel psychologically distant from the ultimate beneficiary of the donation.

The effectiveness of donation appeals

A growing body of literature suggests that charitable giving is strongly influenced by the ways in which appeals for donations are presented (Bendapudi et al., 1996; Chang & Lee, 2009; Small & Verrochi, 2009; White & Peloza, 2009). Thus, in the increasingly competitive world of fundraising, designing an effective appeal should be one of the primary goals of charitable organizations. Charitable organizations can control many aspects of their appeals, including the use of images, wording, and message length. Prior research on appeal effectiveness has found that charitable appeals that evoke personal nostalgia, religious feelings, or empathy and self-efficacy have positive effects on people's donation intentions (Basil, Ridgway, & Basil, 2008; Ford & Merchant, 2010; Malhotra, 2010). Donations are further enhanced when the donation act is presented as an economic transaction rather than an act of charity (Holmes, Miller, & Lerner, 2002) or when obtaining "good feelings" is presented as a reason for giving rather than social responsibility (Benson & Catt, 1978). Furthermore, the effectiveness of an appeal may depend on the type of message used in relation to the cultural context in which the appeal is presented. When the message is congruent with the cultural dimension of individualism–collectivism, people are more likely to consider making a contribution to the charity (Laufer, Silvera, McBride, & Schertzer, 2010). Other research suggests that in situations that heighten public self-image concerns, appeals highlighting benefits to others are more likely to generate donations compared with appeals highlighting benefits to oneself. In contrast, self-benefit appeals are more effective when consumers' responses are private in nature (White & Peloza, 2009).

The influence of the inclusion of a victim's image in a charitable appeal is not straightforward. The use of such images may either enhance charitable contributions (Perrine & Heather, 2000) or reduce them (Isen & Noonberg, 1979; Thornton, Kirchner, & Jacobs, 1991). In the context of child poverty, Chang and Lee (2009) found that the image valence of a victim enhances the effectiveness of a charitable appeal, but only when the image is congruent with the framed message, and especially when the image and the message are presented in a negative way. In a study on the emotional expressions of victims presented in charitable appeals, Small and Verrochi (2009) found that people are particularly sympathetic and likely to donate when they see sad expressions rather than happy or neutral expressions.

The identifiable victim effect and donations

One of the most prominent findings in the literature on donation giving is that an appeal on behalf of an identifiable victim generates greater willingness to donate in comparison to an appeal on behalf of statistical victims (Jenni & Loewenstein, 1997; Small, Loewenstein, and Slovic, 2007). Donations increase when the victim, identified by name or through a picture, triggers sympathy and empathy. Victim-identification processes are more likely to take place when donors are more knowledgeable about the victim's background. In one study, for example, donations were higher when donors knew about the humanitarian disaster in which the victim was hurt, than when they lacked that knowledge (Zagefka, Noor, & Brown, in press). The identifiable victim effect occurs even with minimal information: In a study by Small and Loewenstein (2003), participants were more willing to donate when they believed their donations were designated for a pre-determined specific anonymous victim (with no identification information) than when they were told that the victim would be determined after their donation.

One study (Kogut & Ritov, 2007) that tested the boundaries of the identifiable victim effect showed that the effect was stronger when donation beneficiaries were part of the donors' in-group rather than the out-group. Specifically, when donors perceived the victim (or victims) as belonging to their in-group, they donated more to a single identified victim than to a group of seven or eight victims. Conversely, when donors perceived the victims as belonging to an out-group, no difference was found between requests for donation to a single victim and to a group of victims.

The studies described above consistently found that appeals emphasizing identifiable victims enhance donations. Correspondingly, researchers as well as charitable organizations act on the assumption that people contribute more to an "identifiable victim"

than to "statistical victims" (Small et al., 2007). The role of non-identifiable targets such as charitable organizations in donation appeals has thus far remained unexplored in the literature on donation giving.

However, as explained above, requesting donations for a charitable organization rather than a specific victim is very often the preferred and needed approach. Thus, in the current research, we focus on the important, yet rather neglected, issue of encouraging donations when the charitable organization is in the focus of the donation appeal.

We go beyond the conventional wisdom of the "identifiable victim effect" and suggest that, in some cases, donation appeals focusing on an abstract target—a charitable organization—may be more persuasive than donation appeals focusing on a specific person in need. Although either approach—whether focusing on the abstract organization (e.g., World Food Program) or on a specific person in need (e.g., a poor hungry child)—may increase people's willingness to donate, we propose that donation giving depends on the donor's psychological distance from the population in need.

Psychological distance and donations

According to construal level theory (Trope & Liberman, 2003, 2010), people's mental representations of events influence how they process information (e.g., Dhar & Kim, 2007; Fujita, Henderson, Eng, Trope, & Liberman, 2006; Trope, Liberman, & Wakslak, 2007; Wakslak & Trope, 2009). That is, different dimensions of psychological distance (time, space, social distance, and probability) affect mental construals of events, and these construals, in turn, guide people's choices, preferences, and behaviors in general (Trope et al., 2007) as well as more specifically in the consumer behavior domain (Dhar & Kim, 2007; Lynch & Zauberman, 2007). Psychologically near objects or events are represented by low-level construal, in which people focus on detailed, concrete, local, and contextualized features. Conversely, psychologically distant objects or events are represented by high-level construal, in which people focus on abstract, central, global, and decontextualized features (Bar-Anan, Liberman, & Trope, 2006; Liviatan, Trope, & Liberman, 2008; Trope & Liberman, 2003). For all dimensions of psychological distance—temporal distance, spatial distance, social distance, and hypotheticality—people implicitly associate psychological distance with high-level construal and psychological proximity with low-level construal (Bar-Anan et al., 2006; Trope & Liberman, 2010).

Recent research suggests that construal level may influence the effectiveness of charitable appeals in more than one way. In their study on emotional appeals, Hong and Lee (2010) show that people who construe information at lower, more concrete levels have less favorable attitudes toward a charitable appeal that evokes mixed emotions. In contrast, people who construe information at an abstract, high level do not experience much discomfort when exposed to mixed emotional triggers; thus, for them, a charitable appeal conveying mixed emotions may be as persuasive as a purely positive emotional appeal.

Temporal distance and donations

Individual's perceptions of a given event vary with his or her temporal distance from the event (e.g., whether the event is taking place now or in the future, or at a concrete versus an abstract date). It was found (Liberman & Trope, 1998) that individuals describe distant-future activities in terms of abstract, superordinate goals ("why" terms), whereas near future activities were described in terms of details and subordinate goals ("how" terms). A donation appeal can incorporate temporal distance, e.g., by framing the donation as being designated for immediate needs or for future needs. Indeed, individuals' willingness to donate was found to be influenced by temporal distance. Individuals were found to indicate stronger intentions to donate blood in the distant future rather than in the near future (Choi, Park, & Oh, 2012). Another study on argument strength and temporal construal (Fujita, Eyal, Chaiken, Trope, & Liberman, 2008) showed that strong persuasive arguments (as compared with weak arguments) received more attention and had greater impact on attitudes when attitude targets were temporally distant rather than near. In a study more directly related to the context of donations, Fujita et al. (2008) measured the effectiveness of argument strength on willingness to donate to wildlife. In that study participants' willingness to donate money was measured as a function of temporal distance, the specificity of the donation target (one "exemplar", a specific killer whale named Simon, versus the category, orcas), and the strength of arguments. It was found that donations were highest when strong arguments (in comparison to weak arguments) were presented and when temporal distance matched the specificity of the donation target. In other words, strong arguments influenced the willingness to donate money either when temporal distance was low and the donation target was an exemplar (one killer whale) or when temporal distance was high and the donation target was a category (orcas).

Social distance and donations

Individuals' perceptions of social distance from another person or social group can be driven by comparison of one's self to the other, by taking a first-person perspective versus a third-person perspective, and by identifying in-group versus out-group belongingness. Research on group perception suggests that, compared with in-groups, individuals describe out-groups in terms of more abstract qualities and perceive them as less differentiated into subgroups and as possessing more structured, predictable properties (Bar-Anan et al., 2006). Furthermore, it has been shown that people construe out-group members using more abstract, primary concepts such as stereotypes and traits than in-group members (Liviatan et al., 2008; Trope & Liberman, 2003). Thus, in-group versus out-group belongingness is an important dimension of social distance (Trope et al., 2007). This manifestation of social distance has been successfully employed in marketing contexts (Kim, Zhang, & Li, 2008; Zhao & Xie, 2011).

The Kogut and Ritov (2007) research described above, although it focused on in-group–out-group effects rather than psychological distance effects, can be interpreted in

psychological distance terms. Social distance was manipulated by presenting the victim as belonging to either the donor's in-group (low psychological distance) or out-group (high psychological distance). As would be predicted by social distance reasoning, it was found that when social distance was high, that is, when donations were requested for out-group victims, the identifiable victim effect was less likely to occur. However, under high social distance (i.e. out-group members) no difference was found in donations for a single versus a group of victims.

The current research

In the current research we focus on the conditions under which donation giving to broad, abstract entities such as charitable organizations, can be enhanced.

Low psychological distance and donations to single victims

Past research has suggested that when psychological distance is low in terms of temporal distance and the target of donations is an exemplar, strong arguments are more persuasive and result in higher levels of compliance with the request (Fujita et al., 2008). Furthermore, it was shown that when psychological distance is low in terms of social distance and the target is a single victim, empathy emotions are triggered, and these emotions increase the propensity to donate (e.g., Kogut & Ritov, 2005a, 2005b; Small et al., 2007). Thus, we hypothesize that an appeal focusing on a specific identifiable victim rather than on an abstract target will be more persuasive and will generate greater responsiveness when presented within the context of near psychological distance, either temporal or social.

High psychological distance and donations to charitable organizations

People operating under a mindset of high psychological distance tend to be focused on broad, global and abstract aspects. Under such processing a donation appeal focusing on a broad mission, an abstract entity or a general goal may be more appealing compared with an appeal focusing on a specific victim. This idea is supported by the findings of Fujita et al. (2008), discussed above. Thus, we hypothesize that an appeal focusing on a charitable organization per se rather than on a specific victim will be more persuasive and will generate greater responsiveness when presented within the context of high psychological distance, either temporal or social.

The studies of Fujita et al. (2008) and of Kogut and Ritov (2007) provide limited generalizability with regard to the influence of psychological distance on donation giving: Each study focuses on only one aspect of psychological distance (temporal distance and social distance, respectively), and on only one outcome of appeal persuasiveness (money donations in both cases). Most importantly, the results of the two studies seem to be incongruent with each other.

Although several lines of research have indicated that temporal distance and social distance have similar effects on behavior (Bar-Anan et al., 2006; Kim et al., 2008; Liberman &

Förster, 2008; Stephan, Liberman, & Trope, 2011), it seems that the research on temporal distance and donations (Fujita et al., 2008) and the research on social distance and donations (Kogut & Ritov, 2007) provide contradicting results. Kogut and Ritov (2007) showed that when psychological distance—manifested in social distance—is high (i.e., when donation recipients belong to an out-group), potential donors show *no* preference in terms of willingness to donate to either a single victim or a group of victims. Fujita et al. (2008), in contrast, showed that when psychological distance—manifested in temporal distance—is high (i.e., when the donation is expected to take place in the future), donors *do* show a preference to donate to a group of victims (i.e., a category, orcas) over a single victim.

We offer level of abstractness as an explanation for these contradicting results. Specifically, although a category of animals provides the sufficient level of abstractness needed for fit-related processing with high psychological distance to take place, donors may be less likely to perceive a group of children as an abstract entity, and therefore fit-driven effects of persuasion may not always take place.

To summarize, in the current research we corroborate past findings on donations and add to them. We provide robust evidence for the interaction effect of psychological distance and donation target by focusing on donations to a single specific victim versus a single abstract entity: the charitable organization. We measure different outcomes of appeal persuasiveness, including donors' willingness to contribute money, actual money donations, and willingness to donate time. We manipulate both social distance and temporal distance within the same framework. Finally, we show that willingness to donate to a charitable organization is different from the willingness to donate to a group of victims. We hypothesize that when a donation appeal evokes a psychologically distant mindset, people will express willingness to donate more time and money as well as actually donate more money when the donation target is an abstract charitable organization rather than a specific identifiable victim. In contrast, we predict that when a donation appeal evokes a psychologically near mindset, donors' willingness to donate time or money as well as actual donations will be higher when the donation target is a specific identifiable victim rather than an abstract charitable organization. These two effects are expected to emerge when either temporal distance or social distance is evoked.

In a series of five studies, psychological distance (temporal distance or social distance; low vs. high), and the donation target (specific, identified person in need or an abstract charitable organization) were manipulated in a 2 (near psychological distance vs. far psychological distance) by 2 (one specific victim vs. one abstract organization) experimental design. To test the robustness of the effect, we asked participants to report their behavioral intentions, as expressed by their willingness to donate their time (Studies 1, 2, 3) and their willingness to donate money (Study 4), and finally to actually donate their own money to a real charity (Study 5). Furthermore, the effect is demonstrated across different populations in need (i.e., underprivileged children, immigrants and accident victims).

Study 1

The first study has two goals: First, to demonstrate that willingness to donate to a charitable organization can be larger than the willingness to donate to a specific victim depending on psychological distance. More specifically, we test the interaction effect of temporal distance and donation target on people's willingness to donate and show that donation to charitable organization is greater when temporal distance is high rather than low. Second, we broaden the exploration of how construal level influences donations and focus on time donations. As reviewed earlier past research on the influence of psychological distance on donation giving focused on money donations (e.g. Fujita et al., 2008; Kogut and Ritov, 2007). However, the question of whether this framework could be applied to donation of time remains unanswered and is of great importance. Many charitable organizations rely on time donations, for example, home shelters are greatly assisted by people who help with handing out food, assist children with their homework and so on. However, time-donations are not necessarily influenced by similar psychological processes as money donations.

People process the concepts of time and money differently (Zauberman & Lynch, 2005). Willingness to donate time may elicit a different mindset compared with willingness to donate money (Liu & Aaker, 2008). Previous research suggests that people perceive donating time as more moral and self-expressive than donating money (Reed et al., 2007). When thinking about time (as compared with money), people may be more emotional, less rational, and more susceptible to biases in decision-making. Thus, it might be argued that the results of previous research namely, the interaction effect of the donation target and social/ temporal distance on money donations—would be less likely to occur if participants were asked to donate time. Therefore, the present study aims to show the interaction effect of temporal distance and donation target on willingness to donate time.

Method

Participants

Sixty nine students (58% female, $Age_{mean} = 23.83$) were recruited around campus and were asked to participate voluntarily in a short experiment.

Procedure and measures

We randomly assigned participants to one of four conditions in a 2 (temporal distance: high or low) × 2 (donation target: specific or abstract) experimental design. Participants were asked to participate in a study about students' attitudes toward helping underprivileged children. They read a scenario that described the increasing number of underprivileged children who drop out of school and a philanthropic organization that offers children at risk the opportunity to interact with role models (e.g., university students). Each participant was exposed to an appeal that focused either on one underprivileged boy (specific condition) or on a charitable organization, a care center (abstract condition). We manipulated the level of temporal distance by presenting the help as expected to be needed either the following month (near future)

or at the beginning of the following year (distant future; for a detailed description of the manipulation check see Appendix A, p. 48–49).

Following the manipulations, participants were asked to report their willingness to donate time. More specifically, participants reported how many hours they would be willing to donate in a month.

Results and discussion

To test our hypothesis we conducted a 2 (temporal distance: high or low) × 2 (donation target: specific or abstract) ANOVA with participants' willingness to donate time as the dependent variable. We found no main effects either for donation target ($F_{(1, 64)} = .20$, n.s.) or for psychological distance ($F_{(1, 64)} = .81$, n.s.). The interaction was significant, as we expected ($F_{(1, 64)} = 9.25$, $p < .01$; see Fig. 1). Simple effects analyses revealed that participants in the distant future manipulation were willing to donate more of their time when the donation target was abstract ($M = 6.23$, $SD = 3.75$) than when it was specific ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 3.08$). This difference, although in the expected direction is only marginally significant ($F_{(1, 64)} = 2.87$, $p = .09$). However, participants in the near future manipulation were willing to donate more of their time when the donation target was specific ($M = 7.47$, $SD = 5.14$) than when it was abstract ($M = 4.24$, $SD = .66$; $F_{(1, 64)} = 7.35$, $p < .01$).

These results show that when people expect a time donation to take place in the distant future (i.e., donation target is temporally distant), they are more willing to donate time to an abstract donation target (an organization) than to a specific, personalized donation target. However, when people expect the donation to occur in the near future (i.e., it is temporally near), they are more willing to donate time for a specific and personalized donation target.

These results support and expand previous research that showed the interaction effect of temporal distance and donation target on money donations (Fujita et al., 2008) to the domain of time donation. Furthermore, this Study shows that time donations to charitable organization may be encouraged when temporal distance is higher, although results were only marginally significant. One possible reason for the relatively weak effect could be accounted to the notion that in the distant future manipulation participants may have felt that the specific child in need would no longer need as much help at the time of donation, since it would be too late for him. This might have made the abstract-target appeal more effective when temporal distance was high and the specific-target appeal more effective when temporal distance was low. Thus, in the next study the temporal manipulation included a shorter time lag.

The current study focused on the type of donation and showed that time donations and not only money donations are influenced by temporal distance and donation target. In the next Study we focus on the donation target, that is, target abstractness. Past research compared between a single victim and a group of victims. These studies have shown that when the donation request is for people (Kogut and Ritov, 2007), and psychological distance is high people are not willing to donate more to a group of victims
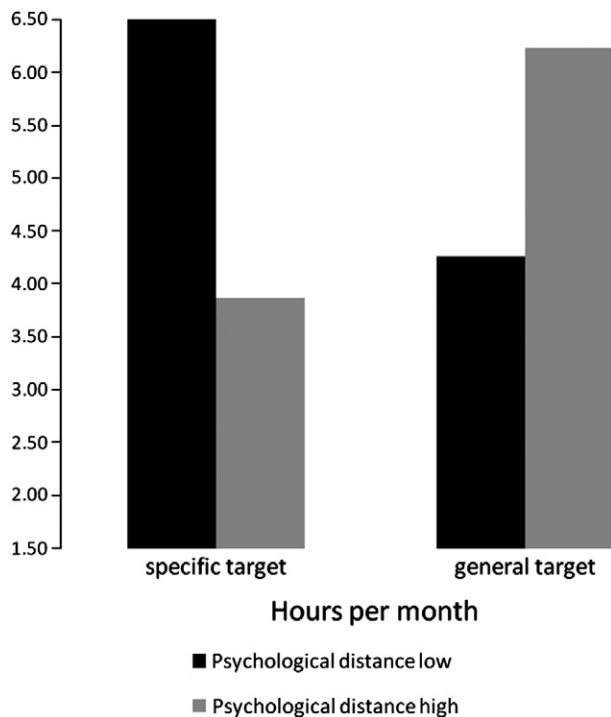
Fig. 1. Willingness to donate time as a function of temporal distance and donation target (Study 1).

than to one victim, as was found when donations were for wildlife (Fujita et al., 2008) and a category of animals (orcas). In the next study we include three categories of donation target, a single victim, a group of victims and a charitable organization. We aim to show how temporal distance affects differently these three types of targets. Specifically, we suggest that when temporal distance is low people will be more willing to donate to a specific individual than to a group of individuals or a charitable organization. More importantly, we suggest that when temporal distance is high people will be willing to donate more to a charitable organization than to either a group of people or one individual.

Study 2

Study 1 demonstrated participants' willingness to donate to either a single victim or a charitable organization, depending on temporal distance. In the current research we test whether a group of victims, rather than a general, abstract entity such as a charitable organization, also trigger donations when temporal distance is high. From a theoretical perspective, we reason that an organization is an abstract donation target which matches high level processing. However, the extent to which a group of victims is perceived as abstract or specific may vary. When a group of victims is presented as a category of wildlife (Fujita et al., 2008)— it is more likely to be perceived as an abstract target. However, when the group of victims is humans who are presented in detail with vivid pictures (Kogut & Ritov, 2007)—it is more likely to be perceived as more specific targets.

Thus, in the current research temporal distance is manipulated and three donation targets are presented, a specific victim, a group of victims, and a charitable organization.

Method

Participants

Four hundred and eight participants (51% female, $Age_{mean}=$ 40.86) volunteered to complete an online survey in return for approximately \$3. Participants were approached via an online survey database website. Participants who register for the database are assigned a personal code that enables the database manager to pay them for participation without conveying their personal identities. An e-mail notification is sent to registered participants when new experiments are activated, and those who are willing to participate enter the website and are randomly assigned to one of the experimental conditions. The experiment was open for 48 h.

Procedure and measures

We randomly assigned participants to one of six conditions in a 2 (temporal distance: high or low) × 3 (donation target: specific, group, abstract) experimental design. Participants read a scenario that described a learning center for children. The text stated that the center gives underprivileged children assistance with their homework and school assignments, and that the center is looking for volunteers to help children with their homework.

Unlike in Study 1 in this study we administered three donation target conditions: We asked participants either to help one child with homework (specific condition), or to help a group of children in need of homework assistance (group condition), or to help out at the center that gives homework assistance to children (abstract condition). Temporal distance was manipulated by telling participants either that their help would be needed at the beginning the following week (near future,) or that their help would be needed in two months (distant future; for a full description see Appendix A, p. 50–51). Next, we asked participants about their willingness to donate time: how many hours per month they would be willing to donate.

Results and discussion

To test our hypothesis we conducted a 2 (temporal distance: high or low) × 3 (donation target: specific, group, abstract) ANOVA with participants' reports of their willingness to donate time as the dependent variable. We found no main effect for donation target ($F_{(1, 402)}=1.42$, n.s.) or temporal distance ($F_{(1, 402)}=1.71$, n.s.). However, as expected, the two-way interaction was significant ($F_{(2, 402)}=15.23$, $p<.01$; see Fig. 2). Simple effects analyses revealed that participants who underwent a high temporal distance manipulation were willing to donate more of their time when the donation target was abstract (M=6.06, SD=4.77) than when it was either specific (M=3.97, SD=3.92) or a group (M=4.08, SD=4.62; $F_{(2, 402)}=4.61$, $p<.05$). However, participants who underwent a low temporal distance manipulation were willing to donate more time when the donation target was
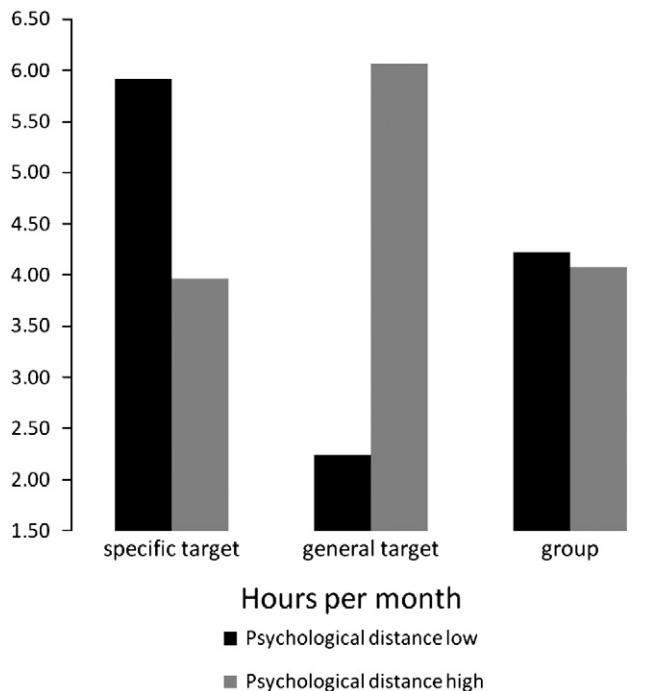
Fig. 2. Willingness to donate time as a function of temporal distance and donation target (Study 2).

specific (M=5.92, SD=5.20) than when it was either abstract (M=2.24, SD=2.55) or a group (M=4.23, SD=4.79; $F_{(2, 402)}$= 13.06, $p<.01$). Simple effects analyses further revealed that temporal distance influenced participants' willingness to donate time when the donation target was specific ($F_{(1, 402)}$=6.47, $p<.05$) or when it was abstract ($F_{(1, 402)}$=25.91, $p<.01$), but not when it was a group ($F_{(1, 402)}$=.04, n.s.).

These findings replicate those of Study 1 and add to them. We showed that temporal distance influences willingness to donate time to an identifiable victim such that people are willing to donate more time when asked to donate in the near future versus in the more distant future. Of importance, we further showed that temporal distance influences willingness to donate time to charitable organizations such that people are willing to donate more time when asked to donate in the distant future versus in the near future. However, temporal distance had no influence on willingness to donate one's time in order to help a group of victims. It may be the case that donating to a group involves both high-level and low-level thinking processes, thus psychological distance manipulations might prove less effective when donation target is a group of people. This result will be further discussed in the general discussion section.

In the current study the alternative explanation for the results suggested in Study 1 was controlled for. Specifically, temporal distance was manipulated such that the near future condition was very close in time (participants were told that help would be needed the following week), and the distant future condition was not very far off (two months later), so participants were less likely to perceive the latter condition as "too late".

Studies 1 and 2 showed that temporal distance influence willingness to donate time such that people are willing to donate more time when asked to donate in the near future to an

identifiable victim and in the distant future to an abstract organization. However, most organizations have little control over the time of the donation request since most donations are needed in the present. Thus, social distance seem like a more promising option for organizations who wish to receive volunteers time or raise money for the organization and its cause rather than a specific victim. In the next Study thus, social distance rather than temporal distance was manipulated.

Study 3

In Studies 1 and 2, we showed that manipulating temporal distance influenced participants' intention to donate time depending on the donation target. In Study 3, we test our hypothesis that the interaction of donation target and psychological distance occurs not only for temporal distance differences but also for social distance differences.

Method

Participants

One hundred fifteen first year undergraduates (39% female, Age_{mean}=23.25) participated in the experiment in return for course credit.

Procedure and measures

We randomly assigned participants to one of four conditions in a 2 (social distance: high or low)×2 (donation target: specific or abstract) experimental design. Participants were asked to participate in a study about the absorption of immigrants. They read a scenario stating that there had been cutbacks in resources allocated to the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, and that as a result there was greater need for volunteers willing to donate time to help immigrants adjust to the country.

We administered two donation target conditions: Participants were told that their donation of time would be allocated either to help one immigrant (specific condition) or to help out at an absorption center (abstract condition). In the two conditions volunteers were asked to help out with the same kind of tasks: assistance with paperwork and administrative errands that require knowledge of the country's language. As the social distance manipulation, participants were told they will be helping either immigrant students (socially near) or elderly immigrants (socially distant; for a full description see Appendix A p. 52–53).

Following the manipulation we asked participants how many hours they would be willing to donate per month on a scale ranging from 0 to 30, and how many months they would be willing to volunteer for on a scale ranging from 0 to 12.

Results and discussion

To test our hypothesis we conducted a 2 (social distance: immigrant students, elderly immigrants)×2 (donation target: specific, abstract) MANOVA with participants' reports of their willingness to donate time in terms of hours and months as the dependent variables. We found no main effects for either donation target ($F_{(2, 110)}$=.40, n.s.; $F_{hours(1, 111)}$=.79; n.s.; $F_{months(1, 111)}$=.12;

n.s.), or social distance ($F_{(2, 110)} = .01$, n.s.; $F_{hours(1, 111)} = .00$; n.s.; $F_{months(1, 111)} = .04$, n.s.). The two-way interactions were significant, as we expected ($F_{(2, 110)} = 8.20$, $p < .01$; $F_{hours(1, 111)} = 14.53$; $F_{months(1, 111)} = 9.13$; see Fig. 3). Simple effects analyses revealed that when the donation target was socially distant, participants were willing to donate more of their time when the donation target was abstract ($M_{hours} = 6.81$, $SD = .59$; $M_{months} = 3.22$, $SD = .36$) than when it was specific ($M_{hours} = 3.67$, $SD = .72$; $M_{months} = 1.83$, $SD = .45$; $F_{hours\ (1, 111)} = 11.33$, $p < .01$; $F_{months\ (1, 111)} = 5.82$, $p < .05$). However, when the donation target was perceived as socially near, participants' willingness to donate their time was higher when the donation target was specific ($M_{hours} = 6.19$, $SD = .69$; $M_{months} = 3.00$, $SD = .43$;) than when it was abstract ($M_{hours} = 4.24$, $SD = .66$; $M_{months} = 1.90$, $SD = .41$; $F_{hours\ (1, 111)} = 4.17$, $p < .05$; $F_{months\ (1, 111)} = 3.49$, $p = .06$).

The findings of Study 3 replicate the results of Studies 1 and 2 focusing on social rather than temporal distance. Specifically, when potential donors perceive a donation target as socially distant, they are more willing to donate their time to an abstract donation target than to a specific one. However, when they perceive the donation target as socially near, they are more willing to donate their time to a specific donation target than to an abstract one. The appeal for time donation for an abstract entity (an organization) was more persuasive when social distance was high, whereas the appeal for time donation for a specific individual was more persuasive when social distance was low.

In Studies 1–3 we showed that time donations are influenced by the interaction between donation target and psychological distance either temporal or social. In the next two studies we show that money donations can also be influenced by social distances.
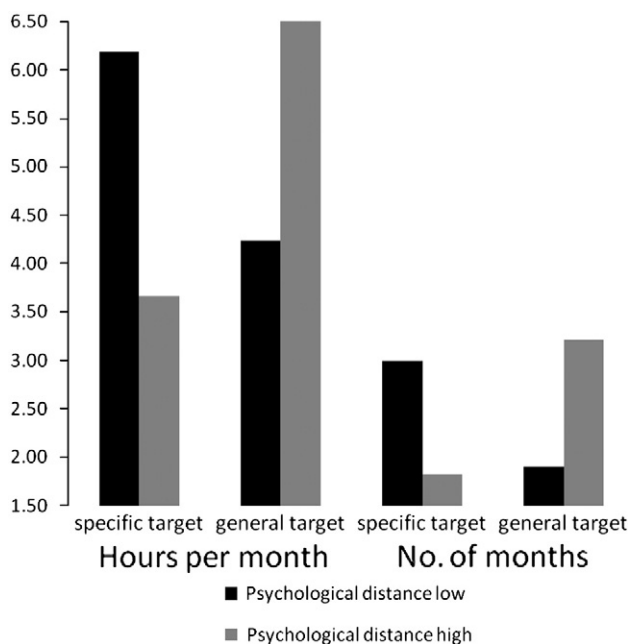

Fig. 3. Willingness to donate time as a function of social distance and donation target (Study 3).

Study 4

In Study 4, we test the interaction of donation target and social distance on willingness to donate money. To increase the robustness of our findings in the current study we use match with gender as the social distance manipulation.

Method

Participants

Three hundred thirty-one people (50% female, $Age_{mean} = 29.30$) participated in an online survey in return for approximately \$3. Participants were approached via an online survey database website as described in the previous study.

Procedure and measures

We randomly assigned male and female participants to one of four conditions in a 2 (social distance: high or low) × 2 (donation target: specific or abstract) experimental design. Participants were asked to participate in a study about people injured in car accidents. They read a scenario that described a reduction in resources available for a rehabilitation center for people injured in car accidents; the scenario stated that because of this reduction, donations were needed more than ever.

As in previous studies there were two conditions for the donation target: Each participant was told that donations were needed either for one person injured in a car accident (specific condition) or for the rehabilitation center (abstract condition). For the social distance manipulation, we used a trivial aspect of social distance—namely, similarity between the donor's gender and the victim's gender (Liviatan et al., 2008; Shang, Reed, & Croson, 2008). Specifically, in the match conditions, when the potential donor's gender is the same as the target's gender, social distance is relatively low. However, in the mismatch conditions, when the potential donor's gender is different from the target's gender, social distance is high. We manipulated the target's gender such that participants were told that the donation was aimed at helping either men (socially near for male participants but socially distant for female participants) or women (socially near for female participants but socially distant for male participants; for the full description see Appendix A, p. 54–55). Next, in an open-ended question, we asked participants how much money they were willing to donate. Finally, participants were thanked for their willingness to donate and were told that the study only tested people's reported intentions to donate, and no real donations would be collected from them.

Results and discussion

To test our hypotheses we conducted a 2 (donation target's gender: male or female) × 2 (participants' gender: male or female) × 2 (donation target: specific or abstract) ANOVA with participants' reports of the amount of money they were willing to donate as the dependent variable. None of the main effects or two way-interactions was significant (donation target's gender: $F_{(1, 323)} = .10$, n.s.; participants' gender: $F_{(1, 323)} = .05$, n.s.; donation target: $F_{(1, 323)} = .10$, n.s.; donation target's gender × participants'

gender: $F_{(1, 323)} = .21$, n.s.; donation target's gender × donation target: $F_{(1, 323)} = .12$, n.s.; participants' gender × donation target: $F_{(1, 323)} = .04$, n.s.).

As we expected, the three-way interaction was significant ($F_{(1, 323)} = 18.38$, $p < .01$; see Fig. 4). Simple effects analysis revealed that when donation target was socially distant participants were willing to donate more money when the donation target was abstract (male participants for female rehabilitation centers: M = \$42.62, SD = 7.08; female participants for male rehabilitation centers: M = \$39.35, SD = 6.84) than when it was specific (male participants for a specific female: M = \$16.30, SD = 7.00; female participants for a specific male: M = \$18.55, SD = 7.34). These differences were significant across genders (male participants: $F_{(1, 323)} = 6.99$, $p < .01$; female participants: $F_{(1, 323)} = 4.30$, $p < .05$). However, when donation target was socially near participants' willingness to donate money was higher when the donation target was specific (male participants for a specific male: M = \$38.75, SD = 7.34; female participants for a specific female: M = \$35.24, SD = 7.43) than when it was abstract (male participants for male rehabilitation centers: M = \$17.72, SD = 7.34; female participants for female rehabilitation centers: M = \$15.74, SD = 7.43). These differences were significant across genders (male participants: $F_{(1, 323)} = 4.11$, $p < .05$; female participants: $F_{(1, 323)} = 3.44$, $p = .06$).

These findings replicate those of the previous studies and add to them by demonstrating the interacting effect of social distance and donation target on the willingness to donate money. Specifically, when donation target was socially distant, potential donors were more willing to donate money to an abstract donation target than to a specific one: Men were willing to donate more money to a charity organization targeted at helping women than to a specific woman. Similarly, women showed more willingness to donate to an organization targeted at helping men than to a specific man. However, when donation target was socially near, people's willingness to donate money
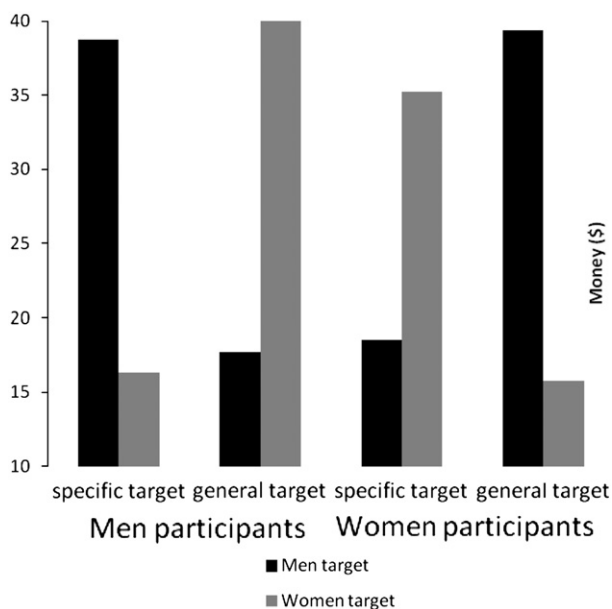

Fig. 4. Willingness to donate money as a function of social distance and donation target (Study 4).

was higher for a specific donation target than an abstract one. Specifically, men were more willing to donate to a specific man in need than to an organization that helps men, whereas women were more willing to donate to a specific woman in need than to a charity organization targeted at helping women.

Notably, the results of Study 4 shed new light on the relations between willingness to donate and the match between donor's gender and target's gender. Past research has revealed differences between men's and women's donation patterns (e.g., Brunel & Nelson, 2000; Iredale, van Vugt, & Dunbar, 2008; Thornton et al., 2006; Winterich, Mittal, & Ross, 2009). For example, Nelson et al. (2006) found that in masculine cultures, men preferred an egoistic advertisement whereas women preferred an altruistic one. In feminine cultures, however, where women are empowered and men are allowed to be nurturing, the opposite was the case. In the current study both men and women were shown to be more willing to donate to a person in need whose gender matched their own (i.e., socially near) and to an organization devoted to helping needy people of the opposite gender (i.e., socially distant).

Studies 1 to 4, although demonstrating the effect over four different dependent measures, included hypothetical donation scenarios, and as such are limited. It is of great importance to test whether our findings take place when people are asked to make an actual donation. Study 5 aims to address this question and to provide a final robustness check for the effect by measuring actual donations to a real charity.

In this last study we also deepen our understanding of the forces leading people to donate. Empathy is a major emotional trigger for pro-social behavior (e.g., Coke, Batson, & McDavis, 1978; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987; Mount & Quirion, 1988; Peter & Iain, 1991). Empathy is defined as the emotional arousal that one experiences when adopting the perspective of someone else. For empathy to occur, individuals need to cognitively represent the state of the other. That is, the emotional process is triggered once the individual engages in detailed thoughts about the other person. We suggest that such thoughts are characterized by low-level construal. Hence, we expect empathy to be triggered only when donors are psychologically close to the donation target and are engaging in low-level processes. We thus hypothesize that empathy is related to donation giving when the donor's psychological distance from the target is small but not when it is large.

Study 5

In the current study we take one step further and show that the interaction between social distance and donation target further influences real money donations. Furthermore, we aim to show that feelings of empathy mediate donation giving only when psychological distance is low.

Method

Participants

Two hundred thirty-eight university students (54% female, $Age_{mean} = 28.89$) volunteered to complete an online survey in return for approximately \$4. On average, each participant had

been a student for 2.5 years. First-year undergraduates were not included in the sample because their "student identity" has not been strongly established yet, and this identity was important for the experimental design detailed below.

Procedure

We randomly assigned participants to one of four conditions in a 2 (social distance: high or low) × 2 (donation target: specific or abstract) experimental design. Participants read a description about the "Good Neighbor Association" and were asked for a monetary donation. The Good Neighbor Association is a charitable organization that helps populations in need intermingle with their local communities. Among other things, the association helps students from poor backgrounds with their homework assignments, school or university projects and extracurricular activities.

As in the previous studies, we administered two donation target conditions, such that participants were told that their donations would help either one person (specific target condition) or the Good Neighbor Association (abstract target condition). Social distance was manipulated by telling participants either that the money donation was for university students (socially near) or that it was for high school students (socially distant; for a full description see Appendix A p. 56). Participants were then asked how much they were willing to donate, out of the amount of money they had received for participation in the study ($4). Participants were told that they would receive confirmation that the money they had donated was indeed passed on to the target. This type of monetary donation collection is part of the survey website's general activity (as part of its social marketing efforts), so participants could trust the website to pass on their donations to the designated targets. The amount specified was sent to the association, and the rest was paid to the participant.

Finally, participants reported their empathy toward the donation target on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 ("none") to 7 ("very high"). Empathy was measured with four items taken from the Toronto Empathy Questionnaire (Spreng, McKinnon, Mar, & Levine, 2009). The items included two items addressing the assessment of emotional states in others by indexing the frequency of behaviors demonstrating appropriate sensitivity ("Other people's misfortune do not disturb me a great deal"; "I am not really interested in how other people feel"), one item associated with sympathetic physiological arousal ("I have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me"), and one item associated with altruism ("I enjoy making other people feel better"), $\alpha = .64$.

Results and discussion

To test our hypothesis we conducted a 2 (social distance: high or low) × 2 (donation target: specific or abstract) ANOVA with participants' monetary donations as the dependent variable. We found no main effects for either donation target ($F_{(1, 228)} = 2.13$, n.s.) or social distance ($F_{(1, 228)} = .74$, n.s.). The interaction was significant, as expected ($F_{(1, 228)} = 18.48$, $p < .01$; see Fig. 5). Simple effects analyses revealed that participants who underwent a high social distance manipulation

donated more money when the donation target was abstract ($M = 133.85$, $SD = 139.92$) than when it was specific ($M = 43.98$, $SD = 64.60$; $F_{(1, 228)} = 17.05$, $p < .01$). However, participants who underwent a low social distance manipulation donated more money when the donation target was specific ($M = 124.50$, $SD = 136.42$) than when it was abstract ($M = 80.16$, $SD = 113.52$; $F_{(1, 228)} = 3.92$, $p < .05$).

To test the possible influence of empathy on donation giving we repeated the same analysis with empathy as a covariate. The effect of empathy on donation giving was significant ($F_{(1, 228)} = 4.90$, $p < .05$). The interaction term remained significant ($F_{(1, 228)} = 16.47$, $p < .01$), suggesting that empathy did not fully mediate the effect of the interaction on donation giving. However, simple effects analyses revealed that empathy mediated the effect of donation target among participants in the low social distance conditions but not among participants in the high social distance conditions. That is, after controlling for empathy, the high social distance simple effect remained significant such that participants donated more money to an abstract donation target than to a specific donation target ($F_{(1, 228)} = 16.46$, $p < .01$). However, among participants who underwent the low social distance manipulation, the simple effect was mediated by empathy such that no significant difference between donations to specific or abstract targets was found ($F_{(1, 228)} = 2.30$, n.s.).

These findings replicate those of Studies 1–4 and add to them by demonstrating that the interaction effect of psychological distance and donation target influences donation giving when real money is involved. Furthermore, the results of this study demonstrate the influence of empathy when social distance is low, as suggested by the "identifiable victim effect", but not when social distance is high.
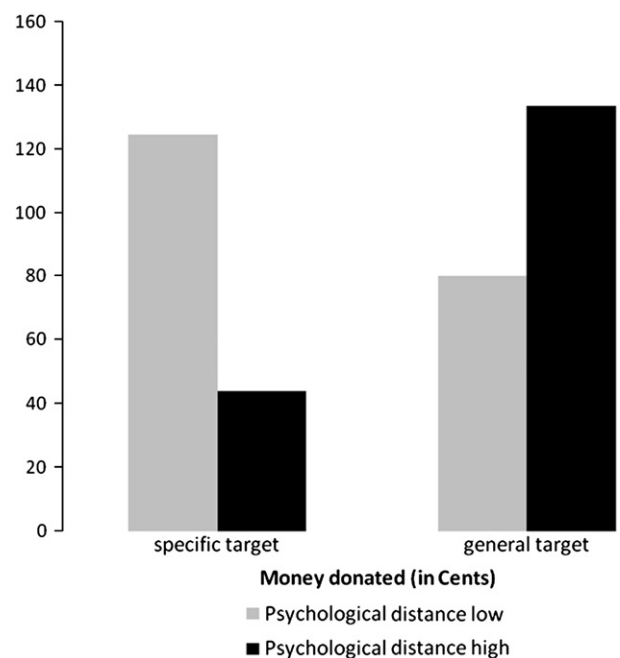

Fig. 5. Money donations as a function of social distance and donation target (Study 5).

General discussion

This research explores an important but relatively overlooked aspect in the field of appeals for charitable giving—donations to the charitable organizations themselves—and outlines the conditions under which a charitable appeal to organizations may yield more donations than an appeal for a specific person in need.

We demonstrated that when a donation appeal is framed as psychologically distant, either temporally or socially, people are more willing to donate to an abstract donation target (i.e., a charitable organization) than a single specific victim. We further showed that when a donation appeal is framed as psychologically near, people are more willing to donate to a single, specific donation target (i.e., a person in need).

The results from five experiments using different psychological distance manipulations (temporal and social distance) and different donation targets (children at risk, immigrants, car accident victims, and underprivileged students) show that the interaction between psychological distance and donation target predicts donors' behavioral intentions, that is, their willingness to donate time (Studies 1, 2 and 3) or money (Study 4) as well as donors' actual donations of money (Study 5).

This research offers important theoretical contributions. First and foremost, we have shown that potential donors can be encouraged to donate to charitable organizations per se. This is a key contribution of this paper both theoretically and practically. While the literature thus far has mainly focused on the antecedents for donating to a single victim, we show that under certain situations—specifically, situations in which potential donors are either temporally or socially distant from the population in need—donation appeals that focus on an identifiable victim will not be as persuasive as appeals focusing on the charitable organization.

The few studies that tested the interaction effect of psychological distance and donation target on donations have only compared donations to a single identified victim (animal or person) versus a group of victims (a category of animals or 7–8 identified victims; Fujita et al., 2008; Kogut & Ritov, 2007). Of importance, these two papers provided somewhat contradicting results with regard to donations to groups. Kogut and Ritov (2007) showed that when donors' psychological distance from the donation recipient is high, donors show *no* preference in terms of money donations to either a single victim or a group of victims (Studies 2, 3), whereas Fujita et al. (2008) showed that when psychological distance is high donors *do* show a preference to donate to a group of victims (i.e., a category, orcas) over a single victim (i.e. Simon the killer whale; Study 3). The current research resolves these seemingly contradictory findings by showing, that there is a basic difference between donating to an abstract entity such as an organization and donating to a group of victims. Specifically, people do not necessarily perceive a group of victims as an abstract entity (Study 2), and therefore the influence of psychological distance on willingness to donate to a group of victims may vary under different circumstances. It is possible that when the donation target is animals, focusing on the category level provides the sufficient level of abstractness needed for fit-related processing with high psychological distance to take place. In contrast, donors may be less likely to perceive a group of humans as an abstract

entity, and therefore fit-driven effects of persuasion may not always take place. Future research would benefit greatly from further exploration of the underlying mechanisms that drive people to donate—whether to people or to animals, whether to single victims, to a group of victims, or to general, abstract entities such as organizations—and that might mediate or moderate the influence of psychological distance.

Instead of focusing on donations to a single victim versus a group of victims, this research focuses on donations to a *single* specific victim versus a *single* abstract entity—a charitable organization. As such, this paper provides support to the notion that charitable organizations are important abstract entities that can be beneficially placed at the focus of donation-raising appeals—depending on the potential donors' mindset. Furthermore, this research may lay the groundwork for revealing the processes that underlie people's willingness to donate to abstract targets in general such as organizations, social movements, places, etc., and for revealing the circumstances under which motivations to donate to such entities are enhanced.

The findings of this research shed new light on two additional aspects of donation for which the literature has provided contradictory results: donating money versus time and the relationship between donations and the donor's gender. With regard to the donated resource—i.e., time versus money—past research has suggested that the antecedents of money donations may differ from those of time donations (Liu & Aaker, 2008; Reed et al., 2007). Our findings reveal that the pattern of giving that relies on congruence between the donation target and the donor's psychological distance is similar for time donations and for money donations. This is an important new finding. It seems that time and money donations share one similar antecedent: the fit between psychological distance and donation target.

With regard to the relation between gender and willingness to donate, this research further accounts for previously observed differences between men's and women's donation patterns (e.g., Brunel & Nelson, 2000; Iredale et al., 2008; Nelson et al., 2006; Thornton et al., 2006; Winterich et al., 2009). The findings of Study 4 call further attention to gender differences and suggest that both men's and women's willingness to donate depends on the correspondence between psychological distance and the donation target. Specifically, both men and women were more willing to donate to a person in need whose gender matched their own (i.e., socially near) or to an organization devoted to helping needy people of the opposite gender (i.e., socially distant).

One alternative explanation for our results, especially for the results of the studies that included social distance manipulations, is that they could be attributed to people's possible preference to avoid personal interaction with certain victims, which would make donating to an abstract entity more appealing. This preference for avoidance can be attributed to safety issues (e.g., female donors might not feel safe interacting with male victims) or a general feeling of discomfort when interacting with dissimilar others (e.g., students might not feel comfortable spending time with the elderly). However, a tendency to avoid unpleasant personal interaction cannot explain the result showing higher donations to an abstract entity under high psychological distance compared to

low psychological distance. Hence, discomfort in aiding the needy due to dissimilarity cannot account for the interaction effect. In addition, donating money involves very little personal interaction, and thus is less likely to be influenced by the avoidance tendency; however, the results were replicated for money donations. It seems that the more parsimonious explanation for the results would be the fit between psychological distance and donation target rather than the avoidance explanation.

Past research has suggested that when focusing donation appeals on a single victim the emotional reactions towards that victim such as empathy and sympathy feelings motivate donations (Basil, Ridgway & Basil, 2008; Loewenstein & Small, 2007; Small, Loewenstein, & Slovic, 2007). However, the process behind donations-giving towards abstract-broad entities is yet to be explored. Our results (Study 5) suggest that empathy toward the organization is probably not the motivation behind donating to general and abstract targets. One possible direction for future exploration would be to reveal the cognitive or emotional motivations behind giving to greater causes and broad charitable missions. It is possible that idealistic thoughts and beliefs, might motivate people to try and "change the world and make it a better place" by donating to charitable organizations that have the power to influence more than one victim.

The current research has demonstrated how donation giving is influenced by potential donors' psychological distance from the population in need. This line of investigation can be further expanded by looking at whether distance between the potential donor and the donation requester can yield similar results. Past research focusing on person-to-person appeals in charitable fund-raising has shown the "foot in the door effect" (Freedman & Fraser, 1966) and the "foot in the mouth effect" (Aune & Basil, 1994; Howard, 1990). Those studies suggest that potential donors' compliance is due either to a need for consistency (consistency in donors' self-perceptions) or to relational obligations (between the donor and the requester). Our work offers a possible additional mechanism for compliance: psychological distance. It would be worthwhile to demonstrate in future research the conditions under which donors experience near or far psychological distances from the requester, and whether the influence of such experiences on the donor is similar to the effects observed herein.

The current research offers some important managerial implications. In many cases, donation appeals aim to elicit donations from people all over the world. Clearly, people who are geographically distant from donation recipients would be expected to be socially distant from them. Our findings suggest that for such appeals, highlighting the charitable organization would be a preferred course of action for raising money. Correspondingly, charitable appeals that aim to collect donations for a specific person, such as medical treatment for a sick child, should target psychologically close potential donors or activate near psychological distance. Furthermore, as stated in the introduction, a charitable organization may prefer to receive donations to the organization per se, as this provides relative flexibility in terms of how to use the donations raised. If the Red Cross, for example, receives a donation targeting a group of victims (e.g., victims of Japan's Earthquake and Pacific Tsunami)

it must use the donation for those victims. In contrast, if the Red Cross receives a donation to "The Red Cross" in general, it can use the funds for its many activities and to serve different populations in need (e.g., victims of Japan's Earthquake and Pacific Tsunami as well as victims of the US's Midwest tornadoes).

Past research has shown that different marketing efforts that place the charitable organization per se at the center of donation appeals in the form of cause marketing (e.g. Strahilevitz, 1999) might result in a decrease in donation-giving (i.e. The Cause Marketing Paradox; Krishna, 2011). The findings of this paper suggest that cause-marketing may be more beneficial when donors are psychologically distant from the population in need.

To conclude, our research suggests that marketers and policy-makers designing a donation appeal should either adjust the donation target they wish to focus the appeal on, whether specific or abstract, to the audience's psychological distance, or try to activate the potential donor's corresponding psychological distance mindset to match the donation appeal.

Appendix A. Detailed description of donation appeal scenarios (manipulations highlighted in the text)

Study 1

Every year more and more young people enter a disturbing cycle that begins with dropping out of the education system, continues with wandering the streets, and culminates in complications with the law.

We, the members of "A Thinking Mind and an Open Heart", believe that at-risk youths need to be exposed to a more mature, successful group of people. Our "credo" at "A Thinking Mind and an Open Heart" is that a role model can be a positive anchor for at-risk youths. University students can serve as role models and as a positive influence and thereby help at-risk youths to remain within the education system and to succeed in it, and in life.

We are assessing the willingness of the student population to participate in the project "A Thinking Mind and an Open Heart".

Condition 1: As part of the project you are asked to assist *a care center for underprivileged children* with homework and with studying for exams. The project will begin *next month*.

Condition 2: As part of the project you are asked to assist *Shlomi, an underprivileged child*, with homework and with studying for exams. The project will begin *next month*.

Condition 3: As part of the project you are asked to assist *a care center for underprivileged children* with homework and with studying for exams. The project will begin *next month*.

Condition 4: As part of the project you are asked to assist *Shlomi, an underprivileged child*, with homework and with studying for exams. The project will begin *at the beginning of next year*.

Study 2

SOS learning centers throughout the country provide schoolwork assistance to elementary school-aged children whose parents are not available for various reasons.

Condition 1: *Danny is a young child* who arrives each day at a learning center that is close to your home.
We are assessing your willingness to contribute your time to *Danny*, who will need assistance with his schoolwork starting *next week*.
Assistance mainly involves helping with homework, being willing to listen, and a lot of patience.

Condition 2: *Danny is a young child* who arrives each day at a learning center that is close to your home.
We are assessing your willingness to contribute your time to *Danny*, who will need assistance with his schoolwork *after the summer vacation*.
Assistance mainly involves helping with homework, being willing to listen, and a lot of patience.

Condition 3: *Young children* arrive each day at a learning center that is close to your home. We are assessing your willingness to contribute your time to *young children* who will need assistance with their schoolwork starting *next week*.
Assistance mainly involves helping with homework, being willing to listen, and a lot of patience.

Condition 4: *Young children* arrive each day at a learning center that is close to your home. We are assessing your willingness to contribute your time to *young children* who will need assistance with their schoolwork *after the summer vacation*.
Assistance mainly involves helping with homework, being willing to listen, and a lot of patience.

Condition 5: The "*Ofek Center*" is one of the learning centers that are close to your home. We are assessing your willingness to contribute your time to the "*Ofek Center*", which focuses on providing assistance with schoolwork, starting *next week*.
Assistance mainly involves helping with homework, being willing to listen, and a lot of patience.

Condition 6: The "*Ofek Center*" is one of the learning centers that are close to your home. We are assessing your willingness to contribute your time to the "*Ofek Center*", which focuses on providing assistance with schoolwork, *after the summer vacation*.
Assistance mainly involves helping with homework, being willing to listen, and a lot of patience.
Note: "after the summer vacation" meant in two months time.

Study 3

Because of the economic crisis, the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption has made significant cutbacks. Therefore, now, more than ever, the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption needs volunteers to help absorb new immigrants in the coming year.

As part of its restructuring efforts, the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption is seeking students who are willing to contribute their time to assist in absorbing new immigrants.

Condition 1: The Ministry will send the student volunteers to assist in the Department for the Absorption of *Lone Students* (who immigrated without their families). Students who volunteer will contribute their time to assist with day-to-day activities in the *Department for the Absorption of Lone Students*, including responding to telephone inquiries, handling paperwork, and running errands for the office.

Condition 2: The Ministry will send the student volunteers to assist in the Department for the Absorption of *Lone Elderly* (who immigrated without their families). Students who volunteer will contribute their time to assist with day-to-day activities in the *Department for the Absorption of Lone Elderly Immigrants*, including responding to telephone inquiries, handling paperwork, and running errands for the office.

Condition 3: The Ministry will send the student volunteers to assist in the Department for the Absorption of *Lone Students* (who immigrated without their families). Students who volunteer will contribute their time by accompanying *one student who is a recent immigrant* and helping him to carry out various tasks associated with absorption, such as opening a bank account, shopping at a supermarket, and filling out forms in Hebrew.

Condition 4: The Ministry will send the student volunteers to assist in the Department for the Absorption of *Lone Elderly* (who immigrated without their families). Students who volunteer will contribute their time by accompanying *one elderly recent immigrant* and helping him to carry out various tasks associated with absorption, such as opening a bank account, shopping at a supermarket, and filling out forms in Hebrew.

Study 4

Because of the economic crisis, the Ministry of Health has made significant cutbacks. Therefore, now, more than ever, the Ministry of Health needs volunteers to help care for victims of traffic accidents. As part of its restructuring efforts, the Ministry of Health is seeking financial support for the rehabilitation of victims of traffic accidents.

Condition 1: The Ministry is directing monetary contributions to the rehabilitation department assisting *male victims* of traffic accidents.
The donations will help the *Department for Male Victims of Traffic Accidents* in its day-to-day activities.

Condition 2: The Ministry is directing monetary contributions to the rehabilitation department assisting *female victims* of traffic accidents.

The donations will help the *Department for Female Victims of Traffic Accidents* in its day-to-day activities.

Condition 3: The Ministry is directing monetary contributions to the rehabilitation department assisting *female victims* of traffic accidents.

The donations are assigned to one *female* accident victim to help her in her day-to-day activities.

Condition 4: The Ministry is directing monetary contributions to the rehabilitation department assisting *male victims* of traffic accidents.

The donations are assigned to one *male* accident victim to help him in his day-to-day activities.

Study 5

The "Good Neighbor Association" (Registered Association) is a private initiative started by four young people who decided to contribute to populations in need. The association operates in several areas, including distribution of food baskets, learning centers for assistance with schoolwork, and "traveling cafes". The association has declared its mission to be pure volunteerism, and therefore no one receives a salary, from the CEO to the last of the volunteers.

Condition 1: We are calling for students to donate money to *one university student, a new immigrant.*

Condition 2: We are calling for students to donate money to *one high school student, a new immigrant.*

Condition 3: We are calling for students to donate money to *the Good Neighbor Association in its activities for university students who are new immigrants.*

Condition 4: We are calling for students to donate money to *the Good Neighbor Association in its activities for high school students who are new immigrants.*

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