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Essays on the self-interested determinants of prosocial behaviors: The case of charitable giving

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Essays on the self-interested determinants of prosocial behaviors: The case of charitable giving

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Acknowledgments

Although it may not look like one at first sight, a doctoral thesis is definitely a hard process. In the beginning, we feel like being lost in a maze, with so many possible directions to follow, most of which leading to nowhere. Initially a little dazed and confused, you start making steps, mistakes, and choices. What you most certainly learn, is that what will get you out of this situation is all the help that people around you are ready to provide. Writing your thesis becomes a teamwork of which you are simply the spearhead. In this regard, I have been more than lucky to be able to rely on many people at the different stages of this four-year journey. Consequently, I would now like to take the time to warmly thank all the people who, consciously or not, enabled me to achieve this project.

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Abstract

Although charitable giving is not a recent issue, economic and humanitarian upheavals have led to a renewed interest for the topic in recent years. Beyond the institutional changes to which charities have been exposed, a shift in donors has also forced organizations to reconsider their fundraising methods. The limited efforts to integrate both altruistic and egoistic motives of generosity and the static perspective adopted when trying to model charitable giving have been recently pointed in the literature as key priorities for future research in the field. To address these issues, the present doctoral dissertation offers a contextualized, dynamic and integrative understanding of the decision-making process of donations. Combining four essays, this research explores how the motivations of generosity evolve over time and empirically investigates the interactions between self- and other-oriented determinants of charitable donations. This doctoral research contributes to several debates on the respective influence of personal and more altruistic determinants of generosity, on the public dimension of the behavior as well as on the role of personal feelings on the decision to donate.

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General introduction

Context

Since time immemorial, human beings have engaged in what authors refer to as *prosocial behaviors* and this, under various circumstances and for various reasons. To explain this natural tendency that men have to adopt such other-oriented behaviors, contemporary neo-Darwinian models of evolution generally identify two reasons: (a) human beings have genetic predispositions to act pro-socially to ensure survival and (b), the evolutionary success of those who adopt prosocial behaviors have convinced others to adopt similar behaviors (Dawkins, 1989; Barrett, Dunbar & Lycett, 2002; Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin & Schroeder, 2005; Buss, 2015). In our modern societies, anthropologists and sociologists consider prosocial behaviors as a fundamental aspect to maintain the social equilibrium (Mauss, 1923; Gouldner, 2008; Harbour, 2009; Jourdheuil & Petit, 2015). Although the form they take has evolved over time, such behaviors remain crucial.

As one of the first author to consider the self-interested dimension of gift-giving, Mauss (1923) explained that human beings shape their societies by accepting to give (and get) to (and from) each other, and therefore to enter the cycle of gift and counter-gift. The social equilibrium is ensured as soon as people move from hostility to alliance, and from suspicion to trust (Caillé, 2000; Caillé & Grésy, 2014). In that respect, the influence of Mauss on the anthropologist and sociologist perspectives of (charitable) giving is considerable.

Nowadays, the concept of *prosocial behavior* covers a broad range of behaviors such as gift-giving (Giesler, 2006; Marcoux, 2009), sharing (Belk, 2010), volunteering (Wilson, 2000) or any behavior that results in a benefit for another individual. All these forms of prosocial behaviors meet the rules of *gift* and *counter-gift* identified by Mauss. As the author explained, when an individual engages himself in a giving behavior, s/he (in)voluntarily commits the beneficiary to a form of response: the *counter-gift*. Although sometimes symbolic, the counter-gift remains crucial to maintain the social equilibrium.

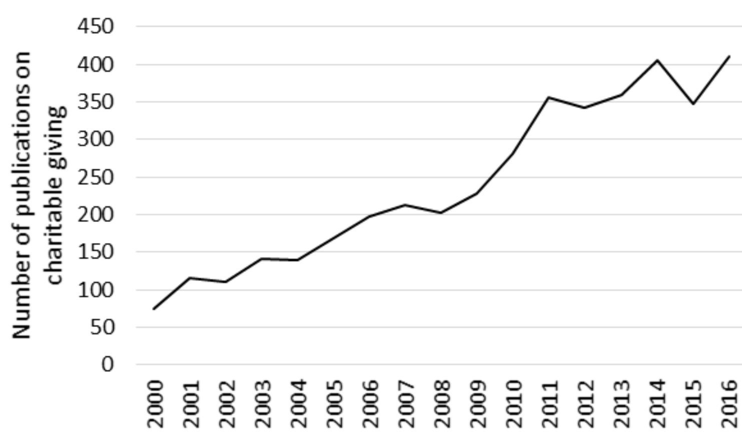
Among the different prosocial tendencies that people can adopt, charitable giving stands apart as a very particular form. Most often characterized by the absence of interaction between the donor and the beneficiary, charitable giving provides no *a priori* incentive to motivate people to adopt such a behavior (Gouldner, 2008). This apparent absence of motivation to donate to charity has led charitable giving to receive increasing attention in the fields of consumer behavior and nonprofit marketing. Although for a long time limited to anthropologist and sociological approaches (Mauss, 1923; Ryan, 1941), charitable giving is not a recent issue in social sciences. However, the rapid changes affecting our societies and the upheavals that have marked the last decades have led to a renewed interest for the issue. Indeed, recent tragic events in Haiti, Pakistan, Nepal or the United States have increased the demand for charitable services, and organizations have been multiplying massive calls for funds. Combined with a decrease of funding by public government and public bodies, this increasing competition for fundraising has forced charities to an accelerated professionalization (Bennett & Gabriel, 2003; Venable, Rose, Bush & Gilbert, 2005).

Furthermore, this forced evolution of organizations appears against the backdrop of a new international solidarity. This new globalized form of generosity is rooted in the context of a neo-liberal form of globalization that exacerbates North-South disparities (Freyss, 2004). Nowadays, the meaning associated to charitable giving has gone beyond the simple act of financial support (Bajde, 2012). As Gouldner (2008) pointed out, charitable giving has gradually become a new means to free ourselves from a bunch of social norms. Indeed, the apparent absence of personal benefits strongly contrasts with the neo-liberal economy that currently rules our societies.

The general perception of the charitable sector has evolved as well. For many years, donors have hold a rather naïve vision of the charitable sector and have often related the concept of nonprofit with nonprofessional practices (Akchin, 2001). For a long time, research on public generosity has consequently faced strong opposition concerning the use of businesslike methods. More recently, the urgency of the situation has, to some extent, contributed to more awareness about the need for funds (Hwang & Powell, 2009; Suarez, 2010).

Then, donors have become increasingly proactive, more often initiating the contact with the charity (Nichols, 2004). In addition, the ongoing emergence of new technologies offers numerous opportunities for fundraising and consequently, research avenues are multiplying to tackle the new challenges of the sector (Dolnicar, Irvine & Lazarevski, 2008). Beyond awareness-raising efforts about humanitarian issues, charities' main objective remains fundraising. Tremendous efforts and means are deployed to convince people to donate. However, recent controversies regarding fundraising practices (Pallotta, 2009) have also led to a growing resistance toward charitable giving (Urbain, Le Gall-Ely & Urien, 2012) and a mistrust has emerged among donors who have become increasingly critical towards charities. To address these numerous challenges, charitable giving has been the focus of a recent increasing interest. Over the last fifteen years, publications on the issue have more than quintupled, paving the way to new directions of research (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Number of publications on charitable giving between 2000 and 2016 (Scopus)



Research motivations

Issues related to charitable giving and generosity are currently addressed in various literatures and under multiple perspectives (Le Gall-Ely, 2013). In line with the original work of Marcel Mauss (1923), numerous authors have proposed an anthropologist approach, whereas others have considered charitable giving from a sociological point of view, considering the behavior as an alternative to the current neo-liberal economic vision (Godbout & Caillé, 1992; Caillé & Grésy, 2014). Furthermore, research on charitable giving has also been carried out in the fields of psychology (Smith & McSweeney, 2007) and economics (Rooney, Mesch, Chin & Steinberg, 2005). Standing at the crossroads of various literatures from which it greatly beneficiates, the marketing field has consequently been the seedbed of a significant body of empirical research. However, Mauss' contributions on the personal benefits that one can derived from his/her gift have long been overlooked. Furthermore, the multiplicity of approaches in marketing has also made difficult to define charitable giving and to identify its boundaries (Le Gall-Ely, 2013).

Consequently, the definition of charitable giving has long suffered from the confusion between the concept of prosocial behavior that we can describe as *"a voluntary, intentional behavior that results in benefits for another",* (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987; p.92) and altruistic behaviors. The difference between both types of behaviors lies in their underlying motivations. While altruistic behaviors are only adopted to benefit others, prosocial tendencies can be driven by more personal benefits, as long as it results in some sort of benefit for another individual. In other words, whereas all altruistic behaviors can be regarded as prosocial, the opposite is not always true. This terminological confusion has initially led authors to consider charitable giving as solely altruistic (Eisenberg-Berg & Hand, 1979; Rushton, 1980). In a seminal paper on public goods, Andreoni (1989) underlined the limits of a purely altruistic vision and introduced the concept of *impure altruism*. Developing a model to predict total private contributions to the public good, the author concluded that people enjoy making donations to some extent and that altruism cannot explain this tendency to prosocial behaviors.

From that point forward, a second stream of research has developed around the self-interested determinants of prosocial behaviors and two visions have been confronting ever since. Depending on the research objectives, charitable giving has been alternatively considered as a selfless act, a fully interested behavior, a social or cultural norm (Croson, Handy & Shang, 2009) or a reflection of the donor's values (Masters, 2000). The general perspective has thus remained limited and researchers consequently adopted a naïve and narrow vision of the phenomenon.

Recently, several authors insisted on the complexity of the decision-making process of donating behaviors and on the plurality of underlying motives (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2007; 2011; Wiepking & Bekkers, 2012). The challenge to which researchers are exposed has been recently summarized by Le Gall-Ely (2013). Either the perspective is too global and barely applicable, or it becomes too specific and therefore lacks of generalizable contributions. To address that issue, attempts to unify the different streams of research have multiplied and a growing number of literature reviews have been published over the last decade (Penner et al., 2005; Bekkers and Wiepking, 2010; 2011; Wiepking & Bekkers, 2012; Le Gall-Ely, 2013).

These efforts of unification have to face different challenges. The first one stands in the opposition that still exists between the others- and self-interested dimensions of charitable giving. When dealing with motivations, authors have often focused either on the altruistic (Lee & Chang, 2007; Verhaert & Van den Poel, 2011) or on self-interested determinants of generosity (Hibbert, Smith, Davies & Ireland, 2007; Holmes, 2009). Studies on interactions between the two types of motives are limited (Basil, Ridgway & Basil, 2008; Andreoni, Rao & Trachtman, 2017) and this resulted in a Manichean view of donors in the literature. This dual perspective about motivations to donate results, among other things, from the fact that charitable giving is still generally considered as a static process. Building upon the work on prosocial behaviors, authors have recently highlighted the need for more consideration to the evolution of the behavior and of its motivations over time (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011).

Then, charitable giving has long been considered as a behavior only driven by intrapersonal motives (Polonsky, Shelley & Voola, 2002). In the era of social networks, new fields of investigation have developed and the social dimension of generosity has known a growing interest. The recent success of the *ALS Ice Bucket Challenge* (activity that involves the dumping of a bucket of ice and water over someone’s head) is in this matter a perfect illustration. While the campaign in itself was a terrific success, its initial motivation (the promotion of the amyotrophic lateral sclerosis) has been largely forgotten. To explain that phenomenon, prestige and social recognition appear as logical motivations to adopt prosocial behaviors publicly. However, authors are still debating on their influence in the context of charitable giving. As pointed out by Bénabou and Tirole (2006), such extrinsic determinants tend to create doubt about the extent to which they are actually performed for the beneficiary.

Finally, a third issue arises from the urgent need for funds and visibility from charities (Michel & Rieunier, 2012). Based on the assumption that emotions lead to generosity, intensive research has investigated the antecedents of emotional reactions (Renner, Lindenmeier, Tscheulin & Drevs, 2013; Albouy, 2017; Chédotal, Berthe, de Peyrelongue & Le Gall-Ely, 2017). The level of emotional arousal, the victims' characteristics and the type of media are all key parameters when trying to elicit emotions among the targeted audience (Hibbert & al., 2007; Chang & Lee, 2009). But despite scientific knowledge on how to trigger emotional responses, very few studies have investigated to what extent these emotions lead to generous behaviors. Indeed, several authors have warned against the use of negative emotions such as guilt (Cotte, Coulter & Moore, 2005) as they would sometimes lead to the rejection of the message when it is perceived too hard or when its manipulative intent is too obvious. In the case of positive emotions resulting from a good did that organizations sometimes highlight to promote generosity, they would sometimes have unexpected negative effects. Indeed, people would derive some confidence from their good deed and feel temporarily exempted to engage in prosocial behaviors (Merritt, Effron & Monin, 2010). So far, empirical data have been lacking to improve our understanding of the role of emotions in the specific context of charitable giving.

Research questions

The relevance of a research project depends mainly on the importance of the questions it is addressing as well as on the knowledge of the context within which it is embedded (Rynes, Bartunek & Daft, 2001; Barab & Squire, 2004). In the current context, the attraction and the retention of donors are the key challenges for fundraising managers who must face an ever growing demand for their services. A clear understanding of what drives people to donate to charity, of how these motivations depend on personal variables as well as how they evolve over time would provide relevant insights for both academics and practitioners. For charities, ignoring the dynamic nature of motivations will deprive them from loyal donors in the long run. Similarly, ignoring personal variables would mean considering donors as a homogeneous audience. To address these issues and to answer these theoretical and managerial challenges, the present doctoral dissertation consists in four essays.

Our first essay sets the stage of this research project which consists in the Belgian charitable sector. As Le Gall-Ely (2013) pointed out, research in consumer behavior has shown the need to go beyond a decontextualized analysis of gift-giving (Bajde, 2009; Marcoux, 2009; Bajde, 2012). In the context of charitable giving, it appears crucial to integrate the environment as another determining factor of donors' behavior. Although the goal of this doctoral project is not the investigation of the cultural dimension of charity, one cannot ignore the context within which the research takes place. So far, studies have been predominantly conducted in Anglo-Saxon contexts. In the UK and in the USA, social aid remains limited and is mostly based on private insurance that people must contract at their own expenses. These institutional insufficiencies have led to a greater professionalism from charities that have to shoulder more responsibility than their counterparts in most Western European countries where social support systems are often more developed. However, economic, humanitarian and natural events that have marked the last decade have initiated a major transformation of the European institutional landscape (Glöçmen, 2013). An increasing demand for services combined with a diminished support from public bodies has forced most European charitable organizations to an accelerated professionalism and intensified fundraising.

In this context, our first essay, entitled *Segmenting the Belgian charitable sector: The impact of environmental factors on households' generosity*, fulfills several objectives. First, this paper provides a longitudinal and complete vision of the Belgian charitable sector. Whereas generosity barometers have been multiplying over the years, their findings remain biased by social desirability (Lee & Sargeant, 2011). In that respect, assessing accurately the place of charitable giving among the population contributes to highlight the relevance of this doctoral dissertation to further understand what drives people to donate. Furthermore, this paper also aims to consider the influence of environmental factors and how they interfere with more personal variables.

Based on fiscal data of tax returns and gift tax returns provided by the official *Belgian Statistics Bureau*, this first analysis investigates individual donating behaviors while considering the influence of environmental factors. Answering the need for more data on actual donating behaviors, this research investigates the generosity of the entire Belgian taxable population over a period of eight years. The investigated time period, which runs from January 2005 to December 2012, was marked by natural disasters, massive calls for public generosity and a change in tax policies. This paper qualifies the results of previous research on the role of age and household composition as variables for segmenting donors. Furthermore, it provides relevant insights on the impact of punctual events in the long run. This paper contributes to the present research by providing a deeper understanding of the local context in which the next steps of the project take place. It provides key information on the influence of the macro environment and answers the need to consider donors as part of (and influenced by) the social and cultural context within which they operate (Godbout, 2006). This first part of the doctoral dissertation has resulted in a publication in *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*[1].

After this first macroeconomic approach of charitable giving, our next three papers adopt a more individual perspective, focusing on the variables at the early stages of the decision-making process of generosity. Our second essay, entitled *From first donations to repeated behaviors: The increasing role of personal benefits*, investigates the dynamic of motivations underlying donations and their evolution over time. Through the conceptualization of charitable giving, this paper aims to reconcile the altruistic and egoistic motivations of generosity by identifying their respective roles through the different phases of the process.

Based on semi-directive interviews among punctual and regular donors of different charitable organizations, this paper provides interesting findings on the motivational dynamic of donations as well as on the meaning that donors give to charitable giving and how this meaning evolves over time. Emerging from qualitative data analysis and interpretation, we show that whereas the first donation is often spontaneous and uninterested, the perpetuation of the behavior is conditioned by personal benefits associated with generosity. Donors' implication appears to

[1] Denis E., Pecheux C. & Decrop A., (2018), Segmenting the Belgian charitable sector: The impact of environmental factors on households' generosity, *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing, in press.*

increase over time and the meaning that is given to the behavior evolves accordingly. Initially consisting in a more emotional response, charitable giving would gradually turn into a cognitive process. For the most involved donors, charitable behavior would become a way to express personal values and would help to reinforce their self-image.

The third essay, entitled *When social recognition inhibits prosocial behaviors: The case of charitable giving*, empirically investigates the causal relationship between social recognition and generosity and how this relationship depends on the personal *need for approval*. Despite being commonly regarded as an important driver of charitable behaviors, this paper provides evidence that social recognition can also negatively affect people's generosity. Through a series of experiments, we find that the relation between social recognition and generosity is moderated by the need for social approval. We show that, depending on whether people's need for approval is high or low, social rewards can have opposite effects. This research highlights the conditions under which such extrinsic incentives work for charitable giving and paves the way for further research on the social dimension of generosity. This third paper is currently under review in *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly.*

Our final essay, entitled *I misbehaved so I give, I did good so I do not: Charitable giving to regulate moral balance*, considers the impact of feelings resulting from personal deeds on generosity. Focusing on the role of charitable giving to restore self-image and maintain moral balance, we consider the influence of recent past behaviors on generosity. More specifically, we study the extent to which the causal effects depend on contextual and personal variables. Investigating the influence of positive and negative feelings that result from personal deeds, this paper provides evidence that whereas negative feelings increase generosity, positive feelings can have the opposite effect. We show that, depending on people's emotional sensitivity, guilt feelings drive people to donate to redeem themselves whereas positive feelings would exempt them from donating. We also test the extent to which these findings can be applied to the case of anticipated feelings. Theoretical and managerial contributions are discussed and directions for future research are finally presented.

Mostly adopting an individual approach, this doctoral project offers a deep understanding of the decision-making process of charitable giving. This research explores the evolution of the behavior, and emphasizes the interactions that exist between individual variables and the self-interested dimension of generosity. Our different findings contribute to several vivid debates on the role of altruistic and egoistic motives (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011), on the social dimension of generosity (Gneezy, Meier & Rey-Biel, 2011) and on the place of emotions in the process of generous behaviors (Merritt et al., 2010; Albouy, 2017). The contributions of this doctoral dissertation are detailed in the next section.

Research contributions

The ultimate goal of this doctoral dissertation is to get an understanding of charitable giving that would be contextualized, dynamic and integrative. The contextualization of research on charitable giving has been increasingly encouraged by authors (Le Gall-Ely, 2013; Einolf, 2017) since the evolution of our economies and societies has strongly changed the environment and the reasons to donate (Bajde, 2012). Then, integrating the dynamic nature of charitable giving enables us to have a more accurate and complete vision of generosity. Motivations can change over time (Ryan & Deci, 2017) and recent research has underlined the importance of this dynamic in related contexts like volunteering (Pagès, Fisher & Van der Wal, 2017) and crowdfunding (Bretschneider & Leimeister, 2017). In the field of charitable giving, research on this dynamic has however remained limited. Finally, to conciliate the altruistic and more interested dimensions of generosity appears crucial to obtain a global and critical vision of charitable giving that overcomes the current ‘Manichean’ view of giving (Le Gall-Ely, 2013). In this doctoral dissertation, these three research priorities are addressed both thematically and transversely.

Our contribution to a more contextualized research in charitable giving lies primarily in our first paper. Recently, attempts to get a clear picture of the sector in Belgium and other Western European countries have multiplied. These attempts, based on declarative behaviors, provide key indicators of people’s generosity and identify trends in charitable donations. However, as relevant as those tools can be, one of the main difficulties when working on the topic of charitable giving remains its inherent social desirability bias (Lee & Sargeant, 2011). Consequently, generosity barometers based on declarative behaviors provide limited reliability in their conclusions. This first study, based on data on real behaviors, overcomes this limit and gives a recent an accurate view of the Belgian charitable sector. Furthermore, we underline the fact that the sector is far from saturated and insist once more on the difference that still exists between Anglo-Saxon countries and Western Europe. We also contribute to a better understanding of the role of environmental and economic factors on generosity as requested by several authors (Zagefka et al., 2012; Göçmen, 2013). Whereas generosity appears influenced by a number of these factors, there is very limited evolution on the long term.

Then, although charitable giving is no longer considered as a pure altruistic tendency (Andreoni, 1990), the interactions between the self- and other-oriented dimensions of the behavior remain an underexplored issue in the literature (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Le Gall-Ely, 2013). So far, authors have generally supported one side or the other. Proposing a more integrative perspective, this doctoral dissertation provides a relevant alternative by identifying the respective role of both types of motivations to donate. Across three of our essays, we highlight the complementarity of altruistic and egoistic determinants to donate all along the decision-making process. Although they often work together to drive people to adopt generous behaviors, our work suggests that their respective role and importance are rarely similar, depending on the phase of the decision-making at which they occur.

The complementarity that exists between the self- and other-oriented determinants of generosity appears to depend on many factors. We show that the longevity of the behavior, the donor's implication, his/her personality and emotional sensitivity influence the weight of the different types of motivations. This research also suggests that when spontaneous, the behavior is mostly explained by altruistic responses. By comparison, the more thoughtful and anticipated the behavior becomes, the more important the personal benefits that the donor will derive from it.

Different authors have advocated for more research on the interactions between both types of motives (Basil et al., 2008; Andreoni & Rao, 2011). Through our third and fourth papers, we also contribute to this debate by investigating the interactions that can exist between altruistic and egoistic motives. Considered as a primary condition for altruism (Cialdini et al., 1997; Batson, Ahmad, Lishner & Tsang, 2016), empathy, and more generally personal empathic tendencies would influence the impact of more self-interested drivers such as the alleviation of guilt feelings.

Through this doctoral project, we finally aim at capturing the dynamic underlying the charitable giving behavior. This evolution concerns both the motivations to donate and the meaning donors give to their act of generosity. We suggest that whereas the behavior is often initially spontaneous, the process becomes increasingly conscious through the repetition of the behavior. The underlying motives therefore evolve from mostly uninterested to increasingly interested.

As pointed out by Bajde (2012), the role of charity in givers' meaning depends on the social and cultural context and can change over time. Our work supports that this meaning not only evolves but also grows over time. As the behavior is repeated and becomes thoughtful, we show that it has more meaning for the donor, serving as a way to express values and opinions.

Epistemological positioning

Epistemology is defined by Ryan (2006) as the study of how people know things and how they think they know things. As the author explained, the field is concerned with the nature of knowledge and with the definition of valid knowledge. The choice of an epistemological positioning is therefore a fundamental step in the definition of a research project as it conditions the relation that the research builds with its project and the resulting knowledge it eventually produces. All research approaches and their underlying methodologies are based on prior assumptions and beliefs (Shulman, 1986). Although all forms of knowledge are precious, a researcher must choose and define the processes through which he will gain knowledge (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988; p. 508). The epistemological positioning is a key stage in the definition of the research design since it irremediably affects how knowledge is produced along the research project (Hunt, 1990). The epistemological perspective that one decides to adopt identifies the quality criteria of the research methods and therefore enables to seize the overall reliability and relevance of the research project (Hofer, 2001). In this regard, a clear epistemological positioning is crucial to avoid constant questioning about the knowledge produced (Hunt, 1990).

The philosophical premises that underlie the different epistemological approaches concern the definition of reality (Hunt, 1990), of social beings (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988) and finally, of knowledge (Paavola & Hakkarainen, 2005). For many years, positivist and interpretive visions have been opposed as the two major streams when seeking knowledge in consumer research (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988). Whereas the first views the reality as objective, tangible, divisible and single (Sebok, 1995), the latter rather sees it as socially constructed, contextual and multiple (Berger & Luckmann, 1991).

Based on different assumptions and different objectives, both approaches present strengths and weaknesses on which researchers have built to propose various alternative middle-ground perspectives to counter the major limits of these two initial approaches (Halfpenny, 1987; Sale, Lohfeld & Brazil, 2002). Indeed, the juxtaposition of both approaches proposed by Hudson and Ozanne (1988) underlines that positivist and interpretive views can coexist and that more balanced perspectives integrating their respective strengths could and should be encouraged. Over the years, post-positivism (Ryan, 2006) has emerged as resolving, to some extent, the limits of positivist and interpretive approaches. Promoting methodological pluralism (Easterby-Smith, Lyles & Tsang, 2008), this perspective balances the positivist and interpretive visions by considering that although a single reality exists, it can only be understood imperfectly. Knowledge, therefore, cannot be fully separated from personal experience. However, the central issue of post-positivism is not a clear distinction between subjectivity and objectivity, but is about the building of knowledge and meaning based on experience that is not only bounded by reason (Henriques et al., 1984). In the following sections, we justify our choice for a post-positivist perspective and explain how this approach influences our research design.

Post-positivism

To adopt a post-positivist positioning implies the ability to adopt a distanced view that is however different from *"just the facts"* (Ryan, 2006, p. 18). The researcher must acknowledge the connection that exists between him/her and the people s/he is studying. As Wolcott (1990) explained, the researcher conducts research among people and learn with them. Another key aspect of post-positivism is that researchers do not systematically consider answering the question they initially set out to investigate (Ryan, 2006). Indeed, research can be both about problem solving and problem setting as the research can result in raising questions that eventually lead to empirical studies. In that respect, exploratory studies can make perfect sense and illustrate the idea that problems are sometimes set and not solved. The formulation of the problem itself and the testing of the resulting hypotheses are equally important (Hammersley, 2000).

Another important underlying assumption of post-positivism is that data cannot be scientifically aggregated to obtain the overall truth. Although that premise does not mean that the researcher cannot take a stand regarding his/her research topic, s/he must acknowledge the complexity of life and reality (Ryan, 2006). Truth is never final and develops through dialogue and exchange of opinions and views. Post-positivism acknowledges the existence of a multitude of competing discourses and therefore contradictions. A reflexive attitude and a critical approach from the research are therefore crucial in a post-positivist perspective. In this vein, the identification of limits is important, as all research have some.

Post-positivists do not believe in the existence of a single reality that remains independent from the individuals who perceive it. Neither do they believe that reality is fragmentable and divisible. However, it goes beyond a simple denial of a single real world (Burrell & Morgan, 2017). Indeed, interpretivists consider that each individual makes sense of a reality that is socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1991), which results in multiple realities that coexist and change over time. Post-positivists therefore believe that although our findings and their resulting proposals are never final, they can approach the truth through discussions and repeated research adopting different perspectives.

This doctoral project

Through its structure, its different methodologies and its reflexive stance, the present research project adopts a post-positivist approach. Through our different stages, we keep in mind that the conclusions we draw can never be seen as final and must be open to discussion. We avoid authoritarian tones and keep reflexive the findings we produce through our different studies.

Furthermore, we dedicate equal importance to problem formulation and hypothesis-testing in the process of knowledge construction (Hammersley, 2000).

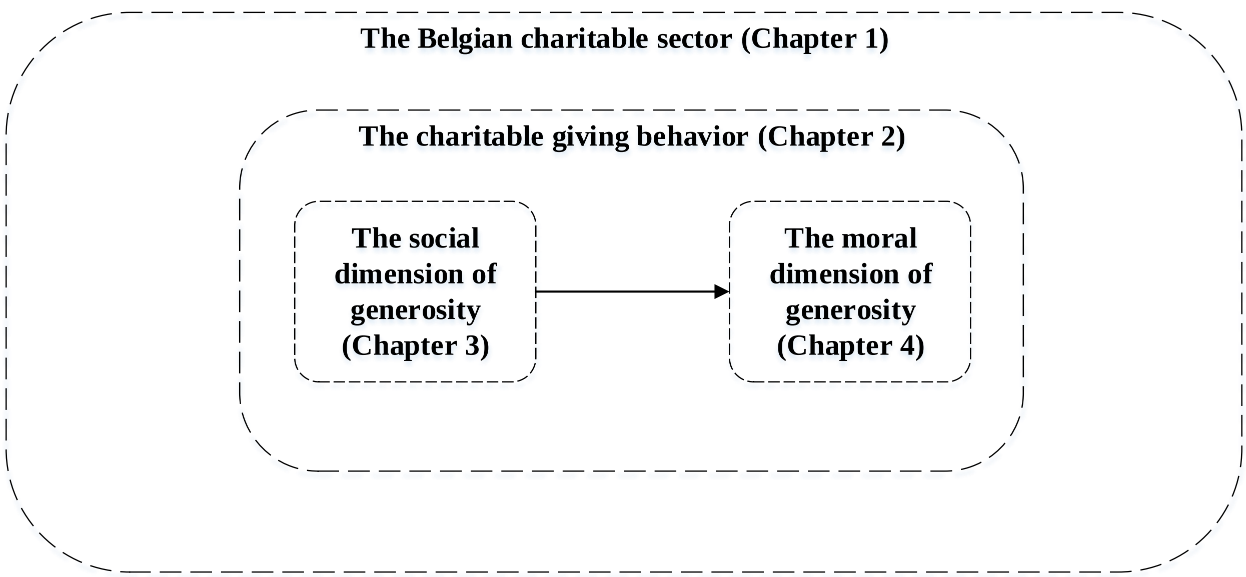
Consequently, this project unfolds in two major phases. While our two first papers have an open-ended and exploratory character and rather aim at setting out the problem, our third and fourth essays consist in hypotheses-testing. The exploratory phase gives ground for epistemological reflection as it combines different forms of methodologies and data. The first essay, *segmenting the Belgian sector,* is based on the analysis of quantitative data about the Belgian population, and gives us a privileged vantage point, as mentioned by Hudson & Ozanne (1988). Additionally, the ultimate goal of this first essay is to provide a context to the research project and to underline the fact that individuals and their behaviors cannot be separated from the environment in which they operate, as highlighted by interpretive approaches. Our second study, *From first donations to repeated behaviors,* refers to a more individual perspective and adopts a qualitative methodology. This choice of methodology is explained by our willingness to get a deep understanding of donating behaviors by adopting the perspective of the donors. In this vein, rather than providing prepared responses to questions that are designed to be unbiased, we engage ourselves in *"a social construction of a narrative with our participants […] to activate the respondent's stock of knowledge"* (Ryan, 2006, p. 19).

In this section, the priority is given to the formulation of the problem and the identification of the research questions. As pointed out by Hammersley (2000, p. 19), a good research is a research that breaks down the problems and consequently identifies relevant questions. In that respect, most issues "*do not lend themselves to ready answers"*. This first step of the project results in the identification of questions that lead to the formulation of subsequent empirical studies. Although we already have a good idea of what is going to be investigated, the exploratory phase enables us to better set the issue and to formulate the subsequent guiding hypotheses.

In the second phase of our project, we dedicate our efforts to the hypotheses-testing. Our third and fourth essays, *When social recognition inhibits prosocial behaviors* and *I misbehaved so I give, I did good so I do not,* aim at testing relations between variables at an empirical level, and are therefore based on experimental studies. In a post-positivist approach, the production of general rules to describe reality remains one of our objective while keeping it mind that the reality can be considered under numerous perspectives. In the same vein, we acknowledge that although our methodologies are designed to limit these biases, the setting of online experiments limits the spontaneous and natural settings of the investigated behaviors. Again, we take into account the complexity of life and experience while considering the results of our studies and keep our conclusion reflexive.

Consequently, although post-positivism advocates that some methodologies are more suitable for some research questions, we support the post-positivist idea that the combination of multiple methods helps to get a deeper and more accurate understanding of reality. Indeed, the combination of qualitative and quantitative as well as exploratory and hypothesis testing approaches enables us to better address the research question and its underlying socially constructed reality.

Figure 2: Summary of the research project



As depicted in Figure 2, the first chapter of this doctoral dissertation investigates the context within which this research takes place: the Belgian charitable sector. This sector is not hermetical and remains influenced by the broader international context. Then the second chapter adopts a more individual perspective and considers the decision-making process of the charitable behavior. Once again, it is worth noting that this behavior takes place in a broader context that inevitably impacts individual decisions. Our third chapter focuses on the social dimension of generosity and its influence on the decision to donate. Considering the more or less immediate entourage of the potential donor, we investigate its impact of the decision-making process of charitable donations. Finally, our fourth chapter adopts an intrapersonal perspective, focusing on the role of charitable giving to regulate moral balance.

Chapter 1: Segmenting the Belgian charitable sector: The impact of environmental factors on households' generosity[2]

1.1 Introduction

The major upheavals that charities have faced over the last few years have led to a renewed interest in the literature (Nichols, 2004; Sargeant & Woodliffe, 2007[a]; Stebbins & Hartman, 2013). As a result, research avenues are multiplying and new approaches are investigated to enhance the knowledge on charitable giving (Ozcelik, 2008; Marcoux, 2009; Miller, 2009; Bajde, 2012). However, research still suffers from major weaknesses. First, most of the studies conducted in the past come from Anglo-Saxon countries, where the culture of charitable giving is well established (Pharoah & Tanner, 1997; Giesler, 2006; Le Gall-Ely, 2013). Indeed, the absence or weaknesses of the social security system in the USA and UK create a culture of giving, making citizens more generous. Moreover, though charities of both cultures have to deal with the same major issues, institutional insufficiencies in Anglo-Saxon countries have led to greater professionalism from the charitable organizations. Then, there is still a desperate lack of reliable data regarding charitable giving behaviors. Lee and Sargeant (2011) recently pointed out that research on charitable issues (mostly based on declarative behaviors) remains often marked by social desirability biases. According to the authors, there would be large discrepancies between reported amounts of donations and what people actually give. All of this underscores the need for more reliable data in the context of generosity. Finally and most importantly, several authors have recently stressed the need to integrate the context as a determining variable for giving behaviors (Marcoux, 2009; Bajde, 2009; 2012; Le Gall-Ely,

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[2] This paper was presented to the following conference:

> Denis E. & Pecheux C., (2015), *Le don caritatif : une analyse exploratoire du secteur belge*, Les 14[èmes] Journées Normandes de Recherche sur la Consommation, Angers, France.

This paper was published in *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*

> Denis E., Pecheux C. and Decrop A. (2018), Segmenting the Belgian charitable sector: The impact of environmental factors on households' generosity, *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing, in press.*

2013). Indeed, research on charitable giving very rarely considers the influence of contextual, institutional and environmental factors. Although the reasons to donate remain mostly personal, the behavior itself often depends on the environment in which the donor operates (Godbout, 2006).

In response to these issues, the goal of this paper is twofold. Based on actual behaviors, we first aim at investigating the relevance of segmenting donors by analyzing the influence of social and demographic variables on generosity. Second, we consider the impact of environmental factors and how they interfere with more personal variables. This exploratory research takes place in the Belgian charitable sector, investigating an understudied context where social security is strongly developed and where the culture of giving is not well established. The database was provided by the official Belgian statistics bureau and encompasses all fiscally declared donations made by the entire Belgian taxable population between 2005 and 2012, which addresses the need for more reliable data on generosity. This exploratory study contributes to the literature by empirically assessing the influence of social and demographic variables, qualifying previous findings on the impact of age and household composition. From an individual perspective, we also provide insights regarding the impact of environmental factors such as tax policy, economic downturn and natural disasters on people's response to solicitations. We finally present several managerial implications and suggest leads for future research.

1.2 Theoretical background

Originating from the literature on gift-giving (Belk, 1979), research has progressively expanded to new contexts such as the nonprofit sector (Guy & Patton, 1988; Bennett, 2003). Determinants of charitable giving have rapidly become a central issue and the literature now encompasses various perspectives, from demographic segmentation (Schlegelmilch, Love & Diamantopoulos, 1997; Shelley & Polonsky, 2002; Sargeant & Hilton, 2005) to the more recent interest for cultural and institutional specificities (Bajde, 2009; 2012; Le Gall-Ely, 2013). In the following sections, we review the basic principles underlying the segmentation of donors and the influence of environmental factors on donating behaviors.

1.2.1 Demographic trends

Five major demographic variables have been studied in the literature: *age*, *gender*, *household composition*, *education level* and *revenue*. Viewed as the most influencing variable, age has an undisputed positive impact on charitable donations (Shelley & Polonsky, 2002; Bennett, 2003). Wiepking and James (2013) have however recently nuanced this continuous relation, pointing out a drop in generosity among the oldest segment. Income has been shown to have a major influence as well (Schlegelmilch et al., 1997; Le Gall-Ely, 2013). But while its impact on charitable giving is clearly positive, its effect would be digressive. As Wiepking (2007) pointed out, higher financial resources are not an indication of higher generosity and richest segments would be proportionally less generous than poorest ones. Correlated with income, the education level has also been studied in the context of charitable giving (Guy & Patton, 1988; Grande & Vavra, 1999; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011). In this vein, there seems to be a positive relationship between education and donation behavior (Garner & Wagner, 1991; Webb, Green & Brashear, 2000) but this effect would also highly depend on general income (Bennett, 2012).

Household composition is another variable influencing the decision-making process of charitable giving (Sargeant & Hilton; 2005; Wiepking & Bekkers, 2012). In that respect, the absence of descendants unsurprisingly tends to increase charitable generosity. Andreoni, Brown and Rischall (2003) also pointed out differences of preferences regarding donating decisions within the couple. According to the authors, such conflicts lead to bargaining over charitable giving, reducing donations by at least six percent. However, limited research considers the influence of household composition on generosity. Finally, gender is the variable whose effect is the most debated among researchers (Shelley & Polonsky, 2002; Bennett, 2003; Croson, Handy & Shang, 2010; Mesch, Brown, Moore & Hayat, 2011). Previous studies failed to identify significant differences regarding charitable giving behavior. In their paper on gender differences in altruism, Andreoni and Vesterlund (2001) also failed to find a clear distinction between men and women. Nevertheless, as far as charitable legacy is concerned, legators seem to be mainly women (Sargeant & Hilton, 2005). However, those findings have been rarely verified on a large scale (Pharoah & Tanner, 1997; Einolf, 2011). Considering the specific issue of charitable donations, desirability bias implies strict precautions against declarative behaviors that often lead us to overestimate people's generosity (MacQuillin, 2005, Lee & Sargeant, 2011).

When considering demographics, it is hard not to mention the central role of religiosity. Galen (2012) recently revived the research on this variable through a critical examination. Besides its direct effect on generosity (Bennett & Kottasz, 2001; Brown & Ferris, 2007; Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008), religious beliefs would also positively impact household composition (Adsera, 2006). In contrast, Albrecht and Heaton (1984) found a negative relationship between education level and religiosity although this finding was recently nuanced by Glaeser and Sacerdote (2008) who insisted on the interacting effect of social capital. Regarding age, recent research has shown a marked decline of both religious beliefs and practice among younger generations in most Western European countries (Pollack, 2008; Norris & Inglehart, 2011). Finally, it has been generally demonstrated that females tend to be more religious than males (Miller & Hoffmann, 1995). Consequently, although religious beliefs are often difficult to obtain, their impact on demographic variables should not be neglected.

1.2.2 Contextual determinants on individual behaviors

Marketing research on the impact of contextual factors on generosity remains limited, and is often characterized by the absence of good quality data or a too narrow focus. In the literature, it is now generally accepted that consumers cannot be considered as isolated individuals, but rather as being part of (and influenced by) cultures and societies within which they operate (Godbout, 2006). The same is true for charitable giving, and it is therefore crucial to consider environmental factors as important determinants of people's behavior. Göçmen (2013) recently insisted on the changing role of voluntary organizations in the European welfare states and highlighted the impact of social policies and public institutions on the way charities must operate. As previously mentioned, a defecting social security system would enhance more solidarity than an effective one. On an institutional perspective, the politicization and professionalization of the charitable giving process have repositioned the role of public institutions and their relations with the nonprofit sector (Le Gall-Ely, 2013; p.62). So far, most of studies have been conducted in Anglo-Saxon cultures, justifying these recent calls for more research in other areas (e.g. Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008). The role assigned to public bodies strongly differs between Western European countries and their Anglo-Saxon counterparts. Scandinavian and Western European countries generally offer a very affordable and effective social security system that is mainly funded by tax revenues. In the UK and in the USA, the social aid remains limited and lead people to generally take out private insurance when they can afford it. In the same vein, tax benefits associated with charitable donations can vary considerably between countries, but few authors have investigated their impact on living donors (Auten & Joulfaian, 1996; James, 2008). Works on the influence of tax legislation have mainly been limited to charitable legacy and little is known on the impact of financial benefits during people's lifetime. This theoretical gap is mainly explained by the difficulty to gather actual data on charitable donations. However, such data offer a number of advantages. First, it reflects actual behaviors and therefore provides an accurate overview of people's generosity. Then, it often reveals information on large populations on longer time periods. In a more individual perspective, investigating the impact of tax benefits would help to determine whether such incentives can consist in an efficient lever to appeal to public generosity.

1.3 Data description and analyses

This research takes place in Belgium and is based on all fiscally declared charitable donations made by Belgian citizens over a period of eight years. Not often considered as a context of study, Belgium contrasts with the USA or the UK by offering a very affordable and effective social security system. In that respect, Belgium is the only European country offering lifelong unemployment benefits. The efficiency of social aid limits the role of charities and the scope of their actions on the Belgian territory. However, this social system has a cost and Belgium is also the European country where income taxes are the highest.

The raw data were provided by the *Direction générale Statistique et Information économique* of *Service Public Fédéral Economie* (DGSIE), in charge of collecting, analyzing and disseminating relevant statistical data about the Belgian population. The fiscal data covered an eight-year period, from January 2005 to December 2012, and consisted in tax returns, gift tax returns and information on demographics. During that period, the DGSIE gathered data on all fiscally declared charitable donations. Belgian citizens who annually donate a minimum of 30 euros (40 euros since January 2011) to charities may fiscally deduce their donations in their final tax return. This process is popular and effective in Belgium. Indeed, most charitable organizations automatically send a fiscal form to their donors at the end of the year. The minimal amount does not have to be donated at once, but can spread over the year. This process automatization leads us to assume that most people reaching that minimal threshold declare their donations. Our raw data concern the entire taxable Belgian population. For the 2005-2012 period, this represents an annual average of 6,667,977 tax returns and 632,951 gift tax returns (see Table 1). The data include demographics about individuals enabling us to consider demographic trends among Belgian donors. Data also pertain to actual behaviors and not declarative behaviors, which helps us to avoid desirability biases inherent to charitable giving.

The reliability and size of our data set enabled us to estimate the impact of different factors on generosity. Beyond the analysis of demographic trends that appeared to show interesting results, the eight years of data have been marked by a number of events. These events include the 2007-08 financial crisis and huge humanitarian disasters in December 2004 (Tsunami in the Indian Ocean), in 2005 (earthquake in Pakistan) and in 2010 (earthquake in Haiti and major flood in Pakistan). Moreover, the change in the Belgian tax legislation concerning the deductibility of donations in 2011 helps us to assess the impact of tax policy on generosity. In the following sections, we review the major findings of our analyses. It should be mentioned that, unless otherwise specified, all values have been indexed for inflation. The inflation rate is based on the consumer price index which is monthly calculated by the Belgian Federal Planning Bureau.

Table 1: Number of tax and gift tax returns

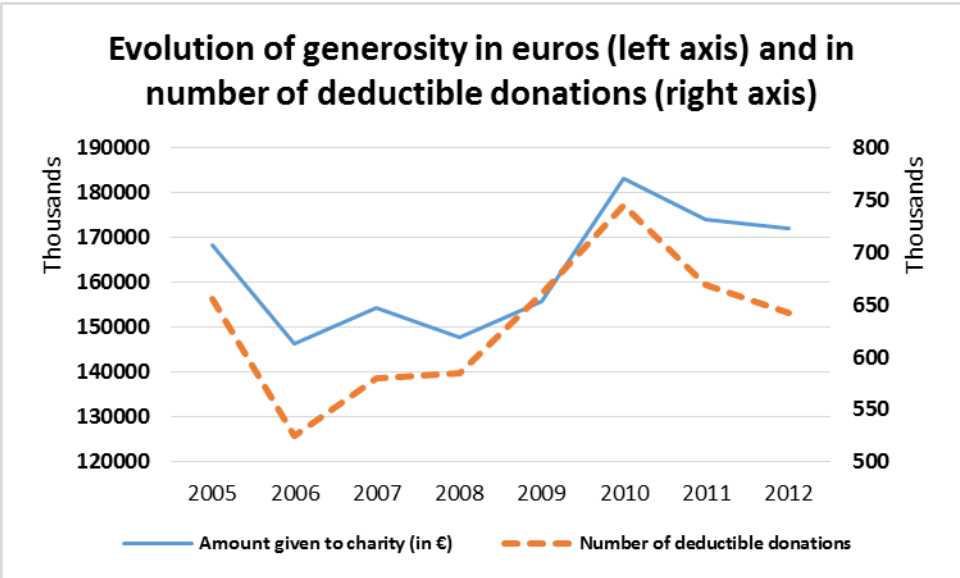
	2005	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	***05-12***
Tax returns (units)	6,360,935	6,515,804	6,609,770	6,710,716	6,771,747	6,877,802	6,797,689	6,699,350	*+5.32%*
Gift tax returns (units)	655,788	524,398	580,410	585,171	660,586	745,256	669,803	642,195	*-2.07%*
Donating household (%)	10.31	8.05	8.78	8.72	9.75	10.84	9.85	9.58	*-7.02%*
*Total amount (€)	168,497,365	146,432,423	154,264,291	147,800,536	155,896,442	183,210,538	173,986,859	172,149,148	*+2.17%*
*Average donation (€)	256.94	279.24	265.79	252.58	236	245.84	259.76	268.06	*+4.33%*

*Values indexed for inflation based on consumer price index (2012)

1.3.1 Generosity in Belgium

As displayed in Figure 3, the total fiscally declared amount given to philanthropy in Belgium has risen from around 168 million euros in 2005 to 172 million euros in 2012. This evolution only represents an increase of 2.17 percent. More importantly, the number of tax returns containing a gift to philanthropy has decreased by 2.07 percent over the same period. However, such a decline has been offset by the increase of the average donation by 4.33 percent over the eight years. In terms of proportions, the Belgian charitable market appears far from being saturated, with 9.45 percent of donating households (st.dev = 0.85).

Figure 3: Evolution of generosity in euros and number of deductible donations



In 2015, Belgium ranked forty-eight on the annual World Giving Index, which evaluates trends in charitable giving over the world. As a comparison, United Kingdom and Netherlands respectively ranked 6th and 7th. However, Belgian citizens are by not the least generous people in Western Europe. According to the same study, France, Spain and Portugal would for instance respectively rank seventy-fourth, fifty-eighth and seventy-second. Belgium can thus be regarded as a median case of Western Europe's charitable trends.

1.3.2 External economic and natural phenomena

The period covered by our data was marked by important events enabling us to assess their impact on charitable giving. First, the last decade has been marked by the financial crisis initiated by the subprime crisis outbreak in 2007. Interestingly, if the downturn has negatively impacted the fundraising sector, its influence has remained limited. Between 2007 and 2008, we observe a decrease of 4.2 percent of total generosity. However, this negative trend is counterbalanced by a significant increase of generosity (+5.5 percent) between 2008 and 2009. In other words, though the financial crisis slowed down the increase of generosity in Belgium, its impact appears of limited duration.

A series of natural disasters have also characterized the last decade and their impact on people's generosity is consistently positive. Two years stand out in our data set. Figure 3 indicates that Belgian generosity reaches its highest level in 2010 and the proportion of donating households is the highest in 2005 (10.31 percent) and 2010 (10.84 percent). On December 28, in 2004, the Indian Ocean was marked by the fourth most important ever recorded Tsunami. This natural disaster resulted in a global mobilization for the victims. In Belgium, the Belgian Consortium for emergency situations organized the largest fundraising action ever conducted and collected 49 million euros of private donations in 2005. This consortium brings together six of the biggest charities in Belgium and conducts punctual massive calls to appeal to public generosity for specific actions. That same year, the Belgian section of *Médecins Sans Frontières* (Belgian equivalent of *Doctors Without Borders*) collected some 3.5 million euros for the Tsunami. In total, more than 53 million euros were collected for the cause. This amount represents 31.5 percent of the total annual amount given to charities, well above the usual percentage dedicated to humanitarian disasters. Over the last decade, the estimated ratio of donations allocated to humanitarian actions and development varied between 16 and 27 percent (see Table 2).

A second peak of generosity is observed in 2010 and can be partially explained by the major earthquake that struck the Haitian capital of Port-au-Prince in January. The Belgian Consortium raised over 26 million euros for the cause. During the same period, the Belgian Red Cross raised an additional 6.5 million euros. In total, around 32.5

million euros were officially raised to support interventions in the area. This amount represents 17.5 percent of the total amount given to charity in 2010. Both in 2005 and 2010, Pakistan suffered from a major natural disaster during the second half of the year. In October 2005, the country was struck by a major earthquake, which killed over 75,000 people. In July 2010, Pakistan was once again hit by devastating floods whose magnitude would exceed the sum of all the disasters that struck the world between 2004 and 2010, Tsunami and Haitian earthquake included. However, the generosity for both events remained limited compared to other major events over the decade.

Table 2: Global distribution of private generosity based on sector of activity

Sector	**Pessimistic estimate***	**Optimistic estimate***
Health and medical research	34 %	44 %
Humanitarian actions and development assistance	16 %	27 %
Fight against poverty and social justice	18 %	22 %
Education and culture	6 %	11%
Environmental causes and sustainable development	9 %	11%

*Distribution estimations vary depending on polling organizations

Based on our data, the impact of those events is bounded in time. Although particular disasters elicit high level of generosity among people, this trend remains mostly an instant response to charities' solicitations. Indeed, the following years (2006 and 2011) appear to be very poor years in terms of fundraising. Generosity decreased by 13.1 percent in 2006 and by 5 percent in 2011 when compared with the previous year. Indeed, 2006 was characterized by the absence of major events and is consequently marked by the lowest level of total amount given to charity. The events of 2005 and 2010 do not seem to change charitable behaviors in the long term. In 2014, *Médecins Sans Frontières* made its most profitable year in Belgium, mainly due to the Ebola outbreak and the media coverage from which the charity benefited. It might therefore be interesting to look at the figures in 2015, a year marked by earthquakes in Nepal, which means two years of disasters in a row. Unfortunately, this falls out of available data for this study.

1.3.3 Multivariate model of household's generosity

Beyond the influence of particular events, the data enabled us to challenge the current literature on the effect of three major demographics: *age*, *income* and *household composition*. Though a great deal of existing research has investigated the role of demographics, empirical analyses based on actual behaviors are scarce and knowledge on particular variables such as household composition, is still limited. The raw data consist in the volume of tax returns and gift tax returns as well as the total amount they represent for each of the forty-three Belgian municipality over a period of eight years (43x8=344 observations). As an illustration for an observation, 583,965 tax returns were declared in 2005 for Brussel. These tax returns included a total of 54,510 donations for a total amount given of 17,590,922 euros and therefore an annual average household donation of 322.71 euros. For each municipality, the data includes the distribution of the donating households based on categories of age, income level and household composition. We have twenty-one categories of income level, five categories of age and five categories of household composition (see Table 3).

Table 3: Categories of demographics

	Categories				
Annual income in thousands € (21 categories)	<5	5-10	…	95-100	100+
Age	<40	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Household composition (dependent children)	0	1	2	3	4+

Unless otherwise specified, results are significant (>.01). The dependent variable refers to the average amount given in euro to charity over a year by a household within a Belgian municipality. We propose the following regression model for the annual generosity of a Belgian municipality, where *i* stands for the ith observation (a municipality during a specific year) and *k* number of categories for the variables.

$$Y_i = \beta_{i,0} + \sum_{k=1}^{K} \beta_{i,k}\, x\, X_{i,k}$$

For the purpose of modeling, data were standardized on the lowest category for each variable. Our model (*adjusted R Square = 0.591*) describes the impact of an increase (in percentage) of a particular segment on the annual average donation by municipality (See Appendix 1). For each municipality and each year, we had the percentage of donors within the population and their distribution by categories for age (five categories), income (twenty-one categories) and household composition (five categories).

Age. The model delivers useful information on the influence of age on generosity that does not appear constant. An increase of the proportion of people aged between 40 and 49 significantly increases annual average donation within a municipality. The same positive effect can be observed with people aged between 50 and 59. However, an increase in proportion of the next age segment (people aged between 60 and 69) appears to have a significant negative effect on generosity. Then, results show a positive impact of the oldest segment (70 and older) on generosity.

Income. The results also show an interesting effect of income on people's generosity. First, an increase in percentage of the poorest segment included in our model (annual income level between 5.000 and 10.000 euros) appears to have a positive impact on households' generosity. A similar effect ($p = 0.055$) is observed among people with an annual income between 50.000 and 55.000 euros. Surprisingly, the 60-65.000 segment has a negative impact on generosity ($p<0.1$). Finally, an increase of the richest segment appears to have a positive impact on charitable giving.

Household composition. The results only indicate a significant negative effect of a first-born child. Indeed, an increase in percentage of one-child families seems to have a negative impact on average generosity in a municipality. Results for other family sizes appear non-significant. However, the *three-dependent children* variable presents a p-value of *0.052*, which suggests a potential positive effect of larger families. Furthermore, the one-way ANOVA with Bonferroni post hoc indicates significant differences (<0.00) in generosity between the different family sizes except between zero and three dependent children, and between one and two dependent children.

1.3.4 Tax policy and charitable giving

Until 2010, Belgian citizens should donate an annual amount of 30 euros at least (that could be spread over the year) to benefit from tax deductions. In 2011, that minimum threshold was raised to 40 euros. Our model shows a strong positive longitudinal trend of people's charitable behavior (*<0.01*), which indicates a significant general increase of Belgian households' generosity over the years. However, the results also indicate an important decrease of the number of donating households between 2010 and 2011 (*-10.1 percent*). This resulted in a decrease of the total amount given to philanthropy in 2011 (*-5.03 percent* compared to 2010). Moreover, it seems that this negative trend persists beyond 2011. In 2012, we observe a decrease of 4.12 percent of the number of donating household, resulting in a new decrease of the total amount given to charity (-1.06 percent compared to 2011). This decrease between 2010 and 2012 highly contrasts with the rising trend observed between 2006 and 2010.

1.4 Discussion

This exploratory research proposes an empirical investigation of charitable giving in an understudied market. Through the study of a median case of Western Europe, it offers interesting findings on the influence of external events on households' generosity and qualify general assumptions about the role of demographics.

The first observation concerns the performance of the charitable sector in Belgium. With less than 10 percent of donating households, Belgium contrasts with donating rates in the United States or United Kingdom, where the nonprofit sector is highly competitive. Beyond the cultural aspect that is often cited to explain such differences (Bajde, 2009; 2012), the efficiency of the social security system in Belgium and the cost it represents for the citizens do not encourage a culture of giving. On the contrary, the fiscal burden that Belgian workers must bear would lead them to consider that they have contributed enough to social welfare. Furthermore, missions assigned to public institutions in Belgium are more numerous and include some that are generally under the responsibility of charities in the USA and the UK. This phenomenon also tends to reduce actions from charities on the Belgian territory and consequently the proximity between donors and organizations.

Then, our findings qualify the positive effect of specific events often pointed by authors (e.g. Brown & Minty, 2008; Lobb, Mock & Hutchinson, 2012). First, while these events have elicited almost immediate responses to calls for funds, their effect appears very limited in time. Indeed, surges of generosity are systematically followed by a very low level the next year, counterbalancing the positive effect of the event. Moreover, donations seem to vary considerably between events. Several charities and European institutions have denounced the limited generosity that followed disasters in Pakistan in 2005 and in 2010 (Audet, 2017). The author proposed three possible explanations to the phenomenon. First, both the earthquake in 2005 and the floods in 2010 were preceded by another major disaster (Tsunami and Haitian earthquake) and public generosity had already been solicited. Then, the lack of linguistic and cultural proximity could also partially explain the limited mobilization from both European and North American countries. In that respect, Tsunami would have benefited from the presence of tourists that has increased the perceived proximity. Finally, another important factor would be that Pakistan is considered as a potential threat in the current context of fight against terrorism. In that respect, European countries have been particularly affected by terrorist attacks over the last years. In contrast with the impact of humanitarian disasters, the influence of a tax legislation change seems to have more lasting consequences. Indeed, while the events of 2005 have led to a far less profitable year in 2006 for the charitable sector, the general increase in generosity has resumed the next year. In contrast, 2010 has been followed by two years of decrease in terms of charitable giving. This trend leads us to think that the tax legislation has significantly impacted people’s generosity, supporting the relevance of material benefits associated with charitable donation (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010). From a policy-making perspective, these findings rather support a continuous indexation of the deductible threshold to reduce the negative impact of tax legislation.

Finally, analyses also enable us to challenge current assumptions on the effect of age and household composition and underline the risks of a purely demographic segmentation. Indeed, limited findings on the impact of household composition underlines the need to consider variables together and not separately as they seem highly correlated. The impact of these variables rarely appears linear but rather discontinuous. Considering first the impact of age, it has often been considered as having a positive and continuous impact on generosity (Shelley & Polonsky, 2002; Bennett, 2003). However, our results rather support a discontinuous effect. As Le Gall-Ely (2013) pointed out, the Y generation is at the basis of a generational shift that may result in more radical changes in behaviors and could explain the non-linear nature of the effect found in the data (Urbain, Le Gall-Ely & Gonzalez, 2011). The coincidence of the 60-69 segment with retirement age may also explain the discontinuous effect of age. Indeed, retirement implies a substantial reduction of revenues as well as a change in lifestyle. "Young" retired households usually tend to enjoy their new freedom by travelling, which generates expenses and therefore limits the likelihood to donate. Such as segment would consequently be less profitable for charitable organizations.

Next, the results confirm a non-continuous effect of income level on generosity. Though its effect is globally positive, a higher income level does not systematically result in a higher level of generosity. Nevertheless, an increase in proportion of the richest segment significantly increases the annual average donation within a municipality. These results support previous research indicating a positive but non continuous effect of income on generosity (Schlegelmilch et al., 1997; Le Gall-Ely, 2013). Regarding the role of household composition, previous literature has dedicated limited attention to the empirical effect of family size on generosity. Although the results are only partial, they provide avenues for further reflection. The negative effect of the first-born child on generosity is not surprising, but we had expected this negative effect to affect larger families as well.

Results regarding households with three dependent children even suggest a potential positive effect of large families which is rather surprising given the heavy expenses associated with more children. Two possible explanations can be put forward to support this hypothesis. As far as Belgium is concerned, each new-born child comes with family allowances. The system is progressive and the second child confers more additional allowances than the first one. Religiosity is also known to positively impact generosity (Ranganathan & Henley, 2008) and has been associated with a desire for a larger family (Adsera, 2006). As Adriani & Sonderegger (2009) pointed out, economic theory does not fully account for the role of family mechanisms on prosocial behaviors and consequently charitable giving. Recent research has confirmed the role of parents on children's future generosity (Wilhelm, Brown, Rooney & Steinberg, 2008; Dohmen, Falk, Huffman & Sunde, 2012), in line with the work of Bisin & Verdier (2001) on the intergenerational transmission of pro-social values. Wilhelm et al. (2008) investigated the intergenerational transmission of generosity but did not consider the influence of family size. Household composition must consequently be treated with caution for segmenting donors and cannot be considered alone, but as intrinsically related with other variables.

1.5 Conclusion and future research

This study is based on tax and gift tax returns from the entire taxable population. Consequently, it excludes small donations under the deductible threshold. Considering small donations would have helped to better understand the determinants of generosity and could have qualified some findings. Nonetheless, this research provides a fresh view of the nonprofit sector in an understudied context and opens the way for further investigation on charitable giving. We identify three major avenues for this. The low donating rate among the population makes Belgium a very interesting research context for nonprofit issues for different reasons. As a similarly developed country compared to the UK or the USA, Belgium provides a relevant comparison to investigate the institutional and cultural specificities affecting nonprofit sectors. Among other things, this research underlines the influence of the role assigned to public institutions as well as the impact of tax policy on generosity (Harbaugh, Mayr & Burghart, 2007). From a management perspective, it underlines the need for some flexibility in the implementation of new fundraising methods that should integrate local specificities. Then, the difference in professionalization from charities in Anglo-Saxon countries and Western European countries also offers interesting managerial perspectives for implementing new fundraising methods in countries that lag behind in terms of fundraising efficiency.

- The need for more contextualized investigation of charitable giving remains evident. Institutional specificities and legislations influence people's behavior, and therefore have consequences on people's generosity. We therefore urge academics for further research in that sense.

As regards the mobilization for natural disasters, the determinants of generosity appear more numerous that one might think. Cultural or linguistic proximity, the type of victim and the period of the year are factors that must be integrated when investigating punctual events. For instance, the current climate of fear resulting from recent terrorist attacks would affect generosity toward certain countries that are currently regarded as potential threats. On the other hand, the positive effect that has almost systematically been put forward by previous research seems limited in the long term.

- Although some authors have investigated the consequences of punctual events (Brown & Minty, 2008; Lobb et al., 2012), research remains limited in terms of perspective and temporality. In connection with previous call by Zagefka et al. (2012), the comparison of events is also needed to further assess the impact of disasters' specificities.

Finally, our model also qualifies previous work on the continuous effect of demographics and opens the debate on the role of household composition on charitable giving. Although studies on the influence of these variables have already been conducted in the past, different reasons can be put forward to encourage research in that direction.

- Past research often considered demographic factors separately while they appear intrinsically related. Furthermore, their impact appears also questioned by generational shifts and social changes of our current societies (Bajde, 2009; Le Gall-Ely, 2013). Further investigation on the role of household composition for instance, which has been neglected so far, appears crucial.

Chapter 2: From first donations to repeated behaviors: The increasing role of personal benefits[3]

2.1 Introduction

> *I must admit that the first time I donated, it was more on the spur of the moment. Of course I felt concerned but I did not give it much thoughts. But then I actually felt good about it. I thought, why not give a little something sometimes? There is some personal satisfaction to think that you have done something good to someone, or that you've helped someone to get out of troubles by collaborating to something. It's actually a way to receive. We get something immaterial, but it's a real way to get something anyway and that pushes you to keep on donating. (Adrien, 63).*

The present paper focuses on the different phases of the decision-making process of charitable donations as well as on their motivational dynamic. The opening vignette suggests that while the initial decision to donate to charity appears spontaneous, the question of self-interest arises for the perpetuation of the behavior. Reconciling the *altruistic* and *egoistic* sides of generosity, we aim to understand what initially leads people to consider charitable donations and what turns the first donation into a repeated behavior.

The nonprofit sector has faced major upheavals over the past few years. Whereas associations and charitable organizations are subject to a fierce competition (Hwang & Powell, 2009), institutional support from governments and public bodies has been drastically reduced (Chew & Osborne, 2009). Over the recent years, private donors have become the major funders of charitable organizations and research to understand what drives people to donate has known a constant increase (Nichols, 2004; Le Gall-Ely,

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[3] This paper was presented to the following conferences:

Denis E. (2016), *Self-interested determinants of prosocial behaviors: The case of charitable giving*, European Marketing Academy, EMAC 29th Doctoral Colloquium, 2016, Oslo (Norway).

Denis E. & Pecheux C. (2016), *Self-interested motives of charitable giving: An exploratory analysis.* Academy of Marketing Science, AMS 19th World Marketing Congress, 2016, Paris (France).

2013). In this research, we investigate the motivations that drive people to donate to charitable organizations and aim to better identify what turns a one-shot donation into a sustainable behavior. We first review the theoretical foundations of this research and present our methodology. Then, we describe the major findings and discuss them in light of the extant literature. A set of theoretical propositions is finally presented to stimulate further empirical research on the issue.

2.2 Others- and self-interested of generosity

The concept of donation has been considered from various perspectives over the years before being gradually extended to the marketing field (Godbout & Caillé, 1992). As le Gall-Ely (2013) pointed out, the multiplicity of approaches in marketing and other areas has made it difficult to define charitable giving and the identification of its boundaries. Standing at the crossroads of various literatures from which it has greatly beneficiated, knowledge on charitable giving has also suffered from a lack of overall consistency. The increasing number of literature reviews that have been recently published reflects the willingness of most authors to unify the different streams of research (Penner et al., 2005; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010; 2011; Wiepking & Bekkers, 2012; Le Gall-Ely, 2013). The prosocial nature of charitable giving has strongly influenced the various attempts of its definition. In their seminal paper on prosocial tendencies, Eisenberg and Miller (1987) defined a prosocial behavior as *"a voluntary, intentional behavior that results in benefits for another"* (p. 92). In this widely accepted definition, there is however no mention of the motives that drive people to adopt such behaviors. The terminological confusion that has long existed in the literature between prosocial behavior and altruism has led authors to initially focus on altruistic determinants of other-oriented behaviors (Staub, 1970; Kurdek, 1978; Eisenberg-Berg & Hand, 1979; Rushton, 1980). According to Underwood and Moore (1982; p. 143), altruism can be defined as the only behavior motivated to benefit others, without any expectation of material or social reward. In a series of papers on public goods, Andreoni (1988; 1989; 1990) first proposed the concept of *impure altruism*, pointing the limits of altruistic models of prosocial behaviors. The author concluded that if people are not indifferent between donations made by themselves and those made by other people or by public authorities, we cannot assume that such prosocial behaviors are purely motivated by altruism.

From that point forward, research has extended to the self-interested motivations of people to adopt other-oriented behaviors. Studies have been conducted on the impact of prestige (Andreoni & Petrie, 2004), guilt reliefs (Basil, Ridgway & Basil, 2008) and more occasionally material benefits that can be derived from donations (Harbaugh et al., 2007). Mostly focusing on isolated effects, studies have so far provided contrasting results and several authors have called for a more integrative approach that would combine both other- and self-oriented dimensions of charitable giving (Penner et al., 2005; Bénabou & Tirole, 2006; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010). Indeed, research in consumer behavior on charitable giving can be summarized in two perspectives. Whereas some studies have focused on the altruistic motivations of generosity, others have rather focused on the self-interested dimension of generosity and the use of charitable giving for personal purposes (Le Gall-Ely, 2013). To better seize the importance of both aspects and to identify their respective role, it appears crucial to study them together and not separately.

This lack of integrative approaches is at least partially explained by the limited consideration that has been given to the motivational dynamic of generosity. Indeed, research has long remained limited to a static and linear perspective of charitable giving. Based upon the work on prosocial behaviors, some authors have recently insisted on the need for more investigation on the dynamic nature of motivations as behaviors and their determinants can change over time (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Le Gall-Ely, 2013). This approach requires that we go beyond a naïve perspective of a purely altruistic behavior but without falling into the opposite vision of a purely selfish act. The challenge is therefore to propose a vision that combines both aspects as well as how they interact, while integrating a temporal dimension to the behavior (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001). This also implies a broader model that would integrate a wide range of variables while identifying interconnections among these. As Le Gall-Ely (2013) pointed out, research has mostly focused on the impact of specific variables and very little has been done to understand the process of generosity.

This study aims to fill these gaps in three ways. Through an in-depth qualitative work, we first focus on the process of the behavior itself by identifying the different phases of the decision-making. Through this conceptualization of the charitable giving process, the second goal of this paper is to reconcile the altruistic and interested determinants of generosity by further investigating their respective role and importance on the decision to donate. Finally, we consider the systemic nature of the process and specifically focus on the motivational dynamic that underlies the behavior in the long run.

2.3 Methodology

The goal of this paper being to grasp the complexity of the charitable giving decision-making process, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect data. Beyond the richness of the information gathered, such methodology enabled us to further investigate the variables at the earliest stages of the process. The data collection and analysis were based on the canons and procedures of the grounded theory approach. Grounded theory is a *"general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed"* (Strauss & Corbin, 1994; p. 273). According to this approach, theory evolves continuously through actual research and the analysis begins *"as soon as the first bit of data is collected"* (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; p. 419). The analysis directs the design of the next interviews and investigators collect data on specific questions. As mentioned by Strauss (1987), research that is carried out by teams of researchers helps to avoid bias and also leads to more fruitful discussion and insights, increasing theoretical sensitivity. In this regard, two series of interviews were conducted in parallel by two interviewers based on the same interview guide between February and April 2016.

2.3.1 Sample selection

According to the grounded theory, the question that the researcher investigates guides his/her selection of individuals who are most representative of the phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Since one of the main question of this research was to investigate the underlying process that turns punctual donations to long-term behaviors, purposive sampling (Bernard, 2002; Tongco, 2007) was implemented to some extent to select informants that were current regular (standing orders) or punctual donors of at least one charitable organization. We excluded informants who only donated once if the donation was an isolated behavior that did not turn into a more repeated behavior, as well as people who had not donated for a significant period of time. We used snowball sampling to recruit informants. The first interviewees were donors and acquaintances of the interviewers. At the end of each interview, informants were asked to put us in touch with other charitable donors in their entourage. Contacts were mostly family members and colleagues.

2.3.2 Thematic analysis

This recruiting method enabled us to form a final set of 48 informants (28 women), aged from 23 to 83 years old (see Table 4). During the interviews, informants were invited to discuss freely about three major themes: (1) first-time donation, (2) motivations to donate and (3) feelings and meaning associated with generosity. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed with codes and categories based on the grounded theory approach. Using the Nvivo 11 software, categories emerged from the coding process in a systematic way (Boyatzis, 1998) and were not imposed beforehand.

Interviews were first analyzed with open coding, which consists in comparing events and actions against others while looking for similarities and differences (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The emerging (sub)categories were then tested against data through axial coding. Categories were finally unified through selective coding (see Appendix 2). Thirty codes emerged from the initial coding and were grouped within eleven sub-categories. Five major categories were finally identified through the last stage of the analysis. At each step of the analysis, discussions were carried out to reach consensus among authors and to ensure conceptual saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 2010).

Table 4: Sample description

Name	Gender, age	Occupation	Children	# causes	Standing order?
Jean-François	M, 38	Journalist	0	1	Yes
Sandrine	W, 42	Teacher	0	1	Yes
Sandrine	W, 40	Educator	6	1	Yes
Sabine	W, 53	Educator	1	1	Yes
Pascale	W, 50	Teacher	3	2	Yes

Table 4 (continued): Sample description

Name	Gender, age	Occupation	Children	# causes	Standing order?
Bernard	M, 53	Scientist	3	3	Yes
Marcelle	W, 65	Retired	3	2	No
Marjorie	W, 25	Student	0	1	Yes
Philippe	M, 65	Retired	0	1	Yes
Simone	W, 77	Retired	0	1	No
Véronique	W, 45	Employee	0	2	Yes
Jeanne	M, 46	Retired	2	3	No
Françoise	W, 47	Manager	3	1	Yes
Pierre	M, 49	Employee	3	1	Yes
Marie-Claire	W, 56	Nurse	2	2	No
Christiane	W, 66	Employee	2	2	No
Yves	M, 51	Psychologist	2	1	Yes
Françoise	W, 54	Teacher	3	2	No
Aline	W, 23	Physiotherapist	0	1	Yes
André	M, 68	Retired	2	2	No
Marie-Jo	W, 65	Retired	2	2	No
Hannah	W, 24	Student	0	1	Yes
Marie-Anaëlle	W, 27	Comedian	0	1	Yes
Adrien	M, 26	Accountant	0	2	No
Dominique	W, 63	Manager	0	1	Yes
Melissa	W, 27	Consultant	0	1	Yes
Luc	M, 54	Employee	2	6	Yes
Jacqueline	W, 62	Consultant	2	4	Yes
Jurta	W, 50	Employee	1	2	Yes
Philippe	M, 54	Educator	2	3	No
Frédéric	M, 32	Employee	0	1	Yes
Bruno	M, 64	Carpenter	2	1	No
Arnaud	M, 35	Driver	0	1	Yes
Michel	M, 60	Manager	0	1	Yes
Isabelle	W, 51	Tenant	2	1	No
Vincent	M, 48	Retired	3	2	Yes
Stéphanie	W, 31	Teacher	2	2	Yes
André	M, 83	Retired	4	2	No
Carine	W, 68	Retired	3	1	Yes
Anabelle	W,76	Retired	3	2	Yes
Olivier	M, 48	Veterinary	2	2	Yes
Maggie	W, 57	Educator	5	1	Yes
Michelle	W, 61	Educator	3	1	No
Vincent	M, 41	Nurse	2	1	Yes
Sophie	W, 32	Nurse	0	1	No

Table 4 (continued): Sample description

Name	Gender, age	Occupation	Children	# causes	Standing order?
Claudine	W, 58	Doctor	2	1	Yes
Christian	M, 70	Retired	2	1	Yes
Arnaud	M, 28	Consultant	0	1	Yes

2.4 Findings

In the present section, we start by describing the circumstances of first donations. This more descriptive part is followed by more interpretative insights on the determinants of a first behavioral response. In a second part, we focus on repeated behaviors and consider their evolution over time. Once again, we start from descriptive statements that serve as the basis of more interpretative conclusions.

2.4.1 First donations

> *That time I had just finished shopping, and I was leaving the supermarket when I got solicited and I don't know why this time, I must have been in a good mood, I stopped and listened to the guy. He was cute, I remember that (laughs) and I thought, why not after all, and I decided to donate. (Maggie, 57).*

> *It was on the spur of the moment. There was this big scandal about BP that had just erupted, and I saw all the consequences for the environment, the birds full of oil. It made me sick and I decided to donate. (Stephanie, 31).*

These two situations are representative of most interviews and illustrate the spontaneous nature of the first donation. In the case of Maggie, situational factors triggered the behavior while for Stephanie, the decision to donate was more the result of a punctual event that led her to make the final leap. Indeed, the generous behavior seems to be triggered by either favorable situational factors or by a punctual event that leaves the person with no other choice but to give. With respect to situational factors, mood, immediate financial resources and time appear to be the most important elements. A positive mood would be particularly important when people get solicited directly (e.g. in the streets or in shops) rather than facing visual appeals. Then, time also emerged as an important dimension and informants often referred to a lack of time to listen to solicitors, justifying their initial refusals. To a lesser extent, immediate available financial resources emerged as another barrier. In that respect, some donors admitted that the first donation was perceived as a greater financial sacrifice than the next ones. As for Stephanie, a macro-environmental factor can also elicit a behavioral response. Her situation is typical of many other informants who ignored numerous solicitations before finally donating to a particular event. In that case, the magnitude of the event, its consequences and the media coverage it benefits would incapacitate people to ignore a situation any longer. In any case, the context in which the solicitation takes place appears crucial to trigger a behavioral response. Although most informants had a positive attitude towards charity and charitable organizations, many admitted having refused several solicitations before their first donation. The favorable context would have finally turned this positive attitude into an actual generous behavior.

The meaning that our interviewees give to their act of generosity, though spontaneous, often reflects the origins of this "predisposition" to give. During the interviews, a first difference emerged based on age. Among older generations, charity seems to be a very natural process, almost expected as soon as people can afford it. On the other hand, younger donors tend to give more meaning to their behavior. Some of the youngest interviewees consider it as an alternative to the neoliberal and capitalistic system. For the former, religious attendance (and the resulting inculcation of Christian values such as helping and sharing) appears as a factor that should not be neglected. Besides possible religious beliefs, parents and close relatives appear to play an important role in the transmission of values:

> *My parents donate punctually, often for local issues they know well […]. When I was young, my grandfather sold pens for the Red Cross and he always bought the unsold ones because he didn't want to give pens back to Red Cross. I think that it has always seemed natural to me to do something, donations or volunteering. (Pascale, 50).*

In the case of Pascale, parents were donors and transmitted this form of generosity to their daughter. For other interviewees, the influence of parents and relatives appears to materialize through the inculcation of broader values that are eventually expressed through charitable giving. Then, the presence of children also seems to work in favor of generosity. According to some interviewees, dependent children lead them to consider future generations more seriously and to adopt more other-oriented behaviors. In that sense, charitable giving would be a way to ensure a better world for their children by contributing to human global welfare and to environment protection. Then, personal misfortune would also make people more aware of the surrounding human distress and misery. The case of Jean-François is particularly interesting because it informs us that personal tragedies do not have to be systematically related to the cause.

> *My brother died sixteen years ago, he was only twenty. At some point I thought of the life he didn't have. If maybe I can help a child on the other side of the world to live in better conditions, I would pay tribute to my brother and to the life he might have had simply by doing something good. I think that's the best way to pay tribute to him (Jean-François, 38).*

The positive attitude that our donors had prior to the initial donation thus seems to be the result of a prior and longer process in which education plays a central role.

Partially influenced by education, emotions and more specifically emotional tendencies appear to work together with the context to eventually trigger a behavioral response. Their importance appears even stronger when the first donation is triggered by a specific event. In that case, informants regularly referred to their emotional sensitivity to explain their reaction. Empathic feelings are the first to emerge as donors appear to put themselves in the shoes of the victims. In that respect, suffering children would make people to react more strongly than any other victims. Then, sympathy emerges as an important determinant when it comes to animal welfare. Donors feel concerned about their wellbeing, as with the case of Stephanie and the BP scandal. Finally, guilt appears as the third major type of feelings to influence the decision. On the one hand, some informants admitted feeling guilty when confronted to a situation and considering being somehow responsible (e.g. environmental issues). However, most informants declared that they did not feel guilty about the situation they were confronted to, as they had no kind of responsibility in it. However, doing nothing to tackle the problem would eventually make them feel guilty.

As we can see, the first donation does not appear to be the result of considerable thought but rather as a spontaneous response to a solicitation in a positive context.

Personal factors, family circumstances, emotional sensitivity and education would combine and result in a predisposition of some sort to generosity that only waits to be triggered by favorable factors. As a result, the choice of the first beneficiary is generally accidental and has most of the time no relationship with the donor's own values or convictions.

2.4.2 Repeated behaviors

> *(About standing orders). Yes, it is much simpler, I don't have to think about it, it's automatic. It's better for the organization because I would surely forget to give, sometimes. At least here they get the money each month, even if it's not much. […] When I receive their mail, I think "Oh yeah there is this also" and at the very moment you feel good. (Maggie, 57)*

> *To be honest, I am less interested in standing orders. On the one hand donations are good, but on the other hand we tend to forget about them. The act of donation gives you a little something back. That's probably mostly symbolic but when we give, although that's a small amount, we feel good for a week or two […]. That's why I see less value in a standing order. (Isabelle, 51).*

These opening vignettes summarize the two main types of long term behaviors. While Maggie chose standing orders for practicality, Isabelle rather favors punctual donations which, for her, provide more personal satisfaction. The regularity of donations is one the two main factors differentiating the donors. On the one hand, a large number of informants decided to make a standing order. Besides practicality, they also pointed that the automatic nature of the transaction prevents them from forgetting to donate. Paradoxically, standing orders seem to make them forget they are donors. The monthly mailing from the charity that comes with a standing order appears often left unread, but most acknowledged the positive effect it has by reminding them of their good deed. In that respect, some of them also donate for punctual events and the end of the year appears to be a favorable period. On the other hand, several informants would prefer punctual donations for the immediate positive feeling they provide. In their case, solicitation is not always necessary, some declaring that they do punctual donations regularly, although they do not want to make it systematical, as they would lose the pleasure they find in giving. In every case, the positive feelings associated with the donation appear as key motives for the informant. These hedonic benefits may consist in warm glow feelings, a sense of usefulness or in some cases in a good conscience. This non-material form of reward strongly prevails over material benefits that a donor might derive from his generosity. The little gadgets that charities sometimes offer to thank donors are perceived as a waste of money by all informants who mentioned them. As another form of material reward, tax benefits were also discussed with donors but although most admitted to fiscally declare their donations, none seems to consider it as a real motivation to donate. Besides, most were not aware of this tax deductibility before becoming a donor. These unanticipated hedonic benefits appear to become crucial motivations over time. Not only these positive feelings would steadily become the first motivation to give, but they would also reduce the perceived sacrifice of generosity. Indeed, the first gift is often considered as a greater sacrifice as it does not seem driven by personal benefits but by circumstances and feelings. As the behavior becomes recurrent, donors would anticipate the positive feelings associated with the donation. In that sense, the charitable donation increasingly appears as a two-way exchange rather than a one-way sacrifice, as explained below:

> *It's funny because the first time I gave, I felt like it was a huge amount and now that I have done this for a while, I think I could give more. I think that the first step is the hardest because I never thought of it before and I did not know what it would bring me on a personal level. (Frederic, 32).*

The second factor on which donors differ is their implication in the supported organization. Whereas a few of our informants claimed to regularly follow the activities of the charity, most admitted having no accurate knowledge about how the money is used. However, this implication may increase over time with the number of supported organizations. Regarding these multi-donors, each additional supported cause appears to be the result of a more thoughtful decision than the previous one. As the selection criterion becomes more rigorous, the implication in the organization and its activities also increases, as illustrated below:

> *The first time I think it was for Unicef. I used to give something punctually, and eventually I made a standing order. After that I*

> *also made a standing order for an environmentalist organization: Greenpeace. […]. I chose Greenpeace because I am very sensible to the environmental issues and I think that it's crucial to do something. I actually prefer to support Greenpeace over Unicef because nature is for me the most important thing, but I have been giving to Unicef since I give money to charities, and I don't give much so I have no good reason to stop. Let's say that in my case, Greenpeace is more in tune with what I really want. (Sabine, 53).*

The case of Sabine is representative of many others and informs us on the evolution of the meaning given to charitable giving. The choice of the first beneficiary, Unicef in her case, was the result of circumstances. The first donation leading to other ones, she finally considered giving to another organization. This time, the choice of the charity appears more conscious and also more in line with her personal beliefs. Through the different discussions, it therefore appears that the behavior evolves over time. More specifically, it seems that charitable giving becomes more self-interested and thoughtful. Whereas the first donation was perceived as a bigger sacrifice, donors would realize that giving is not such a big sacrifice as they derive some hedonic experience from it. In this sense, the first supported organization is rather the result of situational factors whereas the donor will be more involved in the choice of a second beneficiary. Donations would therefore take more meaning for the donor as the supported cause would be more in accordance with his/her personal values. Charitable giving would consequently aim at reflecting the uninterested side of the donor.

Another aspect of the behavior appears to evolve over time: its private dimension. When they were asked whether they promoted charity in their immediate entourage, most informants claimed they keep their donations private. During the discussions, two reasons emerged to justify this secrecy about charitable giving. First, donors do not want to justify their decision to give money away to people they do not know, nor their choice to support a cause over another. Second, they do not want people to think they are bragging over their generosity. Keeping the behavior private would be a way to avoid both justification and misperception about the motivations. Although some donors admitted to brag about their first more spontaneous donations, most agreed that when charitable giving becomes a more repeated behavior, they tend to keep it private.

In summary, the donating behavior and its meaning for the donor would evolve over time. The positive feelings associated with charitable giving appear to play a central role in this dynamic. Although initially unanticipated, these personal benefits would become crucial for the perpetuation of the behavior. The implication of donors also seems to increase over time and the meaning given to donations would evolve accordingly. In that respect, the choice of an additional beneficiary would become a way to express personal values and to live in tune with their beliefs and convictions. Through this expression of personal values, charitable giving would therefore contribute to a reinforcement of the self-image. The case of Stephanie is particularly revealing of this evolution.

> *I donate because having principles is nice, but if you don't apply them, they are pointless to me. Of course, there is a pleasant dimension about giving, some personal satisfaction. But when we make the first donation we don't immediately think about it, that comes later. Clearly if I felt like giving an arm every time I give I would probably stop giving but overtime we realize that it's not that hard to donate, that it has actually good sides (Stephanie, 31).*

2.5 Discussion

2.5.1 A first spontaneous behavior

For most donors, the first donation appears as an unanticipated and spontaneous behavior that is triggered by favorable circumstances. Whereas the decision to donate would often be triggered by situational and/or punctual events, a certain predisposition to give observed among most informants would facilitate the behavior. This inclination towards charitable giving, illustrated by a positive attitude towards the nonprofit sector and by a high awareness of global issues, appears to be the result of a longer process within which education plays a central role.

Donors' education during the process can take various forms. In line with the work of Grønhøj and Thøgersen (2009) on intergenerational transmission of values, the presence of donors in the family and the resulting inculcation of values of mutual aid and solidarity would have both a direct and indirect effect on the likelihood to donate. The different members of the family can set an example to the future donor by being donors and raising his/her awareness to global issues. However, parents and relatives do not systematically transmit their willingness to donate to charity, but sometimes general social values of solidarity. In that case, charitable giving emerges as a way to express those values.

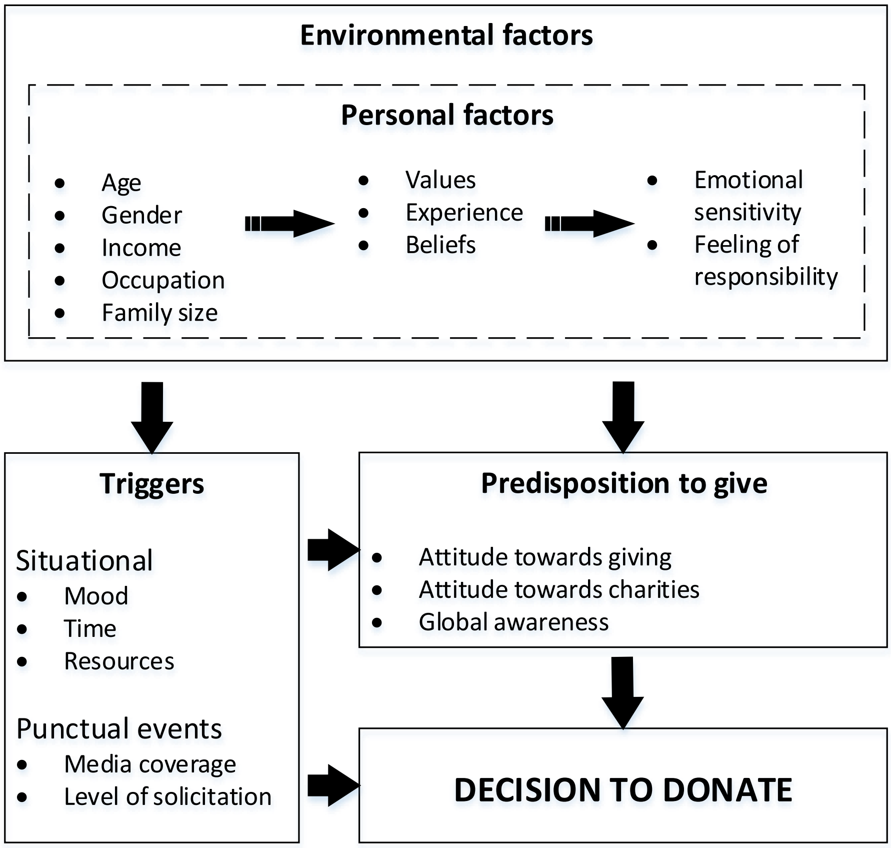
Then, personal experiences stand as another important source of education, shaping someone's convictions and emotional sensitivity (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001). As suggested by Small and Simonsohn (2008), unfortunate events may facilitate charitable giving by familiarizing the donor with human misery, leading him/her to act against the problem s/he has been confronted to. In this regard, our research suggests that a connection between the donor's own misfortune and the supported cause is not crucial.

Furthermore, the positive influence of religiosity highlighted in the literature (Brown & Ferris, 2007; Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008) appears supported by our interviews. This impact appears limited to older generations, which is more probably justified by the declining practice of religion among Western Europe countries (Pollack, 2008; Norris & Inglehart, 2011). In line with the values transfusion model proposed by Engel, Blackwell and Miniard (2005), people then internalize values shared through the different sources of education, building their own system of values and beliefs.

These different forms of education would also influence people's emotional sensitivity (DasGupta & Charon, 2004; Small & Simonsohn, 2008) which in turnsinfluences the propensity to get emotional. In the context of charitable giving, empathic feelings, sympathy and guilt would be the most determining emotions. With few exceptions (Basil, Ridgway & Basil, 2006; 2008), research has generally focused on their isolated effect. Our analysis tends to support a dynamic between them. While empathy and sympathy are the first emotional responses leading the donor to share the victims' misery, guilt arises from the comparison between the victims and the donor own more fortunate situation.

These different insights led us to propose a conceptual model of the first donation, illustrated in Figure 4. As the model explains, the decision to donate generally results from favorable situational and punctual factors whose impact is facilitated by people's own predisposition to give. This predisposition to give is the result of and educational process that shapes the donor's system of values and emotional sensitivity.

Figure 4: The first donation



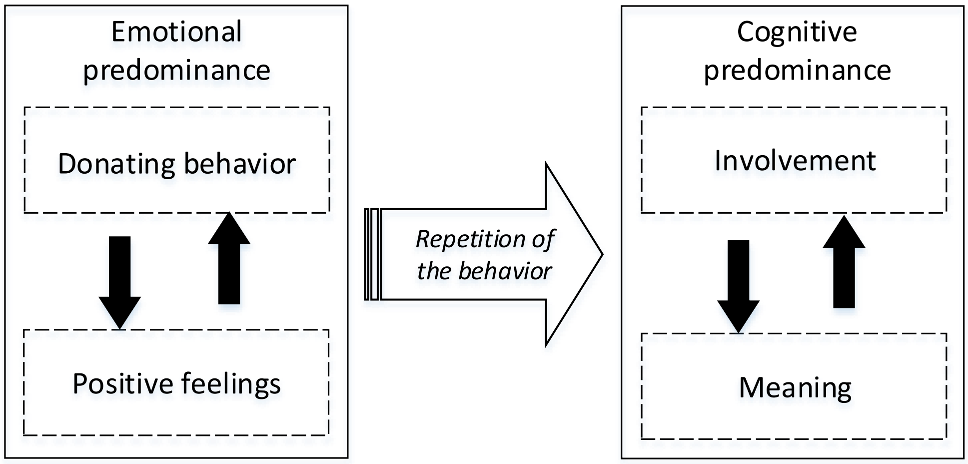
2.5.2 Towards a more cognitive process

Charitable giving, its determinants and the meaning it is given appear to evolve strongly as the behavior becomes more frequent (see Figure 5). The major difference between the first behavior and repeated donations lays in the rising awareness of the positive feelings that the behavior provides to the donor. Although the mention of guilt alleviation by informants suggests that the expectation of positive feelings already influences the first gift, donors do not consciously consider them as the key motive in their decision. Once the new donor has experienced the positive feelings associated with the adoption of a good behavior (Harbaugh et al., 2007; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010), these positive feelings become crucial to turn a one-shot donation into a repeated behavior. Their influence would be twofold. First, they appear to have a direct effect on the behavior by becoming a central motivation to donate. Then, these positive feelings also reduce the perceived sacrifice of the donation, as the donor gets something back from his gift.

The repetition of the behavior appears to make donors more aware of the positive feelings his/her generosity provides, leading the donor to repeat the behavior. Our analysis also tends to support the idea that the more repeated the behavior, the more accustomed the donor becomes to the positive feelings s/he derives from his action. This phenomenon leads the donor to consider other beneficiaries and to become a *'multi'* donor. In this regard, the choice of another charity to support appears to imply more thinking as it is often more in tune with the donor's personal values. The increasing implication of the donor is also illustrated by the better follow-up s/he undertakes regarding charities' activities.

Accordingly, the meaning associated to the charitable gift also evolves. Overtime, supported causes better fits personal values and charitable giving becomes an increasingly conscious process as it takes meaning for the donor. Paradoxically, as the donor becomes more aware of the self-interested dimension of his/her behavior, donations take another meaning for the donor, as they now helps to contribute to the self-image and to express the altruistic side of his/her personality. As a form of self-interested motivation, social recognition does not seem to follow the same evolution over time. This finding is rather surprising and questions the impact of social rewards recently supported in the literature (Penner et al., 2005; Schultz et al., 2007; Smith & McSweeney, 2007; Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008).

Figure 5: Evolution of the behavior over time



As charitable giving becomes a cognitive process and makes more sense for the donor, the role of situational and environmental factors is also reduced. The behavior appears more stable and regular and becomes an integral part of donors' personality.

2.6 Conclusion

In the literature, charitable giving is still often regarded as a static and linear process (Le Gall-Ely, 2013). This research insists on the importance to consider its dynamic nature. The goal of this paper being, among others, to reconcile both sides of charitable giving, our results highlighted the complementarity of altruistic and self-interested motivations all along the decision-making process. We also showed that whereas the initial behavior is most often spontaneous and emotional, the perpetuation of charitable giving turns it into a more thoughtful and interested behavior.

On a management perspective, this evolution is particularly interesting as it indicates that motivations differ between new and current donors. Donors segmentation is not often implemented and is generally based on demographics, whose results remain limited (Shelley & Polonsky, 2002). Our findings suggest that fundraising campaigns could be adapted according to donors' experience of generosity, promoting charitable giving differently between new and regular donors. Still in terms of managerial contribution, the private nature of the behavior is another important finding. In that respect, social recognition and prestige would only work as motivations on the short term and their importance would decrease as the donations become more regular.

This research opens several avenues for future research. We focused on the decision-making process and on its evolution over time. In that respect, we ignored the reasons that would lead donors to stop donating. Very little research has investigated the defection of donors (for an exception see Sargeant, 2001). On a management perspective, managing donor defection is at least as important as recruiting new ones. In the same vein, our research suggests an evolution of the donors' implication. Future research should focus on the phenomenon of habituation to positive feelings and on the reasons that drive donors to consider another organization. Finally, the private dimension of charitable giving questions recent work on the role of social recognition and prestige as key motives to donate (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010). Future research should consider the conditions under which such determinants increase generosity.

Chapter 3: When social recognition inhibits prosocial behaviors: The case of charitable giving[4]

3.1 Introduction

Traditionally, charitable giving was considered an individual behavior motivated mostly by intrapersonal motives (Polonsky et al., 2002). More recent work has highlighted a positive influence of social recognition on generosity (Smith & McSweeney, 2007; Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008). Although modesty about good behaviors is socially encouraged, a successful demonstration of generosity has positive returns on reputation (Berman, Levine, Barasch & Small, 2015). In recent years, social recognition has therefore been increasingly regarded as an important motivation to engage in prosocial behavior (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010). However, there is no unanimity on whether social rewards always positively affect generosity. As Bénabou and Tirole (2006) first mentioned, the rewards can *"create doubt about the extent to which they are performed for the incentives"* (p. 1654). Gneezy et al. (2011) similarly proposed that social rewards might conflict with initial intrinsic motives to do good (e.g. values). The question is therefore not whether social recognition works as a motivation to donate but rather under which conditions it does.

Until now, empirical data to answer the question have been lacking. Studies in other areas have already proposed that the role of social influence depends on individual differences (Butters, 2004) in the *need for social approval* (Millham & Kellogg, 1980; Twenge & Im, 2007). We present a series of experiments to test if need for social approval also moderates whether social recognition facilitates or interferes with the willingness to donate.

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[4] This paper was presented to the following conferences:

Denis E. & Pecheux C. (2017), *When social recognition inhibits prosocial behaviors: the case of charitable giving*, Business and Society Research Seminar, 7th edition, Lille (France).

Denis E., Pecheux C & Warlop L. (2017), *When social recognition inhibits prosocial behaviors: the case of charitable giving*, Academy of Marketing Science, AMS 20th World Marketing Congress, Christchurch (New Zealand).

This paper is under review in *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*.

Manipulating the public (vs. private) dimension of the reward as well as its optional (vs. imposed) nature, we show that the presence of social rewards leads to opposite charitable behaviors depending on whether people's need for approval is high or low. Our results suggest that whereas imposing public rewards reduces generosity among individuals with a lower need for approval, to keep rewards optional can prevent this negative effect. We finally test whether the opportunity for the donor to publicly mention that he did not ask for the reward influences his decision to donate. Theoretical and managerial implications are discussed and leads for future research are finally suggested.

3.2 Theoretical framework

Although most authors acknowledge the role of social recognition as an important prosocial motive (Penner et al., 2005) research in the context of charitable giving has so far provided mixed results. Two perspectives are currently competing, either defending a positive or a negative impact on generosity. On the one hand, defenders of a positive impact argue that people who give to charity are generally held in high regard (Wiepking, 2008). When the behavior is made public, the consequences for the donor can only be positive (Alpizar, Carlsson & Johansson-Stenman, 2008) and social recognition therefore becomes a real motivation to engage in such behaviors. On the other hand, a number of studies have also identified a negative effect of social rewards on prosocial behaviors (Gneezy & Rustichini, 2000; Ariely, Bracha & Meier, 2009) and two major explanations have emerged to explain the phenomenon.

First, the presence of social rewards can create doubt in the mind of the observers about the real motivations to do good (Bénabou & Tirole, 2006). If people assume that the donor was motivated by social recognition, this can be detrimental for his/her reputation because there is a strong norm to be modest about good deeds. Indeed, bragging about a generous behavior is generally counter-productive because it signals selfish motives. Whereas boasting of a personal achievement does not undermine the success itself, to brag about a donation reduces its altruistic dimension (Berman et al., 2015). A second explanation is that social recognition as a form of extrinsic reward may conflict with prior intrinsic motives to donate. As explained by

Gneezy et al. (2011), extrinsic incentives can have an indirect psychological effect that sometimes works in the opposite direction to the expected effect of the incentive. If a higher personal benefit, such as guilt relief or self-image is crowded out by extrinsic incentives, the latter can be counterproductive. Among these people, visibility (and consequently social recognition) would reduce their likelihood to donate, as they would prefer to keep their donation private. To reconcile these contradictory results, Gneezy et al. (2011) proposed that it would depend on "*how much individuals care for their reputation*" (p. 192). The impact of social norms and prestige motive would thus depend on a set of individual variables (Hebert et al., 1997; Alpizar et al., 2008) as well as on the extent to which the behavior is adopted in public or private settings (Bagozzi, Wong, Abe & Bergami, 2014). This personal tendency to seek for peers' acceptance and consent can be identified as the *need for social approval* (NSA; Twenge & Im, 2007).

While self-esteem is considered in the literature as an indicator of self-acceptance and satisfaction, the need for (social) approval is defined as the extent to which a person seeks social recognition and peers' implicit or explicit consent (Strickland & Crowne, 1962; Mukai, Kambara & Sasaki, 1998; Sosik & Dinger, 2007; Twenge & Im, 2007). As Strickland and Crowne (1962) explained, an individual with a high need for social approval will be more willing to present him/herself in a favorable light. However, sensitivity to social approval strongly differs between individuals (Bateson, Nettle & Roberts, 2006; Alpizar et al., 2008). In the management field, Sosik and Dinger (2007) showed that leaders with a higher need for social approval are more dependent upon other's opinion and will act accordingly. This variable could also explain the mixed results on social incentives in the context of charitable giving. Indeed, we can assume that social incentives will have more impact when people have a higher sensitivity to others' opinion. Furthermore, Gneezy et al., (2011) warned of the potential negative influence of extrinsic rewards to elicit prosocial behaviors. As the authors suggested, image motivation can only be effective as long as it does not conflict with the person's intrinsic motivation to do good. When dealing with charitable donations, the presence of a public form of recognition would create doubts about the initial motives of the donor (Bénabou & Tirole, 2006).

Making the reward private would limit the problem associated with public recognition (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). Indeed, although the impact of social norms does not disappear in private settings (Mishra & Singh, 2015), it would strongly decrease (Bagozzi et al., 2014). Consequently, one might believe that a public recognition will exacerbate the moderating effect of NSA. Among people with a high NSA, we can presumably expect that a public form of recognition will increase their likelihood to behave pro-socially. Among people with low NSA, we hypothesize that social recognition is not a motivation to donate. Based on the indirect psychological effect proposed by Gneezy et al., (2011), we expect that a public recognition will conflict with initial motives to engage in generous behavior. This results in the hypothesis that Need for Social Approval moderates the effect of social recognition on charitable donations, such that:

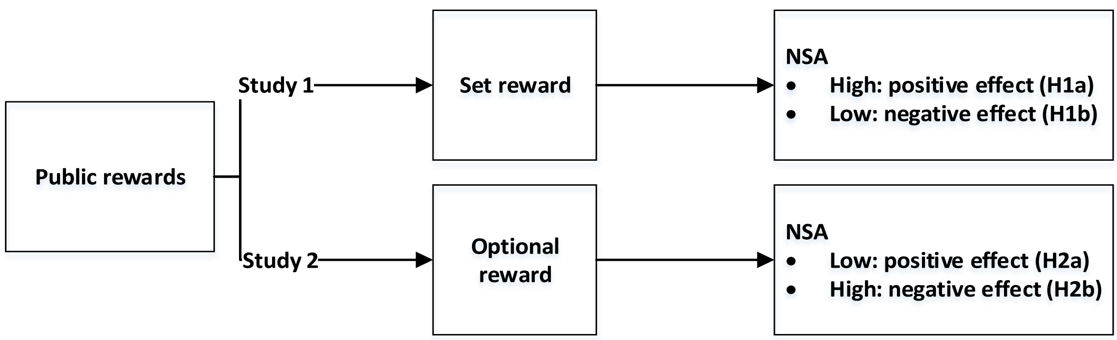
> *H_{1A}: For people with high NSA, public recognition increases charitable giving relative to the absence of recognition and …*
>
> *H_{1B}: … for people with a low NSA, public recognition decreases charitable giving relative to absence of recognition.*

Donors who would like to avoid social rewards, because they conflict with the initial motivations to donate, would also give up the potential benefit of the social reward. Social rewards for donations can be beneficial by signaling that the donation act has high personal cost, and therefore deserves to be rewarded (Gneezy et al., 2011). The mere knowledge that a behavior is worth rewarding might be sufficient to motivate potential donors, and an actual reward would not always be mandatory (Mishra & Singh, 2015). Consequently, one solution may be to propose an optional reward. The potential reward signals that the donation is being appreciated, while at the same time allowing the donor to refrain from opting-in, thereby avoiding the experience of a conflict with intrinsic motivation. As potential donors with a low need for social approval should be most sensitive to the opportunity to keep the donation private, we would expect that among them the optional nature of the incentive will offset the negative effect of social reward. Consequently, giving people with low NSA the mere option to receive a social reward, without forcing them to accept the reward, may increase their willingness to donate. Among people with a high NSA, we do expect the opposite effect. If as predicted, social recognition is the actual motivation to donate, asking for the reward is the equivalent of bragging about their generosity which, as already mentioned, can be counterproductive because it undermines the initial beauty of the gesture (Berman et al., 2015). When the reward is set by default, donors consider being fairly rewarded for their good deed. In contrast, the fact that they must ask for the reward might reduce the initial value of the good deed. We therefore predict an interaction between need for social approval and the optional (versus *set*) nature of the recognition, such that:

> *H_{2A}: For people with low NSA, the optional nature of a public recognition increases charitable giving relative to a set social reward and ...*
>
> *H_{2B}: ... for people with a high NSA, the optional nature of a public recognition decreases charitable giving relative to a set social reward.*

For the sake of clarity, Figure 6 integrates our different hypotheses.

Figure 6: General hypotheses



3.3 Overview of the studies

We conducted three online experiments in which we manipulated the public (vs. private) and optional (vs. set) nature of the recognition, and whether (or not) the message made it clear for people that it was imposed to participants. The questionnaire was administrated on Facebook because it was an efficient way to publicly prime donors with social rewards. To make the cover story more realistic, the questionnaire was mostly administrated on sports pages and sport clubs' pages. In all studies, participants were all native French speakers and were randomly assigned to the different conditions (see Table 5 for details on samples).

The *Need for Social Approval* was measured with a 20-item, five-point Likert scale developed by Martin (1984). This scale (see Appendix 3) is a revised and validated measure of the approval motivation scale developed by Larsen, Martin, Ettinger and Nelson (1976). In contrast to various studies dealing with social approval, we did not use the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability (MCSD) scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). This scale was not initially designed to measure people's motivation to get social approval, but to assess socially desirable response tendencies while completing a self-report scale (Martin, 1984). Therefore, numerous authors suggested that the MCSD scale measures defensiveness rather than social approval seeking (Thaw & Efran, 1967; Allaman, Joyce & Crandall, 1972; Millham, 1974; Berger, Levin, Jacobson & Millham, 1977; Martin, 1984). For our different analyses, we used a global score for need for social approval including the different dimensions. In all studies, the scale provided a satisfactory Cronbach's alpha (> 0.9).

Table 5: Samples description

Sample study 1 (n=318)	No recognition (n=108)		Private recognition (n=105)		Public recognition (n=105)
Average age	33.38		34.21		36.24
Std deviation age	9.95		9.53		9.54
Percentage men	53.7		54.3		53.3
Low NSA (%)	29.6		28.6		28.6
Medium NSA (%)	40.8		38.1		41.9
High NSA (%)	29.6		33.3		29.5
Sample study 2 (n=306)	No recognition (n=103)		Imposed public rec. (n=102)		Opt. public rec. (n=101)
Average age	30.84		31.19		30.2
Std deviation age	9.68		8.43		8.06
Percentage men	55.3		54.9		52.5
Low NSA (%)	28.2		27.5		29.7
Medium NSA (%)	41.7		43.1		44.6
High NSA (%)	30.1		29.4		25.7
Sample study 3 (n=413)	Imp. unsp (n=102)	Imp. Spec (n=103)	Opt. unsp (n=104)	Opt. spec (104)	
Average age	33.45	34.8	34.21	32.16	
Std deviation age	8.01	10.08	11.32	10.18	
Percentage men	52.9	56.31	54.8	56.31	
Low NSA (%)	29.4	28.2	29.8	29.8	
Medium NSA (%)	40.2	417.7	41.3	42.3	
High NSA (%)	30.4	30.1	28.9	27.9	

3.4 Study 1

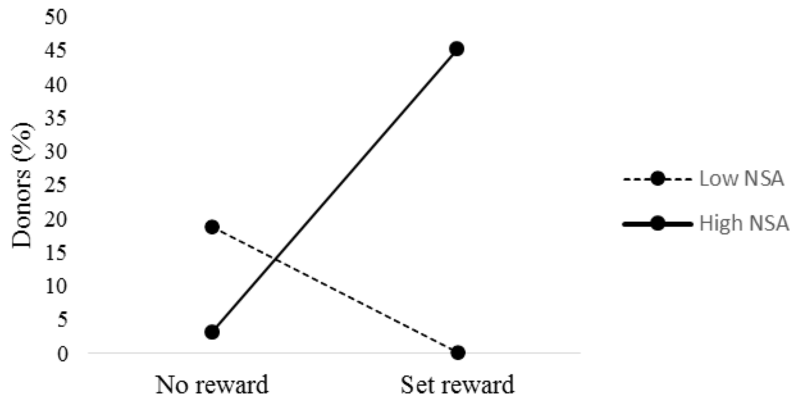
The first experiment had two objectives. The first goal was to study whether NSA moderates the causal relation between social recognition and generosity. Then, we aimed at assessing whether this effect was influenced by the public dimension of the behavior. Participants were invited to participate in an online survey about world sporting events. After completing the questionnaire, participants were financially rewarded (5 euros) for participation. Then they got the opportunity to keep endowment for themselves or to donate the amount to a charitable cause. When they chose to donate, they had to select a beneficiary organization among a list of ten charities in Belgium. We provided participants with a varied set of well-known beneficiaries to avoid that the results would be affected by the like or dislike for any specific cause or organization. The questionnaire was distributed through Facebook, which was an efficient way to publicly prime donors with social rewards. To make the cover story more realistic, the questionnaire was mostly distributed via sports pages and sport clubs' pages. To test our first hypothesis, participants were randomly assigned to one of three reward conditions (*no recognition, private reward* and *public reward*) in a single-factor between-subjects design. In the *no-recognition* group, people who decided to donate were simply given the opportunity to choose the beneficiary among the list, with no promise of any reward. In the *private* condition, participants were told that they would receive a personal *thank you* e-mail from the fundraising manager. In the *public* condition, people were told that they would receive a *thank you* message from the beneficiary organization on their Facebook wall. The recognition was set, with no opportunity to decline the reward. Participants had the opportunity to either donate or keep the full amount and the dependent variable in our different analyses was therefore binomial (0 = no donation; 1 = donation). Once they had chosen whether to donate, participants in both *private* and *public* conditions had to confirm to be aware that they would receive a message. When the answer was "*no*", participants were excluded from the final sample. In total, 108 valid questionnaires were collected for the first condition (46.3% female, M_{age}=33.38, st.dev = 9.95), 105 for the second condition (45.7% female, M_{age}=34.21, st.dev = 9.53) and 105 for the third condition (46.7% female, M_{age}=36.24, st.dev = 9.54).

3.4.1 Results

The results of *study 1* are depicted in Figure 8 and indicate the percentage of participants who donated in each condition depending on their level of NSA. We performed a logistic regression on the decision to donate, with two independent variables: the level of NSA (*mean = 3,00487; st.dev = 1,27172; min = 1; max = 5)*, the presence of a (private or public) recognition (*0 = absence; 1 = presence)*, testing for main effects and the interactional effect. The results show a significant interaction between the level of NSA and the presence of social incentives ($ß$ = 0,95; z = 3,28 p = 0,01). A spotlight analysis (Spiller, Fitzsimons, Lynch & McClelland, 2013) showed that the effect of the manipulation is significant for high level of NSA ($ß$ = 2,12; z = 3,57; p <0,01) but not for a low level of NSA. So, the results reveal that the relationship between the presence of incentives and generosity is moderated by the need for social approval. We used the Johnson-Neyman technique (Spiller et al., 2013) to determine the value of NSA at which the propensity to donate becomes significantly different between the absence and the presence of incentives (private or public). This occurs when the NSA score is equal to 2,83, close to the midpoint of the scale. While the generosity of people with high NSA is increased by such rewards, people with low NSA rather appear indifferent.

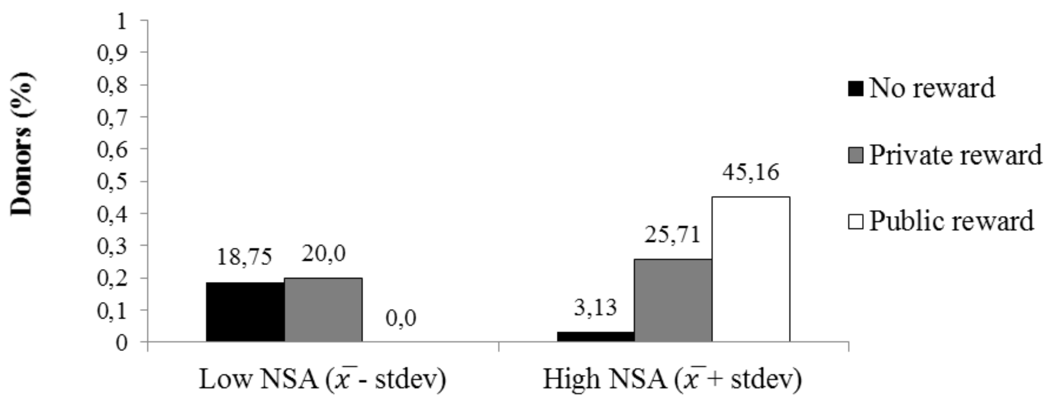
Then, we look at the *private* and the *public* conditions separately. Considering the private form of social incentives, analyses revealed that a private reward has no significant impact on generosity. Regardless of the NSA level, the manipulation did not have any significant on participants. Concretely, it appears that telling people they will receive a private message from the fundraising manager does not impact generosity. In contrast, results demonstrate that the presence of public rewards significantly increases generosity among participants. Testing for main effects and the interactional effect, the results show a significant interaction between the level of NSA and the presence of public incentives ($ß$ = 1,55; z = 4,18; p <0,01) (See Figure 7).

Figure 7: Impact of set public rewards



The effect of the manipulation appears significant and negative for a low level of NSA (*ß* = -1,43; *z* = 4,18; *p* <0,05), and significant and positive for a high level of NSA (*ß* = 2,49; *z =3,99; p* <0,01). The Johnson-Neyman technique (Spiller et al., 2013) shows that the propensity to donate becomes significantly higher (relative to the absence of public recognition) when the value of NSA is equal to 3,24 (and higher) and becomes significantly lower (relative to the absence of public recognition) when the value of NSA is equal to 1.74 (and lower). Between these values, no significant difference is found. These results support H_{1A} and H_{1B} on opposite effects of public recognition, decreasing generosity among people with low NSA and increasing generosity among people with high NSA.

Figure 8: General results (Study 1)



3.4.2 Discussion

Imposing a public form of social reward appears to have opposite effects depending on the need for social approval. The proposal that public recognition is an important driver for generosity (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010) would therefore be limited to people with a higher-than-average need for social approval. The negative impact of public recognition that we found among people with a lower need indicates that not only public recognition is not a motivation to donate but that it can actually decrease generosity among those people. Our results do not support a prior lower willingness to donate from people with a low level of NSA that could have explained this negative effect. Indeed, it seems that the presence of public incentives offset their prior personal reasons to donate. That phenomenon may be explained by an internal conflict between prior intrinsic motives to donate such as personal values and the presence of extrinsic reward (Gneezy et al., 2011)

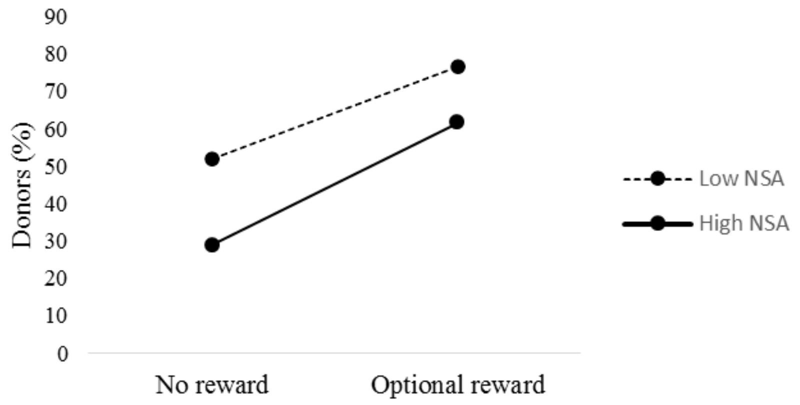
3.5 Study 2

In *study 2*, the goal was to evaluate the impact of the optional nature of the recognition. The experimental procedure was the same as in the first study. In *study 1*, the percentage of donors appeared very low, making results vulnerable to floor effects. This low level of generosity may be explained by the immediate nature of the reward. Related to the endowment principle, asking people to immediately give away a financial reward they fairly earned would be considered unfair (Kahneman, Knetsch & Thaler, 1991). To address that issue, people in *study 2* were rewarded with the same amount of money (5 euros) and were given the opportunity to keep the reward for themselves or to donate forty percent of that amount to a charitable cause (2 euros). Asking participants for a part and not the total amount of the reward aimed at avoiding the possible effect discussed here above. The questionnaire was distributed through Facebook via sports pages and clubs' pages. To test hypotheses H_{2A} and H_{2B}, participants were randomly assigned to one of three reward conditions (*no recognition, set public reward,* and *optional public reward*) in a single-factor between-subjects design. While in the *set public* condition the reward was automatic, participants of the *optional public* condition had the opportunity to decline the public message. More concretely, people were asked to opt in if they wanted the reward. As in *study 1*, participants who received a public reward had to confirm being aware of that, and 7 questionnaires were excluded from samples because they answered incorrectly. In total, 103 valid questionnaires were collected for the first condition, (44,7% female, M_{age}=30,84, st.dev = 9,68), 102 for the second condition (45,1% female, M_{age}= 31,19, st.dev = 8,43) and 101 for the third condition (47.5% female, M_{age} = 30,2, st.dev = 8,06).

3.5.1 Results

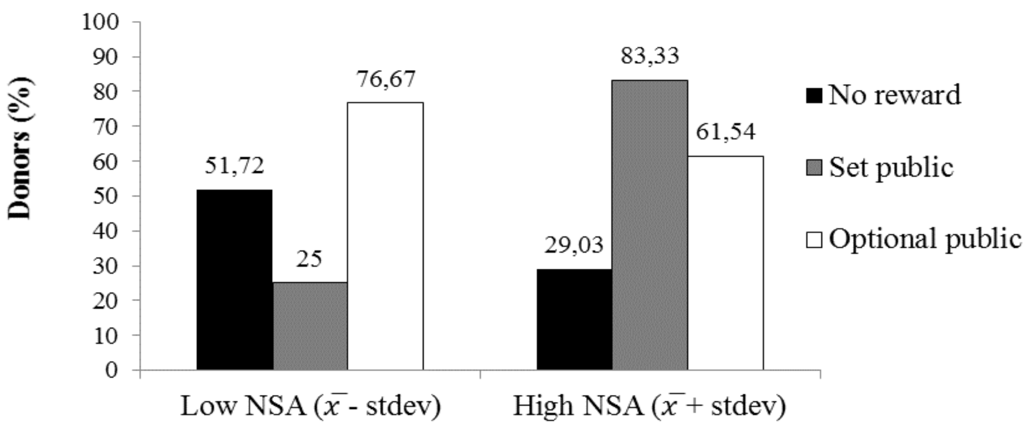
As in *study 1,* the dependent variable was binomial (*0 = no donation; 1= donation),* the general results of the study are depicted in Figure 10 and illustrate the percentage of participants who donated in each condition depending on their level of NSA. First analyses aimed at replicating results from *study 1* and a logistic regression was performed on the decision to donate, with two independent variables: the level of NSA (*mean = 2,9; st.dev = 1,19759; min = 1; max = 5*), the presence of a set public reward (*0 = absence*; *1 = presence*), testing for main effects and the interactional effect. The results show a significant interaction between the level of NSA and the presence of a set public reward (*ß* = 1,08; *z* = 4,11 *p* = 0,00). The spotlight analysis (Spiller et al., 2013) shows that the propensity to donate becomes significantly higher (relative to the absence of reward) when the value of NSA is equal to 3,2 (and higher) and becomes significantly lower (relative to the absence of reward) when the value is equal to 1,91 (and lower). Between these values, no significant difference is found. As in *study 1*, the presence of set public rewards has opposite effects depending on the level of NSA. Then we tested the effect of an optional public reward (relative to no recognition) on generosity based on a similar analysis. Results show a positive main effect of an optional public reward (*ß* = 1,142; *p* = 0,00) but no interactional effect (See figure 9).

Figure 9: Impact of optional public rewards



The presence of an optional public reward would increase people's general level of generosity, regardless of their need for approval. To further investigate the phenomenon, we then compared the optional vs. non-optional nature of a recognition. The logistic regression on charitable giving was based on the level of NSA and the optional nature of the recognition (*0=imposed; 1=optional*). The results show a significant interaction between the level of NSA and the presence of an optional reward (relative to a set reward) ($ß$ = - 0,99; z = -3,77 p = 0,00). The spotlight analysis (Spiller et al., 2013) reveals that the propensity to donate becomes significantly higher (relative to a set reward) when the value of NSA is equal to 3,178 (and lower). Among people with a low level of NSA, the effect is thus positive ($ß$ = 2,01; z = 4,41; p = 0,00) which supports H_{2A}, while among people with a high need for NSA the effect appears non-significant. H_{2B} is therefore not supported by the results.

Figure 10: General results (Study 2)



3.5.2 Discussion

The design of the second experiment enabled us to increase the donating rate, reducing the vulnerability of the results to floor effects. The first analysis supports the findings from *study 1* on the moderating effect of NSA on the relation between a public recognition and generosity. As in the previous study, the public message has opposite effects depending on participants' level of NSA. *Study 2* also investigated the optional nature of the reward. The premise is that offering the opportunity to decline the reward might reduce the internal conflict with initial intrinsic motivations to donate. Results showed that while an imposed recognition reduces generosity among people with low NSA, an optional recognition increases generosity among that same group of individuals. This suggests that although they prefer to decline the reward, these participants are not indifferent to the *thank you* message. This goes back to the proposal of Mishra and Singh (2015) according to whom an actual reward is not always mandatory.

3.6 Study 3

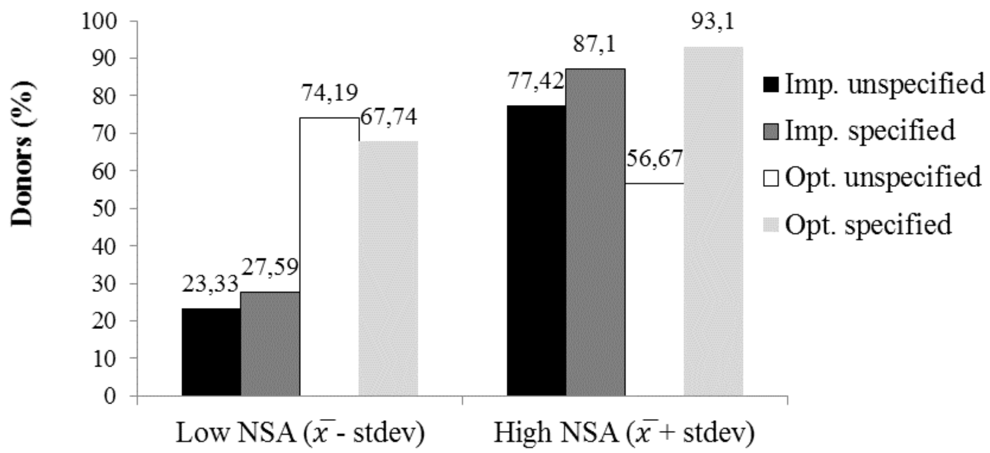
Study 1 and *study 2* comforted three of our hypotheses (H_{1A}, H_{1B}, *and* H_{2A}). However, one additional aspect is worth considering. As Bénabou and Tirole (2006) pointed out, the use of extrinsic rewards for prosocial behaviors presents some risks by creating *"doubt about the extent to which they are performed for the incentives"* (p.1654). In our case, if people who see the *thank you* message on Facebook might think that the donor has explicitly asked for the message, this could undo the social benefit. Using a similar experimental procedure as in first studies, *study 3* employed a 2x2 between-subjects design in which we manipulated the *set* (vs. *optional*) nature of the public recognition, and whether the message made it clear (*specified*) or not (*unspecified*) whether it was imposed or offered to the donor. In the *imposed unspecified* condition (C_1), people who donated automatically got a message on their Facebook wall. In the *imposed specified* condition (C_2), donors automatically got a message on their Facebook wall, including a note that specified the automatic nature of the message. Consequently, potential witnesses of the message were aware that the message was imposed, and not asked. In the *optional unspecified* condition (C_3), people had the choice to receive or to decline the *thank you* message. In the *optional specified* condition (C_4), the message included the mention that is had been automatically generated, but people had the choice to receive or decline the thank you message. The manipulations were pretested with a sample of 25 participants. First, we made sure that the notification about the automatic nature of the message was correctly perceived by asking respondents to select among a list of elements they remember from the message. Twenty-two out of twenty-five respondents identified the notification about the automatic nature of the message. Second, we asked respondents questions about how they would perceive the message if they saw it on the Facebook wall of a friend *("I would think he asked for the message", "I would think he had no choice but to get the message")*. Twenty-one out of twenty-five respondents answered that they would think he had no choice but to get the message. As in the first studies, participants in *study 3* had to confirm being aware that they were going to receive public thanks on Facebook. Questionnaires were removed from samples when needed. In total, 102 valid questionnaires were collected for the first condition (47.1% female, M_{age}=33.45, st.dev = 8.01), 103 for the second condition (43.69% female, M_{age}=34.8, st.dev = 10.08), 104 for the third condition (45.2% female, M_{age}=34.21, st.dev = 11.32) and 104 for the fourth condition (43.69% female, M_{age}=32.16, st.dev = 10.18).

3.6.1 Findings

General results are depicted in Figure 11 and illustrate the percentage of participants who donated in each condition, depending on their level of NSA. First analyses aimed at comforting results on the optional nature of a public reward. We conducted a logistic regression on the decision to donate with three independent variables: the level of NSA (*mean* = 2.99; *st.dev = 1.27; min = 1; max = 5*), the optional nature of the public reward (*0 = set; 1 = optional)* and the presence of a notification in message (*0 = absence; 1 = presence*), testing for main effects and interactional effects. As in the previous study, the results show a significant interaction between the level of NSA and the presence of an optional reward (relative to a set). The spotlight analysis (Spiller et al., 2013) reveals that the propensity to donate becomes significantly higher (relative to a set reward) when the value of NSA is equal to 3,48 (and lower). Allowing participants to opt-in for a public recognition appears to increase generosity among people with low NSA. Consistent with our theorizing, none of the low NSA participants did actually ask for the message. The mere opportunity to ask for it increased their willingness to donate.

Then, results also show an interactional effect between the presence of a notification in the message and the level of NSA (*ß* = 0,414; *z=5.166; p<0.05*). The spotlight analysis (Spiller et al., 2013) reveals that the effect of the manipulation becomes significant when the value of NSA equals 2,6781. To mention the automatic nature of the message thus increases generosity among people with higher sensitivity to peers' approval, even if the message is optional. In other words, people with high NSA are even more willing to donate when they can make it clear that they did not ask for the message. This reduces the problem suggesting that boasting of personal good deed can often be counterproductive and have the opposite effect that initially desired. Recognition thus emerges as a significant determinant for them to donate. The third study also shows us that the presence of a notification on the message does not have any impact on the generosity of low NSA people. The proposal by Gneezy et al. (2011) on an internal conflict between intrinsic and extrinsic determinants would better explain the negative effect of public rewards that the fear of a misinterpretation of their motives by potential witnesses.

Figure 11: General results (Study 3)



3.6.2 Discussion

The study confirms the results from *study 2* on the positive effect of an optional recognition on people with low NSA. Consistent with prior assumptions, low NSA participants did not ask for the reward which supports the idea that the mere opportunity to ask for recognition is enough to increase generosity. Then, generosity among people with high NSA increased when the message made it clear that it was imposed to participants. The notification would be a way to enjoy the benefit of the public reward while reducing doubts about the initial motivation that drove them to donate (Bénabou & Tirole, 2006). In contrast, people with low NSA appear indifferent to the notification. The negative effect of a recognition found in *study 1* and *study 2* would not be caused by the fear that people would think the donor asked for the message. The proposal by Gneezy et al. (2011) on an internal conflict between intrinsic and extrinsic determinants would better explain the negative effect of public rewards that the fear of a misinterpretation of their motives by potential witnesses.

3.7 General discussion

This research clarifies the different effects that social recognition can have on generosity as well as the conditions under which theses effects take place (see Table 6).

Table 6: Influence of public rewards on generosity (general results)

	Set	Optional	Set specified	Optional specified
Low NSA	*Negative*	*Positive*	*Negative*	*Positive*
High NSA	*Positive*	*Positive*	*Positive*	*Positive*

First, we provide strong evidence to support the moderating effect of the need for social approval on the relation between social recognition and generosity. First, our results show that the presence of (non-optional) social incentives has a negative impact on generosity. As pointed out by Andreoni and Petrie (2004), reputation is increased by good deeds only when the benefactor communicated intelligently about his deed. If people believe that social recognition was the initial motivation, the good deed may have the opposite effect than expected, reducing rather than increasing reputation. In this case, people's doubts on donors' motivations would reduce generosity (Bénabou &

Tirole, 2006). However, this effect appears moderated by people's need for approval. Depending on the willingness to seek for social approval, public rewards have opposite effects. Although people with high approval appear motivated by recognition, such a social incentive seems to have the opposite effect among people with low need for social approval. Results suggest that the negative impact on generosity cannot be explained by potential doubts about motivations to donate mentioned by Bénabou and Tirole (2006) since the mention of the non-optional nature of the reward did not affect generosity of among these people. In that respect, results of *study 2* on optional incentives suggest another explanation. Among this category of donors, the social recognition may spoil the initial benefits of the good deed, such as guilt alleviation (Basil, Ridgway & Basil, 2008) or warm glow feelings (Crumpler & Grossman, 2008; Mayo & Tinsley, 2009). These results provide support to the proposal from Gneezy et al. (2011) on an internal conflict between initial intrinsic motivations to act pro-socially and the presence of extrinsic rewards. As previously suggested, an optional recognition would remind them of the charitable nature of their action without interfering with previous motivations to do it. The internal conflict between initial intrinsic motives and extrinsic rewards is therefore limited. To decline the reward may reinforce the perceived sacrifice and increase the good feelings associated with the behavior. The positive effect of an optional *thank you* message also supports previous works showing that the influence of social norms is not systematically eliminated in private settings (Bagozzi et al., 2014). Indeed, being reminded that the behavior is worth rewarding would motivate people, even though they choose to keep their donation private. Finally, publicly specifying the non-optional nature of the incentive appears to have a positive effect on people with higher willingness to get social approval. Indeed, this notification partially overcomes the issue mentioned by Bénabou and Tirole (2006) who pointed out that *"boasting of one's generous contributions is often self-defeating"* (p. 1653). This result also suggests that donations from people with higher NSA are mainly motivated by reputation rather than personal reasons.

3.8 Conclusion

This work contributes to a better understanding of generosity by clarifying the conditions under which social incentives work in the context of charitable donations. Although social recognition is already considered as a key determinant of prosocial tendencies (Penner et al., 2005), this works sheds light on its uncertain effects on charitable donations (Schultz et al., 2007). We identified the moderating effect of NSA on the relation between social recognition and generosity and provide insights to avoid negative effects on generosity. However, this work is not without limitations. The use of laboratory experiments ensures the internal validity of our findings but also limits their ecological validity (Araujo, Davids & Passos, 2007). To overcome that limitation, field experiments in which participants would be asked to donate their own money would be useful. Then, this research has investigated the impact of social recognition as a determinant of generosity. However, it would be necessary to assess its influence after the donation itself. As Gneezy et al. (2011) pointed out, extrinsic rewards can have a positive effect in the short term and a negative effect in the long term. Longitudinal studies are not often conducted in the context of charitable giving and we encourage scholars to undertake further research in that direction. Finally, we considered charitable giving as the dependent variable of our different experiments. However, it might be interesting to consider other variables such as the donor’s commitment and satisfaction (Naskrent & Siebelt, 2011).

Chapter 4: I misbehaved so I give, I did good so I do not: Charitable giving to regulate moral balance [5]

4.1 Introduction

Human beings often do bad things that do not correspond with their personal beliefs, leading to unpleasant feelings of guilt. Conversely, they also regularly engage in positive behaviors that reinforce their moral image. Although only a few of us aim at being perfect, a good balance between bad and good deeds is key to ensure a positive moral self-worth (Jordan, Mullen & Murnighan, 2011). Consequently, when people tarnish their moral image by adopting immoral behaviors, they are often willing to engage in subsequent others-oriented behaviors to restore moral balance (Lindsey, Yun & Hill, 2007). In contrast, when having recently done something positive, people would be less likely to adopt future good behaviors as they would already derive some confidence from their recent good deeds (Merritt et al., 2010).

Although research on cleansing behaviors to regulate moral balance has recently intensified (Sachdeva, Iliev & Medin, 2009; Xu, Bègue & Bushman, 2014), most studies are unclear about their definition of (im)morality since the concept mostly relies on personal standards. Considering the influence of individual differences in emotional tendencies, we investigate how a specific form of prosocial behavior, namely charitable giving, can be used for moral self-regulation. Manipulating the emotional valence (negative vs. positive) resulting from past deeds as well as the perceived proximity between donors and beneficiaries, we investigate the effects of past good and bad behaviors and highlight the conditions under which recent (im)moral actions influence charitable donations.

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[5] This paper has been presented to the following colloquium and conferences:

Denis E. & Pecheux C. (2018), *I misbehaved so I give, I did good so I do not: The impact of past deeds on charitable donations*, 1ère journée doctorale Franco-Belge, Paris, France.

Denis E. & Pecheux C. (2018), *I misbehaved so I give, I did good so I do not: Charitable giving to regulate moral balance*, AMS 21th World Marketing Congress, Porto, Portugal.

Denis E. & Pecheux C. (2018), *The influence of personal actions on generosity to charitable organizations*, Global Marketing Conference, Tokyo, Japan.

Not only this research provides evidence for a positive impact of guilt feelings on charitable giving but, mobilizing the self-licensing theory (Khan & Dhar, 2006), it also suggests that recent positive behaviors can be detrimental for generosity. Theoretical and managerial implications are developed and suggestions for future research are finally presented.

4.2 Theoretical framework

4.2.1 The prosocial effects of wrong deeds

When people engage in behaviors that they know are bad, it generally results in an internal conflict that manifests in guilt feelings. Defined as an *"individual's unpleasant emotional state associated with possible objections to his or her actions, inaction, circumstances or intentions"* (Baumeister et al., 1994; p. 245), guilt has been increasingly regarded as a key motive in the adoption of prosocial tendencies (Xu, Bègue & Bushman, 2014; Vaish, Carpenter & Tomasello, 2016). Caused by the emotional distress from being in the wrong or from other's perception that one is, guilt feelings would lead people to redeem themselves by adopting others-oriented behaviors (De Hooge, Nelissen, Breugelmans & Zeelenberg, 2011, Hauge, 2016). Lindsey et al. (2007, p. 469) even referred to guilt as "*a form of emotional distress based in social relationships that motivates and encourages prosocial behavior"* (p.469).

This prosocial effect of guilt has been recently investigated in different contexts (Roberts, Strayer & Denham, 2014; Roos, Hodges & Salmivalli, 2014; Vaish et al., 2016). Although empirical data is still lacking in the context of charitable donations, no evidence was found to suggest a different effect. Consequently, we formulate this first general guiding hypothesis on a positive impact of guilt feelings resulting from past deeds on generosity:

> *H_{1A}: Guilt feelings resulting from personal wrong deeds increase generosity.*

Although charitable giving may seem like a good opportunity to balance recent bad deeds, the absence of interaction with beneficiaries makes it a very particular form of prosocial behavior. This peculiarity of charitably giving has been advanced as a potential explanation for the absence of conclusive results of guilt in the context of charitable generosity (Basil et al., 2008). Indeed, people are not equally sensitive to others' distress.

Defined by Eisenberg and Miller (1987) as "*an affective state that stems from the apprehension of another's emotional state or condition and that is congruent with it"* (p.91), empathy has often been considered as a key determinant of others-oriented behaviors (Dovidio, Allen & Schroeder, 1990; Batson, 1998). So far, research on the interaction between guilt feelings and empathy have led to different results (Lindsey et al., 2007; Basil et al., 2008). One reason for that could be that authors have systematically mobilized *immediate* empathic feelings, which are not only dependent from personal inclination towards empathy, but also from the experimental stimulus to elicit feelings. Therefore, one should rather consider the overall tendency to feel empathy and not immediate empathic feelings. On an equivalent level of guilt, someone with stronger predispositions for empathy should be more likely to donate since s/he is more predisposed to experience empathic feelings and to feel concerned by the suffering of the victim(s). We therefore hypothesize a moderating effect of empathic concern on the relationship between guilt feelings and generosity.

> *H_{1B}: The positive impact of guilt feelings on generosity is stronger when empathic concern is high.*

Another factor that could facilitate the decision to donate as a way to alleviate feelings of guilt is what Baumeister et al. (1994) referred to as *commonality*. The concept relates to the perceived (social, cultural and/or geographical) distance between people. When commonality is high, the perceived distance is short and it results in a sense of responsibility which, as pointed out by Basil et al. (2006), facilitates the decision to donate. Conversely, when the perceived distance is high, the sense of responsibility is lower and charitable giving appears less natural to alleviate guilt. In that respect, Audet (2017) justified the limited mobilization from most European countries for the natural disasters in Pakistan (2005 and 2010) by this lack of cultural proximity with the victims. We therefore hypothesize that a shorter perceived distance (higher sense of commonality) will facilitate the decision to donate.

H_{1C}: The positive impact of guilt feelings on generosity is stronger when commonality between donors and beneficiaries is high.

4.2.2 The self-licensing effect of good deeds

Just as bad behaviors result in negative feelings, positive actions generally lead to pleasant feelings of being on the right track. These good feelings that people experience when doing something good are generally considered as the best opposition to guilt (Black & London, 1966; Forrest, 2006). Whereas guilt feelings would encourage us to redeem ourselves by adopting others-oriented behaviors, positive feelings would sometimes increase people's propensity to adopt immoral behaviors (Monin & Miller, 2001). This moral self-*licensing* phenomenon would occur because when having done something good, people would feel more secure in their moral self-regard (Merritt et al., 2010). People derive confidence from past good deeds to balance future less positive behaviors and would therefore be more likely to do bad things without worrying. In the context of charitable giving, we can presumably assume that recent good actions would reduce people's likelihood to donate:

H_{2A}: Positive feelings resulting from personal good deeds reduce generosity.

Although recent good actions may help to justify future less moral behaviors, the extent to which a behavior is regarded as (im)moral is largely dependent on people's own judgement. When people are confronted with others' distress, strong empathic tendencies help to better perceive suffering and discomfort. Accordingly, for people with stronger empathic concern, not helping when confronted with others' suffering will be considered as highly immoral. It is thus logical to assume that when empathic concern is high, people are less likely to experience the self-licensing effect of good deeds. Conversely, when people have weak predisposition to feel empathy, they are less likely to share the suffering of the victims. Therefore, not giving will be perceived as less immoral than for people with strong empathic tendencies. All this leads us to formulate the following hypothesis:

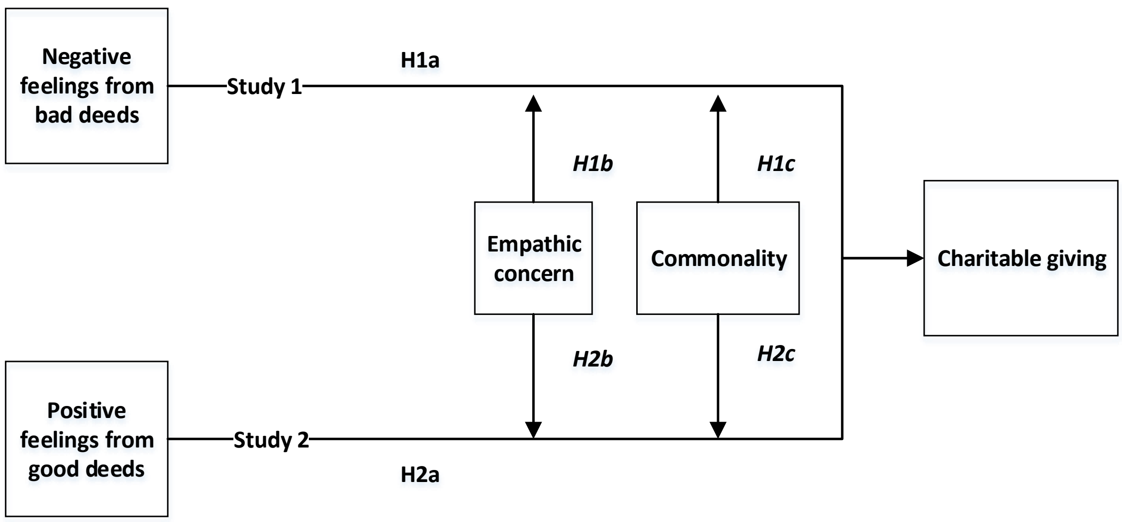
H_{2B}: The negative impact of positive feelings on generosity is weaker when empathic concern is high.

As already mentioned, high level of commonality is associated with a stronger sense of responsibility. Consequently, we can assume that when the perceived proximity with the victims is shorter, not helping would be seen as more immoral as people feel more responsible (Baumeister et al., 1994; Basil et al., 2006). We therefore expect that when the perceived distance with the victims is lower (higher commonality), people are less likely to experience the self-licensing effect of good behaviors. This results in our last hypothesis:

H_{2C}: The negative impact of positive feelings on generosity is weaker when commonality between donors and beneficiaries is high.

For the sake of clarity, we propose the following theoretical model that integrates our different hypotheses (see Figure 12).

Figure 12: General hypotheses



4.3 Overview of the studies

We conducted a series of online experiments in which we manipulated feelings resulting from past behaviors (negative vs. positive) as well as the level of perceived proximity between donors and beneficiaries (low commonality vs. high commonality). The questionnaires for the different experiments were administrated to students in two business schools in Northern France. As a cover story, people were asked to answer questions about their viewing habits and choices of television programs. Participants were told that researchers were studying the relationship between moods and viewing habits. In all studies, participants were native French speakers and were randomly assigned to the different conditions (see Table 7 for details on samples).

Measures. Empathic concern was measured using the 28-item, five-point Likert-type scale from Davis (1980) on individual differences in empathy (see Appendix 4), ranging from 1 (*does not describe me well*) to 5 (*describes me very well*). The scale consists of four seven-item subscales, each measuring a separate aspect of the global concept of empathy. This scale provides separate assessments for the cognitive, perspective-taking abilities of individuals and their emotional reactivity. For our different analyses, we used a global score for empathic concern including the four dimensions.

Table 7: Samples description

Sample study 1 (n=127)	NF*LC (n=29)	GF*LC (n=35)	NF*HC (n=36)	GF*HC (n=27)
Average age	22.93	22.46	22.47	22.74
Std deviation age	1.89	1.48	1.81	1.79
Percentage men	41.38	34.29	41.67	40.74

Sample study 2 (n=134)	NF*LC (n=32)	PF*LC (n=34)	NF*HC (n=37)	PF*HC (n=31)
Average age	22.84	23	22.73	22.81
Std deviation	1.35	1.26	1.43	1.42
Percentage men	43.75	41.18	48.65	45.16

Sample study 3 (n=183)	NF*LC (n=30)	AGF*LC (n=32)	APF*LC (n=30)	NF*HC (n=30)	AGF*HC (n=30)	APF*HC (n=31)
Average age	21.17	21.34	21.13	20.87	21.0	20.77
Std deviation age	1.29	1.47	1.25	1.36	1.58	1.28
Percentage men	43.33	43.75	46.67	43.33	50.0	48.39

NF = *no feelings;* ***(A)GF*** *= (anticipated) guilt feelings;* ***(A)PF*** *= (anticipated) positive feelings*; **LC =** *low commonality;* ***HC*** *= high commonality*

4.4 Study 1

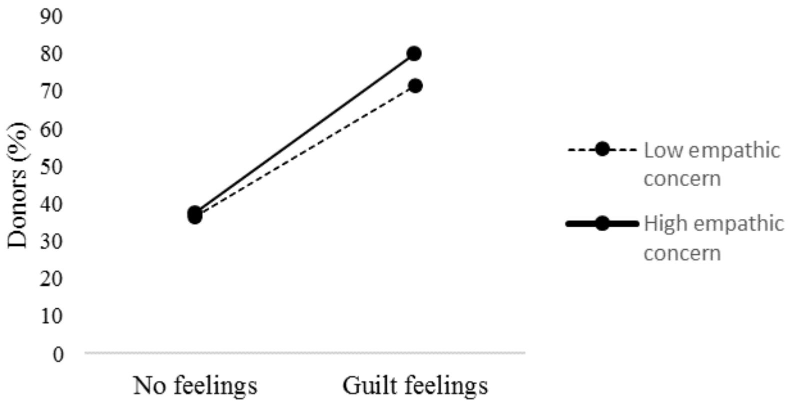
The first study had two objectives. First, the goal was to investigate the impact of guilt feelings resulting from negative behaviors on donations. Then, we also aimed at assessing whether the impact of guilt on generosity was moderated by people's tendency to feel empathy and by the perceived proximity with the beneficiaries. Participants were invited to participate in an online survey about viewing habits of television programs. To elicit guilt feelings resulting from past deeds, participants in the "*guilt condition*" were given some time to write a description of an event in which they had done something negative about someone important to them (*writing task* vs. *no writing task*) (see Appendix 5). The methodology has been increasingly used to elicit guilt feelings and has proven to be very effective in different contexts (Smith et al., 2002; Lickel et al., 2005; Xu et al., 2014).

A manipulation check was made to ensure differences in immediate guilt feelings (F = 232,88; p = 0.000). After completing the questionnaire, participants were financially rewarded (5 euros) for their participation. They got the opportunity to keep endowment for themselves or to donate the amount to a charitable cause. The principle of commonality is based on a *"positive interpersonal attraction"* (Hogg and Turner, 1985; p. 61). It required a certain level of social similarity, and often implies communal relatedness or fellow feelings (Baumeister et al., 1994). In the *low commonality* conditions, people were given the opportunity to donate to a fictional charitable organization helping the needy from a remote area (former Soviet bloc countries). In the *high commonality* conditions, people were given the opportunity to donate to a cause helping the needy from a geographically close area (country of the participants). The cause to support was the same in the different conditions. The only difference stood in the location where the help took place. To ensure differences in commonality between conditions, the manipulation was pretested among a sample of 35 individuals. No validated measure of commonality existed but an extensive literature review enabled us to identify the major aspects that emerged when defining the concept (see Appendix 6). Indeed, authors debating on its role generally refer to four different dimensions: *interpersonal attraction, social similarity, communal relatedness* and *fellow feelings.* A list of items was produced to assess the level of perceived proximity with the beneficiaries and for each statement, participants had to indicate the extent to which they agreed (*1 = fully disagree*; *7 = fully agree*). Results of the pretest showed a significant difference between *low* and *high* commonality conditions (F=68.18; p = 0.00) Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (*no task vs. writing task*) x 2 (*low vs. high commonality*) between-subjects experimental design. Participants had the opportunity to either donate or keep the full amount. The dependent variable in our different analyses was therefore binomial (0 = no donation; 1 = donation). The questionnaire was administrated online and a total of 127 valid questionnaires were collected (60.63% female; M_{age} = 22.69; st.dev = 1.73)

4.4.1 Results

The results of this first study are depicted in Figure 15 and indicate the percentage of participants who donated in each condition. We performed a logistic regression on the decision to donate with three independent variables: guilt feelings (not elicited = 0; elicited = 1), the level of empathic concern (*mean = 3,39; st.dev = 0,67; min = 1; max = 5*) and the level of commonality (0 = low; 1 = high), testing for main effects and interactional effects. The presence of guilt feelings appears to positively impact generosity (*ß* = 1,54; *p* = 0,00), supporting H_{1A}. The results also show a significant interaction between the level of empathic concern and the elicitation of guilt feelings (*ß* = 1,92; *p* < 0,01), supporting H_{1B} (See Figure 13).

Figure 13: Interaction effect between guilt and empathic concern

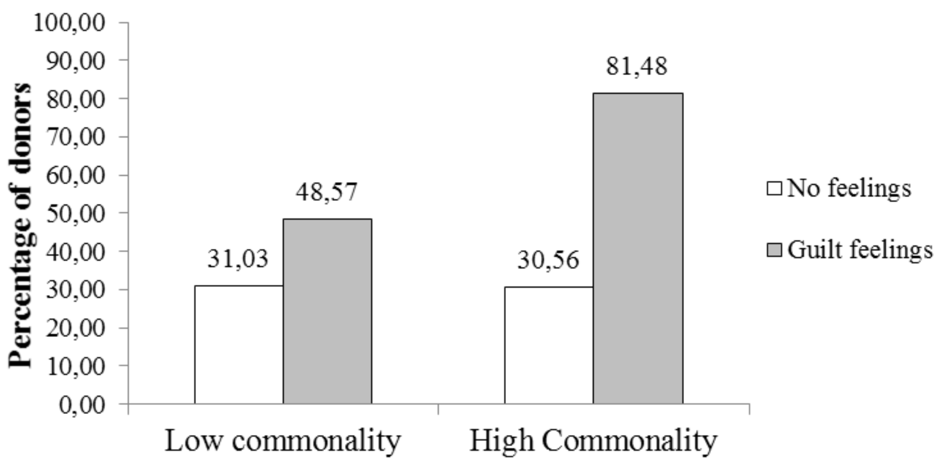


A floodlight analysis (Spiller et al., 2013) showed that the effect of the manipulation becomes significant at a score of 3.03 for the level of empathic concern. The results also indicate a significant interaction between the level of commonality and the elicitation of guilt feelings ($ß = 1,88$; $p < 0,05$), supporting H_{1c} (See Figure 14).

Figure 14: Interaction effect between guilt and commonality

To confirm the nature of these interaction effects, additional analyses were conducted through Preacher and Hayes' (2008) macro (*model 1* and *model 2*) with bootstrapped samples (5000). The results reveal that the relationship between guilt and generosity is moderated by both commonality and empathic concern.

Figure 15: Impact of guilt feelings (Study 1)



4.4.2 Discussion

This first study highlights the role of charitable giving as a way to redeem ourselves from recent negative behaviors. The positive impact of guilt feelings resulting from past deeds on generosity appears to depend on two factors: people's empathic concern and the perceived proximity with the victims. While Basil et al. (2008) showed that immediate empathic feelings were antecedents of guilt, our results suggest that individual tendencies to feel empathy moderate the influence of guilt feelings. Then, the positive impact of guilt on generosity would also be stronger when the perceived proximity with beneficiaries is higher. As pointed by Basil et al. (2006), responsibility is key in the decision-making process of charitable giving. This interactional effect would therefore be explained by the fact that people feel more responsible for geographically and culturally close people than for more distant ones (Audet, 2017).

4.5 Study 2

In a second study, we evaluated how positive feelings that one can derive from past good deeds impact generosity and how this causal relation depends on empathic concern and commonality. As in the first study, participants were invited to participate in an online survey about viewing habits and television programs. To elicit positive feelings, participants were given some time to write the description of a recent good thing they did for someone (*writing task* vs. *no writing task*). The methodology was inspired by the recent work from Sachdeva et al. (2009). A manipulation check was made to ensure differences in positive feelings (F = 158.63; p = 0.000).

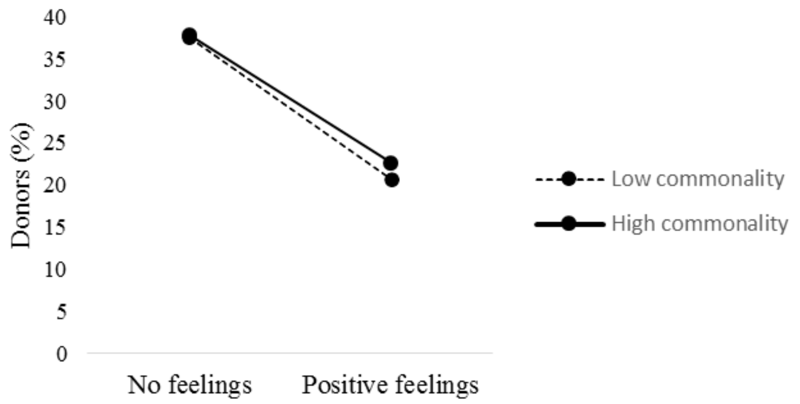
After completing the questionnaire, participants were financially rewarded for their participation and given the opportunity to keep or to donate the endowment. The manipulation of commonality was identical to *Study 1*. People had the opportunity to either donate to a fictional charity operating in a country of the former Soviet bloc (*low commonality*) or in the country of the participants (*high commonality*). Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (*no task* vs. *writing task*) x 2 (*low* vs. *high commonality*) between-subjects experimental design. Participants had the opportunity to either donate or keep the full endowment and the dependent variable in our different analysis was therefore binomial (0 = no donation; 1 = donation). The questionnaire was administrated online and a total of 134 valid questionnaires were collected (55.97% female, M_{age} = 22.83; st.dev = 1.35).

4.5.1 Results

The results of *study 2* are depicted in Figure 18 and indicate the percentage of participants who donated in each condition. We performed a logistic regression on the decision to donate with three independent variables: positive feelings (not elicited = 0; elicited = 1), the level of empathic concern (*mean = 3,14; st.dev = 0,77; min = 1; max = 5*) and the level of commonality (0 = low; 1 = high), testing for main effects and interactional effects. The presence of positive feelings appears to reduce generosity (*ß* = -0,77; *p* = 0,05). However, results show no significant interaction between positive feelings and the level of empathic concern (see Figure 16). The interaction between positive feelings and commonality also appears non-significant (see Figure 17).

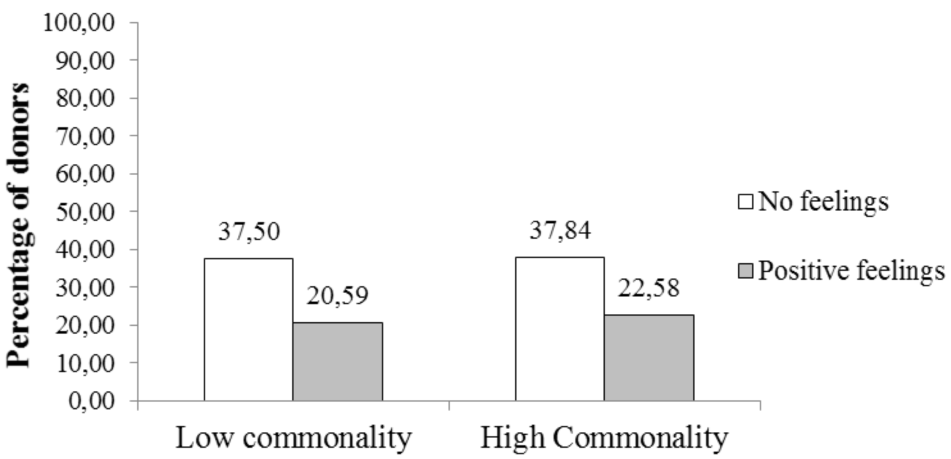
Figure 16: Interaction effect between positive feelings and empathic concerns

Figure 17: Interaction effect between positive feelings and commonality



While these results support the general hypothesis on the negative effect of positive feelings (*H_{2A}*) hypotheses on the interaction effects (*H_{2B}*, *H_{2C}*) are not supported.

Figure 18: Impact of positive feelings (Study 2)



4.5.2 Discussion

This second study supports the hypothesis that positive feelings from past deeds reduce generosity. Building on the moral self-licensing effect (Merritt et al., 2010), results suggest that a recent positive behavior leads people to feel temporarily exempted from doing good. To explain the absence of interaction effect with empathic concern and commonality, we propose that the good feelings derived from a prior good behavior lead participants to not consider giving at all. In other words, as soon as the moral self-concept is reinforced (Sachdeva et al., 2009), participants would not give much consideration to the opportunity to give. Therefore, neither the proximity with the beneficiaries nor individuals' empathic tendencies would interfere since charitable giving is no longer a considered option.

4.6 Study 3

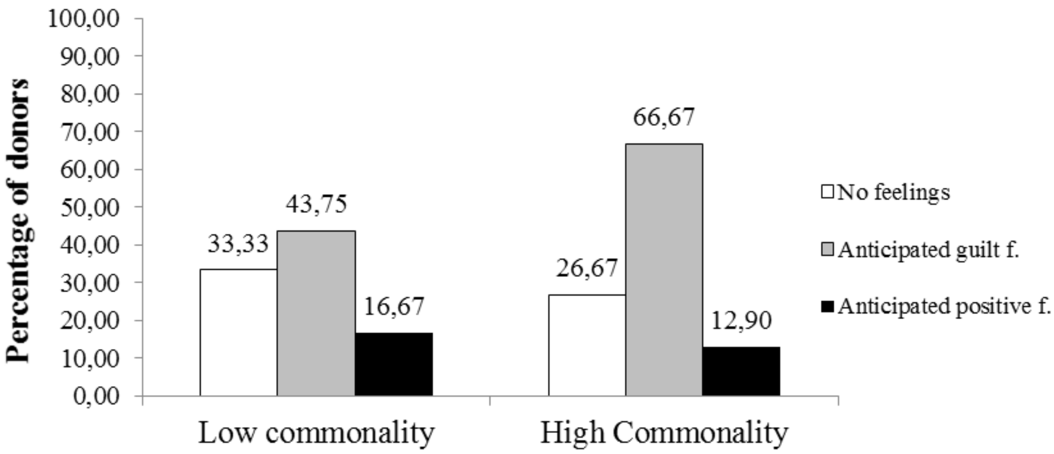
Study 1 and Study 2 provide relevant insights on how charitable giving is used for moral self-regulation. Going one step further, it would be interesting to determine the role of generosity as a mean to balance anticipated behaviors. Previous studies have already shown that anticipated emotions can lead to behavioral responses (Bakker, Buunk & Manstead, 1997; Lindsey, 2005). For example, people anticipating guilt when considering inaction or improper action would be more likely to adopt the prescribed behavior to anticipate moral imbalance (Lindsey et al., 2007). More recently, Renner et al. (2013) suggested that anticipated feelings could sometimes be more effective in generating charitable donations. In this third study, we therefore test whether the results from Study 1 and Study 2 can be replicated when dealing with anticipated feelings. To elicit the anticipated feelings, participants were given some time to write a description of a behavior they were likely to adopt in a near future and in which they would do something (positive or negative) about someone important to them. A manipulation check was made to ensure differences in guilt feelings (F=48.01; $p=0.00$) and positive feelings (F=25.4; $p=0.00$). After completing the questionnaire, participants were financially rewarded for their participation and given the opportunity to keep or to donate the endowment. The manipulation of commonality was identical to the previous studies. People had the opportunity to either donate to a fictional charity operating in a country of the former Soviet bloc (*low commonality*) or in the country of the participants (*high commonality*). Participants were randomly assigned to a 3 (*no task* vs. *negative writing task* vs. *positive writing task*) x 2 (*low* vs. *high commonality*) between-subjects experimental design. As in previous studies, participants had the opportunity to either donate or keep the full endowment and the dependent variable in our different analysis was therefore binomial (0 = no donation; 1 = donation). The questionnaire was administrated online and a total of 183 valid questionnaires were collected (54.1% female, M_{age} = 21.05, st.dev = 1.37).

4.6.1 Results

The goal of Study 3 was to determine the extent to which results from the first two studies could be generalized to the case of anticipated feelings. The general results of this third study are depicted in Figure 19 and indicate the percentage of participants who donated in each condition. We first focus on the impact of anticipated guilt feelings. To do so, we performed a logistic regression on the decision to donate with three independent variables: anticipated guilt feelings (not elicited = 0; elicited = 1), the level of empathic concern (*mean = 3,15; st.dev = 0,64; min = 1; max = 5*) and the level of commonality (0 = low; 1 = high), testing for main effects and interactional effects. As for guilt feelings resulting from past deeds, anticipated guilt feelings appear to positively impact generosity ($ß = 1{,}03$ $p < 0{,}01$). As in our first study, the results show a significant interaction between the level of empathic concern and the elicitation of guilt feelings ($ß = 2{,}18$; $p < 0{,}05$). A floodlight analysis (Spiller et al., 2013) showed that the effect of the manipulation becomes significant at a score of 2.99 for the level of empathic concern. The results also indicate a weakly significant interaction between the level of commonality and the elicitation of guilt feelings ($ß = 1{,}66$; $p = 0{,}057$). To confirm the nature of these interaction effects, additional analyses were conducted through Preacher and Hayes' (2008) macro (*model 2*) with bootstrapped samples (5000). The results reveal that the relationship between anticipated guilt feelings and generosity is indeed moderated by both commonality and empathic concern.

Then, we considered the impact of anticipated positive feelings and performed a logistic regression on the decision to donate with three independent variables: positive feelings (not elicited =0; elicited = 1), the level of empathic concern (*mean = 3,15; st.dev = 0,73; min = 1; max = 5*) and the level of commonality (0 = low; 1 = high), testing for main effects and interactional effects. The presence of anticipated positive feelings appears to reduce generosity ($ß = -0{,}91$; $p < 0{,}05$). As in Study 2, we found no significant interaction between positive feelings and the level of empathic concern. The interaction between positive feelings and commonality also appears non-significant.

Figure 19: Impact of anticipated feelings (Study 3)



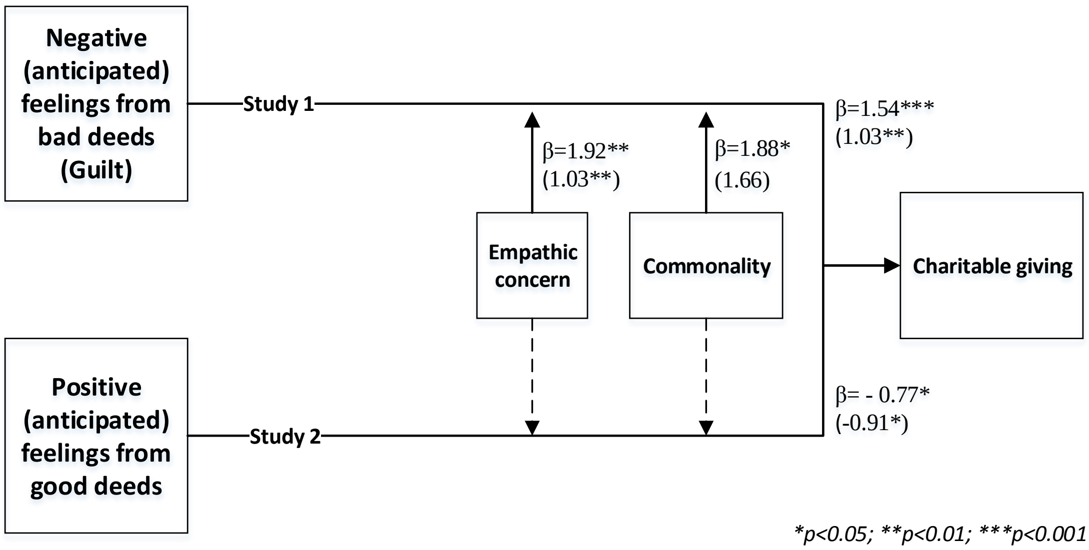
4.6.2 Discussion

This third study provides interesting findings as it generalizes our previous conclusion to the case of anticipated behaviors. Our results support the hypothesis that charitable giving can be used to anticipate moral imbalance. Nuancing prior proposal by Renner et al. (2013), this final study suggests that anticipated feelings can also be effective in generating a behavioral response. The interaction effects of empathic concern and commonality appear both verified in the case of anticipated guilt feelings, which reinforces our initial hypotheses and contribute to the debate on the impact of guilt on prosocial behaviors (Olthof, 2012; Antonetti & Baines, 2015). As in Study 2, no interaction effect was found on the relationship between (anticipated) positive feelings and generosity. Its seems that the anticipation of a good deed is enough to improve the moral balance and therefore to experience the self-licensing effect (Sachdeva et al., 2009).

4.7 General discussion

This research provides relevant findings to support the role of charitable giving to regulate moral balance. Investigating negative and positive feelings that one can derive from personal deeds, our results suggest opposite effects on charitable donations (see Figure 20).

Figure 20: General results



First, we show that guilt feelings resulting from recent bad behaviors have a positive impact on generosity. As suggested by De Hooge et al. (2007), people would engage in others-oriented behaviors to redeem themselves and therefore solve the unpleasant feeling associated with guilt. Contributing to a better understanding of the role of guilt, we suggest that this positive effect is moderated by both personal empathic tendencies and the perceived distance with the beneficiaries. Building upon the work of Lindsey et al (2007), we show that the positive effect of guilt on generosity appears stronger among people with higher predispositions for empathic feelings. As suggested by Audet (2017), a lack of cultural, social or geographical proximity with the beneficiaries would limit people's likelihood to donate. Going one step further, we identify the moderating nature of this effect on the relationship between guilt and generosity. In our different studies, when the perceived proximity with the beneficiaries is higher, guilt feelings always lead to more charitable donations. At the other end of the emotional spectrum, this research also sheds light on the negative effect of positive feelings on generous behaviors. Recent positive behaviors would indeed provide confidence and lead people to feel temporarily exempted from doing good (Merritt et al., 2010). Furthermore, this negative effect does seem to be impacted by emotional sensitivity nor by the perceived proximity with beneficiaries. As suggested by Sachdeva et al. (2009), people monitor their moral self-concept using cleansing behaviors when necessary. A reinforced moral identity would therefore lead people to feel exempted to do good or in some cases to feel licensed to act immorally. In such circumstances, predisposition for empathy or proximity with the victims would not interfere since most people would not consider giving to charity as an option.

Finally, our findings on the influence of emotions appear equally valid in the case of anticipated behaviors. Just as the perspective of an immoral behavior in a near future appears to increase donations, the anticipation of good deeds would reduce their likelihood to donate. Answering the call from Renner et al. (2013) who worked on blood donations, we contribute to a generalization of the effect of anticipated feelings by investigating the context of monetary donations. In that respect, we provide additional insights by identifying the moderating effects of personal empathic tendencies and commonality. General findings are summarized in Table 8.

Table 8: Impact of past behaviors on generosity (general findings)

	Main effect	Inter. effect		Main effect	Inter. effect
Negative behavior	*Positive (β=1.54***)*	*Emp. Concern (β=1.92**) Commonality (β=1.88*)*	Anticipated	*Positive (β=1.03**)*	*Emp. Concern (β=1.03**)*
Positive behavior	*Negative (β=-0.77*)*	*N.A*	Anticipated	*Negative (β=-0.91*)*	*N.A*

4.8 Conclusion

This research contributes to a better understanding of the role of charitable giving for moral self-regulation. Although the positive (negative) impact of negative (positive) past behaviors on prosocial tendencies had already been suggested in prior studies (Sachdeva et al., 2009; Renner et al., 2013), we clarify the debate by identifying the conditions under which such effects take place. Then, we also extend these findings to the case of anticipated actions. Furthermore, we show that a relationship between the origin of the emotion and the promoted charitable cause is not crucial. From a managerial perspective, this finding is key as it broadens the scope of action for charities.

However, there are limitations to the results of our study, each of which is an avenue for future research. Although the design of our experiments aimed at providing natural settings for participants, the ecological validity of this research remains limited. Laboratory experiments have become very popular to study prosocial behaviors, but very little has been done to examine whether these methods tell us anything about people’s behavior in the real world (Gurven & Winking, 2008). Then, we investigated the immediate causal effect of feelings resulting from recent deeds on generosity but one can wonder whether these effects persist in the medium and long term. We therefore encourage scholars to undertake research in that direction. Finally, although our findings on anticipated behaviors shed some light on the issue, we did not consider the effect of charitable giving on feelings. In that respect, it would make sense to investigate whether donations alleviate feelings of guilt and whether not donating reduces positive feelings.

Chapter 5: General conclusion

In this final chapter, we review the initial objectives of this doctoral dissertation and how the four essays presented in the previous chapters aim at addressing these objectives. For each paper, we discuss the findings and present the theoretical and managerial contributions. We finally adopt a critical perspective, pointing out the limits of this doctoral research and suggesting avenues for future research.

5.1 General overview of the project

Through three major research priorities, the goal of this doctoral project is to provide a better understanding of charitable giving. First, this research aims to be contextualized to integrate the environmental, the economic and the institutional specificities that may impact donating behaviors. The second major objective of this project is to integrate the dynamic nature of charitable giving since the motivational dynamic was largely overlooked in the literature. Finally, this doctoral dissertation aims at conciliating what the different motivations of generosity. Through the use of various qualitative and quantitative methodologies, each of our four papers contributes to at least one of these research objectives.

Our first essay adopts an exploratory approach of the Belgian nonprofit sector through a quantitative analysis of longitudinal data. Evaluating the influence of environmental factors on charitable behaviors, this research provides a reliable assessment of the Belgian generosity and of its evolution over the last decade. From a broader perspective, this first phase provides a clear picture of the research context within which this doctoral project takes place. Assessing generosity on the long run, this research qualifies the influence of punctual events on people’s charitable behavior. Although massive calls for funds for disastrous events lead to significant increases of donations in the short term, the next year always suffers from a comparable decrease of generosity. On a more individual perspective, this research provides interesting findings on the role of age and household composition, underlining their non-continuous impact.

Based on an interpretive qualitative approach, the second step of this doctoral project adopts a more individual perspective, focusing on the motivational dynamic of charitable giving. This research conciliates the altruistic predispositions to help with the more egoistic determinants of charitable giving. We shed light on the respective role and importance of both dimensions of this form of prosocial behavior. Emerging from data analysis and interpretation, we conceptualize the evolution of charitable giving and show that even though the behavior is initially spontaneous and uninterested, it becomes gradually driven by personal interest.

Our third essay focuses more deeply on the social dimension of charitable giving and how the social consequences of such a prosocial behavior can interfere with other motivations to donate. Through a series of online experiments, we highlight the different impacts that social rewards can have on generosity, depending on the need for peers' approval. We show that whereas public rewards can boost generosity among people with a high need for other's approval, they have the opposite effect among people with a lower need for approval. We suggest that for this second group of people, social rewards conflict with more intrinsic motivations to donate.

Our final essay considers the role of charitable donations for moral self-regulation. A series of experiments is conducted to compare the effect of negative feelings resulting from bad deeds and positive feelings resulting from good behaviors. We show that, depending on people's tendency to get emotional, negative feelings lead people to redeem themselves by doing something good whereas positive feelings exempt people from donating. In Table 9, we propose a general overview of the project by summarizing, for each paper, the research objectives, the methodology and the major findings.

Table 9: Project summary

	Research objectives	Methodology	Key findings
Essay 1: Segmenting the Belgian charitable sector: The impact of environmental factors on households' generosity	• Reliable and complete vision of the Belgian nonprofit sector • Evolution of generosity over a long period • Assessment of the influence of environmental factors and public policies	• Database analysis • Longitudinal data	• Massive calls for funds lead to peaks of donations in the short term but are systematically offset by comparable decreases of generosity during the next period. • People's lifecycle emerges as a better indicator of generosity than (isolated) demographic variables.
Essay 2: From first donations to repeated behaviors: The increasing role of personal benefits	• Conciliation of *altruistic* tendencies and *egoistic* determinants in the decision-making process • Investigation of the motivational dynamic of charitable giving	• In-depth semi-structured interviews • Grounded theory approach	• Whereas the first donation is often spontaneous, charitable giving appears increasingly thoughtful and interested. • Donors' implication increases over time and the meaning associated with donating evolves accordingly.

	Research objectives	Methodology	Key findings
Essay 3: When social recognition inhibits prosocial behaviors: The case of charitable giving	• Understanding of the impact of social recognition on charitable donations • Test of moderating effect of people's need for social approval	• Online experiments	• Depending on whether people's need for approval is high or low, imposing social rewards can have opposite effects on generosity. • To keep the rewards optional can prevent the negative effect among people with a low need for approval.
Essay 4: I misbehaved so I give, I did good so I do not: Charitable giving to regulate moral balance	• Identification of the conditions under which guilt feelings lead to more generosity • Investigation of the self-licensing effect of good deeds	• Online experiments	• Negative (positive) feelings resulting from past bad (good) deeds lead people to redeem themselves (derive confidence) and to donate more (less). • Empathic concern and perceived proximity moderate the relationship between negative feelings and generosity. • Negative effect of good deeds does not depend on empathic concern nor commonality.

5.2 Theoretical contributions

This doctoral dissertation proposes a multilevel analysis of charitable giving and of its underlying decision-making process. Our work contributes to different debates in the prosocial, charitable giving and marketing literatures. This project investigates the evolution of the behavior and of its underlying motivations, the interactions between altruistic tendencies and self-interested determinants as well as the role of emotions in the process of charitable donations. In the present section, we further detail the major theoretical contributions of our research.

5.2.1 A macro perspective of charitable giving

Still largely overlooked in the literature despite recent calls for more contextualized research (Bajde, 2012; Le Gall-Ely, 2013; Einolf, 2017), the influence of the social, economic and institutional contexts is the first issue addressed in this doctoral project. By focusing on the evolution of charitable donations among an entire population during almost a decade, we were able to identify the influence of environmental factors such as natural disasters, economic crises or tax policies. First, we highlight the two-phased effect of calls for funds from organizations. In the literature on charitable giving, the impact of natural disasters has always been studied in the short term and research has mostly focused on the best way to take advantage of a tragic event to raise funds (Eckel, Grossman & Milano, 2007; Martin, 2013). In that respect, our research contributes to the literature by also investigating the aftereffects on a longer period and by highlighting the counter-effect of these peaks of generosity.

Then, we also looked at the individual level when we considered the influence of demographic variables on households' decision to donate to charity. In the literature, older generations are generally regarded as more willing to adopt prosocial behaviors for several reasons (Lennon & Eisenberg, 1987; Shelley & Polonsky, 2002). Our findings qualify this positive and continuous effect of the variable, identifying a decrease in generosity among the oldest segments. Similarly, we also qualify the negative influence of dependent children (Andreoni et al., 2003). To explain the generosity of larger families, we identify the potential influence of religious beliefs (Ranganathan & Henley, 2008).

5.2.2 A dynamic perspective of charitable giving

Although the evolution of motivations has been stressed in related contexts of prosocial behaviors (Pagès et al., 2017; Ryan & Deci, 2017), research on charitable giving still tends to adopt a static vision of the decision-making process and of its underlying determinants. By focusing on how the initial decision to donate turns to a repeated behavior on the long term, this dissertation provides key findings on the evolution of the underlying motivations to donate.

First, we contribute to the literature on charitable giving by highlighting the spontaneous nature of a first donation. We underline the predisposition of some individuals to positively react to a first solicitation. Contributing to the discussion on the role of personal values in the context of prosocial behaviors (Grønhøj & Thøgersen, 2009; Eisenberg, Reykowski & Staub, 2016), we apply the model of Engel et al. (2005) to the case of charitable giving. In that respect, we identify the role of both personal experiences and generational specificities (e.g. religious beliefs) on the internalization of prosocial values.

Then, we contribute to a better understanding of the involvement of the donor in the charitable giving process. As highlighted in our second essay, this implication tends to be correlated with the repetition and the self-interested dimension of the behavior. This contribution is all the more important given the limited consideration given to involvement in the context of prosocial behaviors. So far, research has mostly considered involvement as a potential predictor of generosity (Dou, Zhang & Su, 2014; Lucke & Heinze, 2015), and not as a dependent variable. In the same vein, this project also provides fruitful insights on the meaning that a donor gives to his/her act of generosity, and on how this meaning evolves over time. Answering the call from Bajde (2012) on a better understanding of the mental representation of charitable giving from donors, we underline the increasing role that charitable generosity takes to express personal values.

More generally, this doctoral dissertation underlines the evolution of charitable giving from a spontaneous and disinterested decision to a more cognitive, motivated and thoughtful behavior. By conceptualizing the evolution of the behavior, this doctoral project responds to the challenge pointed by Le Gall-Ely (2013) and to which researchers are generally exposed when working on prosocial behaviors. As the author pointed out, either the perspective is too global and barely applicable, or it becomes too specific and lacks of generalizable contributions. Although we focus on the case of charitable donations, our contributions go beyond the scope of charitable giving as they can apply to other forms of prosocial behaviors.

5.2.3 An integrative perspective of charitable giving

The self-interested dimension of charitable giving is now unanimously acknowledged in the literature (Andreoni et al., 2017). However, to consider donations as a purely egoistic form of prosocial behavior would mean to ignore altruistic predispositions of human being (Buss, 2015). On the other hand, altruistic predispositions appear as crucial but not sufficient conditions for charitable giving to be considered as a plausible decision.

Responding to this issue, this doctoral dissertation also provides a deeper understanding on the respective importance of both self- and others-oriented determinants of prosocial behaviors. As previously explained, the role and importance of each type of motives depend, among other things, on whether the behavior is new or not for the donor. Besides, this doctoral project also provides interesting information on the interactions between the underlying motivations of charitable giving (Le Gall-Ely, 2013). Through our different essays, we contribute to a better conciliation of these two types of motives in the context of charitable giving.

Through our third and fourth papers, we show that the two forms of motives can team up to drive generosity but can also work against each other and be counterproductive. In our third paper, we contribute to a better understanding of social recognition as a form of personal benefit that one can derive from prosocial behaviors. Shedding light on its uncertain effect in the context of charitable giving (Gneezy et al., 2011), we argue that the positive effect of a public recognition sometimes conflicts with more disinterested forms of motivations such as empathic concern of personal values.

However, our final essay suggests that altruistic tendencies such as empathic concern can amplify the positive effect of personal benefits (self-image) on charitable donations. In such case, both forms of motivations work together as determinants of charitable giving.

5.2.4 Charitable giving to regulate moral balance

Our final major theoretical contribution emerges from our investigation of charitable giving as a way to maintain one's self-image and moral balance. Although the importance of the emotional dimension is now generally acknowledged in the prosocial literature, we still know very little on its influence in the context of charitable giving. So far, research on the topic has mostly focused on the best way to elicit the different emotions (Small & Verrochi, 2009). By considering feelings as independent variables, we contribute to a better understanding of their influence on charitable behaviors and we extend some of our contributions to the prosocial literature. Not only our fourth paper helps to better seize the positive (negative) impact of negative (positive) feelings resulting from daily actions, but it also provides a broader perspective of charitable giving as a way to balance moral self-image.

First, we contribute to the literature by proposing a new and more comprehensive understanding of guilt feelings (calls from: Vaish et al., 2016; Fiala & Noussair, 2017). Considering guilt as the independent variable, we revise previous assumptions on the systematic positive influence of guilt feelings on prosocial behaviors. Through the use of experimental designs, we identify personal empathic tendencies and perceived proximity with beneficiaries as moderating variables on the relationship between guilt feelings and generosity.

Then, we also shed light on the uncertain effect of feelings that one can derive from a recent good behavior and show that such positive feelings can be detrimental for generous behaviors. Building upon the work of Merritt et al. (2010) on the moral self-licensing effect, we empirically support the authors' assumption that prior prosocial actions can temporarily reduce the likelihood to engage in others-oriented behaviors.

5.3 Methodological contributions

Research on charitable giving (and to a lesser extent, on all forms of prosocial behaviors) generally faces two major methodological issues. First, researchers have to deal with what Lee and Sargeant (2011, p. 703) defined as the most common and pervasive source of bias: *social desirability*. In interviews, surveys and experiments, the need of participants to behave and/or to answer according to what is culturally appropriate and acceptable can often lead to results distortion. As already mentioned by Sudman and Bradburn (1982), participants and informants may face a conflict between their willingness to tell the truth and to behave as they are (socially or culturally) expected to.

Then, and partly due to social desirability, research has often been limited to the measurement of attitudinal constructs and behavioral intentions (Lee & Sargeant, 2011). Indeed, to provide natural settings to trigger prosocial behaviors is a constant challenge for researchers (Xu et al., 2014). The case of charitable giving is even more difficult as it involves a financial contribution from the participants.

These two major methodological issues have led us to cautiously build the different methodological designs mobilized throughout this doctoral project. First, the investigation of generosity and its evolution over time in Belgium is based on actual behaviors. In addition, the very nature of the data enables us to ensure the absence of social desirability. The two methodological issues were also considered for the in-depth interviews conducted in our second essay. Since the research objective of this second phase was the understanding of the behavior rather than its anticipation, we *a priori* limited the issue related to whether we consider behavioral intentions or behaviors. All our informants were donors, and our analysis was therefore based on actual behaviors. Then, although we cannot totally ignore the limits resulting from declarative behaviors, the convergence of the statements reinforces our assumption that social desirability did not affect much our analysis. Finally, the design of the different experiments in the third and fourth essays also aimed at coping with both issues. All questionnaires were anonymous and conducted online to limit the risks of deceptive behaviors that would be the result of social desirability. Furthermore, we systematically considered charitable giving as the dependent variable in our different studies.

Beside these two major concerns, the different research questions raised in our experimental papers led us to explore methodological approaches and contexts that are not often investigated in the prosocial literature. Answering the call for more research on prosocial behaviors in online contexts (Chell & Mortimer, 2014; Lin & Huang, 2017), the experiments that we conducted on Facebook provide fruitful insights on social networks as a field of investigation for charitable giving.

Furthermore, we mobilized methodologies that are not often adopted to study charitable giving. Avoiding methodological issues related to the use of emotion-based appeals (Cotte et al., 2005), we successfully adapted writing tasks to elicit feelings in the context of charitable donations (Sachdeva et al., 2009; Xu et al., 2014).

Finally, the complementarity of the different perspectives adopted and of their underlying methodologies ensures some data triangulation that reinforces our findings (Caracelli & Greene, 1993). Through this mixed-methodological approach, we present different facets of charitable giving and provide a better overview and understanding of the entire process.

5.4 Managerial implications

Although the overall quality and the relevance of a doctoral dissertation rely largely on its theoretical contributions, a research project in management must also provide concrete propositions for managers to improve their methods. The majority of fundraisers have never received any formal training. Consequently, most practitioners from the nonprofit sector have to learn the hard way and managerial contributions of scientific research are therefore even more crucial (Akchin, 2001). This doctoral project suggests several tracks to improve fundraising practices.

Although generosity barometers are multiplying and despite some cooperation between organizations, fundraisers rarely have a global view of people’s generosity. In that respect, the influence of environmental factors is often limited to their own donors. Through the study of a median case of Western Europe, our first essay provides an overview of the charitable sector and of its recent evolution. Among other things, we warn fundraising managers against the medium-term influence of massive calls for public generosity. Whereas their immediate positive effect is undeniable, these calls systematically lead to comparable decreases of donations during the next year. Charitable organizations must therefore be aware that these peaks of generosity are merely an advance on future donations.

Through the four essays, this dissertation insists on the evolving nature of charitable giving. Due to a severe lack of businesslike methods over the last years, organizations still tend to consider donors as a homogeneous population. Whereas segmenting donors is still an underdeveloped practice in nonprofit organizations (Sargeant & Jay, 2014), we therefore encourage fundraisers to engage in further efforts in that direction. First, we advocate for more segmentation based on donors' lifecycle rather than bare demographic variables. As we demonstrated, age or gender are not infallible predictors of generosity and our results suggest that family lifecycle would better help fundraising executives to identify profitable segments. Similarly, fundraisers should also consider adapting communication content based on loyalty. As we underlined in our second essay, implication and motivations strongly differ between new and long-term donors. Whereas they rather tend to differentiate their donors based on their generosity, practitioners should extend their perspective by integrating donors' longevity since their involvement and attitude toward the organization may increase accordingly. Emotion-based appeals have known a growing success in recent years and fundraising managers seem to increasingly favor such methods over informative content. However, our findings suggest that fundraisers should also work on donors' involvement to turn punctual donations to long-term behaviors.

Then, this doctoral dissertation also identifies the opportunities that Facebook can provide in terms of fundraising. Some authors have recently focused on the implications of social networks in the context of charitable giving but organizations often limit themselves to informative content on pages and online communities (Nah & Saxton, 2013). Whereas motivations noticeably differ between off- and online contexts, social networks provide much more affordable opportunities to target large audiences and to initiate viral processes (Saxton & Wang, 2014). Our third essay provides a concrete application of the use of extrinsic rewards to attract donors and identifies the dangers associated with public "*thank you*" messages. Illustrated by the success of the

ALS Ice Bucket Challenge, by the more recent ALS Pepper Challenge (both promoting the amyotrophic lateral sclerosis) or by the popular Swedish concept of *plogging* (picking up garbage while jogging), social networks offer to people the opportunity to publicly brag about prosocial behaviors under the guise of promoting good behaviors. We strongly encourage charitable organizations to invest significantly in that direction.

Emotions are increasingly mobilized for fundraising campaigns (Basil et al., 2008; Le Gall-Ely, 2013). By identifying the conditions under which negative and positive feelings lead to charitable donations, our last paper contributes to the optimization of such fundraising campaigns. Our research shows that a relationship between the feelings and the promoted cause is not crucial, which strongly broadens the scope of actions for fundraising managers. For instance, organizations do not have to make people feel guilty about the issue itself since guilt feelings, regardless of their origins, are enough to elicit donations.

5.5 Limits of the project

Despite our continuous efforts to provide a multilevel perspective of charitable giving and to extend our contributions to the broader case of prosocial behaviors, this doctoral research is not without limitations.

First, although our first two essays consider the evolution of the charitable behavior over time, our consideration for a longitudinal perspective remains limited. Consequently, this project fails at exploring the evolution of charitable giving based on real-time changes at an individual level. Although we explored the evolution of motivations in our second essay, we did not investigate how the impact of these motivations can evolve over time. As pointed out by Gneezy et al. (2011) the impact of motivations on charitable giving can be different on the short and the long term. However, this aspect was barely taken into account in our different studies.

Then, multiple variables were identified in our qualitative study as key determinants or moderators of generosity. However, some of these variables were not considered in the subsequent steps of our project. For instance, although we mentioned the role and evolution of donors' involvement in our qualitative study, the variable was not included in our empirical studies. As pointed out by Sargeant and Woodliffe (2007[b]), donors' involvement is key to build loyalty but the variable is still largely overlooked in the literature.

Furthermore, to better understand what drives people to engage in such a form of prosocial behavior, we solely focused on the triggers of first charitable donations and on the reasons why they can turn into a sustainable behavior. However, several authors have underlined the importance of understanding why people stop donating (Sargeant, 2001; Germain et al., 2007). The nature of our research questions has consequently led to neglect the barriers to give to charity and the factors that would lead people to stop their donations. The issue remains largely underexplored in the literature and could broaden the scope of investigation in both the prosocial and charitable giving literatures.

Next, this doctoral project focuses on the variables at the early stages of the decision-making process and we therefore adopted an individual perspective. In our empirical studies, we especially focused on donors' specificities and on their influence on generosity. Consequently, we strongly neglected the influence of organizational specificities such as brand image and typicality (Michel & Rieunier, 2012). Besides, we also neglected the relation between the donor and the organization. We therefore gave little consideration to key factors of generosity such as trust (Venable et al., 2005) and the attitude towards the organization or the charitable sector (Ranganathan & Henley, 2008). In the same vein, we also dedicated little attention to the influence of the solicitation (Guéguen, Jacob & Charles-Sire, 2011) since all the financial solicitations in our different experiments adopted a similar format. It is clear that all these factors interfere within the decision-making process of generosity and should therefore be given more consideration in further research.

In this doctoral dissertation, the emphasis was put on charitable generosity as the dependent variable. In each step of our research project, we investigated the influence of personal or environmental variables on the charitable giving decision. Therefore, our project does not give enough consideration to the "*post-gift*" phase. To identify the consequences of charitable giving is key to better understand what charitable giving brings to the donor. Through the investigation of anticipated feelings, we tried to address the issue by assessing how charitable donations could be used to monitor personal feelings. However, we did not consider to what extent charitable giving actually alleviates guilt or provides good feelings to the donor.

In that respect, this project also ignores an important determinant of long term behaviors: donor satisfaction. Although the variable has been regularly mobilized for the conceptualization of charitable giving (Sargeant, 1999; Shabbir, Palihawadana & Thwaites, 2007), empirical studies on the issue have been lacking. On the other hand, donor satisfaction has generally been considered as an antecedent of charitable behavior (Naskrent & Siebelt, 2011) and very few studies have considered it as the dependent variable.

Finally, from a methodological point of view, the experiments conducted in our third and fourth papers also present some limitations. Despite all precautions, we only controlled for specific individual variables. However, and as in most experimental designs, several other (individual) variables could have impacted our results, which therefore limits the internal validity of our work. Then, although our cover stories enabled us to go beyond pure laboratory experiments, participants were not in pure natural settings. In an effort to work on actual behaviors (rather than behavioral intentions), we financially rewarded participants so that they had money to donate. The fact that this was not their own money undoubtedly limits the external validity of our results.

5.6 Suggestions for further research

Through the different theoretical contributions and through the different limits of this project, we are able to suggest several avenues for future research. In this final section, we present the major priorities for research on charitable giving.

5.6.1 To understand donor defection

This doctoral project identifies several determinants of charitable donations and that, for the different phases of the process. Furthermore, we also provide a more integrative perspective by identifying the respective role of altruistic tendencies and self-interested motives. However, our investigation is limited to the different mechanisms that drive people to engage in charitable behaviors. Therefore, we first strongly encourage researchers to further explore *donor defection*. In the literature, very few studies have investigated the phenomenon (for an exception: Sargeant, 2001) and we still know little about the reasons that could drive a donor to stop donating. Although some authors have considered the issue over the last decade, they systematically focused on loyalty and how to keep donors loyal (O'Reilly et al., 2012). To identify and understand the mechanisms that can drive people to change their behavior is essential because it would provide information on the dangers of some practices. Additionally, it would also provide relevant insight to understand how donor satisfaction evolves over long period of time.

To address this issue, qualitative studies would be relevant to provide a better understanding of the mechanisms that can lead people to give up donating. In-depth interviews could be conducted among former donors to discuss the reasons that drove them to stop donating. Experiments could be subsequently conducted to further investigate the influence of specific variables on the decision to stop giving.

5.6.2 To explore the consequences of donations

Our research also makes us reflect on the consequences of generosity at an individual level. In the literature, charitable giving is in most cases the output variable and little or no research focuses on its impact on donors. However, to understand the effects of donations on individual variables is essential to comprehend what the act of giving brings to the donor. In that respect, we still know little about donor satisfaction (Shabbir et al., 2007), not only towards the organization or its results, but also toward the act of giving itself.

Similarly, whereas we provide food for thoughts on the role of positive and negative feelings, we strongly encourage researchers to further investigate the consequences on charitable giving on these feelings. For instance, although the influence of guilt on prosocial behaviors is subject to a renewed interest in the literature (Drummond et al., 2017), no research has yet investigated to what extent engaging in prosocial behaviors such as charitable giving alleviates feelings of guilt.

Experiments within which participants donate in the early steps of the study could be conducted to subsequently assess the influence of the behavior on individual variables. For instance, participants could be told that their participation to the survey leads to a donation to a charitable organization.

5.6.3 To investigate the fundraising side

To understand how to do fundraising is just as important as to understand why people decide to donate. Consequently, there is a whole body of literature on how to appeal to public generosity and on the success or failure of several fundraising techniques. Interestingly, few studies have considered the fundraisers' perspective, even though they stand at the front of the nonprofit sector. Indeed, the interest for fundraisers in the literature on charitable giving is limited, and we know almost nothing about them. The majority of fundraising managers have never received any formal marketing training. In Belgium, no official training is proposed to become a fundraiser. Consequently, most practitioners from the nonprofit sector have to learn the hard way (Akchin, 2001) and have troubles to adopt a global marketing approach.

These fundraising managers currently face major challenges in the charitable sector. In these times of fierce competition, charities are increasingly concerned by an effective management of their external image and dedicate increasing efforts for a global marketing orientation (Bennett and Sargeant, 2005). However, dealing with such concerns is made difficult by preconceived ideas that businesslike methods remain inappropriate and by recent scandals in the sector (Davidson & Faria, 2017). Therefore, a change in mentality is crucial both inside and outside the organization to stop restricting the professionalization of the nonprofit sector

Given this critical issue, we urge researchers to further investigate organizational processes that could be implemented within charities. Research on the role of the organization in the context of charitable giving has often been limited to brand image, personality or typicality but little knowledge is available on the influence of organizational management specificities. The field of charitable giving has always been at the crossroads of various literatures from which it has often beneficiated. In this case, previous work on organizational mechanics could also contribute to the field (Abbas, Hayat & Nisar, 2017).

Appendices

Note on Appendix 3 and Appendix 4 : The original scales for the Need for Social Approval from Martin (1984) and for empathic concern and perspective-taking from Davis (1980) were both translated into French using blind back-translation. As McDermott and Palchanes (1994; p. 114) explained, one bilingual person is asked to translate from the source to the target language and then another bilingual person takes the translated version and back-translates. The researcher must then verifies whether this back-translation is equivalent to the initial version.

Appendix 1: Multivariate model of generosity

	Beta	t	Sig.
Constant		-8.156	.000
Income (K €)			
5-10	.396	3.344	.001
10-15	.080	.365	.716
15-20	.184	1.258	.209
20-25	.008	.064	.949
25-30	-.018	-.198	.843
30-35	-.005	-.066	.948
35-40	-.069	-1.062	.289
40-45	.028	.450	.653
45-50	.012	.166	.868
50-55	.129	1.926	.055
55-60	.087	1.185	.237
60-65	-.129	-1.784	.075
65-70	.065	.807	.420
70-75	-.082	-1.009	.314
75-80	-.051	-.665	.507
80-85	-.121	-1.397	.164
85-90	-.098	-1.110	.268
90-95	-.002	-.030	.976
95-100	-.132	-1.498	.135
>100	.917	3.731	.000
Age (years)			
40-49	.639	3.869	.000
50-59	.160	2.620	.009
60-69	-.244	-3.675	.000
>70	.800	6.088	.000
House comp. (dep. children)			
1	-.195	-3.781	.000
2	-.019	-.179	.858
3	.177	1.949	.052
>3	.042	594	.553
Year	.791	8.556	.000

Appendix 2: Codes and categories

Codes	# interviews	# total	Sub-categories	Categories
Delegation of a problem	8	10	Elaborated	Meaning associated with giving
Way to repair injustice	11	13		
Contribution to something bigger	5	5		
Just the normal thing to do	3	3	Natural	
Emotional sensitivity	7	8	Vision of the world	System of values
Feeling of responsibility	15	21		
Personal experience	16	19	Educational process	
Religious education	21	24		
Family education	17	22		
Institutional education	7	11		
Education by peers	6	8		
Mood	4	6	Situational	Triggers
Time resources	21	29		
Financial resources	6	6		
Solicitor	7	12		
Media coverage	4	4	Punctual	
Level of (over) solicitation	18	24		
Punctual events	21	30		
Punctual donations	35	43	Regularity	Charitable behavior
Standing orders	30	36		
Longevity	19	28	Involvment	
Multi donations	21	31		
Newsletter & activity follow up	32	44		
Spontaneous	33	33	Cognitive/Emotional predominace	
Thoughtful	25	28		
Guilt feelings	27	29	Interested	Motivations
Tax benefits	33	36		
Positive feelings	40	58		
Sense of usefulness	15	19		
Empathy & Sympathy	11	14	desinterted	

Appendix 3: Measurement scale for the Need for Social Approval (Martin, 1984)

Construct	Items
Dimensions	
Conformity	(1) Depending upon the people involved, I react to the same situation in different ways
	(2) I would rather by myself than be well thought of (-)
	(4) I change my opinion (or the way I do things) in order to please someone else
	(5) In order to get along and be liked, I tend to be what people expect me to be
	(18) I am careful at parties and social gatherings for fear that I will do or say thinks that others won't like
	(20) How many friends you have depends on how nice a person you are
Internal-External control	(3) Many times I feel like just flipping a coin in order to decide what I should do
	(8) Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction that my life is taking
	(12) I seldom feel the need to make excuses or apologize for my behavior (-)
	(16) If there is any criticism or anyone says anything about me, I can take it (-)
Need for social support	(6) I find it difficult to talk about my ideas if they are contrary to group opinion
	(19) I usually do not change my position when people disagree with me (-)
	(10) I am willing to argue only if I know that my friends will back me up
Machiavellianism	(7) One should avoid doing things in public which appear to be wrong to others, even though one knows that he is right
	(14) The best way to handle people is to agree with them and tell them what they want to hear
	(17) It is wise to flatter important people
Social Cost	(9) It is better to be humble than assertive when dealing with people
	(11) If I hear that someone expresses a poor opinion of me, I do my best the next time that I see this person to make a good impression
	(13) It is not important to me that I behave "properly" in social situations (-)
	(15) It is hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged to do so

* 5-point Likert from *fully disagree* to *fully agree*

Appendix 4: Measurement scale for empathic concern and perspective-taking (Davis, 1980)

Construct	*Items
Fantasy scale	(26) When I am reading an interesting story or novel, I imagine how I would feel if the events in the story were happening to me. (5) I really get involved with the feelings of the characters in a novel. (7) I am usually objective when I watch a movie or play, and I don't often get completely caught in it. (-) (16) After seeing a play or movie, I have felt as though I were one of the characters. (1) I daydream and fantasize, with some regularity, about things that might happen to me. (12) Becoming extremely involved in a good book or movie is somewhat rare for me. (-) (23) When I watch a good movie, I can very easily put myself in the place of a leading character.
Perspective-taking	(28) Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I was in their place. (15) If I am sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments. (-) (11) I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective. (21) I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both. (3) I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other guy's" point of view. (-) (8) I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision. (25) When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his shoes" for a while.
Empathic concern	(9) When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective toward them. (18) When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them. (-) (2) I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me. (22) I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person. (4) Sometimes I don't feel sorry for other people when they are having problems. (-) (14) Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal. (-) (20) I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.
Personal distress	(27) When I see someone who badly needs help in an emergency, I go to pieces. (10) I sometimes feel helpless when I am in the middle of a very emotional situation. (6) In emergency situations, I feel apprehensive and ill-at-ease. (19) I am usually pretty effective in dealing with emergencies. (-) (17) Being in a tense emotional situation scares me. (13) When I see someone get hurt, I tend to remain calm. (-) (24) I tend to lose control during emergencies.

* 5-point Likert from *does not describe me well* to *describes me very well*

Appendix 5: Writing tasks

Original writing task (Xu, Bègue & Bushman, 2014)	
Please write down a description about an event in which you have done something negative to someone important to you. Please write down the whole story, include as many details as possible, and try to remember how it made you feel. Do not mention any name, but try to immerse yourself in the moment.	
French adaptation for [anticipated] negative feelings	**French adaptation for [anticipated] positive feelings**
Veuillez-vous remémorer une situation dans laquelle vous considérez vous être mal comporté(e) envers quelqu'un qui compte pour vous. Il peut s'agir de n'importe quel type de comportement. Dans l'encadré ci-dessous, prenez le temps de relater l'évènement le plus précisément possible en indiquant au mieux votre état d'esprit du moment. Pour rappel, ce questionnaire est anonyme est-il est donc important de ne pas indiquer votre nom ou celui d'une autre personne. [Veuillez penser à une chose précise que vous comptez réaliser dans les prochains jours et qui aura probablement des conséquences négatives pour d'autres personnes. Il peut s'agir de n'importe quel type de comportement (ex: mentir à un ami, donner une fausse excuse, refuser de donner votre aide...). Dans l'encadré ci-dessous, prenez le temps de présenter l'évènement le plus précisément possible en indiquant au mieux les raisons qui vous conduisent à agir de la sorte ainsi que votre état d'esprit. Pour rappel, ce questionnaire est anonyme, il est donc important de ne pas indiquer votre nom ou celui d'une autre personne.]	Veuillez-vous remémorer une situation dans laquelle vous considérez vous être particulièrement bien comporté(e) et dont vous êtes fier. Il peut s'agir de n'importe quel type de comportement. Dans l'encadré ci-dessous, prenez le temps de relater l'évènement le plus précisément possible en indiquant au mieux votre état d'esprit du moment. Pour rappel, ce questionnaire est anonyme est-il est donc important de ne pas indiquer votre nom ou celui d'une autre personne. [Veuillez penser à une chose précise que vous comptez réaliser dans les prochains jours et qui aura des conséquences positives pour quelqu'un d'autre. Il peut s'agir de n'importe quel type de comportement (ex: aider un ami, donner votre sang...).. Dans l'encadré ci-dessous, prenez le temps de présenter l'évènement le plus précisément possible en indiquant au mieux les raisons qui vous conduisent à agir de la sorte ainsi que votre état d'esprit. Pour rappel, ce questionnaire est anonyme, il est donc important de ne pas indiquer votre nom ou celui d'une autre personne.]
Items used for the manipulation checks to ensure differences in negative and positive feelings (adapted from Marschall, Sanftner & Tangney, 1994)*	
J'éprouve des remords, des regrets. J'éprouve de la crispation à propos de quelque chose que j'ai fait. Je n'arrête pas de penser à quelque chose de mal que j'ai fait. J'ai envie de m'excuser, de me confesser. Je me sens mal à propos de quelque chose que j'ai fait. [I feel remorse, regret.] [I feel tension about something I have done.] [I cannot stop thinking about something bad I have done.] [I feel like apologizing, confessing.] [I feel bad about something I have done]	Je me sens bien, je suis content(e) de moi. J'éprouve de la satisfaction à propos de quelque chose que j'ai fait. Je pense m'être bien comporté(e) dernièrement. Je pense m'être conduit comme quelqu'un de bien récemment. [I feel good about myself.] [I am satisfied about something I have done.] [I am proud about the way I recently behaved.] [I think that I have behaved well recently.]
* 5-point Likert de *pas du tout d'accord* à *tout à fait d'accord* [from *fully disagree* to *fully agree*]	

Appendix 6: Commonality pretest

Low commonality scenario [English translation]:

Vous voilà arrivés au terme de ce questionnaire. Pour valoriser votre participation, un montant de cinq euros sera reversé à l'organisation caritative *Help for All.* Il s'agit d'une association sans but lucratif active dans plusieurs anciens pays du bloc de l'Est, et venant en aide aux personnes vivant en dessous du seuil de pauvreté. Cette association mène des campagnes de sensibilisation aux causes de la pauvreté et soutient chaque année une centaine de projets pour venir en aide aux personnes les plus démunies afin de leur assurer un niveau de vie décent.

[You are now at the end of this questionnaire. To value your participation, an amount of five euros will be donated to the charitable organization *Help for All.* This non-for-profit association operates in several former Soviet bloc countries and provides help to people living below the poverty line. This association conducts awareness-raising campaigns on poverty issues and supports each year a hundred of projects to help to the most disadvantaged people and to provide them a decent standard of living.]

High commonality scenario [English translation]:

Vous voilà arrivés au terme de ce questionnaire. Pour valoriser votre participation, un montant de cinq euros sera reversé à l'organisation caritative *Help for All.* Il s'agit d'une association sans but lucratif qui vient notamment en aide aux Français vivant en dessous du seuil de pauvreté. Cette association mène des campagnes de sensibilisation aux causes de la pauvreté et soutient chaque année une centaine de projets pour venir en aide aux personnes les plus démunies afin de leur assurer un niveau de vie décent.

[You are now at the end of this questionnaire. To value your participation, an amount of five euros will be donated to the charitable organization *Help for All.* This non-for-profit association provides help to French citizens who live below the poverty line. This association conducts awareness-raising campaigns on poverty issues and supports each year a hundred of projects to help to the most disadvantaged people and to provide them a decent standard of living.]

Construct	Items*	Items* [English translation]
Dimensions		
Interpersonal attraction	Je n'ai aucun lien interpersonnel avec ces personnes (-)	I have no interpersonal connection with these people (-)
Social similarity	J'ai certains points communs avec ces personnes	I have several common points with these people
	Ma situation n'est pas si éloignée de la leur actuellement	My situation is not that far from their own current situation
	Je ne partage aucune similarités avec ces personnes (-)	I share no similarity with these people (-)
Communal relatedness	Je pense avoir un certain lien communautaire avec ces personnes	I think I have some communal relatedness with these people
	Ces personnes et moi possédons certaines valeurs communes	These people and I share some personal values
Fellow feelings	Je peux facilement imaginer la situation dans laquelle ils se trouvent	I can easily imagine their current situation
	J'ai un sentiment de communauté envers ces personnes	I have fellow feelings towards these people
	J'éprouve un sentiment de solidarité avec ces personnes	I have a feeling of solidarity towards these people
	Le problème de ces personnes ne me concernent pas vraiment (-)	The problems of these people does not concern me (-)

* 7-point Likert de *pas du tout d'accord* à *tout à fait d'accord* [from *fully disagree* to *fully agree*]

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