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CROWDING EFFECT

Empathy, External Rewards and the Motivation Crowding Effect: Impact on Volunteers

Sharmi Surianarain

Kellogg School of Management

Northwestern University

### Abstract

The experiment investigates the effect of empathy and external rewards on the willingness to help and level of motivation of two groups of volunteers: unpaid volunteers and stipended volunteers. The study proposes a 2 X 2 X 2 research design measuring the impact of empathy (high and low) and external rewards (given and not given) on the *motivation* and *hours of help offered* by two groups of volunteers (unpaid and stipended). The volunteers are assigned a high and low empathy prime towards a person's situation, and they are then requested to help the person by signing up to volunteer their time. The subjects are either informed that they would receive an external reward (a redeemable voucher) for the volunteer activity or do not receive any information about external rewards.

I hypothesize that all groups in the high empathy situation will offer more help than the corresponding group in the low-empathy situation. I hypothesize that, in the high-empathy condition, unpaid volunteers will offer more help than paid volunteers. However, I anticipate that this effect is reversed in the low-empathy, external-reward condition: I hypothesize that, in a low-empathy situation, paid volunteers that receive an external reward will offer more help than unpaid volunteers that do not receive an external reward. Finally, I hypothesize that external rewards diminish the impact of intrinsic motivation.

## Empathy, External Rewards and The Motivation Crowding Effect: Impact on Volunteers

Volunteer activities are central to the effective operations of many non-profit organizations. According to the 2001 Giving and Volunteer Survey conducted by the Independent Sector ([www.theindependentsector.org](http://www.theindependentsector.org)), it is estimated that 83.9 million American adults volunteer, representing the equivalent of over 9 million full-time employees at a value of \$239 billion. Volunteer motivation has been studied in great depth (Clary et al., 1998; Finkelstein, Penner, & Brannick, 2005), and has been analyzed as having multifaceted components such as commitment to volunteer activity and length of service, that impact volunteer behaviour. Consequently, the study of volunteer motivation provides important implications for volunteer performance and activity, with potentially significant insights for non-profit practice and policy.

Deci's (1975; Deci & Ryan, 1985) research on the effects of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation demonstrates that external rewards have a "crowding effect" on intrinsic motives—which implies that external (usually monetary) incentives may undermine the intrinsic motivation to undertake an activity. Their research generated controversy because it predicted a reverse reaction to one expected according to relative price effect in economic theory, which assumes that economic incentives always *increase* motivation to perform a task. Recent attempts to test Deci's theories (Frey & Jegen, 2001) demonstrate that the motivation crowding effect is in fact an empirically observable phenomenon, and in some cases even *dominates* the relative price effect.

In this article, I investigate the interaction effect of external rewards on help offered in a high and low empathy situation. I first review the research on antecedents of volunteer motivation and the differential impacts of motivation on unpaid and paid volunteer

performance. Then I review the research on motivation crowding theory, which predicts that individuals' intrinsic motivation to perform a task could be undermined by external rewards. I am interested in marrying the two strands of research to examine whether the effect of motivation crowding would be mediated by the social psychologist's view of "empathy," and whether there is a difference between the behavior of paid and unpaid volunteers. In my experiment, I use empathy as the underlying intrinsic motivation manipulation and a reward- or no-reward condition to examine whether or not an external reward moderates the effect of high and low empathy on willingness to help. Further, I test two groups of volunteers, unpaid and stipended volunteers, to examine if there is a significant difference in the moderation effect of external motivation in a high/low empathy situation between the two groups.

#### *Antecedents To Volunteer Motivation*

In this section I distill the key relevant findings from the substantial body of volunteer motivation research, which studies the functional and role-based perspectives of volunteer motivation and maps the influence of these motivations on observed behavioral traits in volunteers. I suggest that the *performance impact of specific components* of volunteer motivation needs further investigation, and I analyze the theoretical frameworks developed thus far to highlight my interest on the impact of *empathy* on willingness to offer help. The motivation research examined in this section looks at motivation theories underlying *unpaid* volunteer behavior. In the next section I use research that distinguishes the intrinsic motivations of unpaid from those of *paid* (or stipended) volunteers to anticipate potentially different impacts on the volunteers' willingness to help.

#### *Values as Functional Antecedents to Volunteer Motivation: Empathy*

Clary et al.'s (Clary et al., 1998) functional analysis hypothesized a six-function inventory—the Volunteer Function Inventory, or VFI—to study and assess the motivations to volunteer, namely: values (to express values related to altruistic concern for others); understanding (to acquire new learning experiences); social (to strengthen social relationships); career (to gain career related experience); protective (to reduce negative feelings about oneself); enhancement (to grow and develop psychologically). Further, the authors found that the motivations to volunteer are mediated by the extent to which the volunteer experience fulfills the relevant motives. In fact, the more the volunteer experienced fulfilled the volunteer's underlying motivation, the more likely the volunteers were to *stay motivated* to perform the volunteer activity. The inventory developed by Clary et al. provides an invaluable set of metrics with which to analyze the different components underlying volunteer motivation. However, it would be even more compelling to look at outcome measures (such as willingness to volunteer) as a result of one or more of the VFI factors.

Indeed, Omoto and Snyder's (1995) research indicates that motive strength is positively correlated with one such outcome measure, viz. with the *length of service* of AIDS volunteers that the authors measured in an organization, over the course of two and a half years. However the authors did not investigate the impact of *specific* volunteer motivations (such as empathy) and length of service, nor did the research suggest that the *presence* of altruistic concerns would influence the amount of volunteer time offered by the AIDS volunteers. It is precisely this unanswered question that drives my investigation into the impact of empathy on the *amount of time* offered to help someone in need.

Penner and Finkelstein's (1998) research on the role of personal motives (specifically empathy and helpfulness) of volunteers in an AIDS service organization indicates that value-

expressive motives (such as empathy) were positively correlated with *level* of volunteer activity and observed *sustained* voluntarism over time. The authors found that high empathy in male volunteers in the organization correlated with subsequent levels of volunteer activity. Leading from their finding on gender differences, I propose to examine the correlation between levels of empathy and willingness to help, and specifically test whether there are observable differences for *paid* and *unpaid* volunteers. Subsequent research conducted by Penner et al. (2005) indicates that the strongest correlate of volunteering (based on Clary et al.'s 1998 VFI framework) was the "Values" motive, suggesting that the values motive (the expression of values related to altruistic concern for others) for volunteering may have a significant impact on volunteer behavior and performance.

Batson & Shaw's (1991) analysis of general trends in theory and experiments on empathy and altruism suggests that altruistic behaviors are a result of empathic motivation—and that *altruism*, not self-interest, is what motivates helping or "prosocial" behaviors. Further, Batson and his colleagues suggested empathy as partially cognitive, as a merging between the perceived "self" and "other" instead of emotive. Batson et al.'s (1997) experiment demonstrated the empirical consequences of this theoretical proposition. In the experiment, the researchers manipulated high and low empathy to demonstrate that individuals with higher empathy were more inclined to offer help (measured by hours of help volunteered). After encountering the young woman in need (on a recorded videotape), participants in the study were given a chance to help her. The key manipulation was the priming of empathy, in which participants were told to either *remain objective* while evaluating the young woman's need or to *personally identify* with the person's situation. I propose to adapt Batson et al.'s priming of empathy in my experiment, to investigate the impact of high and low empathy on volunteers'

willingness to help. Further, I hypothesize that volunteers primed with high empathy will offer more help than volunteers primed with low empathy.

Hypothesis 1: Volunteers with high empathy will offer more help than volunteers with low empathy

In this paper, I will focus on the motives that form part of the “Values” category in Clary et al.’s VFI framework. Based on a synthesis of Penner et al.’s (1998, 2005) research, Clary et al.’s VFI framework, and Batson et al.’s (1991, 1997) findings, I argue that levels of *empathy* will differentially impact volunteer motivation and willingness to help. Consequently, I will focus on the impact of empathy on a behavioral outcome measure, namely individuals’ willingness to volunteer, as measured by the number of hours offered to volunteer to help someone in need. Second, I will measure the volunteers’ stated reasons for their actions, to understand the link between stated volunteer motivation and observed behavioral outcome. Following from Batson et al.’s findings, I hypothesize that, in my study, volunteers with high empathy will offer more help than volunteers with low empathy.

Hypothesis 1: Volunteers with high empathy will offer more help than volunteers with low empathy

#### *Choice of Unpaid Versus Paid Volunteers*

Penner (2002) defines volunteerism as “long-term, planned prosocial behaviours that benefit strangers and occur within an organizational setting.” Cnaan et al. (1996) provide boundary definitions for who is a volunteer, emphasizing remuneration as one of the critical dimensions identified. Per their definition, the category ranges from “no remuneration at all” to “stipend or low pay.” Examples of stipends and low pay include credit for academic courses, tuition stipends, work experience, etc. In this context, I hope to examine the differential impact

of volunteer motivation on different types of volunteers, to understand the consequent impact of varying motivations on volunteer activity.

In their paper titled “Altruists or Egoists: Retention in Stipended Service,” Tschirhart et al. (2001) investigate the motivation underscoring the volunteer activity of stipended Americorps’ volunteers (i.e., volunteers that engage freely in helping activity within a formal organizational structure but receive some kind of remuneration for their services). Tschirhart et al. suggest that the longevity of service of the stipended volunteer depended *more on instrumental career-related factors rather than on altruistic motivation*. Their results diverge from the research on *unpaid* volunteer motivation (Batson et al., 1997; Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998), which suggests that volunteer activity and length of service are influenced by values, other-oriented empathy, helpfulness, and altruistic concern for others. In my study, I propose to study the impact of the empathy prime on paid and unpaid volunteers’ willingness to help. Accordingly, I hypothesize that unpaid volunteers with high empathy will offer more help than paid volunteers with high empathy.

Tschirhart et al.’s findings have extremely important consequences for understanding the role of remuneration in influencing volunteer retention and activity, with critical insights for non-profit practice and policy. In fact, non-profits that provide stipends to their volunteers may want to take cognizance of the research on motivation and volunteer activity to design appropriate incentives that not only improve volunteer performance but also improve efficient service delivery.

Hypothesis 2: Unpaid volunteers with high empathy will offer more help than paid volunteers with high empathy



To recapitulate, my hypotheses drawn from the research on paid and unpaid volunteer motivation are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Volunteers with high empathy will offer more help than volunteers with low empathy

Hypothesis 2: Unpaid volunteers with high empathy will offer more help than paid volunteers with high empathy

I will now turn to the next aspect of the theoretical framework of my research, namely the effect of external rewards on motivation.

### *External Rewards and Volunteer Motivation*

In this section I collate the insights from motivation crowding theory research to highlight my final research question and set of hypotheses, which concern the impact of external rewards on volunteer motivation, and consequently performance.

### *Motivation Crowding Theory*

Deci (1971) noted that “one is said to be intrinsically motivated to perform an activity when one receives no apparent reward except the activity itself.” Building on his theory of intrinsic motivation, Deci and various colleagues (1975; Deci & Koestner, 1999; Deci & Ryan, 2000) articulate two distinct facets of motivation: internal motivation (self-authored and endorsed) and external motivation (externally controlled and regulated). Further, their research implies that tangible external rewards can “crowd out” or diminish the effect of natural intrinsic motivation.

Motivation Crowding Theory’s central contribution lies in its attempt to bridge hypotheses afforded by economic theory and social psychology, suggesting that the interaction between external and intrinsic motivation mitigates the impact of the “relative price effect” on

behaviour. Standard economic theory predicts that external rewards raise individual performance by imposing higher marginal costs on “shirking,” whereas the motivation crowding theory suggests that external rewards (hence, external motivation) crowds out intrinsic motivation (Frey & Jegen, 2001). This implies that, even though performance may improve as a result of external rewards, motivation is more driven by external factors than intrinsic factors. In my study, I propose to examine the influence of external rewards on paid and unpaid volunteer motivation as well as on their willingness to help. I hypothesize that external rewards will diminish the impact of intrinsic motivation, and increase the impact of external motivation, as measured by self-reported responses to a portion of the VFI scale developed by Clary et al. (1998):

Hypothesis 3: External rewards will decrease intrinsic motivation and increase external motivation

Frey (1997) outlined a possible explanation for motivation crowding theory, suggesting that the effect of an external intervention on intrinsic motivation is due to a result of changed preference. Other researchers (Benabou & Tirole, 2003) have posited that external rewards change the perceived nature of the performed task, further prompting a behavioral change. Many researchers (Benabou & Tirole, 2003; Deci & Koestner, 1999) concur that external rewards are weak reinforcers in the short run, and negative reinforcers in the long run. Consequently, I hypothesize that external rewards will positively, if weakly, impact volunteers’ willingness to help, as the change in behavior observed may be a short-run consequence of the reward.

Hypothesis 4: External rewards will induce greater willingness to help

However, tangible rewards can also diminish intrinsic motivation to perform a task because they encourage compliance with a perceived external locus of causality, whereas intrinsic motivation allow people a *greater feeling of autonomy* (Deci & Ryan, 2000). As a consequence of rewards, people take less responsibility for motivating themselves. The authors further distinguish between the negative effect of tangible external rewards (such as money) and the positive effect of verbal rewards (such as praise) on intrinsic motivation for interesting tasks. The research on paid volunteer motivation suggested that paid volunteers are more intrinsically motivated by instrumental, career-related factors (Tschirhart, Mesch, Perry, K. Miller, & Lee, 2001). Therefore, I hypothesize that external rewards will therefore induce greater willingness to help among paid volunteers than for unpaid volunteers in both high and low empathy conditions, as the presence of an external reward will align with their inherent cognitive map of intrinsic motivation.

Hypothesis 4a: Paid volunteers that receive an external reward will offer more help than paid volunteers that do not

Conversely, I predict that the absence of an external reward will not change the willingness to help among unpaid volunteers demonstrating high empathy.

Hypothesis 4b: Unpaid volunteers with high empathy and receive no external reward will offer more help than unpaid volunteers with high empathy and receive an external reward

Finally, I anticipate that the effect of an external reward on unpaid volunteers with low empathy will, in fact, induce greater willingness to help—and that this interaction effect will demonstrate most clearly the impact of external rewards on willingness to help on paid volunteers in the low empathy condition. Batson and Shaw's (1991) assertion that the

motivation of low-empathy individuals was in part directed to avoid self-punishment supports this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4c: Unpaid volunteers with low empathy and receive an external reward will offer more help than unpaid volunteers with low empathy and receive no external reward

Hypothesis 4d: Paid volunteers with low empathy and receive an external reward will offer more help than unpaid volunteers with low empathy and receive no external reward

#### *Motivation Crowding and Empathy: Summary and Implications for the Study*

Some interesting questions emerge from the link between these two theoretical frameworks—motivation crowding and volunteer motivation theories. Specifically, understanding what triggers motivation in a volunteer situation, and whether or not external rewards can impact (and potentially reduce the impact of) intrinsic volunteer motivation could shed light on whether or not the effect of external rewards on motivation is independent of their effect on behavior.

In summary, my research hypotheses predict that without an external reward, volunteers with high empathy offer more help than those with low empathy—and further, unpaid volunteers with high empathy will offer help than paid volunteers with high empathy. However, the presence of an external reward may undermine empathy as a motivation to offer help—and that the effect is different for paid and unpaid volunteers, and varies across high and low empathy situations. I predict an interaction effect of external rewards on paid and unpaid volunteers' offers of help—paid volunteers with low empathy and receive an external reward will offer more help than low-empathy volunteers that do not receive a reward. See Research Design Table (Appendix A) for more detail.

#### Method

### *Participants*

Participants in the experiment are 160 female<sup>1</sup> full-time volunteers that have been in a non-profit organization of related domains (for e.g., health) for one year or longer, comprising two groups of 80 each—one group of stipended and one group of unpaid volunteers. Using a randomized block procedure, I assign 20 participants to each cell of the 2 x 2 x 2 design (see Research Design Table, Appendix A): paid and unpaid volunteers, high and low empathy, reward condition and no reward condition.

### *Operationalizations*

I use two priming manipulations to induce a high and low empathy condition, in which the subject is asked to either remain *detached* (low empathy prime) or *identify strongly with* (high empathy) the person whose case scenario they will read (see Appendix C). The empathy manipulations are adapted from experiments conducted by Batson and Shaw (1991), which have effectively manipulated empathic emotional arousal. The complete scenarios are listed in the Appendix.

The case scenario (see Appendix C) describes the situation of a young boy named Keith, a gifted violinist that has recently been accepted to attend the best performing arts school in the state. The performing arts school has awarded Keith a partial scholarship, but Keith's mother cannot afford to make up the balance. She recently purchased a car and has had a poor credit history, and thus cannot qualify for any educational loans. Keith's situation is unique in that, as an excellent student, he would do well even if he stayed in his public school. Further, due to his family's financial circumstances, the performing arts program may not be the best option for him. However, the opportunity to go to a specialized performing arts program is rare. Keith's situation is sufficiently moving that it could potentially arouse empathy, but the case

described suggests that even if Keith were not to attend the special program, he would do well nonetheless. This allows for a qualified evaluation of the victim's need, allowing for both empathic and non-empathic responses (Batson & Shaw, 1991).

The case states that a local radio station has offered to host a 3-day phonathon to raise funds from the local community in support of Keith's cause, but requires staffers to staff the phonathon in 2-hour blocks ranging from 2-4, 5-7, and 8-10 hours on each day. The volunteers in the study are then requested to help Keith by signing up to volunteer their time over the course of the three days. One of the two dependent measures in this study is the total number of hours volunteered to staff the phonathon, and the other is the measure of motivation.

#### *External Rewards Manipulation*

Half of the subjects are randomly assigned to receive an external reward—a redeemable dinner voucher for two at a moderately expensive restaurant (see Appendix C) and the other half does not receive information about any reward.

#### *Measure of Motivation*

Participants are asked to fill out a survey adapted from the Values section of Clary et al.'s Volunteer Functions Inventory (1998) to record their responses to the scenario described and to measure their levels of motivation to act upon their decision. Participants' self-reported reaction to Keith's situation represents the second dependent measure in this study.

#### *Procedure*

Participation is by individual appointment. On arrival, the participant is greeted by a female experimenter, and escorted into a research cubicle furnished with a desk and chair. The participant is left to read a typed introduction, which presents the study as a pilot test of the ability of volunteers to listen to and evaluate requests for help.

### *Manipulation checks*

Three questions on the response survey asked the subjects questions relating whether they experienced high or low empathy—whether they strongly identified with the person in need, whether they imagined what the person must have been feeling, and whether they remained objective and critical in their evaluation of the person’s need.

One coder, who was blind to the experimental conditions and hypotheses, reads the responses from the subjects and rates the motivational measures based on subject responses on a 7-point Likert scale. A second coder rates 10% of the surveys to ensure that reliability was high and the single coder’s ratings could be used to ensure the success of the manipulation.

The manipulation check includes modified portions of Clary et al.’s (1998) Volunteer Functions Inventory, to examine if paid and unpaid volunteers alike experience different levels of motivation in different experimental conditions—high/low empathy and with/without external rewards.

### *Results*

### *Discussion*

The study on empathy and the crowding of intrinsic motivations on paid and unpaid volunteers’ willingness to offer help may have some important insights into policy and practice, especially for non-profit organizations with both paid and unpaid volunteers as part of their workforce. I believe that a detailed investigation into this phenomenon could shed light on the underlying motivations for helping behavior, which may enable a non-profit to reshape their incentives and recruitment to better align with higher performance. One limitation of the study is the fact that the low empathy is difficult to manipulate without distracting from the

“neediness” of the scenario. Suggestions for future research include refining the empathy manipulation and case scenario, and studying an even more complex range of volunteer motivations, instead of just “values” or empathy. Further research could also examine the effect of non-monetary rewards on volunteer motivation and performance.



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Appendix A: Research Design Table

| Group                | High Empathy Situation |           | Low Empathy Situation |           |
|----------------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|
|                      | Reward                 | No reward | Reward                | No reward |
| Unpaid<br>Volunteers | 1                      | 3         | 6                     | 7         |
| Paid<br>Volunteers   | 2                      | 4         | 5                     | 8         |

## Appendix B: General Overview

Thank you for participating in this research project. This research is being conducted to gain a greater understanding of how people respond to requests of help. You will be asked to review a scenario describing a situation, and you will then be asked to complete a brief survey of your responses to the situation. In total, this exercise should take no longer than 1 hour. Please feel free to ask questions at any time.

If you would like to receive an abstract on the findings of this research, please provide your name and contact information below. Please be assured that this information will not, in any way, be linked to your responses.

Thank you.

### Appendix C: Manipulations

Low Empathy Prime: Try to be as objective as possible about what has happened to the person whose situation is described below, and how it has affected his or her life. Please do not get caught up in imagining what the person has been through and how he or she feels as a result, however difficult the person's situation may seem. Try to remain as detached as you can when you read about the person's situation, and evaluate his situation based on the *facts* presented in the case.

High Empathy Prime: Try to imagine how the person whose situation is described below *feels* about what has happened, and how it has affected his or her life. You do not have to concern yourself as much with attending to all the information presented, but instead just concentrate on trying to imagine how the person feels in the situation portrayed, and evaluate the person's situation based on your understanding of what the person must be going through.

### Case Scenario

A member of your community, Keith, requests your help. At age 14, Keith is a gifted violinist, and has recently been accepted to attend the best performing arts school in the state. The school has awarded Keith a partial tuition scholarship based on merit and need, and has asked Keith's family to provide the balance amount necessary to attend.

Keith's single working mother cannot afford to pay the remaining tuition amount. She earns enough as a professional hair stylist to pay off a monthly mortgage on her house and to take care of bills for her two-person household. Just over a month ago, she purchased a new car, on which she spent all her savings accrued thus far. She has been working with a collection agency for six months to alleviate severe credit card debt. She has approached local financial institutions to apply for an educational loan for her son, but has been denied due to her poor credit history. She has no savings to draw upon to meet the amount necessary to send Keith to the performing arts school.

Keith is the first person in his district to have been admitted to the performing arts program, and is extremely excited about his admission. Keith's mother is proud of her son's achievement, but has little access to the funds necessary for her son to attend the performing arts school. Keith is a good student, and has an outstanding academic track record at his current public school.

### Volunteering to Help: No External Reward

A local radio station agreed to host a 3-day phonathon to raise funds for Keith from the local community, but needs volunteers to staff different time slots over the course of the three days.

You can volunteer to help him out by signing up for one or more phonathon shifts.

*However, your participation in this experiment in no way obligates you to volunteer.*

Please indicate whether you wish to volunteer, and if so, the number of hours that you wish to volunteer: 2-4, 5-7, 8-10 on each day. The radio station has requested that only those who could contribute a minimum of 2 hours per day to sign up because of staff time involved in distributing the necessary materials. To ensure the anonymity of those not wishing to help, please put your name on the response form only if you can volunteer.

You will then be asked to complete a brief survey of your responses to the situation and you will be provided with a small envelope addressed to the experimenter in which to seal your response forms.

### Volunteering to Help: External Reward

A local radio station agreed to host a 3-day phonathon to raise funds for Keith from the local community, but needs volunteers to staff different time slots over the course of the three days.

You can volunteer to help him out by signing up for one or more phonathon shifts.

As a token of appreciation, all volunteers will receive a dinner voucher for two at a moderately expensive local restaurant.

*However, your participation in this experiment in no way obligates you to volunteer.*

Please indicate whether you wish to volunteer, and if so, the number of hours that you wish to volunteer: 2-4, 5-7, 8-10 on each day. The radio station has requested that only those who could contribute a minimum of 2 hours per day to sign up because of staff time involved in distributing the necessary materials. To ensure the anonymity of those not wishing to help, please put your name on the response form only if you can volunteer. You will be provided with a small envelope addressed to the experimenter in which to seal your response forms.



Appendix D: Volunteer Sign Up Sheet

Thank you for agreeing to sign up for the 3-day phonathon to help raise funds for Keith! Please indicate how many hours you would be willing to contribute each day. You will be contacted at in the next few days with more details of the phonathon.

Name:

Preferred Contact:

Number of Hours Willing to Volunteer (Circle one):

Day 1:                    2-4    5-7    8-10

Day 2:                    2-4    5-7    8-10

Day 3:                    2-4    5-7    8-10

## Appendix E: Subject Responses

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| Statements  | Strongly<br>Agree<br>Agree<br>Neither<br>Disagree<br>Nor<br>Disagree<br>Disagree<br>Strongly<br>Disagree |
|---|--|
| 1. I identify with the situation of the person described  |  |
| 2. When I read about the person described, I imagined what the person described in the case must have gone through                                |  |
| 3. I felt detached, objective, and critical when I evaluated the person's situation   |  |
| 4. Volunteering/not volunteering (circle one) to help the person fits in with my evaluation of what was just in the situation                     |  |
| 5. I objectively evaluated the person' situation without getting caught up with her feelings  |  |
| 6. I would have volunteered to help regardless of whether I stood to gain a personal profit   |  |
| 7. I am concerned for the person whose situation is described in the scenario   |  |
| 8. I volunteer/did not volunteer to help the person out because there was an incentive besides my feelings for the person's situation             |  |
| 9. Volunteering (circle one) to help fits in with my personal values, even if I don't get anything out of it                                      |  |
| 10. I volunteered/did not volunteer (circle one) to help the person out because I strongly identify/did not identify (circle one) with their need |  |

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## Footnote

<sup>1</sup> I propose to use only females in the experiment for several reasons: the experimenter will be female, and to reduce presentation concerns I want to keep the gender of the participants and experimenter the same. Second, the person towards whom empathy will be induced is female; I did not want to examine additionally the impact of gender on empathy when the gender of participant is different from the subject of induced empathy.