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Reports

When others cross psychological distance to help: Highlighting prosocial actions toward outgroups encourages philanthropy

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ABSTRACT

Prior research has found several factors that affect people's willingness to participate in philanthropy. In the present article, we explore whether people feel more inspired to engage in philanthropy after learning about individuals who help targets who are socially close or distant from those individuals. Specifically, we propose that when people learn about others who help socially distant (vs. close) targets, such prosocial actions will be more salient because it violates people's lay belief about distance and helping; therefore, people will be more attracted to the idea of engaging in prosocial actions after learning that prosocial actions have been directed toward socially distant (vs. close) targets. We present four experiments in support of our hypotheses.

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"People need dramatic examples to shake them out of apathy."
Bruce Wayne (Batman Begins)

In the United States and abroad, there have been recent calls by public officials for citizens to engage in more philanthropy (Scott, 2009; Watt, 2010). Such an increase in prosocial behavior is likely to result in benefits at both a personal and social level, as donating and volunteering have been linked to better health (Pillemer, Fuller-Rowell, Reid, & Wells, 2010) as well as a better economy (Ball, 2010).

Several factors affect people's willingness to participate in philanthropy (e.g., personality, resource availability; for reviews see Andreoni, 2006; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Sargeant & Woodliffe, 2007). Highlighting other individuals' prosocial actions is a particularly powerful way of encouraging more helping behavior (Croson & Shang, 2008; Fishbach et al., 2011; Goldstein & Cialdini, 2007). The media often highlights cases in which individuals engage in prosocial actions toward beneficiaries who are socially close to those individuals, such as donors who give to recipients who have the same academic affiliation (Eaton, 2011) or ethnicity (Associated Press, 2011). The media also frequently highlight cases in which individuals engage in prosocial actions toward beneficiaries who are socially distant from those individuals, such as people who sponsor foreign children (Kristof, 2009) or volunteer in foreign countries (Chen, 2009). In the present article, we examine whether people feel more inspired to help others after learning about individuals who help targets who are socially close or distant from those individuals.

Theoretical background

People are generally less willing to engage in prosocial actions toward targets who are socially distant from them (Rachlin & Jones, 2008). For example, people are less likely to help targets who are genetically unrelated to them (Kanekar, Pinto, & Nazareth, 1990) and outgroup members (Levine & Thompson, 2004). Given that people typically act more prosocially toward socially closer targets, people likely develop a lay belief that greater social distance between potential helpers and beneficiaries reduces the likelihood of help. Indirect evidence supports this claim, as people sometimes increase their physical distance, which is often taken as an indicator of social distance (Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008), from targets in order to lower their obligation to help those targets (Pancer, 1988; Pancer, McMullen, Kabatoff, Johnson, & Pond, 1979). Such increased distance signals that people are aware of the negative relationship between distance and the likelihood of behaving in a prosocial manner.

We posit that when people learn about others who help socially distant (vs. close) targets, such prosocial action will be more salient to people because such actions violate their lay belief about distance and helping. Given that people are sometimes more attracted to uncommon, unique experiences over familiar, typical experiences (Ang, Lee, & Leong, 2007; Schwarz, 1972; Stamps, 1997; Wood, 2010), we predict that people will feel more motivated or inspired to engage in prosocial behavior after learning about others who act prosocially toward socially distant (vs. close) targets. Essentially, we propose that others' prosocial actions toward socially distant targets shake people out of apathy and inspire them to help others. That is, when others engage in prosocial behavior toward socially distant (vs. close) targets, such behavior should stand out more to people because it

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violates their expectations about how others typically behave and consequently should lead people to be more attracted to the idea of engaging in prosocial behavior.

Pilot study

Before examining whether exposure to others' prosocial actions toward socially distant (vs. close) targets inspires participants to engage in more prosocial behavior, we wanted to gather evidence that such actions are likely to be more salient to people. In this study, we presented participants with situations that might elicit prosocial behavior and assessed the salience of prosocial behavior directed towards outgroup and ingroup members via measures of the perceived frequency, base rate, and typicality of such behavior.

Method

We recruited 56 individuals (35 females, $M_{age} = 36.82$, $SD_{age} = 12.58$) in the US via Amazon's Mechanical Turk system (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Paolacci, Chandler, & Ipeirotis, 2010). We presented participants with three scenarios, which we created based on real disasters.

Manipulation

We randomly told some participants that the disasters affected people in the US (ingroup) or a foreign country (outgroup). Specifically, some participants read:

Imagine that a major collapse occurred in a coalmine in the United States, leaving 33 miners trapped 2300 feet from the surface.

Imagine that a massive neighborhood fire broke out in the United States, leaving 1732 people homeless.

Imagine that an earthquake occurred in the United States, killing 317 people and injuring 4970 people.

Other participants read:

Imagine that a major collapse occurred in a coalmine overseas (e.g., in Germany or China), leaving 33 miners trapped 2300 feet from the surface.

Imagine that a massive neighborhood fire broke out overseas (e.g., in Brazil or Turkey), leaving 1732 people homeless.

Imagine that an earthquake occurred overseas (e.g., France or South Africa), killing 317 people and injuring 4970 people.

Measures

After presenting the scenarios, we asked participants how common, unusual (reverse-scored), and typical it would be for most people living in the US to pray for the mining victims, donate money to help the fire victims, and donate clothes and food to help the earthquake victims, respectively. We indexed how common each type of action seemed by averaging across items for each scenario ($\alpha_s \geq .84$); higher numbers indicated that the prosocial behavior was thought to be more common and thus less likely to stand out to participants.

Results and discussion

Participants indicated that they believed it was less common for people in the US to pray, donate money, and donate clothes and food to victims in a foreign country rather than their own country ($M = 4.85$, $SD = 1.35$, $N = 24$ vs. $M = 5.80$, $SD = 1.37$, $N = 32$, $t(54) =$

2.59 , $p = .01$, $d = .70$; $M = 4.15$, $SD = 1.00$, $N = 24$ vs. $M = 4.86$, $SD = 1.49$, $N = 32$, $t(54) = 2.02$, $p = .05$, $d = .55$; $M = 4.80$, $SD = 1.20$, $N = 23$ vs. $M = 5.64$, $SD = 1.37$, $N = 32$, $t(53) = 2.36$, $p = .02$, $d = .65$). Therefore, we feel confident that prosocial actions towards socially distant targets are generally more salient to people. Next, we begin to explore the effects of others' prosocial actions toward close vs. distant targets on participants' own prosocial behavior.

Experiment 1

We notified participants that individuals were participating in a civic program that benefited targets who were either socially close to those individuals (same nationality) or socially distant from those individuals (different nationality). We then assessed participants' willingness to volunteer their time with the program. We predicted that participants would volunteer more of their time after we highlighted how others were helping socially distant (vs. close) targets.

Method

We recruited 222 University of Texas students (131 females; $M_{age} = 20.63$, $SD_{age} = 2.30$). After participants completed an unrelated research study, we directed participants to a website that notified them of a supposedly real civic program that benefited disadvantaged children.

Manipulations

We randomly told participants that other students (i.e., helpers) were already participating in the program and manipulated the amount of social distance between these helpers and the beneficiaries (disadvantaged children). That is, we told some participants that helpers and the disadvantaged children that they were helping had the same nationality, and told other participants that helpers and disadvantaged children had different nationalities. We also explored the impact of participants' own social distance from the helpers by manipulating the amount of social distance between participants and these helpers. That is, we told some participants that helpers attended the same university as the participants, and told other participants that helpers attended a different university as the participants. Specifically, participants in the *small distance from helpers, small distance between helpers and beneficiaries condition* read:

A group of students from UT-Austin are organizing a "Schools, Mentoring and Resource Team (SMART)" program that provides middle school scholarships for disadvantaged children in Austin, Texas. The SMART program offers not only funding for education, but also social support including summer camps and high school placement assistance.

Participants in the *small distance from helpers, large distance between helpers and beneficiaries condition* read:

A group of students from UT-Austin are currently in a study abroad program in Beijing, China. These students are organizing a "Schools, Mentoring and Resource Team (SMART)" program that provides middle school scholarships for disadvantaged children in Beijing, China. The SMART program offers not only funding for education, but also social support including summer camps and high school placement assistance.

Participants in the *large distance from helpers, small distance between helpers and beneficiaries condition* read:

A group of students from Peking University in Beijing, China are organizing a "Schools, Mentoring and Resource Team (SMART)" program that provides middle school scholarships for disadvan-

taged children in Beijing, China. The SMART program offers not only funding for education, but also social support including summer camps and high school placement assistance.

Participants in the *large distance from helpers, large distance between helpers and beneficiaries condition* read:

A group of students from Peking University in Beijing, China are currently in a study abroad program in Austin, Texas. These students are organizing a “Schools, Mentoring and Resource Team (SMART)” program that provides middle school scholarships for disadvantaged children in Austin, Texas. The SMART program offers not only funding for education, but also social support including summer camps and high school placement assistance.

When the program purportedly benefited children in the US (China), we showed a picture of American (Chinese) children.

Regardless of participants' social distance from the helpers, we expected they would feel more inspired to participate when there was a large (vs. small) amount of distance between the helpers and beneficiaries. Some research suggests that people are more likely to mimic similar (vs. dissimilar) others (Guéguen & Martin, 2009). Other research suggests that people only conform more to ingroup (vs. outgroup) members when they are motivated to do so (e.g., Renkema, Stapel, & Van Yperen, 2008). Consequently, we were unsure whether participants' social distance from the helpers would impact their participation in philanthropy.

Measure

We presented participants with the opportunity of volunteering over the web. Specifically, we told participants:

The SMART program currently needs 500 volunteer hours to help manage the database to facilitate various services, like high school placement assistance. The management of the database is relatively easy (e.g., matching students' numbers and applications), and can be done remotely through the Internet. Such database management is crucial for the success of the program because it ensures appropriate resource allocation to those children in need.

Participants then indicated the number of hours they would be willing to volunteer in the following two weeks. During the debriefing, we notified participants that the volunteer opportunity was fictitious.

Results and discussion

A 2 (distance between helpers and beneficiaries: small vs. large) × 2 (distance from helpers: small vs. large) ANOVA revealed only a significant main effect of distance between helpers and beneficiaries, $F(1, 218) = 5.13, p = .03$ (see Table 1); all other $F_s < 1$. Subsequent analyses revealed significant heterogeneity of variance in the number of hours participants were willing to volunteer, Levine's $F = 3.03, p = .03$. To address this, we analyzed the data using a nonparametric test. As expected, results revealed that participants

were willing to volunteer more hours when a large rather than small amount of social distance existed between the helpers and beneficiaries, $M = 3.06, SD = 9.29$ vs. $M = .97, SD = 2.02$, Mann–Whitney $U = 5103.00, Z = 2.51, p = .01$.

Interestingly, participants' own social distance from the helpers did not moderate our results, as participants were equally motivated to volunteer more hours after learning about helpers who were engaged in prosocial actions toward targets who were socially distant (vs. close) to those helpers.

Experiment 2

We extend beyond the previous experiment in two ways. First, we wondered whether our effects would emerge even when participants lacked any shared group membership with other helpers or beneficiaries. In the current experiment, we removed all social connections to the helpers and beneficiaries by describing them both as being of a different nationality than participants. Second, we relied on a different type of philanthropy (monetary contributions) to test the generalizability of our effect. Again, we predicted that participants would be more likely to make a financial contribution after we highlighted how others were helping socially distant (vs. close) targets.

Method

We recruited 177 University of Texas students (96 females; $M_{age} = 20.57, SD_{age} = 2.33$). We used the same procedures that we used in Experiment 1, with the following modifications.

Manipulation

Participants in the *small distance between helpers and beneficiaries condition* read:

A group of students from Peking University in Beijing, China, are organizing a “Schools, Mentoring and Resource Team (SMART)” program to provide academic assistance for local disadvantaged children in Beijing, China. The students from China will assist with education (middle-school scholarships) as well as social support such as summer camps and high school placement assistance for the disadvantaged children in China.

Participants in the *large distance between helpers and beneficiaries condition* read:

A group of students from Peking University in Beijing, China, are currently in a study abroad program in Istanbul, Turkey. These students are organizing a “Schools, Mentoring and Resource Team (SMART)” program to provide academic assistance for local disadvantaged children in Istanbul, Turkey. The students from China will assist with education (middle-school scholarships) as well as social support such as summer camps and high school placement assistance for the disadvantaged children in Turkey.

When the program purportedly benefited children in China (Turkey), we showed a picture of Chinese (Turkish) children.

Table 1
Number of hours participants were willing to volunteer (Experiment 1).

Small distance from helpers		Large distance from helpers	
Small distance between helpers and beneficiaries	Large distance between helpers and beneficiaries	Small distance between helpers and beneficiaries	Large distance between helpers and beneficiaries
1.24 (2.45) $n = 51$	3.46 (5.83) $n = 56$.73 (1.50) $n = 56$	2.68 (11.71) $n = 59$

Note. SD in parentheses.

Measure

Nonprofits often build donations into purchases (Strom, 2007), and consequently we showed participants a picture of a t-shirt that had the logo for the program and told them:

The SMART program recently launched a fundraising campaign that sells t-shirts! The price is \$8 and all proceeds go to the SMART program to help disadvantaged children!

Participants then indicated whether they wanted to buy the t-shirt. If participants indicated yes, they expected that the experimenter would collect their money before she dismissed them. During the debriefing, we notified participants that we would not collect any money from them.

Results and discussion

Results revealed that participants were 1.5 times more willing to purchase a t-shirt when there was a large (vs. small) amount of social distance between the helpers and beneficiaries (see Fig. 1), ($\beta = .42$, $S.E. = .19$, $Wald = 4.86$, $p = .03$, $Odds\ Ratio = 1.52$), as 28.9% and 14.9% participants indicated that they would purchase a t-shirt in the large and small distance conditions, respectively.

The results of this experiment replicate and extend beyond the results of Experiment 1. As expected, we found participants were more willing to engage in a prosocial action after we highlighted how individuals were engaged in prosocial actions toward beneficiaries who were socially distant from those individuals. While the prosocial behavior that we examined in Experiment 1 dealt with volunteerism, the prosocial behavior in this experiment dealt with financial contributions, demonstrating the generalizability of this effect.

Experiment 3

In the current research, we posit that highlighting others who engage in prosocial actions toward socially distant (vs. close) targets will lead people to be more attracted to prosocial behavior. One limitation of the previous experiments is that we always presented participants with an opportunity to help the same targets that other helpers were already assisting. As a result, participants' greater prosocial behavior may have been driven by the fact that participants inferred that the socially distant targets who were receiving assistance were needier. This experiment was identical to the previous experiment except that the philanthropic opportunity presented to participants was unrelated to the philanthropic actions that were highlighted to them. We predicted that participants would still be more attracted to philanthropic activities (i.e., more likely to make a charitable contribution) after we highlighted how others were helping socially distant (vs. close) targets.

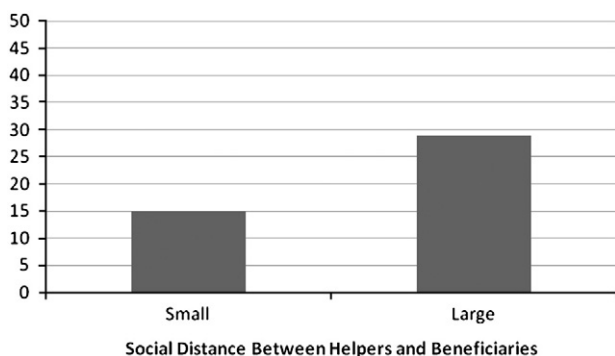


Fig. 1. Percentage who were willing to purchase a t-shirt for the fundraising campaign as function of social distance condition (Experiment 2).

Method

We recruited 227 University of Texas students (98 females; $M_{age} = 21.18$, $SD_{age} = 3.45$). We used the same procedures that we used in Experiment 2, with the following modification.

Measure

After describing the SMART program, instead of soliciting contributions for the SMART program we presented participants with a different opportunity to get involved in philanthropy. Specifically, we presented them with an abbreviated article from the Associated Press (along with a photo) that described the destructive impact of a tornado in a Midwestern city in the US.¹ We then solicited monetary donations and told participants that any money collected would assist the refugees whose homes were destroyed. If participants indicated a donation amount, they expected that the experimenter would collect their money before she dismissed them. During the debriefing, we notified participants that we would not collect any money from them.

Results and discussion

Results revealed that participants were willing to donate more money to a philanthropic cause after they learned that a large rather than small amount of social distance existed between the other helpers and beneficiaries of the unrelated cause, $M = 4.58$, $SD = 8.44$ vs. $M = 2.91$, $SD = 6.90$, $Mann-Whitney\ U = 5605.50$, $Z = 1.97$, $p = .05$. As expected, these results illustrate the increased general attraction people seem to experience toward prosocial activities once they are exposed to others who are willing to engage in prosocial behavior towards outgroup members.

Experiment 4

The main proposition in the present research is that highlighting others who engage in prosocial actions toward socially distant (vs. close) targets will be more salient to people because of how others usually behave, which presumably leads people to be more attracted or open to engaging in prosocial behavior. Researchers have long known that greater salience is linked to people's extremity in judgment (e.g., see Taylor & Fiske, 1975), and we propose that increased salience can result in increased motivation to act prosocially. However, an alternative explanation is that highlighting how others are willing to go outside of their comfort zone to assist socially distant targets reminds people of their own history of failing to help less fortunate socially distant others. This reminder might make people feel guilty and therefore motivate them to engage in prosocial actions.

The previous three experiments demonstrated that people were more likely to engage in philanthropy when they learned of others who engaged in prosocial actions toward socially distant (vs. close) targets. The present experiment was designed to examine the psychological salience mechanism that we assume underlies the effect of others' prosocial behavior on participants' own philanthropic actions. In addition, the present experiment was designed to replicate the general attraction to prosocial activities that was demonstrated in the previous experiment.

Method

We recruited 47 individuals (30 females, $M_{age} = 31.38$, $SD_{age} = 12.19$) in the US via Amazon's Mechanical Turk system (Buhrmester et al., 2011).² We used the same procedures that we used in Experiment 3, with the following modifications.

¹ See <http://homepage.psy.utexas.edu/homepage/faculty/Henderson/pdfs/article.pdf> for the article and photo.

² We excluded six participants who did not read the instructions.

Measures

After informing participants of the SMART program, we asked participants to indicate their willingness to engage in 10 specific hypothetical prosocial activities, such as volunteering at a homeless shelter and delivering meals to people who are unable to leave their home (see Table 2). We averaged across these situations to create an index of *specific prosocial intention* ($\alpha = .86$). We also asked participants “In general, to what extent do you feel inspired to do some good in the world” and “In general, to what extent do you feel a burning desire to help people in some way?” (both items on 7-scales with 1 = not at all and 7 = very much). We averaged across these items to create an index of *general prosocial intention* ($r = .83$, $p < .001$).

We also told participants that sometimes when people learn of others' prosocial behavior they feel less inclined to do good deeds because they feel reassured that others are making the world a better place, while other times people feel more inclined to do good deeds because they feel inspired to join the cause. We then asked participants to indicate how they felt after they read about the SMART program by presenting them with the following options: “felt less inclined to help after reading about how those students are helping out in the SMART program”, “felt more inclined to help after reading about how those students are helping out in the SMART program”, and “students didn't really affect me one way or the other”. We created an index of *inspired prosocial intention* by assigning participants a 1 if they felt less inclined to help, a 2 if the students didn't affect them, and a 3 if they felt more inclined to help.

We also asked participants if they felt more inclined to help others after reading about the SMART program, “to what extent was it because you felt guilty after the SMART program reminded you that you live a good life” and “to what extent was it because the students reminded you that people are out there in the world trying to help in ways that are different from what most people do?” (both items on 7-point scales with 1 = not at all and 7 = very much). We expected to find differences between our experimental conditions on only the second item, as this item allowed us to assess what role (if any) the salience of others' prosocial actions plays in participants' prosocial intentions.

Results and discussion

Results revealed that participants exhibited greater specific as well as general prosocial intentions after they learned that a large rather than small amount of social distance existed between the other helpers and beneficiaries of the unrelated cause, $M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.03$

vs. $M = 2.98$, $SD = 1.30$, $t(45) = 2.56$, $p = .01$, $d = .76$ and $M = 5.13$, $SD = .91$ vs. $M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.72$, Mann–Whitney $U = 152.50$, $Z = 2.65$, $p = .008$.

Results also revealed that participants exhibited a more inspired prosocial intention after they learned that a large rather than small amount of social distance existed between the other helpers and beneficiaries of the unrelated cause, $M = 2.61$, $SD = .50$ vs. $M = 2.21$, $SD = .51$, $t(45) = 2.72$, $p = .009$, $d = .81$. Indeed, after learning about the other helpers, the percentage of participants in the large and small social distance conditions who indicated that they were more inclined to help others was 60.9% and 25%, respectively.

Regarding the reasoning behind the differences in prosocial intention exhibited by our experimental groups, results revealed that while participants in the large (vs. small) social distance condition did not attribute their increased inclination to help people to any increased feelings of guilt, $M = 2.43$, $SD = 1.56$ vs. $M = 2.04$, $SD = 1.43$, $t(45) = .90$, $p = .37$, $d = .27$, they did attribute their increased inclination to help to the salience of the other helpers' prosocial behavior, $M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.76$ vs. $M = 2.79$, $SD = 2.04$, $t(45) = 2.17$, $p = .04$, $d = .65$. As expected, the salience of the other helpers' prosocial behavior was positively correlated with participants' specific prosocial intention ($r = .39$, $p < .01$), general prosocial intention ($r = .49$, $p < .001$), and inspired prosocial intention ($r = .65$, $p < .001$).

Tests of mediation

We used a bootstrapping method (see Shrout & Bolger, 2002) to estimate the indirect effect of the social distance between the other helpers and beneficiaries on participants' *specific* prosocial intention with the salience of the other helpers' prosocial behavior as a mediator. The basic idea of this procedure is to extract n cases with replacement from the original sample, and estimate the size of the indirect effect in the new sample. If, when using standard significant levels of $\alpha = .05$, the size of the indirect effect in at least 95% of the samples is in all cases either greater or less than 0 (as indicated by the obtained confidence intervals), the indirect effect is significant. Accordingly, using 10,000 bootstrap samples, confidence intervals that did not contain zero at the 95% level were obtained (i.e., LL CI = .0004; UL CI = .3046). Thus, the salience of the other helpers' prosocial behavior mediated the effect of the social distance between the other helpers and beneficiaries on participants' specific prosocial intention.

We used a bootstrapping method to estimate the indirect effect of the social distance between the other helpers and beneficiaries on participants' *general* prosocial intention with the salience of the other helpers' prosocial behavior as a mediator. Using 10,000 bootstrap samples, confidence intervals that did not contain zero at the 95% level

Table 2
Willingness to engage in prosocial behavior (Experiment 4).

Prosocial situation	Social distance	
	Small ($n = 24$)	Large ($n = 23$)
If you walked by a Blood Donation Center and someone asked you to donate blood, how likely would you be to do it?	3.17 (2.28)	4.39 (1.80)
If you saw an advertisement that was soliciting volunteers for one weekend to help at a homeless shelter, how likely would you be to do it?	3.21 (1.72)	3.78 (1.28)
If you had the opportunity to volunteer at a hospital 3 h a week for one month, how likely would you be to do it?	3.38 (1.79)	4.57 (1.44)
If you heard a radio station solicit volunteers to work on repairing bicycles that will be donated to charity, how likely would you be to do it?	2.46 (1.61)	3.17 (1.80)
If someone told you about an opportunity to deliver meals to people who are unable to leave their homes (meals on wheels), how likely would you be to do it?	3.38 (2.06)	4.00 (1.65)
How likely would you be to volunteer at a senior citizens' home?	3.25 (1.87)	3.65 (1.40)
How likely would you be to volunteer registering people to vote?	3.13 (1.96)	4.61 (1.67)
How likely would you be to volunteer in creating an anti-smoking campaign?	2.92 (2.10)	4.13 (1.96)
How likely would you be to give up 2 Saturdays a month for 4 months as a volunteer to get people to sign a petition in favor of tougher laws to guarantee clean drinking water?	2.71 (1.94)	3.30 (1.77)
How likely would you be shave your hair off every 3 months and donate it to cancer victims?	2.21 (1.98)	2.96 (2.25)

Note. SD in parentheses.

were obtained (i.e., LL CI = .0122; UL CI = .4090). Thus, the salience of the other helpers' prosocial behavior mediated the effect of the social distance between the other helpers and beneficiaries on participants' general prosocial intention. Finally, we used a bootstrapping method to estimate the indirect effect of the social distance between the other helpers and beneficiaries on participants' *inspired* prosocial intention with the salience of the other helpers' prosocial behavior as a mediator. Using 10,000 bootstrap samples, confidence intervals that did not contain zero at the 95% level were obtained (i.e., LL CI = .0092; UL CI = .1827). Thus, the salience of the other helpers' prosocial behavior mediated the effect of the social distance between the other helpers and beneficiaries on participants' inspired prosocial intention.

Coda

Philanthropy is a complex process that involves a convergence of a number of situational and personal factors. Psychologists are aware that salient, unexpected information tends to elicit more effortful processing of information and stronger emotional reactions (Bartholow, Fabiani, Gratton, & Bettencourt, 2001; Weierich, Wright, Negreira, Dickerson, & Barrett, 2010). Our findings imply that civic groups, nonprofits, and charitable organizations will be particularly successful at encouraging people to contribute their money or time when they expose them to others who engage in prosocial actions toward socially distant targets, as such actions are likely to be more salient and more likely to increase people's attraction to prosocial activities.

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