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Recipient's Mood, Relationship Type, and Helping

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We conducted two studies to examine how a potential helper is affected by having a communal orientation toward a relationship with a potential recipient and by the potential recipient's sadness. We hypothesized that (a) having a communal orientation would increase helping and that (b) people high in communal orientation, but not others, would respond to a potential recipient's sadness by increasing helping. These hypotheses were tested in two studies. In Study 1, individual differences in communal orientation toward relationships were measured by using a new communal orientation scale reported for the first time in this article. In Study 2, manipulations were used to lead subjects to desire either a communal or an exchange relationship with another person. In both studies, subjects were exposed to a sad person or to a person in a neutral mood whom they were given a chance to help. As hypothesized, in both studies communally oriented subjects helped the other significantly more than did others. Also as hypothesized, in both studies communally oriented subjects but not others, increased helping in response to the other person's sadness although this effect reached statistical significance only in the second study.

In this research it is assumed that distinct rules govern the giving and receiving of benefits in different types of relationships. Specifically, we assume that the type of relationship a potential donor desires with another person, or what we will call that donor's *relationship orientation,* will influence whether the donor will help the other and how the donor's helping will be influenced by the potential recipient's mood.

Surprisingly, relationship orientation has received little attention in the social psychological literature on helping. Researchers in other fields have often reported large differences between helping in friendships, romantic relationships, and family relationships relative to levels of helping in relationships between strangers or in business relationships (Burke & Weir, 1975; Croog, Lipson, & Levine, 1972; Rust & Davie, 1961). However, because such findings can easily be explained by differences in the level of contact with or knowledge about one another, this research has not led to a focus on relationship orientation per se as a determinant of helping. To demonstrate that relationship orientation itself is important, its effect must be examined in situations in which prior contact with and knowledge about the other person is held constant. That is what we have done in the present research.

The particular relationship orientation of interest in our research was a communal orientation (Clark & Mills, 1979). People high in communal orientation were expected to be more likely to help than people low in communal orientation. Also of interest was how a communal orientation would interact with the potential recipient's emotional state. Sadness in connection with a high communal orientation was expected to increase helping. Sadness in connection with a low communal orientation was expected either to have no effect on helping or to actually decrease helping.

Communal Orientation Toward Relationships

The idea that a communal orientation exists toward some relationships but not others comes from a program of research focusing on a distinction between communal and exchange relationships (Clark & Mills, 1979; Mills & Clark, 1982). As stated in earlier papers, communal relationships are often exemplified by relationships with friends, family members, and romantic partners. They can be distinguished from exchange relationships, which are often exemplified by relationships between strangers or people who do business with one another. In communal relationships, people presumably feel responsible for the other's welfare. They desire and/or feel obligated to benefit the other person when he or she has a need. They may also benefit the other person simply to please and to show a general concern for his or her welfare. In addition they expect the other person to be responsive to their needs and to demonstrate concern for their welfare. By contrast, in exchange relationships people presumably do not feel a special responsibility for the

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other person's needs. They give benefits in response to benefits received in the past, or with the expectation of receiving benefits in repayment in the future.

In a series of studies, subjects have been led to expect a communal or an exchange relationship with an attractive other by conveying the impression that the other was available and anxious to meet new people (communal conditions) or was not available or particularly anxious to meet new people (exchange conditions). These manipulations have been shown to be effective (Clark, 1986). That is, subjects exposed to the communal manipulation are more likely than those exposed to the exchange manipulation to agree with statements indicating a desire to follow communal norms (e.g., they would want to respond to the other's needs and would expect the others to do the same for them), relative to statements indicating a desire to follow exchange norms (e.g., if they received something from the other they would immediately repay the other and would expect others to behave the same way.) This suggests that leading people to feel a communal orientation toward another ought to increase their tendency to help the other. However, the Clark (1986) study only measured self-reports. Moreover, the majority of studies conducted thus far to examine the behavioral implications of the distinction have examined behaviors that follow from exchange norms, such as keeping track of individual inputs into joint tasks (Clark, 1984; Clark & Mills, 1979; Clark & Waddell, 1985), rather than those behaviors that would follow from communal norms, for example, helping. Although these studies support the validity of the distinction between communal and exchange relationships, they are not directly relevant to helping.

In only one recent article has evidence been reported that a communal orientation toward another person increases adherence to communal norms (Clark, Mills, & Powell, 1986). In that article, two studies were described in which subjects exposed to the communal manipulation were more likely than those exposed to the exchange manipulation to keep track of the other person's needs when that person could not reciprocate and even when there was no chance for the subjects to help. The present research was designed to go a step further by demonstrating that subjects exposed to the communal manipulation would be more likely than those exposed to the exchange manipulation to actually help the other.

In addition to exploring the implications of relationship orientation for helping, our research extends beyond past research in another way. Whereas in past studies relationship orientation has always been manipulated, we have long suspected that there are also chronic, dispositional differences in relationship orientation (Mills & Clark, 1982). Assuming such differences exist, they, as well as the manipulated differences in people's communal orientation, should predict helping. Therefore, we developed a scale to measure dispositional differences in communal orientation and predicted that people who scored high on this scale would help more than people who scored low.

To summarize, we assumed that the likelihood of a person adopting a communal orientation depends on both situational variables and individual differences. We hypothesized that a high communal orientation, whether due to situational factors or to a person's chronic disposition, would be associated with increased helping.

Recipient's Mood

We hypothesized that not only would a communal orientation increase helping, but also that when the potential donor has a communal orientation, but not otherwise, a potential recipient's sadness would increase helping. First consider why a potential recipient's sadness ought to increase helping among potential donors with a communal orientation. One reason is that sad people report feeling more incompetent, helpless, and dependent than others (Izard, 1977). Observers may explicitly or implicitly know this and perceive sad people to be more needy. As a result, communal observers, because they want to respond to the other's needs, may give a sad person more help than they would give to others. A second reason recipient sadness may increase the tendencies of communally oriented donors to help is that attending to others' unhappiness, something communally oriented people are particularly prone to do (cf. Clark et al., 1986), may elicit feelings of empathy. Empathy, in turn, may enhance helping (Batson & Coke, 1981; Batson, Duncan, Ackerman, Buckley, & Birch, 1981).

Although sadness may make an individual seem more needy and/or may elicit empathic responses from communally oriented observers, observers without such an orientation may not be so influenced. These people do not feel a special responsibility for the other's welfare. They may be relatively inattentive to the other's emotions in the first place, and less likely to respond to those emotions with empathy even if they do attend to them. Thus these people should be less likely to respond to others' emotions with help. Indeed, when a person's communal orientation is low, he or she may perceive the other's expression of sadness as a form of unfair pressure to respond to the sad other's needs when he or she feels no special responsibility for those needs. Thus such recipient sadness may produce reactance (Brehm, 1966; Brehm & Brehm, 1981) and may even reduce helping. An alternative explanation for why sadness may decrease helping among people low but not high in communal orientation stems from the idea that perceiving another person in distress is adversive (cf. Piliavin & Piliavin, 1972). All people may want to eliminate this adversive state. People high in communal orientation may do so by giving more help to the sad person. People low in communal orientation may do so by avoiding contact with the other person.

Hypotheses

On the basis of the above reasoning the following specific hypotheses were tested:

1. People dispositionally high in communal orientation and those led to expect a communal relationship with another will be more likely to help that other person than will people low in communal orientation, or people led to expect an exchange relationship.

2. People dispositionally high in communal orientation and those led to expect a communal relationship with another, but not people with a low communal orientation or people led to expect an exchange relationship, will respond to a potential recipient's sadness by increasing the help they give that potential recipient.

These hypotheses were tested in two studies. In Study 1, individual differences in communal orientation were measured and subjects were given an opportunity to help another who was ei-

ther sad or was in a neutral mood. In Study 2, subjects were led to expect either a communal or an exchange relationship with another who was sad or whose mood was neutral. Then these subjects were given a chance to help that other.

Study 1

Method

Overview. At the beginning of a semester, subjects were given instruments to measure their degree of communal orientation toward relationships. In the context of a later experiment, a faculty member greeted them and, in the absence of the experimenter, either commented that the experimenter seemed sad or mentioned nothing about the experimenter's mood. Later, the experimenter asked the subject for help.

Subjects. The subjects were 39 undergraduates, 21 women and 18 men, who partially fulfilled a course requirement by participating in the study. Each student had filled out a communal orientation scale during a large pretesting session at the beginning of the semester and was randomly assigned to either a "sad" or a "neutral" mood condition. Three additional people participated in the study. Two expressed suspicion about the helping measure and one had not completed the original pretesting. Thus, these three were not counted as subjects and their data were not included in any of the analyses.

The communal orientation scale. A measure of communal orientation, consisting of 14 descriptive statements, was developed for use in this study. Subjects are asked to read each statement and to rate how characteristic the item is of them on a scale from 1 (*extremely uncharacteristic*) to 5 (*extremely characteristic*). The items are designed to assess whether the subject typically behaves in a communal fashion toward others (e.g., "When making a decision, I take other people's needs and feelings into account."), as well as whether the subject expects others to behave in a communal fashion toward him or her (e.g., "It bothers me when other people neglect my needs."). For half the items, such as the ones quoted, the subject's score was the number he or she circled. The remaining items were negatively phrased and the subject's score was the result of the number circled subtracted from 6 (e.g., "I don't especially enjoy giving others aid."). Each subject's total score was the sum of his or her scores on all 14 items (see Table 1).

The communal orientation scale has adequate reliability. On the basis of the responses of a sample of 561 college students, Cronbach's Alpha was .78. The test–retest reliability also seems adequate. A sample of 128 college students completed the scale both at the beginning of a semester and 11 weeks later. The intraclass correlation (Winer, 1971, p. 248) between measures taken during these two times was .68. Item-total (with the item deleted) correlations, shown in Table 1, reveal that the items are not overly redundant with one another.

A sample of 565 male and female college students taking their first psychology class filled out the scale and a principal components factor analysis was performed on the resultant data. Of the factors that emerged, three were selected for further consideration on the basis of the scree test. Each had an eigenvalue greater than 1.00. The first, with an eigenvalue of 3.66, accounted for 26% of the variance and could be described as a general communal factor. All 14 items loaded positively on this factor. The loadings, shown in Table 1, fell between +.29 and +.64. A second factor, with an eigenvalue of 1.68, accounted for an additional 12% of the variance. This factor might be called a *desire for other's help* factor. The 4 scale items measuring subjects' expectations that others should respond to their needs received the four highest loadings on this factor, ranging from .32 and .68, and were the only 4 items (1, 7, 11, and 14) clearly measuring simply desire for others to treat the subject in a communal manner. The loadings of the other items were low, and 8 of the 9 remaining items were negatively loaded. The third factor, with an eigenvalue of 1.13, accounted for an additional 8% of the variance. Items 2, 5, 11, 12, and 13 had the highest positive or negative loadings on this factor (−.45, −.32, +.43, +.36, and +.49, respectively). This factor might best be labeled *locus of initiation*. The items with high positive loadings on this factor assessed whether subjects thought that people in need of help should seek help or indicate their need by displaying emotion. The items with high negative loadings assessed whether subjects thought potential helpers should initiate the helping by intentionally taking others' needs and feelings into account, or by actually helping. The second and third factors may prove to be of interest for future research. For purposes of the present study, the emergence of the first factor on which all 14 items loaded positively is what is important.

Table 1
Communal Orientation Scale

Descriptive statement	Factor loadings (on first factor)	Item-total (minus item) correlations
1. It bothers me when other people neglect my needs.	.29	.23
2. When making a decision, I take other people's needs and feelings into account.	.52	.39
3. I'm not especially sensitive to other people's feelings.[a]	.53	.41
4. I don't consider myself to be a particularly helpful person.[a]	.58	.43
5. I believe people should go out of their way to be helpful.	.51	.37
6. I don't especially enjoy giving others aid.[a]	.54	.40
7. I expect people I know to be responsive to my needs and feelings.	.50	.41
8. I often go out of my way to help another person.	.64	.50
9. I believe it's best not to get involved taking care of other people's personal needs.[a]	.53	.41
10. I'm not the sort of person who often comes to the aid of others.[a]	.55	.41
11. When I have a need, I turn to others I know for help.	.38	.30
12. When people get emotionally upset, I tend to avoid them.[a]	.51	.39
13. People should keep their troubles to themselves.[a]	.54	.43
14. When I have a need that others ignore, I'm hurt.	.45	.38

Note. Subjects rate each item on a 5-point scale from *extremely uncharacteristic of them* (1) to *extremely characteristic of them* (5).
[a] The rating was reversed prior to being scored.

Finally, the correlations between the communal scale and several other personality scales were examined using additional samples of male and female college students drawn from populations similar to those used in the present study. Scores on the communal orientation scale were not significantly correlated with scores on the Crowne–Marlowe scale of social desirability (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), $r = +.18$ $n = 44$, *ns*. However, as expected, they were significantly correlated with measures of conceptually overlapping constructs such as Berkowitz's and Lutterman's (1968) measure of social responsibility (on which low scores indicate greater social responsibility), $r = -.36$, $n = 565$, $p < .001$, and Mehrabian and Epstein's (1972) measure of emotional empathy (on which high scores indicate greater empathy), $r = .58$, $n = 66$, $p < .001$.

Procedure. Subjects arrived individually at a psychology faculty member's office for a creativity study. The faculty member greeted the subject and said a research assistant would be conducting the creativity study. The faculty member said she would take the subject to the assistant's lab. She was not sure whether the assistant would be there, adding in the neutral mood condition, "I saw her a few minutes ago and she was busy. I don't know what's going on, but let's see if we can find her . . ." or, in the sad condition, "I saw her a few minutes ago and she was busy. She was looking pretty down . . . sad. I don't know what's going on, but let's see if we can find her."

The subject was led to another room where the research assistant, who was unaware of the mood condition, was seated behind a desk cluttered with books and papers. The assistant (experimenter) greeted the subject and apologized for not meeting the subject at the faculty member's office. She said that she was busy working on her dissertation. The subject was then seated at a second desk on which were placed an instruction sheet, a cup of water, paints, large sheets of paper, and a stopwatch. The assistant explained that the subject's task was to complete a brief questionnaire about the subject's art background and then to paint whatever he or she wished for 15 min. The subject was given a stopwatch and a credit slip. The subject was told that the experimenter had to leave to meet someone. The experimenter pointed to the written instruction sheet (which simply restated the verbal instructions) and told the subject to leave the painting, the questionnaire, and the completed credit slip on the desk when he or she was finished.

Before leaving, the experimenter returned to the cluttered desk to pick up a stack of 116 index cards containing bibliographic references. Before turning to leave the room, the experimenter said: "Oh shoot, I was supposed to have these alphabetized for the typist. She's going to pick them up in a few minutes. I wonder . . . would you do me a favor and alphabetize some of these references before you start the experiment? There are far too many to do all of them before she comes, but anything at all would be helpful. Of course you don't have to do any of them—if you want to start on the painting right away, just tell her they're not ready and to come back tomorrow." The experimenter set the cards down on the subject's desk and left without waiting for a response.

After leaving the room, the experimenter entered an adjacent room from which the subject could be observed through a one-way mirror. To reduce suspicion, the mirror was almost completely covered on the subject's side. The reference cards were in the same order for every subject. They were unobtrusively numbered on the back so the experimenter could easily count the number of cards the subject alphabetized, then put the cards back in the original order for the next subject. As soon as the subject began painting, the experimenter returned to the subject's room, administered a suspicion check, and debriefed the subject. After the subject left the room, the experimenter recorded the number of cards the subject had alphabetized.

Throughout the study, both the faculty member and experimenter were unaware of how the subjects had scored on the communal orientation measure. Afterwards, the subjects' pretests were examined. Each subject was classified as high or low in communal orientation based on a median split. Subjects above the median (scores of 53 or above) were identified as high communal; those below (scores of 52 or below) were identified as low communal. The classification of subjects in combination with their prior random assignment to the sad or neutral mood condition resulted in four groups: (1) high communal-neutral (9 subjects), (2) high communal-sad (10 subjects), (3) low communal-neutral (10 subjects), and (4) low communal-sad (10 subjects).

Results

The dependent measure in this study was the number of cards alphabetized. The means on this measure, as depicted in Figure 1, fell in the predicted pattern. Subjects high in communal orientation sorted more cards ($M = 44.47$) than did subjects low in communal orientation ($M = 10.20$). Also as expected, sadness appeared to increase helping for subjects high in communal orientation, but to decrease helping for subjects low in communal orientation. The mean number of cards sorted in the high communal-neutral condition was 25.78; the mean number sorted in the high communal-sad condition was 61.30. The mean number sorted in the low communal-neutral condition was 17.30; the mean number sorted in the low communal-sad condition was 3.10.

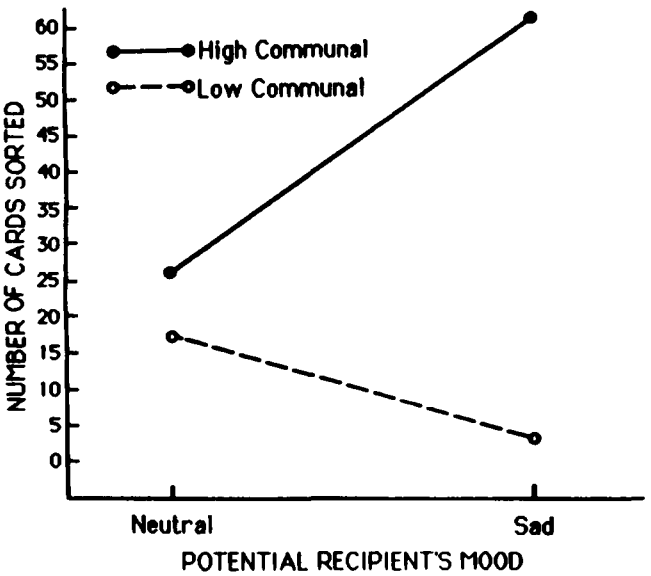

Figure 1. Mean number of cards sorted in Study 1 as a function of donor relationship orientation and recipient mood.

Because the distribution of scores was positively skewed, the following transformation suggested by Winer (1971, p. 400) was used prior to any analyses [$x = \log(x + 1)$]. Next, a 2 (relationship orientation: communal or exchange) × 2 (recipient mood: neutral or sad) × 2 (subject sex: male or female) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the data. It yielded only a main effect of relationship orientation, $F(1, 31) = 4.52$, $p < .05$. There were no significant effects of gender or mood, nor were there any significant interactions. The predicted interaction between relationship orientation and mood yielded the only other F to approach significance, $F(1, 31) = 1.99$, $p < .17$. Because information is lost when the communal scores are dichotomized, the data were also analyzed using multiple regression to assess predictors of helping. Subjects' communal scores were entered first, yielding a significant r^2 of .108, $F(1, 37) = 4.50$, $p < .05$. Mood was entered second and yielded no meaningful increase in r^2, $F(1, 36) = .017$, *ns*. The interaction between relationship type and mood was entered third, and it also yielded no meaningful increase in r^2, $F(1, 35) = .449$, *ns*.

It might be asked whether the observed pattern of means was due to the number of subjects choosing to help at all versus those refusing, or whether it was due to the number of cards sorted among subjects who had decided to help. Differences in the pattern of results when examined in each of these ways

Table 2
Percent of Subjects Helping and Mean Amount of Help Given (Among Those Who Chose to Help) as a Function of Relationship Type and Recipient's Mood

Relationship orientation	Recipient mood: Neutral Help	Neutral *n*	Sad Help	Sad *n*
	Study 1			
High communal	44.4[a]	9	60.0	10
	58.0[b]	4	102.2	6
Low communal	40.0	10	10.0	10
	43.3	4	31.0	1
	Study 2			
Communal	58.3[a]	12	100.0	12
	164.3[c]	7	204.2	12
Exchange	25.0	12	16.7	12
	66.7	3	62.5	2

Note. If the proportions of those helping are analyzed separately by using logistical regression analyses and if the amounts of help given only by those who did help are analyzed separately by using analyses of variance, most of the effects shown to be significant in the primary analyses no longer reach significance. Only the main effect for relationship type in Study 2 remains significant (both in the logistical regression and in the analysis of variance). The loss of some significant effects is not surprising given that much information is lost when either type of measure is examined alone. However, as already noted, the fact that helping, when examined in either way, showed the same pattern (in both studies) indicates the appropriateness of our originally planned primary analyses that are reported in the text of this article.
[a] Percent of subjects helping.
[b] Number of cards sorted among those who helped.
[c] Seconds spent helping by those who helped.

might necessitate conducting two separate analyses. Table 2 (top) presents the percentages of subjects helping at all and the mean number of cards sorted among those who did help. As can be seen, both measures demonstrated the same pattern. Thus, both differences in the decision to help and in the amount of help given once a decision to help had taken place contributed to the overall effect, and analyzing only the overall amount of help given seems appropriate and sufficient.

Discussion

The results of the first study fell in the predicted pattern. Subjects high in communal orientation helped significantly more than did subjects low in communal orientation. Moreover, sadness tended to increase helping among subjects who were high in communal orientation but not among those low in communal orientation. The fact that subjects scoring high helped significantly more than those scoring low clearly supports our first hypothesis that individual differences in communal orientation toward relationships exist that predict helping. This finding also provides evidence for the validity of our scale.

Given the fairly high correlations between our communal orientation scale and the empathy scale, one might question whether the communal scale measures more than empathy, or alternatively, helpfulness. We would argue that it does. Being concerned with another's welfare is a defining characteristic of a communal orientation. However, there is another important component; a belief that the other person should be concerned about one's own welfare and responsive to one's own needs (as measured by items 1, 7, 11, 14, and perhaps to some extent 5) is also a defining characteristic of this orientation. That all 14 items—both those measuring ones' responsiveness to an other's needs and those measuring expectations that others should be responsive to one's own needs—loaded together and positively on the first factor, indicates that the communal construct does include more than just helpfulness.

Moreover, it is worth noting that if only items 1, 7, 11, and 14 are used to compute communal scores, and if the data from the present study are analyzed in the same manner as when the entire scale is used, the means for helping remain in a similar pattern (although the the overall effects no longer reach statistical significance). The best median split using only these four items classifies subjects with scores of 16 and above as high in communal orientation (n = 15), and those with scores of 15 and below as low in communal orientation (n = 24). Under this classification, subjects high in communal orientation still helped more (M = 38.84) than those low in communal orientation (M = 20.07). Furthermore, recipient sadness increased helping among those high in communal orientation (M = 23.25 to M = 54.43), but not among those low in communal orientation (M = 19.91 to M = 20.23).

Although the decline in helping as a result of sadness disappears, the fact remains that items that refer to subjects' desire to receive help and their willingness to seek help from others seem to be related to their desire to give help and to respond to others' sadness in much the same manner as the remaining items are related to a desire to give help and to respond to others' sadness. This supports our notion of the existence of a communal orientation construct, which involves both an expectation that others should help you and a willingness to help others. Finally, some recent unpublished data collected in connection with a separate study have revealed that subjects' communal orientation scores measured at the beginning of the school year correlated positively and significantly with the total number of trips made to the student health center during the following academic year (Cohen, Sherrod, & Clark, 1986, unpublished data). This too, offers some support for our belief that a communal orientation involves a willingness to seek out help as well as a willingness to help others.

An alternative interpretation of the main effect of communal orientation is that people who score high on the communal orientation scale are more manipulative than are those who score low. That is, these high scorers might help more with the intent of indebting the other to them and receiving specific repayments. To check on this possibility, Machiavellianism scale scores (as measured by the MACH scale described in Robinson & Shaver, 1969), which had been collected along with the communal orientation scale at the beginning of the semester, were correlated with scores on the communal orientation scale. If communally oriented subjects are more manipulative than are others, and if these subjects help in order to obligate the other to return a specific benefit, then scores on the Machiavellianism

scale ought to be positively correlated with scores on the communal orientation scale. In fact, the scores on these two scales were significantly negatively correlated, $r = -.38$, $p < .03$.

The nonsignificant tendencies for sadness to increase helping in the high communal orientation conditions but to decrease helping in the low communal orientation conditions unfortunately lend only weak support for our second hypothesis. Nonetheless, the trends were in the expected directions and were thus encouraging. We reasoned that if the tendencies for sadness to increase helping among subjects high in communal orientation but to decrease helping among subjects low in communal orientation were not due to chance, then a conceptual replication of the first study should obtain a similar pattern of results. Study 2 constitutes such a conceptual replication.

As noted earlier, it is believed that not only are there individual differences in how communally oriented people are, but also that how communally oriented a person will feel toward a particular other varies according to the situation. Thus in Study 2, relationship orientation (communal vs. exchange) was manipulated by using relationship manipulations that had been used in previous studies (Clark, 1984; Clark & Mills, 1979; Clark & Waddell, 1985) and for which evidence of validity has been reported (Clark, 1986; Clark & Waddell, 1985). Recipient sadness was also manipulated in Study 2. We predicted that (a) people with a communal orientation would be more likely to help others than those with an exchange orientation and that (b) recipient sadness ought to enhance helping in the communal but not in the exchange conditions.

Study 2

Method

Overview. Subjects were led to believe that they would be participating in a study on creativity with an attractive member of the opposite sex. The subject was led to desire either a communal or an exchange relationship with the other person. In addition, the other was presented as being in either a neutral or a sad mood. Following manipulation of these variables, the subject was given an opportunity to help the other. The length of time spent helping was recorded.

Subjects. Subjects were 48 university students (20 women and 28 men) taking their first psychology class. They partially fulfilled a course requirement by participating. Each subject was randomly assigned to one of the following four conditions: (a) communal-neutral mood, (b) communal-sad mood, (c) exchange-neutral mood, or (d) exchange-sad mood. Five women and seven men were in each condition. Three additional women were run. In two cases there was a procedural problem (to be described later in this report), and in the third case, the person was married. These three persons were not counted as subjects and their data were not included in any of the analyses.

Stimulus materials. Two photographs of an attractive woman and two of an attractive man were prepared for use in this study. In one picture from each pair the target had a natural, pleasant expression on his or her face, typical of expressions people adopt when they know their picture is about to be taken. In the remaining picture the other appeared to be sad. Although research has shown that facial expressions may influence perceived attractiveness (Mueser, Grau, Sussman, & Rosen, 1984), separate attractiveness ratings of these photographs by judges who knew nothing about the purpose of the study indicated that the expressions had no effect on perceived attractiveness.

Procedure. Subjects signed up for a study on creativity. On arrival, each subject was greeted by a male experimenter and ushered into a room containing two tables and two chairs. On one table were placed belongings of a person opposite in sex from the subject, including a purse in the case of male subjects, and a large sweatshirt in the case of female subjects.

The subject was seated at the other table. Before explaining anything about the study, the experimenter asked the subject if he or she would mind being photographed. No subject objected. The experimenter then took a Polaroid photograph of the subject. After doing so, the experimenter explained that the photograph would be used to rate the subject's mood, a variable that was important to the study. The subject also would fill out a questionnaire, including a self-report of his or her mood and some questions about the subject's creative background. Finally, the subject would work on a creative task. The experimenter then pointed to a clipboard on the subject's table to which a photograph of the attractive opposite sex other and completed questionnaire were attached. While doing this, the experimenter commented that another subject had already been there, had his/her picture taken, and had completed the questionnaire.

Next the subject was reminded that, as stated on the sign-up sheet, this was an experiment on creativity. The study had to do with the way creativity is affected by mood. The subject had been randomly assigned to work on a painting task. This required 30 min of painting whatever the subject wished. The experimenter went on to say the other subject would return shortly to work on a separate task. This other subject had supposedly signed up for a longer session involving three different creativity tasks. The other subject had already completed the painting task, was taking a break, and would return to make a balloon sculpture. The subject was told not to interact with the other subject so that each would be able to concentrate fully on their tasks.

At this point the experimenter handed the subject a copy of the mood and creativity questionnaire. The subject was told to complete the questionnaire and place it along with his or her picture on the clipboard beneath the other's picture and questionnaire. Then the experimenter left the room, supposedly to get paints for the subject. The actual reason for leaving was to provide an opportunity for the subject to examine the other's picture and questionnaire that contained the manipulations of both the other's mood and of relationship type. By instructing the subject to put his or her materials beneath those of the other, the experimenter gave the subject an easy and almost unavoidable opportunity to do so.

After leaving, the experimenter watched the subject from the adjacent room through a one-way mirror, which, as in the first study, was almost entirely blocked on the subject's side to prevent suspicion. The subject was given 2 min after finishing his or her questionnaire to examine the other's picture and questionnaire. The vast majority of subjects did. Then the experimenter reentered the room. Two women originally assigned to the communal-sad condition failed to look at the materials. Their data were eliminated from the study because they were never exposed to the manipulations of the independent variables.

As noted, both mood and type of relationship were manipulated by the other's picture and questionnaire. Specifically, desired relationship type was manipulated by the other's answers to three questions—one about marital status, one about how long he or she had been at the university, and one about the reason he or she had signed up for this particular study. In the exchange conditions the answer to the marital status question was "married" and the answer to how long the subject had been at the university was "2 years." In addition, in answering the question about why he or she had signed up for the study, the other commented that, "It looked interesting and it was a good time for my husband/wife to pick me up afterwards." In the communal conditions the answer to the marital status question was "single" and the answer to how long the subject had been at the university was, "This is my first semester—I just transferred." In addition, in answering the question about why he or she had signed up for the experiment, the other com-

mented, "It looked interesting and I thought that it would be a good way to meet people."

The assumption behind this manipulation was that most of the college student subjects would be available for and interested in a communal relationship with the attractive, opposite-gender other who clearly indicated his or her availability for such a relationship. When the other decreased his or her availability by indicating he or she was married and by not indicating a desire to meet people, it was assumed that subjects would expect an exchange relationship instead. As noted earlier, evidence for the effectiveness of these manipulations has been reported elsewhere (Clark, 1986; Clark & Waddell, 1985).

In order to manipulate the other's mood, the subjects in the sad condition saw a picture of a person with a sad expression and saw that this person had responded to a request to "Please rate your current mood" by circling a −3 on a scale from −3 (*sad*) to +3 (*happy*) and had commented, "I'm feeling down, I just got some bad news from home." The subjects in the average mood condition saw a picture of a person with a normal expression and saw that the other person had answered the question about mood by circling a +1 on the scale and had commented, "I'm feeling O.K." A +1 was used to indicate an average mood, based on past research by Bousfield (1950). Bousfield had 996 subjects rate their mood on a similar −3 to +3 scale with a resultant mean rating of +1.17. Supporting the idea that this is still the typical rating people give for their own moods are the facts that in the present study a +1 was both the median and modal self-rating from the 48 actual subjects and that their mean rating was +.97.

Throughout the present study the experimenter was unaware of the relationship manipulation to which the subject had been exposed. In addition, the experimenter began the study unaware of the mood manipulation. However, the experimenter could not always avoid seeing the other's photograph during the course of the study.

After observing whether or not the subject looked over the other's materials, the experimenter returned with two trays: one labeled "painting" and one labeled "sculpture." The painting tray was placed before the subject. It contained a set of paints, a pad of paper, and some water. The sculpture tray was placed on the unoccupied table. It contained 12 uninflated balloons, a ball of string, and a pair of scissors. Pointing to the subject's materials, the experimenter instructed the subject to paint for 30 min. The subject was told that the experimenter had to leave to administer another experiment. The subject was asked to monitor his or her own time using a stopwatch that was on the subject's table. Then the experimenter turned to the sculpture materials and grimaced. Becoming flustered, the experimenter muttered that the balloons really should have been blown up for the other person, but that the other would simply have to do it for him or herself. Then the experimenter said, "Umm, listen, I'll tell you what. I didn't tell (the other) that you would, but if you wanted to, you could go ahead and blow up some of his/her balloons, or if not, you can just go ahead and start the watch and begin your task." The experimenter added that once the subject started his or her task, though, the subject should not stop to help the other because the subject would lose his or her "creative train of thought."

Because the subject was instructed not to stop working on his or her own task once he or she had begun, any impulse to wait until the other "subject" returned before helping, perhaps in order to have an excuse to talk with the other, should have been controlled. At this point, the reader should also recall that earlier the subject was led to expect that the other was working on an expanded version of the creativity study involving three tasks rather than one. This was so that the subject would not help solely to ensure that he or she and the other would start and finish the experiment at the same time and thus be able to leave together.

After setting up the opportunity to help, the experimenter left the room and recorded, through the one-way mirror, how much time, if any, the subject spent blowing up balloons for the other. Once the subject began the painting task, the experimenter reentered the room, performed a suspicion check, and debriefed the subject. No subject was suspicious.

Results

Our dependent measure of helping was the time the subject spent blowing up balloons. (The number of balloons blown up was not used as a measure because the balloons were very difficult to blow up, and there was high variability among subjects in terms of their ability to inflate them.) The results are presented in Figure 2. As can be seen, results fell in the predicted pattern.

Communal subjects helped longer than did exchange subjects. The mean time spent helping across the two communal conditions was 150.0 s. The mean time spent helping across the two exchange conditions was 13.6 s. In addition, a sad mood appears to have increased helping in the communal but not in the exchange conditions. In the communal–neutral mood condition the mean time spent helping was 95.8 s, whereas in the communal–sad condition the mean time spent helping was 204.2 s. In the exchange–neutral condition the mean time spent helping was 16.7 s, whereas in the exchange–sad condition the mean time spent helping was 10.4 s.

Because the distribution of time scores was positively skewed, the following transformation suggested by Winer (1971, p. 400) was used prior to any analyses [$x = \log(x + 1)$]. Then a 2 (relationship manipulation: communal or exchange) × 2 (recipient mood: neutral or sad) × 2 (subject sex: male or female) between subjects ANOVA was performed. As predicted, it yielded a significant main effect of relationship orientation, $F(1, 40) = 36.36$, $p < .0001$, and a significant interaction between relationship orientation and mood, $F(1, 40) = 5.96$, $p < .02$. None of the remaining effects reached conventional levels of significance although several approached it. There were marginal effects for mood, $F(1, 40) = 4.00$, $p < .06$, for sex of subject, $F(1, 40) = 3.35$, $p < .08$, and for the three-way interaction between rela-

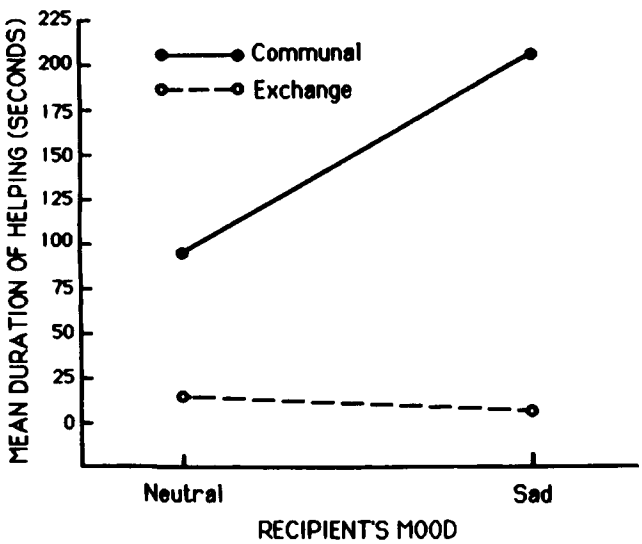

Figure 2. Mean duration of helping in Study 2 as a function of relationship manipulation and recipient mood.

tionship orientation, mood, and sex of subject, $F(1, 40) = 2.84$, $p < .10$. These marginal effects can be described as follows: (a) helping tended to be greater if the recipient was in a sad mood (although this effect is qualified by higher order interactions), (b) men tended to help others of the opposite sex more than did women, and (c) although both men and women helped more in response to sadness when communal orientation was high, this effect tended to be stronger among women.

Planned comparisons performed following the overall ANOVA revealed that subjects in the communal conditions helped significantly more when the other was sad than when the other was in a neutral mood, $F(1, 40) = 9.87$, $p < .01$, but did not reveal that subjects in the exchange conditions helped significantly less when the other was sad than when the other was in a neutral mood, $F(1, 40) = .10$, *ns*.

As in Study 1, it might be asked whether the observed pattern of means was due to the number of subjects choosing to help at all, or whether it was due to the time spent blowing up balloons among subjects who had decided to help. If the patterns of results when examined in each of these ways were distinct, that might have called for conducting separate analyses. Table 2 (bottom half) presents the percentages of subjects helping at all and the mean time spent helping among only those who did help. As can be seen, both measures show the same pattern. Thus both differences in deciding to help and differences in time spent helping once a decision had been made contributed to the overall effect, and an analysis of only the overall amount of help given seems appropriate and sufficient.

Discussion

The results of Study 2 fell in the same pattern as did those of the first study. Subjects with a high communal orientation, this time as a result of a manipulation, helped more than did those low in such an orientation. In addition, a potential recipient's sadness again increased the degree to which communal subjects helped, and this time the increase was statistically significant. Finally, sadness once again did not increase helping in the conditions in which communal orientation ought to be low. Rather, as in Study 1, there was a slight tendency for sadness to decrease helping. (Note that the fact that sadness did not significantly decrease helping in Study 2 may well be due to a "floor" effect. The level of helping in the neutral mood condition was so low that there simply was not much room for it to decrease further.)

That sadness significantly increased helping among communal subjects but not among exchange subjects in Study 2 suggests that the tendency for sadness to increase helping for those high in communal orientation but not for those low in communal orientation in Study 1 was not due to chance. The fact that slight decreases in helping occurred in both studies when communal orientation was low and recipients were sad is intriguing, but these effects are so small that no conclusions can be drawn from them.

Our explanation for the results of Study 2 rests on the assumption that people who are led to expect a communal relationship follow a need-based rule for giving benefits, whereas people led to expect an exchange relationship do not. However, an alternative explanation might be raised. It might be argued that in both the communal and exchange conditions basically the same (exchange) rule applied to the giving of benefits. The relationship manipulations, such an argument would continue, manipulated the expected chances of being able to see the other in the future and it was this fact that led to differences in helping. In other words, subjects in the communal conditions may have helped because they expected to be able to extract a specific benefit from the other in the future, and subjects in the exchange conditions may not have helped because they did not expect to be able to extract such a specific benefit. Further, if one assumes that it is easier to extract repayment from an emotionally distressed person than from a person who is not distressed (and that the other's distress will persist into the future), this explanation could account for sadness increasing helping in the communal condition but not in the exchange conditions where seeing the other in the future is doubtful.

We think this explanation is unlikely for two reasons. First, feeling the existence of an unpaid debt presumably causes distress (Walster, Walster, & Berscheid, 1978). Presumably, people would like to have the distress eliminated as quickly as possible. In our study, because there was no clear and comparable specific benefit that subjects could have later demanded from the other, it is unclear why people would have created such a debt merely to be reimbursed later. Why not avoid the debt and uncertainty of being repaid altogether by not helping in the first place? If the interpretation is altered to include the assumption that subjects in the communal conditions did not care about a specific comparable repayment for help but rather wanted to establish a communal relationship with the other in which that other person felt some responsibility for the subject's needs, then the alternative explanation can no longer be clearly distinguished from our own theoretical perspective. We do not assume that communal relationships are formed for completely altruistic reasons. Rather we assume that in a communal relationship people not only feel a special responsibility for the needs of the other, but they also expect the other to feel a special responsibility for their needs when those needs arise. Moreover, we assume that offering unconditional help to the other is a reasonable and probably effective strategy for initiating a communal relationship.

A second reason that the alternative explanation is unlikely is that it cannot explain the results obtained across our whole program of research as parsimoniously as can our own theoretical approach. For instance, in a recent study (Clark et al., 1986, Study 2) using the same relationship manipulations, subjects exposed to the communal manipulation paid more attention to another's needs than did subjects exposed to the exchange manipulation even though they were not allowed to respond to those needs. This cannot be explained by assuming that subjects wish to indebt the other person to them in order to extract specific benefits later. Our theoretical perspective, but not the idea that strict exchange rules apply to all types of relationships, can explain both the Clark et al. (1986) results as well as the present results. To continue this argument, we would also point out that our theoretical perspective can explain the results of both Studies 1 and 2, whereas the idea that a strict exchange rule applies to all relationships runs into clear difficulty in accounting for the results of Study 1. In the first study there was no reason for subjects with high versus low communal orientation scores to have different expectations about being able to see the

experimenter (who was the one they helped) in the future. Moreover, as already noted in our discussion of Study 1, a negative correlation between communal orientation and Machiavellian scores was observed in connection with that study suggesting that the high communal subjects were not helping more in order to manipulate the other person into owing them a favor in the future. In summary, we feel that our own theoretical perspective best accounts for the results of the present two studies, particularly when considered in connection with results reported previously.

General Discussion

At this point it may be useful to examine the importance of both studies from two perspectives: (a) what these studies contribute to an understanding of the distinction between communal and exchange relationships, and (b) what they contribute to the literature on helping.

Implications for the Communal/Exchange Distinction

As discussed in our introduction, Clark and Mills (1979) have drawn a distinction between communal and exchange relationships. Most past research supporting the distinction has focused on demonstrating that behaviors called for by exchange norms, such as repaying favors (Clark & Mills, 1979), requesting repayments (Clark & Mills, 1979), and keeping track of individual inputs into joint tasks (Clark, 1984) are appropriate in exchange but not in communal relationships. Only one study (Clark et al., 1986) has reported support for the idea that a behavior called for by communal norms, specifically keeping track of the other's needs, is more common in communal as opposed to exchange relationships. Our second study, by showing that the communal manipulation leads to greater helping and greater responsiveness to the other's needs, provides important new support for the idea that behaviors called for by communal norms will be more prevalent in communal than in exchange relationships.

In addition, Study 1 provides new evidence that having a communal orientation toward relationships is not determined solely by who the other is. There are clearly individual differences in communal orientation that parallel differences in orientation brought about by our communal relationship manipulation. In future research it will be interesting to determine how a communal orientation interacts (or does not) with situational factors that lead people to desire communal or exchange relationships.

Finally, this research demonstrates that a communal orientation not only is associated with increased attention to the other's needs but also with increased responsiveness to the other's emotions (which may indicate the presence of needs). It also provides hints that people low in communal orientation may react negatively to others' emotional indications of need; although, firm conclusions in this regard must await further research.

Implications for Understanding Helping

Finally, this research makes a contribution to the helping literature. We have demonstrated that relationship orientation and the recipient's sadness, two variables that have previously received little attention in the helping literature on adults, have clear effects on helping. (Reactions to the affective states of potential recipients of help have received more attention in the developmental literature. See, for instance, literature reviewed recently by Eisenberg & Miller, 1987.) Beyond this, an important interaction between these two variables has been demonstrated. That is, a sad mood appears to increase helping only among potential helpers who have a communal orientation. We suspect this type of interaction is quite general and important. That is, it seems likely that any variable that increases helping by increasing the perceived neediness of a recipient will have a greater impact in communal than in exchange relationships and a greater impact among those dispositionally high in communal orientation than among those dispositionally low in communal orientation.

Although the prediction that sadness increases helping among people high but not low in communal orientation did receive some clear support, as already noted no firm conclusions about the effects of sadness on helping by those low in communal orientation can be drawn. Further work is needed in this regard.

From a broader perspective, our research suggests reason for caution in generalizing the results of past social psychological research on helping. Most research in our field has examined helping that occurs between strangers. Strangers probably often anticipate only a brief, exchange relationship with one another. Thus, caution should be exercised in generalizing results from such work to relationships that are likely to be communal in nature. In such relationships, more helping is likely to take place overall. Moreover, the influence of specific situational variables on helping in communal relationships may often be distinct from their influence in exchange relationships.

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