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Charitable Giving: The Effectiveness of a Revised Theory of Planned Behaviour Model in
Predicting Donating Intentions and Behaviour

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Abstract

A revised theory of planned behaviour (TPB) model was used to determine the influence of attitudes, norms (injunctive, descriptive, and moral norms), perceived behavioural control, and past behaviour on intentions to donate money to charitable organisations. Respondents ($N = 227$) completed a questionnaire assessing the constructs of the revised TPB model. Four weeks later, a subsample of respondents ($N = 67$) reported their donating behaviour. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses revealed support for the revised TPB model. Attitudes, perceived behavioural control, injunctive norms, moral norms, and past behaviour all predicted charitable giving intentions; however, descriptive norms did not predict donating intentions. Donating intentions were the only significant predictor of donating behaviour at Time 2. In addition, a number of beliefs differentiated between those who did and did not intend to donate to charity. Theoretical and applied implications of the results are discussed.

On the 26th January, 2005, a tsunami in the Indian Ocean wreaked havoc across many developing countries in the Asia-Pacific region. As the extent of the disaster became known, the level of contribution to the relief effort around the world was extremely generous. In Australia, individual contributions to the relief effort were unprecedented. To date, individual Australians have given around 315 million Australian dollars, representing around AU\$60 for every Australian (AusAID, 2005). However, this outpouring of charitable giving in response to the tsunami needs to be seen in the context of the usual level of giving among individual Australians.

Australians do donate significantly to charitable organisations – however, levels of charitable giving in Australia are lower than in many other developed countries such as the US and the UK (Industry Commission Report, 1995). For example, in terms of the proportion of Gross National Product (GNP) donated to charities, the Australian population as a whole gives at a far lower rate than (0.5%) than both the UK (0.77%) and particularly the US (2.1%; Asia-Pacific Centre for Philanthropy & Social Investment, 2004). Moreover, while the average Australian donor donates \$AU133 to charitable organisations, the average donor in the UK gives the equivalent of \$AU400 every year (UK Giving, 2005). Thus, there is scope for Australian charitable organisations to engage more donors and to encourage the public to donate more to charitable organisations.

Charitable Giving: The Australian Context

Like most modern democracies, Australian society is supported and served by a not-for-profit sector that delivers a range of services to its citizens. Charitable organisations play an important role in Australian society, contributing both time and funds to numerous research efforts and causes that aid the needy. Despite the work carried out by charitable organisations, and despite public perceptions to the contrary (Polonsky, Shelley, & Voola, 2002), most remain unfunded by government. As a result, charitable

organisations are forced to rely on the generosity of the general community and the scope of their work is restricted by the amount of funds received from the public.

It is estimated that approximately AU\$3 billion is donated to charitable organisations by individual Australians every year (Philanthropy Australia, 2004). Recent statistics suggest that 71% of the population over 15 years donate to charities, with the average Australian donating \$133 per year (O'Keefe, Clements, & Fleet, 2001). However, there is doubt as to whether future generations will donate money in the same fashion. It has been reported that 65% of the population under the age of 30 feel no responsibility to support charities (O'Keefe et al., 2001), a trend that is evident in other developed countries (e.g., Radley & Kennedy, 1995; Walker, Pharoah, Jas, Passey, & Romney-Alexander, 2002). Thus, it is critical that charitable organisations become aware of the factors that encourage or inhibit individuals from giving. The aim of the present research was to investigate the social psychological factors underlying decisions to donate money to charitable organisations.

Previous Research on Charitable Giving

Research on charitable giving, particularly research conducted by government departments or charitable organisations (e.g., Industry Commission Report, 1995), has often focused on identifying the demographic factors such as gender, age, marital status, education levels, or income levels that are associated with differences in charitable giving (Drollinger, 1998; Lee, Piliavin, & Call, 1999; Lord, 1981; cf. Burgoyne, Young, & Walker, 2005). For example, Drollinger (1998) found that income, education, and religious affiliations are associated with charitable giving. Such research provides valuable insights into charitable giving, but it is descriptive at best. Reliance on descriptive aspects of charitable giving fails to further our understanding of the factors that inhibit or encourage charitable giving or provide information that might aid the

development of interventions to increase levels of charitable giving. In recent years, however, more researchers have begun to consider a broader range of influences on charitable giving, including motivations for giving (e.g., ESRC/NCVO, 2005), decision-making processes in charitable giving (e.g., Burgoyne et al., 2005), the role of trust and commitment (Sargeant & Lee, 2004), and the role of social relations (e.g., Radley & Kennedy, 1995). However, there is still a need for research to be conducted within a theoretical framework that considers a range of individual factors, such as attitudes, and social factors, such as norms, that influence charitable giving. The present study examined charitable giving from the perspective of one of the most influential and well-supported social psychological theories for predicting human behaviour—the theory of planned behaviour (TPB—Ajzen, 1985).

The Theory of Planned Behaviour

The central premise of the theory of planned behaviour is that behavioural decisions are not made spontaneously, but are the result of a reasoned process in which behaviour is influenced, albeit indirectly, by attitudes, norms, and perceptions of control over the behaviour. Specifically, the model proposes that attitude (i.e., the evaluation of the target behaviour), subjective norms (i.e., perceived social pressure regarding performance of the behaviour), and perceived behavioural control (i.e., perceived control over performance of the behaviour; PBC) influence behaviour primarily through their impact on behavioural intention. Hence, intention is seen as the proximal determinant of behaviour: the more one intends to engage in a particular behaviour, the more likely one is to actually engage in it. It should be noted that PBC is thought to determine both intention and behaviour: one is more likely to perform, or intend to perform, behaviours that are perceived as being relatively easy or within one's control. Research using the theory of planned behaviour has provided extensive support for the ability of the model to

predict a wide range of behaviour. Recent meta-analyses have revealed that, on average, attitude, subjective norms, and PBC account for 40 to 50% of the variance in intentions, and that intentions and PBC account for 30% of the variance in behaviour (see e.g., Armitage & Conner, 2001).

One of the strengths of the TPB is that it not only identifies the main determinants of behaviour, but also theorises about the beliefs that underpin these determinants, namely behavioural, normative, and control beliefs. Within the model, it is proposed that attitudes stem from the expectation of the outcomes of performing the target behaviour (behavioural beliefs), weighted by the evaluation of these outcomes (outcome evaluations). Similarly, subjective norms are thought to be a function of how much a person perceives that significant others think they should perform the behaviour (normative beliefs), weighted by their motivation to comply with these referents (motivation to comply). Finally, PBC is underpinned by beliefs about factors that facilitate or inhibit performance of the behaviour (control beliefs), weighted by the expected impact of these factors if they were present (perceived power). The advantage of a belief-based model is that it is possible to identify those beliefs that differentiate people who intend to perform the behaviour from those who do not intend to perform the behaviour, providing avenues for intervention and behaviour change.

The combination of strong empirical support and widespread applicability has contributed to the popularity of the TPB. The TPB has been applied to the study of health behaviours such as healthy eating (e.g., Astrom & Rise, 2001; Conner, Norman, & Bell, 2002), alcohol and tobacco use (e.g., McMillan & Conner, 2003a), and exercise behaviour (e.g., Bozionelos & Bennett, 1999). In addition, the TPB has been applied to the prediction of pro-social behaviours such as blood donation (e.g., Giles & Cairns, 1995) and volunteering behaviour (e.g., Warburton & Terry, 2000). However, although there are

a number of studies focusing on altruistic and helping behaviours (Konkoly & Perloff, 1990; Pomazel & Jaccard, 1976), there has been little research on charitable giving using the TPB. The present research was designed to test the applicability of the TPB in charitable giving—however, a number of additional factors were considered in order to improve the explanatory power of the model.

The Inclusion of Other Variables in the Theory of Planned Behaviour

In its original formulation, the TPB was a parsimonious account of the attitude-behaviour relationship and decades of research have demonstrated the power of the model to predict behavioural performance (see e.g., Armitage & Conner, 2001). Nevertheless, Ajzen (1991) has suggested that, if further predictors can be identified, the TPB is open to expansion—this has led to the consideration of a number of additional predictors. In the present study, an expanded normative component and the role of past behaviour were examined.

A Revised Normative Component. The role of normative factors within the attitude-behaviour relationship has been the subject of much debate. Unlike the consistent evidence in support of the role of attitudes and PBC, there has been notably less support for the role of norms within the TPB. In a recent meta-analysis, which included 185 independent tests of the TPB, the subjective norm construct emerged as the weakest predictor of behavioural intention, with the effect size for attitude double to that for the subjective norm component (Armitage & Conner, 2001).

The failure to find strong support for a norm-intention link could indeed reflect the lesser importance of normative factors as determinants of intention and behaviour. An alternative conclusion, however, is that norms are important, but that they need to be conceptualised in a different manner to that embodied by the subjective norm construct. A number of researchers have proposed revisions to the normative component of the TPB in

order to clarify the role of norms in the attitude-behaviour relationship (e.g., Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990; Terry & Hogg, 1996).

Rather than seeing norms as a unitary construct, Cialdini and his colleagues (Cialdini et al., 1990; Reno, Cialdini, & Kallgren, 1993) argued that the common definition of norms reflects conceptions of what people should do and what people actually do. Injunctive social norms reflect perceptions of what significant others think one ought to do. The subjective norm component of the TPB is an injunctive norm because it is concerned with perceived social pressures from significant others to perform the behaviour. In contrast, descriptive norms reflect the perception of whether other people perform the behaviour.

The distinction between descriptive and injunctive norms has been adopted in studies within the TPB across a range of behaviours including alcohol and tobacco use (McMillan & Conner, 2003a), safe sex behaviour (White, Hogg, & Terry, 1994), illicit drug use (Conner & McMillan, 1999), and playing the lottery (Sheeran & Orbell, 1999). Descriptive norms have been found to contribute to the prediction of intentions and behaviour independently of injunctive norms, and even after controlling for the standard TPB model (Rivis & Sheeran, 2003), thereby improving the explanatory power of the model. Moreover, research has demonstrated that the distinction between injunctive and descriptive norms is effective in trying to understand and increase pro-social behaviours (e.g., Warburton & Terry, 2000).

In addition to the distinction between injunctive and descriptive norms, some researchers have argued for the inclusion of a third type of norm: a personal injunctive or moral norm, which can be defined as an 'individual's internalised moral rules' (Parker, Manstead & Stradling, 1995, p.129). Moreover, because the moral norm construct emphasises personal feelings of responsibility, rather than direct perceived social

pressure, moral norms are distinct from injunctive and descriptive norms and should have independent effects on intentions.

To date, support for the use of personal or moral norms in predicting behaviour has been widespread (see Manstead, 2000, for a review). Moral norms have a direct influence on intentions. For example, Conner and Armitage (1998) found that, across 11 tests of the TPB, moral norm predicted, on average, an additional 4% of the variance in intention. Moral norms appear particularly useful in the prediction of pro-social behaviours or behaviours with a moral component. Indeed, moral norms have been included often in studies of pro-social behaviour such as blood donations (Pomazal & Jaccard, 1976; Zuckerman & Reis, 1978), organ donations (Schwartz & Tessler, 1972), and volunteering behaviour (Warburton & Terry, 2000). In their focus group study of decisions to give to charity, Burgoyne et al. (2005) found that a sense of personal obligation was an important reason for charitable giving, indicating that charitable giving is a behaviour that includes a moral component. Thus, moral norms were included in the current research.

To date, very few studies have considered the simultaneous effects of all injunctive norms, descriptive norms, and moral norms. Most tests of a revised normative component have focused on either moral norms (Parker et al., 1995) or injunctive norms (Minton & Rose, 1997), with very few examining the effects of descriptive norms. Moreover, research on descriptive norms has focused typically on the prediction of anti-social behaviours such as littering behaviour (Cialdini et al., 1990), illicit drug use (McMillian & Conner, 2003b), and alcohol and tobacco use (McMillian & Conner 2003a), with little research on the prediction of pro-social or altruistic behaviours (cf. Warburton & Terry, 2000). It is important to test the effects of all three norms simultaneously for a number of reasons. First, it will allow for a full test of the expanded normative component,

contributing to theoretical development of the role of norms in attitude-behaviour relations. In addition, an examination of the relative contribution of each type of norm will enable the development of more effective strategies for behaviour change. All three types of norms were tested in the present research.

Past Behaviour. The role of past behaviour in the TPB has attracted considerable attention. It has been argued that, with repeated performance, many behaviours are determined by one's past behaviour rather than by cognitions such as those described in the TPB model (Sutton, 1994). Several studies have supported the argument that past behaviour is a predictor of unique variance in intentions and behaviour (e.g., Conner & Armitage, 1998; Conner, Warren, Close, & Sparks, 1999; Norman & Smith, 1995). Numerous researchers have found that past behaviour is the best predictor of future behaviour (cf. Conner et al., 2002), and some researchers have argued that past behaviour is a stronger predictor of behaviour than attitudes or PBC (Bozionelos & Bennett, 1999). In relation to pro-social behaviours such as donating blood, time or money, research has found that past behaviour is one of the most important predictors (Lee et al., 1999). Such evidence suggests that the inclusion of past behaviour in the current study may account for a significant proportion of the variance in charitable giving, increasing the predictive ability of the TPB.

The Present Research

The present study tests the ability of a revised theory of planned behaviour model to account for intentions to make monetary donations to charitable organisations and actual donating behaviour. Although the TPB has been used to predict pro-social behaviour, there have been few tests of the model in relation to charitable giving. In addition to attitudes, injunctive norms, perceived behavioural control, the roles of descriptive norms, moral norms, and past behaviour were investigated. An additional aim

was to identify the salient beliefs associated with donating behaviour and to explore how these beliefs are associated with intentions to donate money to charitable organisations.

Based on the theory of planned behaviour, it is predicted that attitudes, injunctive norms, and PBC will predict intentions to donate money to charitable organisations (H1). That is, it is expected that individuals with positive attitudes toward the behaviour, who believe that important others would approve of the behaviour, and who believe they have control over carrying out the behaviour will be more likely to intend to donate to charitable organisations. It is further predicted that intentions to donate and PBC will predict actual donating behaviour (H2).

Next, it was predicted that a revised TPB model, which includes an expanded normative component (i.e., descriptive and moral norms) and past behaviour will predict intentions better than the standard TPB model (H3; see Figure 1). Thus, the inclusion of these additional variables should increase the amount of variance explained. With respect to the revised normative component, it was expected that the inclusion of descriptive and personal norms would contribute significantly to the prediction of intentions, even after controlling for the standard TPB model (H4). Next, it was expected that past donating behaviour would be a significant predictor of behavioural intention (H5). Past behaviour was also expected to predict donating behaviour (H6). It was also expected that, in accordance with the theory of planned behaviour, that belief-based measures (i.e., behavioural, normative, and control beliefs) would be associated with the direct measures (i.e., attitude, injunctive norms, and PBC—H7). Finally, it was expected that those who intended to donate and those who did not intend to donate would differ in their behavioural, normative, and control beliefs (H8).

Method

Respondents and Design

Respondents were 227 members of the general community in Queensland, Australia (60 male, 167 females). The age range of respondents was 17 to 82 years ($M = 44.19$ years) and income level ranged from less than \$15 000 to over \$70 000. Sixty percent of respondents were in a relationship and 58% of the sample had children. Education levels ranged from primary school education only to postgraduate qualifications: 54% of respondents had received a tertiary education. Eighty-two per cent of respondents recorded a religious affiliation (99% Christian).

The present research was longitudinal in design—respondents completed two questionnaires on charitable giving. At Time 1, respondents completed a survey assessing the components of the revised TPB model (attitude, injunctive norm, descriptive norm, moral norm, PBC, past behaviour, and intention). A follow-up survey (four weeks later) assessed self-reported donating behaviour.

Recruitment Procedure

Respondents were recruited through the researchers' social networks ($n = 85$), a local medical centre ($n = 100$), and through the internet ($n = 43$), and invited to participate in a study concerning beliefs about charities and charitable giving. Respondents completed either a hard copy ($n = 185$) or an online version ($n = 43$) of the first questionnaire and were invited to complete a second questionnaire four weeks later. Sixty-seven respondents provided contact details and were sent either a hard copy or online version of the second questionnaire four weeks later. Data was collected between June and September 2005.

Measures

All questions were constructed in accordance with the recommendations of Ajzen (2002). Unless stated otherwise, all items used a standard definition of donating behaviour (i.e., donating money to charities or community service organisations in the

next four weeks) and were assessed on 7-point scales. All constructs were measured with multi-item scales (see Appendix A). To reduce the effects of response bias, each of the measures included a number of negatively worded items, which were reverse scored prior to scale construction. Items were ordered randomly throughout the questionnaire.

Demographic information. Respondents were asked to provide information regarding their age, gender, marital status, number of children, income, educational level, and religious affiliation.

Attitude. The direct measure of attitude was assessed with eight semantic differential scales. Respondents responded to the following question: “My making a monetary donation to a charity or community service organisation in the next four weeks would be”: unpleasant-pleasant, useful-useless, satisfying-unsatisfying, favourable-unfavourable, positive-negative, considerate-inconsiderate, pointless-worthwhile, bad-good. Items were scored such that higher scores indicated a more positive attitude to charitable giving ($\alpha = .93$).

The indirect (belief-based) measure of attitude was computed as the sum of the products of scores on the behavioural beliefs and outcome evaluations. *Behavioural beliefs* were assessed with six items selected on the basis of an elicitation study (i.e., feeling better about oneself, helping others, receiving tax deductions, having less money, donations not reaching the needy, being harassed for further donations).¹ Respondents rated the likelihood that each of the six costs and benefits would be an outcome of charitable giving (1 *extremely unlikely*, 7 *extremely likely*). *Outcome evaluations* were assessed by respondents rating the pleasantness of each of the six consequences (1 *extremely unpleasant*, 7 *extremely pleasant*).

Perceived behavioural control. Perceptions of control over donating behaviour were assessed with five items (e.g., “If I wanted to, it would be easy for me to donate

money to charities and community service organisations in the next four weeks”; 1 *strongly disagree*, 7 *strongly agree*). Three items were reverse scored. Higher scores indicate greater perceived control over donating behaviour ($\alpha = .69$).

The indirect measure of PBC was computed as the sum of the products of control beliefs and perceived power. *Control beliefs* were assessed with five items selected from the elicitation study (i.e., concern that one’s donation would not reach the needy, the type of charity involved, the approach style of the charity, whether the charity was accepting of small amounts, and not believing in or agreeing with the cause). Respondents rated the extent to which each of the barriers would prevent them from donating money to charitable organisations (1 *not at all*, 7 *very much*). *Perceived power* was assessed by asking respondents to rate how often each of the control factors occurred (1 *never*, 7 *frequently*).

Injunctive norm. Respondents completed six items about the extent to which significant others think they should donate money to charitable organisations (e.g., “Would the people who are important to you approve or disapprove of donating money to charitable organisations?”; 1 *strongly approve*, 7 *strongly disapprove*). Three items were reverse scored. Responses were averaged to create an index of injunctive norm ($\alpha = .78$)—high scores indicated greater perceived support for donating behaviour.

An indirect measure of injunctive norm was also computed by summing the product of scores on the normative beliefs and motivation to comply. From the elicitation study, four referents were selected (i.e., family, friends, colleagues, and church/religious groups). To assess *normative beliefs*, respondents rated how likely it was that each of the referents would think that they should donate money to charitable organisations (1 *extremely unlikely*, 7 *extremely likely*). To assess *motivation to comply*, respondents

reported how willing they are to do what each of the referents wanted them to do (1 *not at all*, 7 *very much*).

Descriptive norm. Descriptive norms were assessed with four items. Two items were negatively worded. Respondents indicated the extent to which significant others actually donated to charitable organisations (e.g., “How many of the people who are important to you would donate to charitable organisations?”; 1 *none*, 7 *all*). Responses were averaged to create a descriptive norm index ($\alpha = .76$).

Moral norm. Four items were used to assess respondents’ moral norm (e.g., “It goes against my beliefs to donate money to charities or community service organisations”; 1 *strongly agree*, 7 *strongly disagree*). One item was reverse scored. Responses were combined to form a measure of moral norm ($\alpha = .62$).

Past behaviour. Past donating behaviour was assessed with five items. Respondents indicated how often they had engaged in the target behaviour in the past four weeks (e.g., “How often during the past four weeks have you donated money to charities or community service organisations?”) and whether they engaged regularly in the target behaviour (e.g., “I usually donate money to charities and community service organisations”; 1 *not at all true*, 7 *very true*). Three items were reverse scored. Responses were averaged to form an index of past donating behaviour ($\alpha = .85$).

Intention. Strength of respondents’ intentions to donate money to charitable organisations was assessed with five items (e.g., “I intend to donate money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks”; 1 *no definitely not*, 7 *yes definitely*). One item was reverse scored. Responses were combined to form the behavioural intention index ($\alpha = .85$).

Donating behaviour. Four weeks later, a sub-sample of respondents ($N = 67$, 26 males and 41 females) completed a follow-up questionnaire. The age range of respondents was 17 to 77 years ($M = 41.22$ years) and income level ranged from less than \$15 000 to over \$70 000. Fifty-eight percent of respondents were in a relationship and 56% of the sample had children. Education levels ranged from primary school education only to postgraduate qualifications: 64% of respondents had received a tertiary education. Seventy-eight per cent of Time 2 respondents recorded a religious affiliation (67% Christian).

Two items, one scale item and one open-ended question, were used to assess donating behaviour in terms of the frequency of donating behaviour and the actual number of donations made. Respondents indicated how often they had made monetary donations to charitable organisations during the past four weeks (1 *not at all*, 7 *frequently*), and which charitable organisations they had donated to. The number of charitable donations was recorded. Means, standard deviations, and correlations among the variables are presented in Table 1. Low to moderate intercorrelations were found among the predictor variables (r s = .16 to .50), but these did not exceed the mean scale reliabilities, suggesting that the scales are empirically distinct (Campbell & Fiske, 1959).

Table 1

Results

Links Among Belief-Based Measures and Direct Measures

The correlations between the belief-based measures and the corresponding direct measures were calculated (see Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Belief-based measures were calculated by summing the product of behavioural beliefs and outcome evaluations for

attitude, normative beliefs and motivation to comply for injunctive norms, and control beliefs and power for PBC. In line with the TPB, examination of these correlations revealed that the direct and indirect measures of attitude were correlated ($r = .32, p < .001$). Similarly, the correlation between the direct and indirect measures of injunctive norm was also significant ($r = .24, p < .001$). However, the correlation between PBC and the control beliefs was not significant ($r = -.08, ns$).²

Predicting Intention with the Revised Theory of Planned Behaviour Model

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to regress charitable giving intentions onto the revised TPB variables. Demographics were entered at Step 1, the constructs of the standard TPB (i.e., attitude, injunctive norm, PBC) were entered at Step 2, descriptive and moral norms were entered at Step 3, and past behaviour was entered at Step 4.

Results of this analysis are presented in Table 2 and Figure 2.

Table 2

Inclusion of the demographic variables at Step 1 accounted for a significant amount of the variance in intentions, $R^2_{ch} = .16, F(7, 178) = 4.71, p < .001$. Inspection of the beta weights revealed significant effects for age, $\beta = .21, p = .023$, and income, $\beta = .19, p = .015$ —as age and income increased, donating intentions also increased.³

At Step 2, inclusion of the standard TPB variables was associated with a significant increase in the variance explained, $R^2_{ch} = .30, F(3, 175) = 32.56, p < .001$. As expected, attitude ($\beta = .16, p = .01$), PBC ($\beta = .47, p < .001$), and injunctive norm ($\beta = .14, p = .021$) all predicted intentions. As attitudes to donation became more positive, as perceptions of control over the behaviour increased, and as injunctive pressure to engage in the behaviour increased, intentions to donate money also increased.

The inclusion of descriptive and moral norms at Step 3 was associated with a significant increase in the variance explained, $R^2_{ch} = .06$, $F(2, 173) = 9.92$, $p < .001$. Inspection of the beta weights revealed a significant effect for moral norm only, $\beta = .24$, $p < .001$, such that as respondents' perceptions of their personal obligation to donate money to charitable organisations increased, intentions to donate money also increased. The effect for descriptive norm was not significant, $\beta = .07$, *ns*.

Past behaviour was entered at the final step and produced a significant increase in the variance explained, $R^2_{ch} = .18$, $F(1, 172) = 98.77$, $p < .001$. The more respondents had donated in the past, the stronger their intentions to donate in the future ($\beta = .54$, $p < .001$). With all variables in the equation, the revised TPB model accounted for 67% of the variance in intentions, $F(13, 172) = 29.64$, $p < .001$.

Predicting Behaviour with the Revised Theory of Planned Behaviour Model

Sixty-seven respondents (26 males, 41 females) completed the Time 2 questionnaire four weeks later (36% of the original sample). Responders on both occasions did not differ from responders at Time 1 only on any of the demographic variables or on any of the TPB variables (all $F_s < 1$).⁴

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to regress behaviour (self-reported frequency of donating behaviour and number of donations) on intentions, PBC, and past behaviour. Intention and PBC were entered at Step 1 and past behaviour was entered at Step 2. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 3 and Figure 2.

Table 3

At Step 1, the inclusion of intention and PBC accounted for a significant amount of the variance in behaviour, both in terms of self-reported frequency of donating

behaviour, $R^2_{ch} = .16$, $F(2, 63) = 6.12$, $p = .004$, and number of donations, $R^2_{ch} = .14$, $F(2, 63) = 4.95$, $p = .01$. Inspection of the beta weights revealed a significant effect for intention only for both self-reported frequency $\beta = .43$, $p = .006$, and number of donations, $\beta = .31$, $p = .05$, indicating that as intentions to donate increased, self-reported frequency of donation and the number of donations made also increased.

Inclusion of past behaviour at Step 2 did not increase the amount of variance explained in either index of donating behaviour ($F_s < 1$). That is, past behaviour did not predict behaviour directly at Time 2. The full model accounted for 16% of the variance in the frequency of donations, $F(3, 62) = 4.02$, $p = .011$, and 14% of the variance in the number of donations, $F(3, 62) = 3.42$, $p = .023$.

Belief-Based Measures

To investigate the beliefs that differentiate low and high intenders, a median split on intention ($Md = 4.60$) was performed to create the low intender ($n = 97$) and high intender ($n = 105$) groups. Multivariate analysis of variance was used to test for differences between the two groups on the belief-based measures. To control for Type 1 error rate, univariate results were tested using a significance level of $p < .01$.

Behavioural Beliefs and Outcome Evaluations. Using Wilks criteria there was a significant multivariate effect of intention group on the costs and benefits of donating money to charitable organisations, $F(6, 192) = 6.14$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$. As shown in Table 4, high intenders were significantly more likely than low intenders to consider that their donation would help the needy, but significantly less likely to consider that having less money and that their donation would not reach the needy were probable costs of charitable giving. On outcome evaluations, there was a significant multivariate effect, $F(6, 192) = 2.71$, $p = .015$, $\eta^2 = .08$. High intenders viewed helping others more positively than low intenders (see Table 4).

 Table 4

Normative Beliefs and Motivation to Comply. There was a multivariate effect of intention group on evaluations of the likelihood that salient referents would endorse donating money to charitable organisations, $F(4, 195) = 3.89, p = .005, \eta^2 = .07$. High intenders were more likely to report pressure to perform the target behaviour from family and friends than low intenders (see Table 5). A significant multivariate effect was found on motivation to comply with the salient referents, $F(4, 199) = 5.83, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10$. As shown in Table 5, high intenders reported greater motivation to comply with church or religious groups than low intenders.

 Table 5

Control Beliefs and Perceived Power. No significant differences emerged between low and high intenders in relation to the frequency of barriers to charitable giving, $F < 1$. However, a significant multivariate effect was found on the perceived power of the barriers to charitable giving, $F(5, 197) = 2.88, p = .016, \eta^2 = .07$. High intenders were significantly less likely to allow the way in which they were approached for donations and the fact that money might not reach the needy to prevent them from making monetary donations to charitable organisations (see Table 6).

 Table 6

Discussion

The aim of the present research was to investigate the social psychological factors underlying decisions to donate money to charitable organisations by testing the effectiveness of a revised theory of planned behaviour model in this context. As expected, attitudes, perceived behavioural control, and injunctive norms all significantly predicted intentions to donate, providing support for the original TPB model (H1). That is, individuals with positive attitudes toward the behaviour, who believed that important others would approve of the behaviour, and who believed they had control over carrying out the behaviour were more likely to intend to engage in charitable giving. In partial support of H2, intention, but not perceived behavioural control, was a significant predictor of self-reported donating behaviour. Overall, support was found for the revised TPB model—the inclusion of additional normative constructs (i.e., descriptive and moral norms) and past behaviour significantly increased the predictive ability of the model (H3).

Partial support was found for the inclusion of a revised normative component (H4). The revised normative component explained additional variance in behavioural intention, even after controlling for the effects of injunctive norms. However, it was moral norms, rather than descriptive norms, that were the significant predictor of donating intentions. That is, individuals who felt a strong moral obligation to donate money to charitable organisations reported stronger donating intentions. In addition, past donating behaviour was found to significantly predict intentions to donate (H5). However, past behaviour was not a significant predictor of donating behaviour (H6). In line with the TPB, the belief-based measures of the model were correlated with the direct measures of the variables (H7). Moreover, a number of these behavioural, normative, and control beliefs differentiated between those who did intend and those who did not intend to donate to charitable organisations (H8).

The Theory of Planned Behaviour

The current findings are in line with extant research, which has also found support for the utility of the TPB in predicting pro-social behaviours, such as blood donations and volunteering behaviour (Giles & Cairns, 1995; Warburton & Terry, 2000). However, the contribution of the present research is to illustrate the predictive ability of the model in relation to charitable giving, an area that, to date, has remained relatively unstudied. Attitudes, PBC, and injunctive norms all predicted a significant amount of the variance in donating intentions. A key finding of interest was the support for the role of injunctive norms. Despite widespread doubt as to the utility of including norms in the TPB (see Ajzen, 1991), injunctive norms were a significant predictor of donating intentions. Indeed, the contribution of injunctive norm in the prediction of intention was equivalent to that for attitude.

Intentions, in turn, predicted donating behaviour. However, it could be argued that, in light of the average size of the intention-behaviour link found in recent reviews (i.e., 20–40%; Armitage & Conner, 2001), the amount of variance in donating behaviour explained by intentions in this study (14–16%) is quite small. This finding might reflect a ceiling effect in the data—most of the Time 2 respondents reported engagement in charitable giving in the past month. Alternatively, the small amount of variance in behaviour accounted for by intentions could be reflecting the complex nature of donating. That is, recent changes in the way one donates to charitable organisations, such as the use of direct debit, have altered the nature of donating behaviour (see e.g., Burgoyne et al., 2005). As a result, while the TPB might provide a very good account of initial decisions to donate money to charitable organisations, continuing engagement in charitable giving may not always be due solely to the deliberative processes outlined in the TPB.

The Revised Theory of Planned Behaviour

The revised normative component. One aim of this study was to test the efficacy of a revised normative component in which the influence of descriptive and moral norms were added to the model. As predicted, the inclusion of additional normative factors improved the prediction of behavioural intention. However, this improvement in prediction was due to the influence of moral norms only; descriptive norms did not emerge as an independent predictor of intentions. Thus, in line with recent theorising (Manstead, 2000) and past research (e.g., Warburton & Terry, 2000), the present findings support the inclusion of moral norm in the TPB, particularly in the prediction of pro-social behaviours. Moral norm was an independent predictor of donating intentions and, indeed, accounted for more variance in intentions than either injunctive or descriptive norms. It is possible that the strong effect for moral norm may reflect the fact that a high proportion of the sample reported a religious affiliation and such respondents may feel a particularly strong moral obligation to engage in charitable giving. However, the amount of variance in intention accounted for by moral norm in the present study (4%) corresponds exactly with the results of a recent meta-analysis (Conner & Armitage, 1998), indicating that the strong effect of moral norm observed here is not simply an artefact of the type of respondents sampled. Nevertheless, future research should attempt to obtain a more balanced sample of religious and non-religious people to demonstrate more clearly the impact of moral norms on charitable giving.

There are a number of reasons for the lack of support for the impact of descriptive norms on donating intentions. First, it could simply be that descriptive norms play no part in decisions to engage in charitable giving. Most of the research testing the role of descriptive norms has focused typically on the prediction of anti-social behaviours (see Cialdini et al., 1990; McMillan & Conner, 2003a; McMillan & Conner, 2003b), with little research on the prediction of pro-social behaviours. Second, it is important to consider that charitable giving is often a private act and individuals may not have an accurate sense of the extent to which

those people around them engage in the behaviour. As a result, descriptive norms may not be weighted heavily in intentions to engage in charitable giving. Indeed, past research that has focused on volunteering behaviour, a pro-social behaviour that is performed publicly, has found that descriptive norms are a significant predictor of intentions (e.g., Lee et al., 1991; Warburton & Terry, 2000), lending some support to this account. Clearly, further research is needed in order to elucidate fully the contribution of descriptive norms to the prediction of pro-social behaviours.

Past behaviour. Another aspect of the revised model tested here was the inclusion of past behaviour. As expected, and in line with past research (e.g., Conner & Armitage, 1998), past donating behaviour accounted for a significant proportion of the variation in donating intentions. Indeed, past behaviour was the most important predictor of charitable giving intentions, supporting the inclusion of past behaviour in studies predicting pro-social or altruistic behaviours (see Lee et al., 1999). However, contrary to expectations, past behaviour did not predict donating behaviour directly. It is possible that, because of the small sample size at Time 2, we had limited ability to test for effects of past behaviour on actual donating behaviour. It is also possible that the way in which we measured actual donating behaviour may have masked the effects of past behaviour. That is, in line with past TPB research, we assessed self-reported frequency of donating behaviour and, in an attempt to counter possible social desirability effects, asked respondents to name the charities to which they had made donations. However, it might be useful for future research to include a measure that asks respondents to indicate how much money they have donated to charitable organisations to enable assessment of indices such as the proportion of income donated to charitable organisations (see e.g., Burgoyne et al., 2005) as well as the number of monetary donations made. By doing so, a more complex and nuanced picture of charitable giving would be obtained.

Implications

The present research highlights the importance of considering the multi-dimensional nature of norms in the attitude-behaviour relationship. Although injunctive norms did predict intentions, moral norms were a stronger predictor of intentions to donate money to charitable organisations. If only the standard TPB had been considered, we would have an impoverished picture of the role of normative influences in charitable giving. Another key finding was the role that past behaviour or habit played in the prediction of donating intentions, a finding that is consistent with evidence regarding the role of habitual factors in the TPB (e.g., Bentler & Speckart, 1979; Conner et al., 1999; Norman & Smith, 1995). The present results suggest that it may be important for past behaviour to be included in the theoretical model more often, particularly in relation to pro-social behaviours.

This study has a number of important applied implications for charitable organisations. In particular, the identification of the psychological factors that predict charitable giving highlights ways in which charitable organisations can increase donation levels. First, the finding that injunctive and moral norms are more predictive of intentions than descriptive norms provides avenues for interventions. Research by Cialdini and colleagues (1990) has demonstrated that the predictive ability of a norm can be increased by increasing its salience. Thus, increasing the salience of injunctive and moral norms might lead to higher levels of charitable giving. Moreover, given evidence that injunctive norms are particularly powerful determinants of behaviour because their influence carries across contexts (Reno et al., 1993), charitable organisations might well be advised to focus on the support and approval associated with charitable giving, highlighting that charitable giving is the “right” thing to do.

Examination of the belief structure underlying the effects of attitudes, injunctive norms, and PBC on intentions provides specific suggestions for increasing levels of charitable giving. With respect to attitudes and perceptions of control, charitable organisations should focus on highlighting the benefits of charitable giving, such as helping people in need, and the positive outcomes associated with charitable giving (see also Hsu, Liang, & Tien, 2005). Furthermore, charitable organisations would be advised to address the concerns that people might have in relation to charitable giving, such as whether the money donated reaches those in need, and potentially reconsidering the way in which people are approached for donations so as to avoid the perception that such organisations harass people for donations (see also Burgoyne et al., 2005; Polonsky et al., 2002). In relation to norms, the results of the present research suggest that campaigns to increase charitable giving will benefit from heightening the perception that there is normative support, across a number of referent groups, for charitable giving (see e.g., Radley & Kennedy, 1995).

The present research had a number of strengths. First, the study used a diverse, community based sample, thereby allowing for greater generalisability than research conducted on student samples (e.g., Konkoly & Perloff, 1990). Second, a longitudinal design was employed, enabling the assessment of both donating intentions and donating behaviour. Finally, a number of attempts were made to limit response consistency effects: multi-item measures were used, negatively worded items were employed, and the items assessing each construct were not presented together but distributed randomly throughout the survey.

The study was not, however, without its limitations. First, the reliance on self-report measures may be problematic in relation to pro-social behaviours due to issues of self-presentation and social desirability. That is, respondents may have been motivated to present themselves in a more favourable light and may have reported higher levels of donating intentions and donating behaviour. However, we attempted to overcome this issue in the

present research through the use of multiple items to assess each construct and through assurances of anonymity and confidentiality. Furthermore, an attempt was made to obtain a more objective measure of donating behaviour by asking respondents to name the charitable organisations to which they had made donations. Second, the time period between Time 1 and Time 2 was only four weeks. Given the sporadic nature of charitable giving, this short interval may have affected the predictive power of the model. Future research should employ more extensive sampling of charitable giving, both in terms of the indicators of giving (see e.g., Burgoyne et al., 2005) and the time period employed. Finally, despite the large sample size collected at Time 1, the sample size at Time 2 was less than ideal. Examination of the data revealed no significant differences between the two samples and participation in Time 2 was not related to any of the predictor variables or to charitable giving. Nevertheless, the high levels of attrition from Time 1 to Time 2 indicates the difficulty in conducting longitudinal studies, particularly among a community based population such as the one used in this study. Attempts to address this issue in future research would be highly valuable.

In conclusion, the theory of planned behaviour can provide useful insights into decisions to engage in charitable giving. Individuals donate money to charitable organisations not only because of their attitudes or their internal belief systems, but also because they believe those closest to them support and approve of charitable giving. The present research has tested a more integrated model, allowing for a more comprehensive examination of the predictors of charitable giving. Moreover, identification of the social psychological factors that underpin engagement in charitable giving has implications for charitable organisations, contributing to more effective appeals and ensuring that such organisations continue their vital role within society.

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Footnotes

1. Prior to the main study, an elicitation study was conducted on a small sample of respondents in order to develop the belief-based measures. The pilot survey was administered to a sample of 15 female and 12 male ($n = 27$) members of the general community ($M_{\text{age}} = 33.22$ years). Respondents were asked to respond to a series of open-ended questions: they were asked to list the advantages and disadvantages of donating money to charitable organisations; they were asked to list the individuals or groups who would approve or disapprove of them donating money to charitable organisations; and they were asked to list the factors that might prevent or discourage them from donating money to charitable organisations. The modal responses were used to create the items for the belief-based measurement of the TPB constructs.
2. In order to examine further the relationship between the indirect and direct measures of perceived behavioural control, a multiple regression was conducted in which perceived behavioural control was regressed on the belief-based components. This analysis revealed that the belief-based measures accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in perceived behavioural control, $R = .27$, $F(5, 196) = 2.34$, $p = .043$. Inspection of the beta weights revealed a significant relationship between the belief regarding whether charities are accepting of small amounts and PBC, $\beta = -.24$, $p < .01$, indicating that the more respondents believed that charities would not be accepting of small donations, the less control they perceived over the behaviour. Thus, there is some evidence that the indirect and direct measures of PBC used in the study were related.

3. The origin of the respondents (i.e., community, medical centre, or the internet) was included as an additional predictor but did not predict intentions to engage in charitable giving.
4. Only a small sub-sample of respondents completed the Time 2 questionnaire; thus, self-selection at Time 2 may be related to the behaviour of interest. It is possible that those who are more willing to engage in charitable giving are also more likely to complete a study on charitable giving. To explore this, we conducted an additional analysis in which we used our demographic variables and our revised TPB variable to predict participation at Time 2. The only significant predictor in this analysis was gender – women were more likely to participate in Time 2 than men ($\beta = .17, t = 2.23, p = .027$). Thus, participation in Time 2 is not predicted by the TPB variables. In addition, an analysis in which this variable was used as an additional predictor of intention found that this variable was not related to intentions to engage in charitable giving.

Table 1

Descriptive data for the revised TPB constructs included in the regression analyses (means, standard deviations, Cronbach's alpha coefficients and bivariate correlations)

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Attitude	5.60 (5.58)	1.28 (1.16)	(.93)								
2. Perceived behavioural control	5.54 (5.49)	1.14 (1.08)	.23***	(.69)							
3. Injunctive norm	5.46 (5.52)	.95 (.94)	.25***	.28***	(.78)						
4. Descriptive norm	4.76 (4.93)	1.24 (1.09)	.20**	.17*	.42***	(.76)					
5. Moral norm	3.78 (3.87)	1.08 (1.02)	.25***	.16*	.21**	.30***	(.62)				
6. Past behaviour	4.90 (4.88)	1.52 (1.49)	.23***	.50***	.17*	.32***	.34***	(.85)			
7. Intention	4.54 (4.54)	1.61 (1.52)	.36***	.62***	.29***	.30***	.44***	.76***	(.85)		
8. Frequency of donation (<i>n</i> = 67)	2.72	1.79	.40***	.24+	.11	.11	.11	.30*	.40***	a	
9. Number of times donated (<i>n</i> = 67)	2.22	3.10	.28*	.29*	.21+	.17	.13	.32**	.36***	.63***	a

+ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test)

Reliabilities are given in parentheses along the main diagonal; ^a Cronbach's alpha not computed—single item measure

Means and standard deviations for the Time 2 sample are provided in parentheses under the Time 1 statistics

Table 2

Hierarchical multiple regression predicting behavioural intention from a revised theory of planned behaviour model

Step	Predictor	$R^2_{adjusted}$	R^2_{change}	F_{change}	β
1	Gender	.12	.16	4.71***	.04
	Age				-.03
	Marital status				-.02
	Children (no/yes)				.01
	Income level				.10*
	Education level				-.08
	Religious affiliation (no/yes)				.07
2	Attitude	.43	.30	32.56***	.11*
	PBC				.24***
	Injunctive norm				.13*
3	Descriptive norm	.48	.06	9.92***	-.04
	Moral norm				.15***
4	Past behaviour	.67	.18	98.77***	.54***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Note. The beta weights reported are the values at the final step.

Table 3

Hierarchical multiple regression analysis predicting behaviour

Step	Predictor	Self-reported frequency of donation in the past 4 weeks				Number of times donated in the past 4 weeks			
		R^2	R^2_{change}	F_{change}	β	R^2	R^2_{change}	F_{change}	β
1	Intention	.16	.16	6.12**	.44**	.14	.14	4.95**	.22*
	PBC				-.04				.07
2	Past behaviour	.16	.00	.00	-.01	.14	.01	.46	.12

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Note. The beta weights reported are the values at the final step.

Table 4

Mean behavioural beliefs and outcome evaluations as a function of intention group

	Behavioural Beliefs			
	Behavioural Beliefs		Outcome Evaluations	
	Low	High	Low	High
	Intenders	Intenders	Intenders	Intenders
Costs and Benefits	(<i>n</i> = 97)	(<i>n</i> = 105)	(<i>n</i> = 97)	(<i>n</i> = 105)
Feeling better about oneself	4.66	5.11	4.56	4.88
Having less money	4.57	3.84**	3.86	4.15
Donations not reaching the needy	3.97	3.17***	2.58	2.64
Being harassed for further donations	5.10	4.56	2.52	2.77
Helping others	5.22	5.97***	5.37	5.88**
Receiving tax deductions	3.86	4.14	4.35	4.41

***p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 5

Mean normative beliefs and motivation to comply as a function of intention group

	Normative Beliefs			
	Normative Beliefs		Motivation to comply	
	Low	High	Low	High
	Intenders	Intenders	Intenders	Intenders
Referents	(<i>n</i> = 97)	(<i>n</i> = 105)	(<i>n</i> = 97)	(<i>n</i> = 105)
Family	4.47	4.95**	4.80	5.22
Friends	4.26	4.76**	4.63	4.86
Colleagues	4.30	4.49	3.89	4.09
Church/religious	5.34	5.30	2.54	3.66***

groups

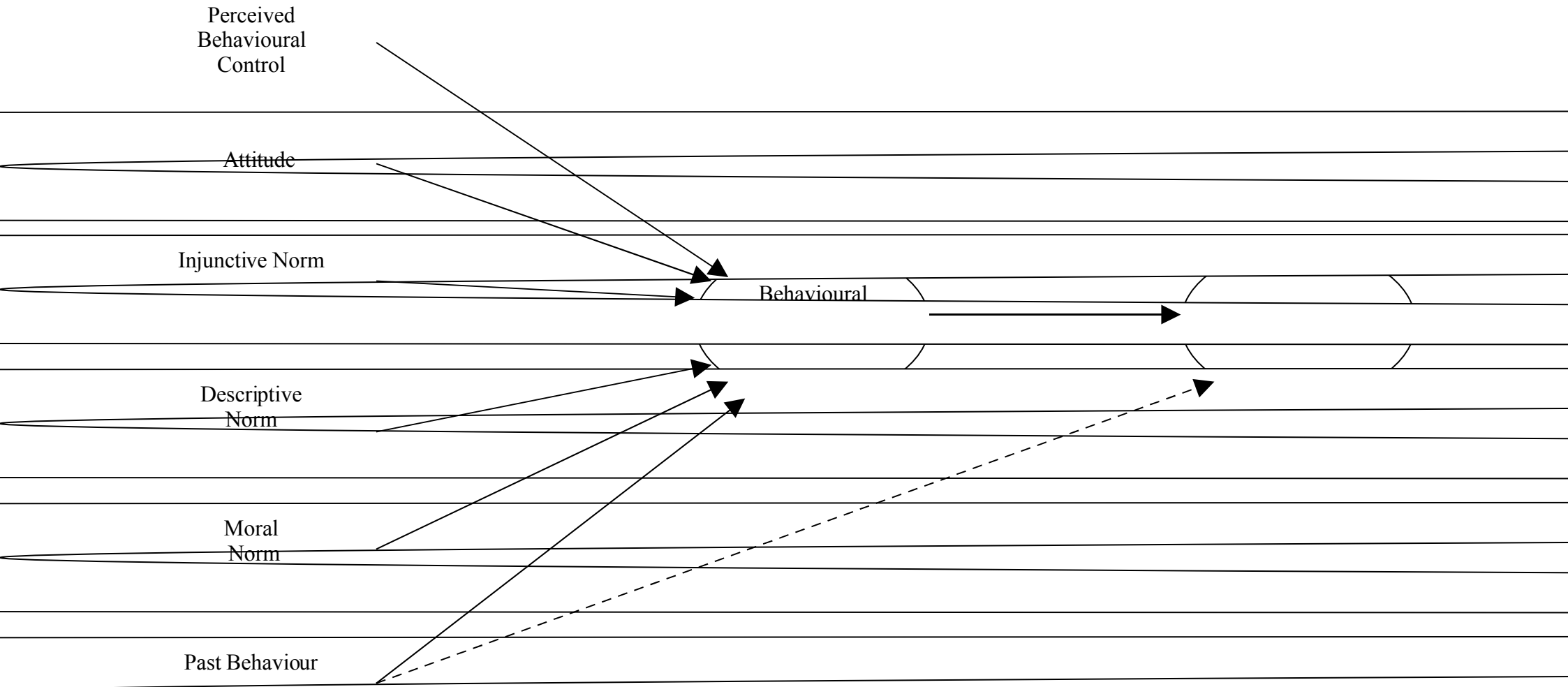
* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$

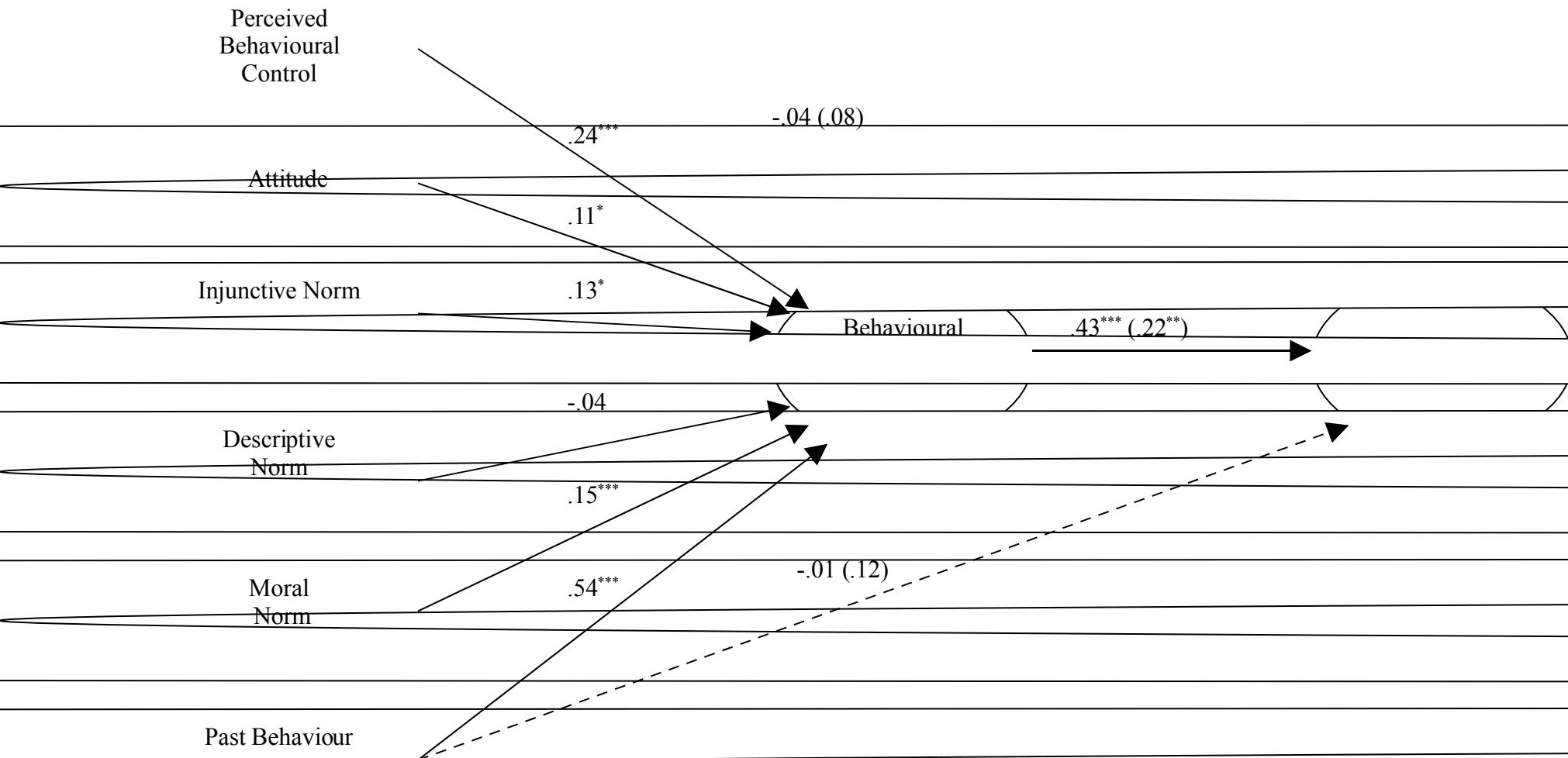
Table 6

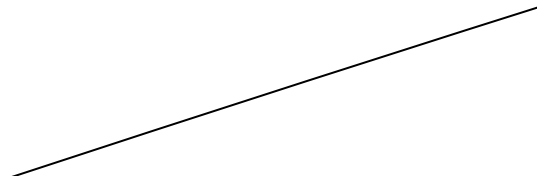
Mean control beliefs and perceived power as a function of intention group

	Control Beliefs			
	Control Beliefs		Perceived Power	
	Low	High	Low	High
	Intenders	Intenders	Intenders	Intenders
Barriers	(<i>n</i> = 97)	(<i>n</i> = 105)	(<i>n</i> = 97)	(<i>n</i> = 105)
Donations not reaching the needy	5.71	5.60	4.90	4.26**
Type of charity	5.92	5.92	5.26	4.94
Approach style of charity	5.92	5.55	5.66	4.94***
Charities being accepting of small amounts	5.25	4.73	4.71	4.25
Not believing in the cause	5.87	6.06	5.50	5.21

***p* < .01, *** *p* < .001







ty or community service organization in the
(1–7 scale):
ant-pleasant, useful-useless, satisfying-unsatisfying, favourable-
unfavourable, positive-negative, considerate-inconsiderate, pointless-worthwhile,
bad-good

Perceived behavioural control (5 items)

1. If I wanted to, I could easily donate money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks (1 *strongly agree*, 7 *strongly disagree*)
2. Overall, how much control do you have over whether you donate money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks (1 *no control*, 7 *complete control*)
3. It is mostly up to me whether I donate money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks (1 *not at all true*, 7 *very true*)
4. How confident are you that you will be able to donate money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks (1 *extremely confident*, 7 *not at all confident*)
5. Donating money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks is easy for me to do (1 *not at all true*, 7 *very true*)

Injunctive norms (6 items)

1. The people closest to me would support me in making monetary donations to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks (1 *not at all true*, 7 *very true*)

2. Think of the people important to you. What percentage of them do you think would disapprove of you making monetary donations to charities or community service organisations? (1 0%, 7 100%)
3. The people closest to me would disapprove if I donated money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks (1 *very unlikely*, 7 *very likely*)
4. Most people who are important to me think that my donating money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks would be (1 *undesirable*, 7 *desirable*)
5. Would the people closest to you approve or disapprove of you making monetary donations to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks (1 *strongly approve*, 7 *strongly disapprove*)
6. If I donated money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks, the people closest to me would (1 *strongly disapprove*, 7 *strongly approve*)

Descriptive norms (4 items)

1. Think of those people important to you. What percentage of them do you think donate money to charities or community service organisations (1 0%, 7 100%)
2. Most people who are important to me donate money to charities or community service organisations (1 *strongly disagree*, 7 *strongly agree*)
3. Those people closest to me do not donate money to charities or community service organisations (1 *strongly disagree*, 7 *strongly agree*)
4. How likely do you think it is that those important to you donate money to charities or community service organisations (1 *extremely unlikely*, 7 *extremely likely*)

Moral norms (4 items)

1. I am the kind of person who donates money to charities or community service organisations (1 *strongly agree*, 7 *strongly disagree*)

2. I would feel guilty if I didn't donate money to charities or community service organisations (1 *very unlikely*, 7 *very likely*)
3. I believe I have a moral obligation to donate money to charities or community service organisations (1 *strongly agree*, 7 *strongly disagree*)
4. Not donating money to charities or community service organisations goes against my principles (1 *strongly disagree*, 7 *strongly agree*)

Past behaviour (5 items)

1. I do not donate money to charities or community service organisations (1 not at all true, 7 very true)
2. Over the past 4 weeks, I did not donate money to charities or community service organisations (1 *not at all true*, 7 *very true*)
3. It is unusual for me to donate money to charities or community service organisations (1 *strongly agree*, 7 *strongly disagree*)
4. I usually donate money to charities and community service organisations (1 *not at all true*, 7 *very true*)
5. How often during the past four weeks have you donated money to charities or community service organisations? (1 *not at all*, 7 *frequently*)

Behavioural intentions (5 items)

1. I will donate money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks (1 *definitely not*, 7 *definitely*)
2. I would like to donate money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks (1 *very much*, 7 *not at all*)
3. I do not intend to donate money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks (1 *strongly disagree*, 7 *strongly agree*)

4. I intend to donate money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks (1 *strongly agree*, 7 *strongly disagree*)
5. How likely do you think it is that you will donate money to charities or community service organisations in the next four weeks (1 *very likely*, 7 *very unlikely*)

Self-reported behaviour (2 items)

1. How often during the past four weeks have you made monetary donations to charities or community service organisations (1 *not at all*, 7 *frequently*)
2. How many times during the past four weeks have you donated money to charities or community service organisations? (write down the amount in numbers)