It's more than you can tell

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It’s More Than You Can Tell: The Implicit Side of Helping

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It's More Than You Can Tell: The Implicit Side of Helping

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

Helping happens every day and everywhere. Newspapers are full of stories about "helping hands", about heroic acts of individuals, and collective helping movements. For instance, Turkey in 1999: hundreds of people rushed into the earthquake area to save lives; the USA in 2005: donations and volunteers were able to help thousands of individuals who suffered from Hurricane Katrina; or China in 2008: hundreds of volunteers cooked for earthquake victims. These reports describe events in different places, at different times, and with different people, but they are all about the same act: Helping. But *why* do people help? And are the reasons or motives to help always the same, regardless of the *type of helping*, and regardless of *who is helping*? One way to find out would be to simply ask those who actually help; ask them to tell us their story of *why* they help. But would they really know and be able to tell the whole story? To provide an answer, I started to review the literature on helping, on different types of helping, and on helping in different (cultural) contexts. I conducted research, collected data, analyzed it and tried to make sense. What I found is that the story about helping is "more than you can tell", and I want to share this story with you.

Helping as the Broadest Category of Prosocial Behavior

Prosocial behavior is a collective term that captures a variety of activities that are all characterized through being beneficial to other persons or the society in general (Pilliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981). Prosocial behavior can be divided in three types, being (a) altruism, (b) cooperation, and (c) helping. To qualify as altruism, the prosocial act has to be entirely selfless, meaning that no positive outcomes for the helper are allowed. Conversely, to qualify as cooperation a prosocial act has to bring beneficial outcomes for both the actor and the recipient. Finally, helping occurs when a prosocial act brings positive outcomes to a recipient. It is thereby irrelevant whether the act has additional positive outcomes for the helper and whether it is motivated through self-serving goals (Dovidio, Pilliavin, Schroeder, & Penner, 2006). Hence, we focus on helping as the broadest and least restricted category of prosocial acting.

Why Do People Help?

Psychological research on helping predominantly investigates personological characteristics that underlie helping, and asks the question "Who is more likely to help" (see Penner et al.,

2005). Mainly dispositional and motivational variables were proposed as characteristics that discriminate between helpers and non-helpers. For instance, empathic concern, or other empathy related constructs, were often found to be associated with helping (for a review see Batson, Ahmad, Lishner, & Tsung, 2002; Finkelstein, Penner, & Brannick, 2005; Penner, 2002). Other antecedents revolve around moral and social responsibility (Cemalcılar, 2009; Miller, Bersoff, & Harwood, 1990), prosocial value orientation (Carlo, Okun, Knight, & de Guzman, 2005; McClintock & Allison, 2006), and agreeableness (Carlo et al., 2005; Graziano, Habashi, Sheese, & Tobin., 2007; Smith & Nelson, 1975). However, a major limitation of such research is that it mainly relied on self-reported dispositions or motivations to explore the characteristics that differentiate between those who help and those who do not. While it seems evident that human behavior is hardly driven only through conscious (i.e., explicit, self-attributed) forces (Baumeister, Masicampo, & Vohs, 2011), helping has rarely been examined in light of both implicit and explicit processes anteceding helping. Research conducted as part of the present dissertation addresses this shortcoming, and examines the effects of implicit and explicit helping motivation on helping (both intentions to help and real helping behaviors).

Moving beyond Self-Reports: Including Implicit Motivation

Two different motivational systems exist that can both influence behavior: implicit motives and explicit motives (McClelland, Koestner, & Weinberger, 1989). Results of numerous studies confirm that implicit and explicit motives are independent from each other. Findings generally reveal no or only a weak statistical relation between the two concepts (Baumann, Kaschel, & Kuhl, 2005; Hofer, Busch, Bond, Li, & Law, 2010; Spangler, 1992). Implicit and explicit motives do not refer to assessing the same concept via different types of measures, but in fact refer to two different motivational mechanisms: Implicit and explicit motives function differently, develop differently, and relate to different types of behavioral outcomes.

Development. Implicit motives represent the unconscious component of individuals' motives and goals (Schultheiss, 2008). Theory and empirical findings show that implicit motives develop in pre-linguistic stages of childhood and unconsciously establish behavior-affect contingencies, In other words, a connection between particular behaviors and their affective consequences is built on a level that is explicitly inaccessible. Behaviors or goals that are experienced as affectively rewarding in these early stages are likely to define individuals' implicit motives, or *inner needs*, throughout their life (McClelland & Pilon, 1983). Explicit motives, on the other hand, describe individuals' consciously ascribed and

consciously acquired goals. They are based on teaching and socialization, and therefore strongly correspond with *norms and societal expectations*. Acquisition of such goals requires that language structures and cognitive representations of different concepts are already established, and therefore takes place in more advanced stages of development (Hofer & Chasiotis, 2011).

Behavioral outcomes. Implicit and explicit motives relate to different types of behavioral outcomes. Implicit motives drive behaviors towards affectively rewarding end-states, and are therefore generally found to predict behaviors that are performed without much deliberation. Both theory and research indicate that implicit motives relate to *spontaneous* and more enduring or *long-term* behaviors (Brunstein & Maier, 2005; McClelland & Pilon, 1983). Explicit motives, in contrast, orient individuals' behaviors towards consciously selected goals, and therefore relate to normative behaviors. They have been found to predict planned and respondent behaviors, such as non recurring one-off behaviors performed in response to particular expectations in a specific situation or context (McClelland et al., 1989; Schultheiss, 2008). Table 1.1 provides an overview over the features of implicit and explicit motives.

Table 1.1 Differentiating implicit and explicit motives

	Implicit motives	**Explicit motives**
Development	preverbal, affect-based	after language is developed, socialization, cognition - based
Representation	Unconscious	conscious
Behavioral Outcomes	*spontaneous* behaviors, *long-term* behavioral trends	*planned* behaviors, respondent and expectancy-conform behaviors

Does the Motivation to Help Differ for Different Types of Helping?

Helping activities differ on more than one dimension, such as the duration of the helping act, the amount of effort, the number of benefiting people, the perceived closeness to the recipient, or the severity of the situation, to name a few. Helping begins in everyday situations such as holding the door open for someone else and extends to more severe situations that require emergency intervention. Activities can range from more informal and personal implementations as for instance comforting a friend to rather formal and long-term applications of helping such as volunteering in an organization. In 1980, Pearce and Amato

proposed a classification of helping on the basis of 72 students rating the similarity of different pairs of helping behaviors (in total 62 behaviors). Their results suggest that helping activities can be arranged along three dimensions:

(1) planned / formal help versus spontaneous / informal help

(2) emergency helping versus non-emergency (unserious) helping

(3) direct helping / doing versus indirect helping / giving.

I focus on the first dimension of spontaneous versus planned helping to answer the question of whether motivations to help differ as a function of helping type. This is done for two reasons: First, this is the most salient dimension on which helping activities can be classified (Pearce & Amato, 1980). Second, it is arguably the one that lends itself the best to test the differential predictive effects of implicit and explicit motives (see Table 1.1) such that; implicit motives relate to spontaneous behaviors while explicit motives predict planned behaviors (McClelland et al., 1989; Schultheiss & Brunstein, 2010). I set out to examine the effects of implicit and explicit helping motivation on planned/formal versus spontaneous/informal helping.

Helping in Cross-Cultural Context: It Is a Matter of Target

Cross-cultural comparisons often utilized the conceptualization of culture as Individualism vs. Collectivism (Hofstede, 1980; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997, 2007; Triandis, 1991). Generally, individualists are characterized as being oriented towards themselves and their nuclear family, while collectivists give more priority to the welfare of one or more groups (i.e., their in-groups) (Triandis, 1995). Building on this, it might be expected that collectivists endorse a stronger sense of concern for others, and therefore are more helpful. However, empirical evidence regarding this question is rather mixed (for an overview, see Aydinli et al., 2013): While some findings suggest that collectivists, compared to individualists, perceive themselves as more morally responsible to help others (e.g., Miller et al., 1990), other studies portray a different picture. For instance, the meta-analysis by Allik and Realo (2004) linked country-level individualism–collectivism scores to social capital indicators. Their results provide evidence that a country's social capital increases with individualism scores of the country. Such conflicting findings challenge simple contentions that claim sociocultural orientation per se to result in more or less concern for other peoples' welfare. What apparently matters is the emotional closeness to the target of help. More specifically, it made a difference whether help was directed at close targets or distant targets.

Helping Close Targets: A Story of Cross-Cultural Similarities

For helping very close targets (e.g., kin) findings hardly portray differences between cultural groups or individuals, neither for spontaneous nor for planned helping. For instance, findings by Miller et al. (1990) show that American and Indian individuals do not differ in how much moral obligation to help they feel towards close targets. Similarly, research by Graziano at al. (2007) indicates that there is little interindividual variation when spontaneous help directed at close targets (i.e., siblings and friends) is examined. Results look similar for planned helping. Research conducted by Fijneman, Willemsen, and Poortinga (1996) suggests that helping across different cultural groups is a function of closeness. In other words, the closer a target is, the more likely it will be that help is given to this target. Emotional closeness towards close others has been found to be highly similar across cultural groups (Georgas, Berry, van de Vijver, Kağıtçıbaşı, & Poortinga, 2006), which corroborates the notion that helping close others should rarely differ across cultures and groups in general. Supportive evidence for such a view comes also from data that examined helping as a function of intra-national cultural variation: The study by Amato (1993) examined help directed at *close others* (i.e., family, relatives, and close friends) across urban and rural regions within USA, and confirmed that frequencies of help did *not* differ. An explanation for this pattern of findings can be found in the evolutionary mechanism of kin selection, which describes that helping close or genetically related targets represents an adaptive strategy to foster own and relatives' procreation, and thereby one's own genetic information (Barrett, Dunbar, & Lycett, 2002; Chasiotis, 2011a; Hamilton, 1964).

Helping Strangers: A Story of Cross-Cultural Differences

Helping strangers, unlike kin, has been found to be subject to both high individual and high cultural variation. Overall, findings suggest that helping strangers is strongly related to cultural norms and values. Being prosocial is generally valued across most cultures or societies (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). However, to what extent this is the case when the help target is a stranger, seems to be a question of culture-specific norms, or the inclusiveness of one's moral in-group (Schwartz, 2007). For instance, the study by Levine, Norenzayan, and Philbrick (2001) examined real-life spontaneous helping across big cities from 23 countries, and showed that helping a stranger was most likely in countries that endorse the cultural norm of *simpatia.* Simpatia describes the normative expectation to be friendly, polite, and helpful to strangers, and is typically found in Spanish and Latin American contexts (Díaz-Loving & Draguns, 1999; Triandis, Marín, Lisansky, & Betancourt, 1984). Similarly, an early field

experiment conducted by Feldman (1968) showed that foreigners were treated better in Athens than in Paris and Boston; seemingly as a consequence of hospitality which constitutes a substantial aspect of Greek culture (Triandis, 1967).

Planned forms of helping that are directed at strangers mostly take place in the form of volunteering. Volunteer work consists of "freely chosen and deliberate helping activities that extend over time, are engaged in without expectation of reward or other compensation and often through formal organizations" (Omoto & Snyder, 2008, p. 3). Findings from numerous national surveys examining volunteering reveal that rates of voluntary memberships and activities are typically high in individualistic cultural contexts; namely in countries with high levels of economic development, that are predominantly Christian (particularly protestant), that hold a prolonged democratic history, and that present a social democratic or liberal democratic political system (e.g., Allik & Realo, 2004; Curtis, Grabb, & Baer, 1992; Curtis, Baer, & Grabb, 2001; Kemmelmeier, Jambor, & Leitner, 2006). Possibly, norms and expectations to provide planned helping to unknown others, also play a role in whether people engage in volunteering or not. Notably, these norms can strongly differ from cultural norms and conventions that concern spontaneous assistance given to strangers.

Who Is Helping? Does Motivation to Help Differ Across Culture?

Current evidence suggests that cultural differences are unlikely to emerge when help directed at close others is examined. Instead, differences between individuals and differences between cultures are more visible when the target of help is a stranger which seems to be related to specific norms. Such norms, however, can differ as a function of cultural context and the type of helping (spontaneous vs. planned) (Feldman, 1968; Levine et al., 2001).

Notably, the above presented research on cross-cultural similarities and differences mainly investigated helping alongside mean-level similarities and differences. Put differently, what has been done so far was largely limited to comparing frequencies of helping or rates of volunteering across various cultural groups. To a lesser degree, the question of whether mechanisms anteceding different forms of helping are similar or different across cultural groups has been examined. Mechanisms such as cultural values, norms, societal expectations, closeness, or in-group vs. out-group distinction (Feldman, 1968; Schwartz, 2007, Triandis, 1995) have been proposed as explanatory mechanisms. Systematical empirical investigations, however, have been rare (for an exception, see Fijneman et al., 1996). Certainly, knowledge gained from mean-level comparisons of helping across cultures is valuable. However, investigating whether antecedents that drive different types of helping are similar or different

for different (cultural) groups is needed to answer the question of whether motives to help are the same for different people in different cultural contexts.

Aim of the Current Research

The aim of the present dissertation was to examine three overarching Research Questions (hereafter abbreviated as RQ):

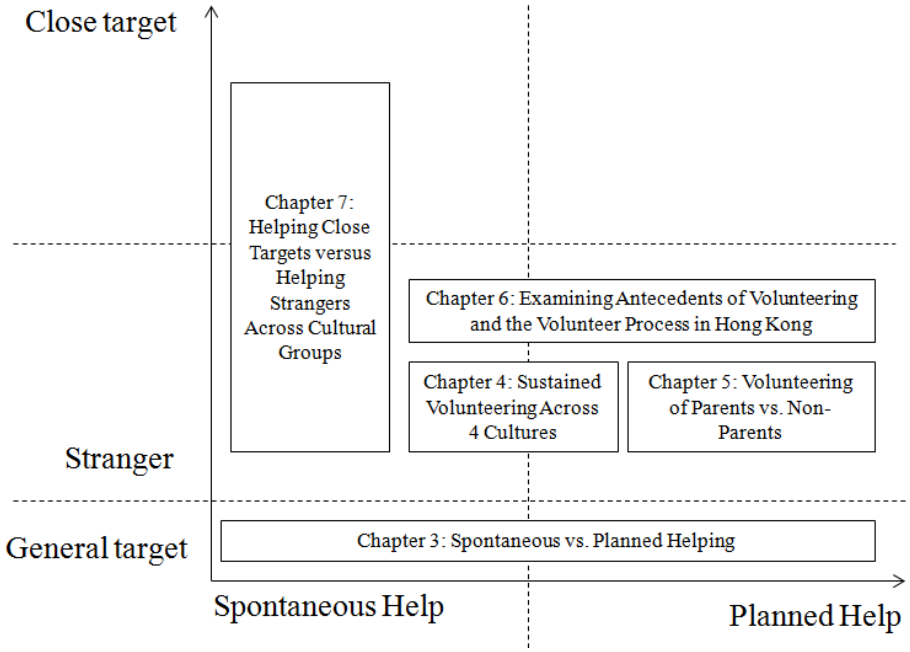
(1) *Why* do people help others? Is implicit motivation an antecedent of helping?

(2) Are motivations for helping different for different *types of helping*? More specifically, how do implicit and explicit motives relate to spontaneous versus planned helping, and to helping close targets versus strangers?

(3) Are relationships between implicit and explicit motivation and different types of helping the same for individuals from *different (cultural) contexts*?

To answer these questions, effects of implicit and explicit motivation are examined systematically in relation to different types of helping. Figure 1.1 provides an overview over the empirical chapters of this dissertation and the types of helping that are dealt with in each chapter.

Figure 1.1 Overview of the empirical studies



Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of one review chapter that summarizes previous findings on helping and volunteering across cultures, five empirical chapters that investigate different types of

helping, and one final chapter that integrates and discusses findings obtained from the present research. The particular RQ's addressed in each empirical chapter are presented below.

Chapter three examines how implicit and explicit motivation relates to spontaneous versus planned helping by using self-reported and behavioral measures of both spontaneous and planned help. It therefore focuses on the first and the second RQ.

Chapter four examines and compares the relations of implicit and explicit motivation with sustained volunteering across four diverse cultural contexts: China, Germany, Turkey, and the US. Sustained volunteering is conceptualized as a planned, enduring, frequent, and intensive helping activity directed at strangers. It therefore represents a multifaceted behavioral outcome that can neither purely be captured by behavioral outcomes of implicit motives, nor purely by behavioral outcomes of explicit motives: Sustained volunteering is mainly *planned,* but it also contains *spontaneous* elements, and is a *long-term* activity (see Table 1.1). Hence, it seems interesting to examine how more complex forms of helping relate to implicit and explicit motivation, and how these relations are affected by cultural context. Chapter four addresses RQ1 and RQ3.

In *chapter five*, motivations to engage in volunteering are examined in light of contextual demands that go beyond cultural context. More specifically, this chapter examines whether the same type of planned helping directed at strangers can be driven by different motivational mechanisms, depending on cultural context and parenthood as a life stage. It seems relevant to examine motivations in relation to particular norms, expectations, and demands (that might change across cultures or life-stages), as explicit motives relate to respondent and norm-consistent behaviors more than implicit motives (Table 1.1). By doing that, the fifth chapter particularly addresses RQ1 and RQ3.

In the *sixth chapter*, motivational antecedents and psychological outcomes of (sustained) volunteering are explored within one cultural setting, namely Hong Kong. Prominent Western models of volunteering are applied and tested for their applicability in Hong Kong: The Prosocial Personality Model by Penner (2002) and the Volunteer Process Model by Omoto and Snyder (1995). Results provide insight into whether and to what extent models are applicable to volunteering in non-Western cultures and therefore answer RQ3.

In the *last empirical chapter*, spontaneous helping that is directed at both close targets and strangers is examined across different cultural groups. Cultural groups are compared in terms of their frequencies of providing help and their motivations to help close targets and strangers. The last empirical chapter therefore offers an integrated approach and addresses RQ1, RQ2, and RQ3.

Chapter 2

Helping and Volunteering across Cultures: Determinants of Prosocial Behavior

Introduction

On a daily basis, varieties of helping acts can be observed in all cultures and societies. But we know little about the extent to which mechanisms and manners related to helping are similar or different across cultures. Several fundamental questions emerge: Are such anteceding mechanisms similar or rather different across cultures? And what about helping frequencies: do they differ depending on cultural context? For instance, are people living in traditional cultural environments more or less helpful than people living in modern western societies? And if there are differences, how can they be explained? This paper will provide answers to these questions. To do so, we first introduce prominent theoretical approaches to prosocial behavior, define our target area, subsequently report relevant empirical findings, and conclude with an outlook on where future research could and should be going.

Theoretical Approaches

Approaches to explain prosocial behavior in general and helping in particular are numerous and span different disciplines (Eisenberg, Fabes, & Spinrad, 2006). In this paper we limit ourselves to two approaches: first we introduce the evolutionary perspective that explains ultimate reasons of *why* helping occurs (i.e., functions of helping), and then highlight psychological approaches that focus on more proximate mechanisms of *how* prosocial behavior emerges.

Evolutionary Approaches to Helping

The evolutionary perspective on helping proposes that helping depends on genetic relatedness, age, and the reproductive value of the recipient (Burnstein, Crandall & Kitayama, 1994). Known in the literature as *kin selection*, this form of helping contributes to the helpers' inclusive fitness, i.e., the sum of the individual fitness outcomes resulting from own procreation (Darwinian fitness) and the procreation of relatives with whom the individual shares genes (Hamilton, 1964). Another principle that is based on evolutionary considerations, but goes beyond helping within the boundaries of kinship, is known as *reciprocal altruism.* Here, helping is an evolutionary adaptive strategy when people share a social context that entails a high likelihood of future interactions, in which some kind of reciprocity therefore can be anticipated (Trivers, 1971; for more evolutionary considerations on prosocial behavior see also Barrett et al., 2002; Chasiotis, 2011a).

Psychological Approaches to Helping

The functionality of the evolutionary concepts on helping is based on mostly non-conscious and ultimate cost-benefit calculations (degree of shared genetic information, likelihood of future interactions). Such a self-serving perspective of prosocial acts can be also recognized in the more proximate, psychological concepts that explain helping behavior. A prominent psychological approach identifies two broad categories of *egoistic motives* as the driving force for the initiation of helping: First, based on their learning experiences, people may expect positive outcomes such as financial benefits, social recognition, or positive feelings about themselves from helping (e.g., Schaller & Cialdini, 1988; Smith, Keating & Stotland, 1989; Dunn, Aknin & Norton, 2008). Second, knowing another person is in need can create a negative emotional state of personal distress – which can possibly be relieved by the act of helping (or avoiding people in distress; Fultz, Schaller, & Cialdini, 1988, Eisenberg & Fabes, 1991; Lindsay, Yun & Hill, 2007). Furthermore, psychological approaches consider genuine empathic concern as an antecedent for helping: the *empathy-altruism hypothesis* (Batson & Shaw, 1991; Batson et al., 2002) posits that the primary reason for helping is the identification with the person in need, which evokes empathic feelings, and eventually elicits altruistic motivation – which goes beyond the mere reduction of one's own personal distress. The maximization of rewards and minimization of costs is the key principle of another psychological explanation put forth by the *social exchange theory* (Foa & Foa, 1975). Here people consciously weigh whether the gains of helping and the costs associated with not helping outweigh the costs associated with helping and the benefits of not helping. Social exchange theory posits that the behavioral alternative promising the best outcome will be chosen. In summary, it seems that psychological approaches to helping focus on two distinct mechanisms: one that is based on conscious and cognitive considerations; and another one that is rooted in more implicit and affective experiences. Notably, both mechanisms are in line with the assumption that helping is a mean to attain positive end-states.

Classification of Helping

One of the few psychological classifications of helping with an empirical basis is the taxonomy by Pearce & Amato (1980; see also McGuire, 1994). They proposed a categorization of helping activities after students rated the similarity of two helping behaviors that were presented together. Their results suggest that helping activities can be arranged along three dimensions, with *planned / formal help* versus *spontaneous / informal help* as the first dimension, *emergency helping* versus *non-emergency (unserious) helping* as the second

dimension, and *direct helping / doing* versus *indirect helping / giving* as the third dimension. For the purpose of this review, we focus on the distinction between *planned / formal help* and *spontaneous / informal help*. First, we review studies focusing on informal and spontaneous helping, and then look at volunteering as the arguably most planned and formal form of helping.

Spontaneous Helping across Cultures

So far, most of psychological research on spontaneous helping investigated how self-reported *attitudes, values, traits, and skills* are related to helping (Eisenberg et al., 2006; for a recent example see Caprara, Alessandri, & Eisenberg, 2012). Studies highlighted for instance the importance of empathy (e.g., Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger & Freifeld, 1995; Twenge, Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco & Bartels, 2007), or agreeableness (e.g., Graziano et al., 2007; Caprara, Allesandri, Di Giunta, Panerai & Eisenberg, 2010) for helping. At the same time, however, results demonstrated that personal dispositions may become more or less important for predicting helping depending on *situational determinants*. For instance findings of Graziano et al. (2007) show that agreeableness was only predictive when the target of help was a stranger (but not when it was a friend or sibling), or when the seriousness of the situation was low (but not when it was an emergency situation). Apparently, when help is directed at close others, or when the situation requires an emergency intervention, inter-individual differences in agreeableness become unimportant - possibly because they are overruled by a strong habit or norm to help in such situations. Hence, the prevailing situation substantially co-determines to what extent specific predictors are effective in predicting helping.This is in line with the general reasoning that integrates dispositional and situational factors in personological research in a person x situation framework and seeks to explain behavior as a result of an interaction between the two (Mendoza-Denton, Ayduk, Mischel, Shoda, & Testa, 2001; Mischel & Shoda, 1995). Accordingly, mechanisms underlying helping could differ across cultures since culture can be considered a placeholder for contextual differences. It may thus be the case that helping is more or less likely to occur in one cultural context (or situation) than in others.

National Comparisons

Helping was assumed to occur more frequently among collectivists than individualists, due to the belief that they would be generally more socially oriented. However, empirical studies on actual distributions are rare sightings; one of these few, and one of the more recent, by Levine

and colleagues (2001) concludes that "the virtual absence of systematic cross-cultural investigations of helping is a serious impediment to a richer understanding of how the personality of a place relates to helping behavior" (p.544). Acknowledging this deficit, the present review sheds light on how diverse cultural environments and their specific characteristics relate to spontaneous helping.

Levine et al. (2001, Levine, 2003) observed helping activities in a field experiment across big cities in 23 different countries (e.g., Rio de Janeiro, Amsterdam, Shanghai, Tel Aviv, New York, and 18 others) and assessed how frequently strangers were being helped in three different non-emergency spontaneous helping situations requiring little effort (e. g. alerting a stranger who dropped a pen). Helping rates showed large variations between the 23 cities, being highest in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil, 93%) and lowest in Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia, 40%). The overall helping score emerged to be positively correlated with the cultural value orientation of *simpatia,* a proactive concern for others, including being friendly, polite, and helpful to strangers. These cultural norms are mainly found in Spanish and Latin American contexts (Díaz-Loving & Draguns, 1999; Triandis et al., 1984). Furthermore, it is striking that variables such as population size or pace of life –measured as average walking speed in these cities- remained unrelated to helping. Instead, the economic productivity of a country was significantly negatively related to the overall helping rate. In other words, helping occurred less often in wealthier contexts. Concordant with this finding are results by Miller and colleagues (1990). They confronted participants with *hypothetical* helping scenarios, and additionally varied the *seriousness* of the helping situation (i.e., minor vs. moderately serious vs. life-threatening) and the *relationship between the persons* involved (i.e., parent-child vs. best friend vs. stranger). Descriptions were presented to Indian and US American adults and children who were asked to indicate how responsible and morally obligated they would feel to help in each scenario. As expected, Miller and colleagues found that feelings of responsibility and obligation to help increase when helping scenarios are *more serious* and when the *relationship to the target* of help is closer. However, this dependency on seriousness and relationship closeness was much more pronounced for US Americans than for Indians – meaning that Indians *generally* felt more responsible and obligated to help than Americans who reacted more situation- and target-dependent. This finding demonstrates two things: first the importance of both the situation and the target of helping for experiencing feelings of responsibility; and second that there are pronounced differences in levels of responsibility between the two cultural groups.

Taking the study by Miller and colleagues (1990) as well as Levine and colleagues (2001) into consideration, would we then expect people from more traditional, collectivistic, and economically poorer environments - such as the Brazilians or Indians – to be generally more inclined to help than people from more western, affluent, individualistic contexts? Based on the currently available research, it seems too early to give a clear answer to this question. However, we can get another step ahead in understanding how characteristics of the environment relate to an individual's inclination to help by looking at studies comparing helping in urban vs. rural environments.

Urban vs. Rural Environments

The importance of urbanization – accompanied by socioeconomic, socio-demographic, familial, and sociocultural differences – for helping is a relatively well studied line of research. In 1975, Korte & Kerr observed that strangers were being helped more often in rural (small towns around Massachusetts) than urban environments (Boston). This finding was extended by House and Wolf (1978) who analyzed the refusal rates of survey participation in representative samples of the United States. Again, refusal rates were higher in large cities than in small towns. However, it is not clear how generalizable these findings are, since the reported urban-rural differences were found within the USA, a context referred to as prototypically western and individualistic. To examine whether similar urban-rural differences also occur in more traditional, and collectivistic contexts, Korte and Ayvalıoğlu (1981) examined helping within Turkey. They compared helpfulness towards a stranger in big cities, small towns, and squatter settlements. The squatter settlements of the big cities are particularly interesting to better understand the nature of the observed differences, as families with low socio-economic status that migrated from rural areas were living there. Again, strangers were less often helped in the big cities than in the small towns and in the squatter settlements. Interestingly, *no* differences in helping between small towns and squatter settlements of the big cities emerged. Moreover, helping rates in the suburbs were found to be lowest. In accordance with Levine et al. (2001), these findings also point to the importance of economic factors. Moreover, finding no differences between the squatter settlements and the small towns indicates that it is not the situational specifics of the current urban environment alone.

After showing that differences in spontaneous helping between urban vs. rural environments basically correspond with what was found by Levine et al. (2001) on the level of cross-national comparisons, can we now conclude that spontaneous helping is more likely

to occur in less developed, poorer contexts? Can we assume that people living in traditional collectivistic societies are more concerned with other peoples' welfare and thus will be more likely to help than those in modern western societies? A study by Fijneman et al. (1996) conducted in Hong Kong, Greece, Turkey, the Netherlands, and the United States challenges this reasoning. Other than just focusing on whether help is given or not, this study takes another aspect into consideration: *the expectation to receive help*. Results portray that the pattern of readiness to provide help and expectations to receive help from ten different target persons and their ratios were found to be *highly similar across all cultural contexts*. Moreover, in all cultural contexts, differences between social categories were largely explained by ratings of *emotional closeness*. From emotionally closer targets, individuals reported both to expect more support, and to be more willing to provide support. In line with evolutionary principles of reciprocity in stable environments, emotionally close others (as opposed to strangers) warrant investment as it is likely that the relationship will remain stable over time for them to reciprocate. Fijneman and colleagues (1996) further find clear support for kinship altruism, with helping more likely to be performed when it benefits kin or close others. Overall, findings indicate that the ultimate functionality of acting prosocial, namely the reciprocity and kinship effect, is invariant across cultures Other studies (Georgas et al., 2006) corroborate this notion by finding that emotional closeness towards relatives is highly similar across cultures indicating that differences in helping should remain small when help is directed at close others, that is, at in-group members. However, when target persons are less close, i.e., out-group members, we expect more variance in the form of inter-individual and inter-cultural differences in helping. We will present further evidence for this presumption in the next section.

Helping Out-Group Members vs. Helping In-Group Members

Indiscriminate helping is rare. We already mentioned that the target of helping substantially influences helping (e.g., Miller et al, 1990; Graziano et al., 2007). How perspectives on helping can change when accounting for the target of help is nicely demonstrated by Amato (1993). Similar to Korte and colleagues, Amato was interested in examining urban-rural differences on helping. However, he did not investigate the help directed at strangers, but help directed at close others. In total, 13,017 American individuals were asked to indicate whether they have given various types of help to family members, relatives, and friends over the past month. Unlike previous findings (e.g., Korte & Kerr, 1975, House & Wolf, 1978), this time results did *not* display urban-rural differences in helping. Apparently, when help is directed at

family members, relatives and friends (as opposed to strangers) effects of urbanization on helping remain relatively small. Again, this indicates that evolutionary considerations of helping apply. When helping is directed at close others, it may be based on kinship altruism that represents an internalized mechanism of survival and reproduction and might then explain why differences in helping between societies – and also between individuals (see Graziano et al., 2007) - are relatively small, or even not existing. Instead, differences seem to be particularly visible when help is directed at out-group members (i.e., strangers). While this provides us with an avenue to understand differences in low-effort spontaneous helping behavior, we next turn to high-effort, long-term and planned helping. Notably, the main focus of the present review will lie on volunteering, so that informal forms of planned and high-effort helping that are mostly directed at known others will only be considered marginally.

Planned Formal Helping: Volunteering across Cultures

Volunteering is defined as a long-term, planned, and non-obligatory form of helping. Unlike supporting family members, friends, neighbors, or close others, volunteering takes place in a formal, organizational context (Penner, 2002). On Pearce & Amato's (1980) dimension of spontaneous vs. planned / formal helping, volunteering represents one endpoint as the most planned and formal form of helping.

Even though benefits of volunteering for both the volunteer and the society are widely acknowledged (e.g., Atkins, Hart & Donnelly, 2005; Cemalcılar, 2009), interest among psychologists in studying volunteering emerged relatively late – only within the past 20 years. Psychological research on antecedents of volunteering mainly concentrates on two theoretical approaches: the dispositional and the motivational approach to volunteering. Focusing on dispositions, the *prosocial personality model* by Penner (2002) should be mentioned. This model proposes that *other-oriented empathy and helpfulness* are the most important predictors for volunteerism. The second approach, the *volunteer process model* by Omoto and Snyder (1995) assumes that self-attributed *motivational underpinnings* predict volunteering. Studies found support for both approaches. For instance, Penner and Finkelstein (1998) and later Penner (2002) showed that higher levels of a self-reported prosocial disposition (i.e., other-oriented empathy and helpfulness) were positively related to the amount of time spent on volunteering and the duration of the voluntary service. On the other hand, Omoto & Snyder (1995) showed that a prosocial disposition predicts satisfaction with the volunteering experience, but fails to predict duration of volunteering. For the duration of volunteering, they identified a set of different motivations to be predictive. In their view, no uniform personality

trait (such as a prosocial personality) or motivation exists that leads to volunteering. Instead, they noted that different volunteers perform their voluntary service for different reasons. Accordingly, Omoto and Snyder defined five different motivations that lead to volunteering. Later, in 1998, Clary and colleagues extended this to six motivations: values, understanding, protection, enhancement, career and social motivations. Taken together, both approaches clarify that individual dispositions and motivations substantially contribute to the explanation of volunteering and its sustainability.

However, the question we are particularly interested in is whether these characteristics function equally across cultural contexts. Similar to research on spontaneous helping, studies on the role of cultural context for volunteering are few in number. Comparisons between countries typically attempt to explain differing rates of volunteering by investigating the societal role of demographic or socioeconomic indicators (for a review see Wilson, 2000). Examining whether pathways leading to volunteering are affected by culture is still a relatively unexplored research area. Hence, we will approach this question indirectly by first reviewing cross-country comparisons of volunteering rates, and then highlight the role of group membership for volunteering.

National Comparisons

One of the first studies investigating different rates of volunteering in different countries is the study by Curtis in 1971. Based on datasets from national surveys, he compared membership rates in voluntary associations in the United States of America, Canada, Great Britain, Western Germany, Italy, and Mexico. Membership rates were higher for Americans and Canadians than for citizens of the other four nations. Roughly 20 years later, Curtis et al., (1992) investigated World Value Survey data (1981 to 1983) and compared the membership rates of 15 countries after controlling for sex, age, educational level, employment status, marital status, and community size. Again, US-Americans turned out to be leading by showing significantly higher membership rates than twelve out of fourteen countries. Similar results were also found after analyzing World Value Survey data sets of 33 democratic countries from 1991 to 1993 (Curtis et al., 2001). Findings suggest that cross national variance in association involvement is a function of economic development, religious composition, democracy history, and type of prevailing policy in the different nations. Rates of voluntary memberships and activities were typically high in countries with high levels of economic development, that are predominantly Christian (particularly protestant), that hold a prolonged democratic history, and that present a social democratic or liberal democratic

political system. Consistent interpretations can be derived from the meta-analysis done by Allik & Realo (2004). Here, associations between sociocultural value orientation (i.e., country-level individualism–collectivism scores) and social capital - defined as the aggregate of social connectedness, civic engagement and generalized trust (Putnam, 1995; 2000) - within the United States and across 42 nations were examined. Results show that social capital increased with higher levels of individualism. Similarly, also Kemmelmeier et al. (2006) found charitable giving and volunteering to be higher in individualist than in collectivist states. High scores on individualism in turn are typically found in countries with higher economic productivity that have a long lasting background of Christianity and democracy. What does this tell us? Overall, the cross national comparisons of volunteering demonstrate that the economic condition of a country is a key variable. Different from spontaneous helping, which was found to be more frequent in poorer countries (Levine et al., 2001), formal, long-term prosocial activities seem to be more prevalent in wealthier contexts (Allik & Realo, 2004, Kemmelmaier et al., 2006).

In-Group vs. Out-Group Volunteering

We know from research on spontaneous helping that group membership of the target person is of substantial relevance (for a review see Stürmer & Snyder, 2010). Several studies investigated in-group vs. out-group volunteering from a psychological perspective. One aspect that benefits in-group vs. out-group members is the helpers' form of *identification*. Simon, Stürmer, & Steffens (2000) investigated the differential effects of individual vs. collective identification on participants' self reported willingness to volunteer for in-group vs. out-group members. Here, individual identification meant that individuals defined and understood their self as unique and individual beings, whereas collective identification meant that individuals defined and understood their self as part of a bigger group. The findings of Simon and colleagues portray that in-group volunteering was facilitated by collective identification, whereas out-group volunteering was facilitated through individual identification, but inhibited by collective identification. However, it has to be noted that, their results are based on self reported scores of willingness to volunteer. In a more recent study, Stürmer & Simon (2004) applied a longitudinal design with *real life volunteering* as dependent variable and tested the effect of collective identification on volunteering. Results of this panel study confirmed the hypothesis that higher levels of collective identification facilitate participation in social movements that benefit in-group members.

These results are particularly interesting since the form of identification probably represents a variable that shows large cross-cultural variation. We can presume that persons considering themselves as unique and socially more independent beings are more likely to be found in prototypically western, and affluent sociocultural contexts. In turn, in more traditional, economically less developed interdependent sociocultural contexts persons should more strongly perceive themselves as elements of bigger communities. Based on this assumption, we can expect in-group volunteering (or planned/formal helping given to close targets) to be more frequent in interdependent contexts, whereas out-group volunteering (or planned/formal helping given to distant targets) should be more common in independent contexts. Since volunteering is a service largely benefiting unknown others (out-group members), our assumption receives some support from the observation that volunteering rates were typically higher in affluent and western communities. A possible explanation for this can be derived from Triandis' (1995) argument that the distinction between in-group vs. out-group members is more strongly pronounced in collectivistic contexts, which might represent a consequence of a strong collective identification. In more individualistic contexts however, an individual – or universal - identification might lead to less or even no consideration of group status, which in turn facilitates an appreciation of group independent, thus universal, helping (McFarland, Webb & Brown, 2012).

In another set of studies, Stürmer and colleagues went beyond solely comparing differences of volunteering frequencies, and addressed the question whether in-group vs. out-group volunteering is initiated by the same mechanisms by examining motivational processes of in-group and out-group helping and volunteering (e.g., Stürmer, Snyder & Omoto, 2005; Stürmer, Snyder, Kropp, & Siem, 2006). Results of all studies show a pattern of in-group volunteering being initiated through empathic feelings, and out-group volunteering being initiated through more rational concerns such as considerations of interpersonal attraction. It seems that particularly out-group helping and out-group volunteering are based on rational anticipations of future interactions with the help recipient. The authors assume that high interpersonal attraction makes future interactions more likely. A high possibility of interaction also increases the probability of reciprocity in the future, and thus leads to higher volunteering. This means that long-term helping, also including repeated informal assistance, which requires much effort and commitment seems to be motivated though more cognition-based processed that serve the ultimate mechanism of reciprocal altruism. Whether or not reciprocity might be at the horizon should even have a stronger influence when the service is directed at out-group members. In turn, when long-term commitments of helping

characterized by high effort benefit *close others or in-group members*, kinship altruism, which may be initiated by empathic reactions, could provide an explanation for helping. Notably both mechanisms of helping have in common that they direct individuals towards behaviors that are adaptive in their specific circumstances, although they are initiated by distinct psychological processes. Against this background, it is also not surprising that inter-individual and inter-cultural variations in helping are generally small when help is directed at close others (e.g., Amato, 1993; Miller et al., 1990; Fijneman et al., 1996; Graziano et al., 2007). Helping close others might represent an adaptive strategy for most individuals and across cultural contexts. In contrast, the adaptive value of helping out-group members might strongly depend on societal and cultural structures, and eventually lead to high cross cultural variation.

The Way Forward

The studies we summarized so far underline that differences in helping across regions, communities, or nations are not uniform. But we have teased out systematic variations: Whether helping is more or less likely to occur in a particular context strongly depends on the type of helping and the target of helping. The findings suggest that providing spontaneous and low-effort aid to a stranger is more frequent in traditional, less affluent and rural areas than in modern, affluent and urban environments, whereas the opposite is the case for planned and long-term helping directed at out-group members, namely volunteering. Yet, there is the question of where differences in spontaneous helping and volunteering across regions come from. Drawing on evolutionary considerations, it may well be the case that such differences in helping and volunteering may be the result of psychological adaptations to different socio-economical conditions, particularly as a result of experiences during ontogeny as a formative period for adult differences (Chasiotis, 2011a, 2011b, see also Bender & Chasiotis, 2011).

Understanding Cultural Differences

In past research, regional or national differences in helping and volunteering are mostly attributed to variations in community-level variables, such as sociocultural value orientation (e.g., individualism vs. collectivism), socio-demographic and socio-economic features, or political characteristics. Although these variables strongly relate to helping tendencies, they hardly provide answers to *why* these differences occur. We suggest that important lessons can be learned if variations in the proximal environment of individuals that arise from such community-level determinants are considered. It is important to conceptually differentiate a

person's ontogenetic context from the socio-economic context (which includes the community-level determinants). The model by Bronfenbrenner (1979) clarifies that the higher order context may filtrate through to the specific ontogenetic circumstances in which a child grows up. More proximal variables that are influenced by country level features include the familial structure (e.g., number of siblings), or the physical distance to family members, available social networks, or socialization practices transmitting patterns of social behavior. In line with this view is Kağıtçıbaşı's research (1997) that focuses on an individuals' direct environment in an attempt to explain cultural differences. Based on her argumentation, the socio-economic, socio-demographic and sociocultural conditions of a community promote different strategies and forms of living. Hence, individuals adapt to different conditions of a community. For instance, in more traditional and poor societies with little or no social security, maintaining close relationships to relatives is more adaptive and desirable than in western and affluent societies, because kin, particularly offspring, provides a security net for old age or during emergencies (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997, 2007). In such conditions, intergenerational interdependence, as well as values of obedience and respect are fostered, which can be related to the high proximity of family members. The emerging notion is that the interplay between ontogenetic conditions and resulting psychological adaptations offers an avenue to understand cultural differences between contexts that differ in higher order socio-economic conditions (Chasiotis, 2011b). In more industrialized contexts in turn, societal institutions may provide the needed structures that substitute personalized intergenerational contract through more abstract and depersonalized bonds with the society.

The Two Processes Model of Helping: The Effect of Culture

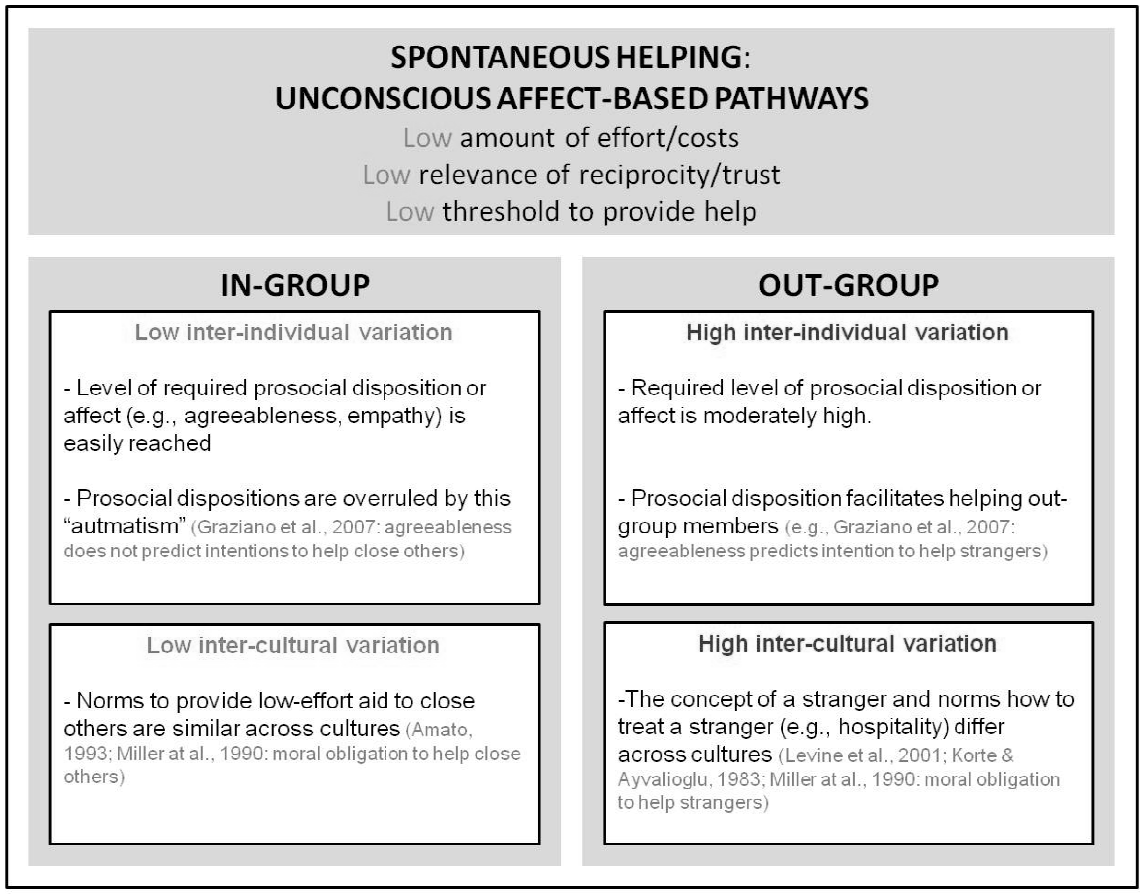
The findings for spontaneous helping and volunteering indicate that different processes are involved in these two forms of prosocial behavior. We presume that low-effort spontaneous helping is an implicit and unconscious act that is initiated by affective components, whereas high-effort and long-term prosocial commitments are rather cognition based and driven by conscious values, religious beliefs, and norms or elaborate and foresighted considerations of future reciprocity. Particularly when this cost-intensive form of helping is directed at those who are perceived as out-group members, cost-benefit calculations on whether future reciprocity is likely to be experienced or not should be more salient.

Low-effort spontaneous help. Differences between cultural groups or individuals in low-effort spontaneous helping (e.g., picking up dropped magazines, holding the door for someone, etc.) are generally more pronounced when help is directed at out-group members

(strangers). When this form of help is given to in-group members, in the reviewed studies (e.g., Amato, 1993; Fijneman et al., 1996; Graziano et al., 2007) no significant cross-cultural or inter-individual differences could be shown. The process of giving spontaneous aid to a known other should therefore be an easy and almost automatic response, particularly when kin is involved. Helping in the form of "being polite" or "doing a small favor" is likely to constitute an essential element of social interactions in most communities. Thus, we expect that norms and patterns of how to interact with close others in situations requiring spontaneous intervention are largely similar across cultures. This also matches to predictions derived from kin selection: helping kin, or more generally close others is an adaptive strategy to survive across different cultural communities. This similarity is likely to come in the form of a ceiling effect that overrules the effect of other variables. The "habit" to provide assistance to close others might be so strongly anchored that differences become very unlikely. Particularly since the amount of effort required for this form of helping is often very small, the threshold for engaging in this form of helping should be very low. As a consequence of the low costs for spontaneous helping, conscious anticipations of future reciprocity should be less relevant than for more cost-intensive forms of helping. Instead, spontaneous help should proceed in a more automatic and unconscious manner. It should more strongly relate to affective experiences such as the feeling of empathy, or internalized and societal norms of helping. This also explains why strangers were more often helped in more traditional communities than in western environments. In a more traditional and rural area, being a stranger possibly has different implications than being a stranger in a modern, and mostly multicultural society. In small and more traditional communities were people typically know each other, strangers are rare and thus more likely to stand out from the crowd. Accordingly, their distinctiveness is much higher in a rural society than in a modern society that is entirely composed of people that do not know each other, i.e., strangers. Hence, also social norms that determine how to treat a stranger –e.g. hospitality or simpatia (see Levine et al., 2001) - should come more to the foreground in communities where strangers are more distinct. Moreover, building on Kağıtçıbaşı's (1997, 2007) perspective, different sociocultural environments are likely to result in different psychosocial adaptations. For instance, being agreeable is more emphasized in child rearing in traditional and interdependent contexts - because it is more adaptive. Agreeableness in turn has shown to be positively related to intentions of helping strangers (Graziano et al., 2007) and could thus provide one possible explanation for cross-national differences. Further examples of affective components that might be influenced by the sociocultural context could be feelings of empathic concern (e.g.

Twenge et al. 2007) or moral responsibility (e.g., Miller et al., 1990). An overview of the processes involved in spontaneous helping is given in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Findings on the likelihood to help spontaneously as a result of target characteristics (in-group/out-group) – implications for individual and cultural differences.



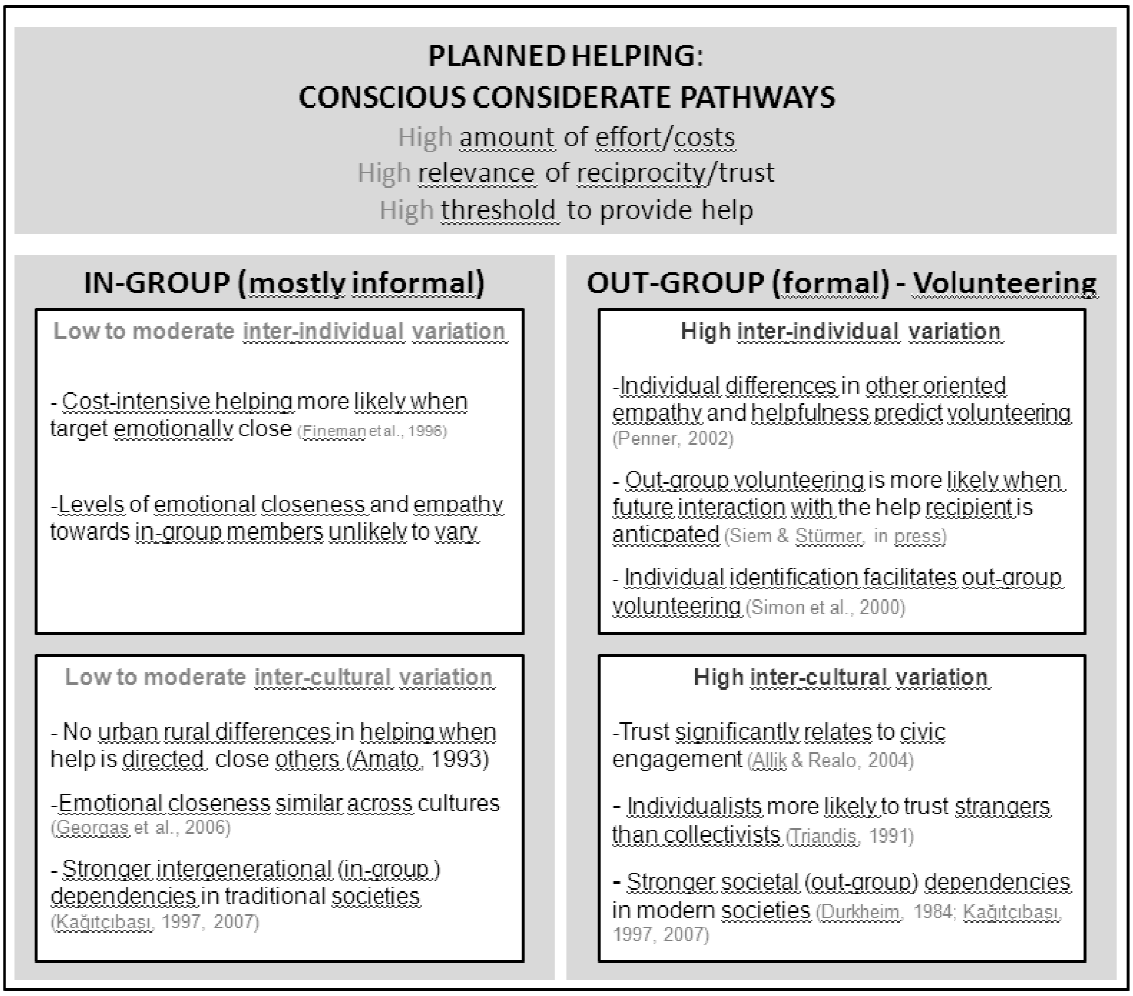
Volunteering: High-effort, formal and planned help. Volunteering is more common in affluent and western societies than in traditional and poor societies. In line with this, Simon et al. (2000) and Stürmer & Simon (2004) observe that individuals holding an individual identification are more likely to engage in out-group volunteering than those holding collective identification.

However, going beyond solely reporting differences in rates of volunteering, we also aim to explain *why* these differences between different cultural groups occur. We already pointed out that contrary to low effort spontaneous help, we assume volunteering to be a form of helping that is cognition-driven and based on future considerations of reciprocity. We claim that particularly when helping goes beyond supporting kin or close others, it should comprise elaborations on whether being helped by the target of help in future situations is likely or not, and this should be even more the case when the costs or efforts of helping are

high. Notably, considerations of reciprocity do not necessarily need to be consciously accessible to the individual. As shown for instance in Stürmer et al. (2005), the proximate psychological process of interpersonal attraction can serve as a proxy to estimate the probability for future interactions, and thus for reciprocity. We apply this reasoning to country-level differences in volunteering. Volunteering is predominantly a form of out-group helping that involves high amounts of effort. Like spontaneous helping, volunteering is affected by socialization goals. However, while situations of spontaneous helping (e.g., holding the door open to someone) mostly require immediate action and do not require and allow for long and extensive considerations, volunteering is a cost-intensive and far-reaching activity that is unlikely to be performed without prior deliberation. Due to the high costs involved in volunteering, anticipations of future reciprocity gain more influence, even when they are not consciously considered and realized. Accordingly, an important aspect that might be needed to perform helping that is high in cost and directed at strangers could be interpersonal *trust*, since it increases the belief in the probability of future reciprocity. Empirical support for the assumption that trust is a prerequisite to perform high effort formal helping comes from Allik and Realo (2004). They showed a positive relationship between generalized trust and civic engagement across 42 countries. The higher the scores on trust, the higher were also the rates for civic engagement. Furthermore, and in line with previous findings, Allik and Realo also showed that scores on both variables –trust and civic engagement- were typically higher in countries characterized as individualistic. This can be explained by applying Triandis' (1991) argument that "individualists are more likely than collectivists to trust people they do not know, strangers, and outsiders" (p.81) and hence also more likely to provide cost-intensive help to strangers. To interpret their findings, Allik & Realo (2004) further apply the perspective of Durkheim (1984) and draw attention to the argument that "when individuals become more autonomous and seemingly liberated from social bonds, they actually become even more dependent on society" (Allik & Realo, 2004, p.29). Again, this highlights the reciprocal nature of helping and underlines the importance of considering ontogenetic differences in explaining the psychological adaptiveness of prosocial activities (see also Kärtner, Keller & Chaudhary, 2010). Our interpretation is compatible with the argument that the presence of voluntary organizations, and hence opportunity to volunteer, differs across societies, and may ultimately lead to the observed differences in rates of volunteering. Certainly, individuals in not industrialized and poor contexts might be less likely to engage in volunteering as the needed structures are missing, or as they are less confronted with opportunities to volunteer. Yet, we should ask why in some contexts it is

apparently more likely to meet established structures, whereas in other contexts it is not. We suggest that in modern, western societies these organizations somehow substitute the intergenerational contracts of traditional and poor societies as they largely equal with respect to their adaptive function (Putnam, 2000). An illustrative summary of the processes involved in long-term or repeated planned helping, including volunteering is given in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 Findings on the likelihood to provide planned helping as a result of target characteristics (in-group/out-group) – implications for individual and cultural differences.



Future directions

This review demonstrates that investigating cultural effects on helping is a progressing, yet incomplete area of research. We reported findings on spontaneous help and volunteering of studies that mainly compared these two forms of prosocial acting at the country-level. However, investigations on data obtained and interpreted at the individual level are still rare sightings in this research area. Based on the so far reported results, we can hardly derive

conclusions with respect to an individuals' tendency to help. While we can summarize that spontaneous help directed at strangers is indeed more likely to occur in less affluent contexts (e.g., Levine et al., 2001), although this does not clarify the relationship between helping and an individuals´ own socio-economic status. In other words, research on helping is needed that simultaneously considers characteristics of the environment and the individual, and that applies an interactional approach to investigate helping.

It is equally necessary to move beyond using only *self-reports* in the assessment of prosocial behavior. In some research on helping self-reported intentions to help were used as dependent variable. However, we need to be aware that such self-reports and actual real life behavioral tendencies are often not related. An illustration for this danger comes from Schwartz (1973). His results showed that individuals' self-reported readiness to donate bone marrow was not predictive for how these individuals reacted to a realistic appeal to join a potential pool of donors three months later. Hence, results obtained from studies that are based on self-reported helping or volunteering intentions as a final outcome variable should not unconditionally be used to draw conclusions on real life helping behaviors. Instead, to gain valid conclusions, we need to include real life helping measures more frequently.

Self-reports, not only as a proxy for real life helping, but also as predictors for helping (e.g., self-reported personality traits, motivations) are affected by response tendencies, such as social desirability. None of the studies investigating personal variables related to spontaneous helping or volunteering has used *implicit or projective* measures as predictors, which are not affected by such response distortions. Instead, all of them solely relied on information that the participant consciously weighed and finally decided to report. Instead, using for instance measures of implicit motivation might allow for more insight. The implicit motivation to act prosocially is significantly related to various psychological outcomes, such as parenthood (Chasiotis et al., 2006) or generativity (Hofer, Busch, Chasiotis, Kärtner & Campos, 2008). Similarly, it could also be related to helping since implicit motives -that represent the unconscious part of one's motivational system- are generally predictive for spontaneous behaviors (McClelland et al., 1989), and moreover determine the kind of activities from which a person derives positive affect (Schultheiss, 2008). Explicit (or self-reported) motives on the other hand operate on a conscious cognitive level, and are rather predictive for behaviors that are consciously planned (McClelland et al., 1989). We therefore propose that implicit (unconscious) prosocial motivation may be more related to spontaneous and informal forms of helping, whereas explicit (conscious) prosocial motivation may be more related to more planned and formal forms of helping. This argument is also in line with the reported

findings for spontaneous help vs. volunteering and the proposed two-process model of helping. First empirical support for the validity of these relationships comes from a study conducted by Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, Cemalcılar and van de Vijver (2014) which showed that explicit prosocial motivation was a sufficient predictor of planned helping, while the relationship between explicit prosocial motivation and spontaneous helping was moderated by implicit prosocial motivation. In other words, spontaneous helping was only related to explicit prosocial motivation, if also implicit prosocial motivation was high. Hence, and as proposed in our model, more implicit and unconscious mechanisms seem to be involved in initiating low-effort and spontaneous forms of helping. More specifically, this means that implicit motives explain variance in spontaneous helping that go beyond the predictive effect of self-reports only.

A next step in research for gaining further insight into the processes involved into helping, Aydinli and colleagues (Aydinli et al., 2014; 2015; Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, van de Vijver, Cemalcılar, Chong, & Yue, in press; Aydinli, Bender, Chong, & Yue, 2015; Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, & van de Vijver, 2015) are testing whether similar relationships can be found in different cultural settings in order to find out whether the processes initiating different forms of helping are similar across different cultural groups.

Conclusion

We set out to investigate what the reasons are that prompt people to engage in spontaneous helping and volunteering and whether these reasons are similar across cultural groups. Based on the reviewed literature we conclude that spontaneous helping is initiated via unconscious and affect-based pathways, whereas volunteering seems to be initiated by more rational and conscious cost-benefit evaluations involving trust and reciprocity. We further propose that the two *pathways* leading to different forms of helping are likely to be similar across different cultural groups. However, the reviewed studies also illustrated that differences in helping *frequencies* exist, particularly when the beneficent is an out-group member: Spontaneous helping towards a stranger is more likely to be performed in traditional and poorer contexts (e.g., Korte & Kerr, 1975; Miller et al., 1990; Levine et al., 2001), whereas the opposite is the case for volunteering (e.g., Allik & Realo, 2004; Curtis et al., 2001; Kemmelmaier et al., 2006). We assume that this difference can largely be explained by considering the psychological adaptiveness of antecedents of helping which originate in early ontogeny (Chasiotis, 2011b). The formation of those antecedents in turn is shaped by contextual factors that largely differ across cultures (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997, 2007). An inclusion of such factors,

including childhood contextual variables like number of siblings (Bender & Chasiotis, 2011; Chasiotis et al., 2006) and parental SES (Chasiotis, Bender, & Hofer, 2014), will help provide a better understanding of the psychological mechanics of helping across cultures. We furthermore believe that moving beyond self-reports will open new avenues to research on helping. The consideration of implicit prosocial motivation will enable us to gain a deeper insight to the research field, and might even help to explain some of the cultural variance in helping. Previous research has shown that we can combine motivation and development: Differences in family and childhood context between cultural groups may lead to different compositions of implicit motivations (e.g., Chasiotis et al., 2006; for a recent overview see Hofer & Chasiotis, 2011) and ultimately to differences in helping tendencies between different societies.

Chapter 3

When Does Self-Reported Prosocial Motivation Predict Helping? - The Moderating Role of Implicit Prosocial Motivation

Introduction

Helping behavior has been investigated across different disciplines, such as philosophy (Hobbes, 2010/1651), sociology (Durkheim, 1984), and psychology (Batson, 1991). Theoretical approaches explaining helping are numerous. Most psychological research on helping emerged within the past half century, and investigated circumstances (e.g., the number of bystanders, the emergency level), dispositions (e.g., empathic concern, agreeableness), or motivations as antecedents of helping. Previous research has demonstrated that different types of helping are driven by different psychological mechanisms (e.g., Burnstein et al., 1994; Graziano et al., 2007). While it is widely accepted that almost every type of behavior is driven by a mixture of explicit and implicit factors (Baumeister et al., 2011), different types of helping have rarely been examined in light of *both* implicit and explicit processes. Exceptions are priming studies on helping (e.g., Isen & Levin, 1972; Liljenquist, Zhong, & Galinsky, 2010; Pichon, Boccato, & Saroglou, 2007) or studies that employed implicit attitudes and explicit dispositions to predict different types of helping (Perugini, Conner, & O'Gorman, 2011). However, to our knowledge, no study has investigated the effect of explicit and implicit helping *motivation* on various types of helping, let alone their interactive effects.

The present study addresses this deficit and examines the effects of implicit and explicit *prosocial power motivation* on different types of helping. Prosocial power motivation is conceptualized as a subtype of the power motive which reflects one's need to exert an impact on other people's emotions and behaviors (Winter, 1991). Notably, this need of having impact can be realized both in an antisocial (i.e., personalized power) and in a prosocial way (i.e., socialized power, see McClelland, 1970, 1975; Winter, 1973). We focus on the latter type of realization and examine the function of explicit and implicit prosocial power motivation for predicting planned helping (PH) and spontaneous helping (SH), as these are the two end points on the most salient dimension on which helping is classified (Amato, 1985; Pearce & Amato, 1980).

In the following, we describe relevant findings in the field of helping, and define the motivational variables of our model. We then specify our predictions and test them in three studies, first with a self-report measure of willingness to engage in SH and PH (Study 1), and subsequently with behavior-based, real-life measures of PH (Study 2), and SH (Study 3).

Antecedents of Helping: Who Is More Likely to Help, and When?

Much of the research on helping and its antecedents investigates personal characteristics or circumstances that encourage or inhibit helping, and examined *who* is more likely to help, or *when* people are more inclined to help (see Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, & Schroeder, 2005). These questions have been addressed in psychological research mainly by investigating dispositional and motivational variables that discriminate between helpers and non-helpers, and by identifying different situations in which helping is more or less likely. In a number of studies, empathic feelings, or similar empathy-related constructs, have been shown to be associated with helping, both with PH and SH (for a review, see Batson et al., 2002; Finkelstein et al., 2005; Penner, 2002). Other concepts linked to helping include moral and social responsibility (Cemalcılar, 2009; Miller et al., 1990), prosocial value orientation (Carlo et al., 2005; McClintock & Allison, 2006), and agreeableness (Carlo et al., 2005; Graziano et al., 2007; Smith & Nelson, 1975). However, evidence on predictive effects of these variables on helping is not consistent: sometimes effects are mediated by other variables like self-efficacy beliefs (e.g., Caprara et al., 2010), depend on the type or the target of helping (Graziano et al., 2007), or are moderated by contextual factors such as being primed with prosocial concepts (Perugini et al., 2011).

With respect to the question of *when* prosocial behavior is more likely to occur, a first impetus was given by research on bystander intervention (e.g., Darley & Latané, 1968). Subsequent investigations of other situational factors received substantial consideration in psychological research, such as time pressure (e.g., Darley & Batson, 1973), or social pressure (e.g., Nadler, Romek, & Shapira-Friedman, 1979). Moreover, a number of studies have shown that characteristics of the target of help tremendously matter for helping: Findings by Levine, Prosser, Evans, and Reicher (2005) show that group belongingness of the target person (in-group vs. out-group) is an important factor for the decision whether to help or not. Similar findings by Burnstein et al. (1994), Graziano et al. (2007), Miller et al. (1990) and Fijneman et al. (1996) support the notion that high psychological closeness to the target person (i.e., being kin as opposed to being a stranger) substantially enhances helping (see also Aydinli et al., 2013, for an overview). Finally, also the type of helping, such as high versus low levels of emergency, has been utilized as a situational factor that influences helping (e.g., Graziano et al., 2007; Miller et al., 1990).

In conclusion, research on helping so far examined effects of personological variables on helping (for a review, see Batson et al., 2002), and situational variables on helping (e.g., Levine et al., 2005). As it is widely accepted that behavior is a function of both the person and

the situation, a considerable number of studies investigating helping employed an interactionist P × S perspective (e.g., Graziano et al., 2007; Perugini et al., 2011). Notably, the majority of this research explored the interplay between person and situation by utilizing *explicit* traits and situational factors, and hence applied a $P_{explicit} \times S$ framework. However, dual process models of cognitive functioning argue that cognitive processes, such as memory (e.g., LeDoux, 2002; Schacter 1992; Tulving, 1985), attention and perception (e.g., Greenwald, Klinger, & Schuh, 1995; Schneider & Shiffrin, 1997), social cognition (Bargh, 1989; Tversky & Kahneman, 1983) and motivation (McClelland et al., 1989) are not only operating on a conscious (explicit) level, but also on an unconscious (implicit) level. In line with this reasoning, recent helping research moved beyond considering only explicit cognitive variables, and examined the effect of *implicit* variables as antecedents of helping (e.g., Liljenquist et al., 2010; Pichon et al., 2007). Yet, to the best of our knowledge, hardly any study on helping integrated and examined the interaction of implicit and explicit personological factors in light of different situations or types of helping (for an exception in the domain of attitudes, see Gabriel, Banse, & Hug, 2007). The present study aims at filling this gap by offering a more integrative conceptual framework to examine helping, namely by applying a $P_{explicit} \times P_{implicit} \times S_{helping}$ approach. By doing so, our study contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of prosocial behaviour, as it unpacks how implicit and explicit motivational systems work together in activating helping, depending on the helping situation.

Implicit and Explicit Motivation: A Dual Process Model

In line with dual process models referring to other areas of cognitive functioning (e.g., Greenwald et al., 1995; LeDoux, 2002; Schacter 1992; Tulving, 1985), motivation has also been conceptualized as a cognitive operation that functions based on two processes (Kuhl, 2000; McClelland et al., 1989; Schultheiss & Brunstein, 2010; Woike, 2008): an explicit (conscious) and an implicit (unconscious) process.This means that individuals' motivations are determined by two independent motivational channels that can operate in parallel. Findings from numerous studies corroborate this notion, as they denote that the explicit and implicit system of the same motive are mostly *statistically* unrelated (e.g., Baumann et al., 2005; Hofer et al., 2010; Spangler, 1992), even though they are conceptually related (as they refer to the same superordinate motivational construct). It is important to note that when we talk about implicit versus explicit motives, we do not refer to a difference of measurement methods (i.e., implicit vs. explicit ways to measure the same construct), but rather refer to two distinct motivational channels that both influence behavior; at times more, at times less.

What do explicit and implicit motives predict? Explicit motives operate on a conscious cognitive level and direct individuals' behaviors towards goals and end-states that an individual evaluates as desirable and hence decides to pursue. Implicit motives, in contrast, operate outside an individual's awareness and energize, select, and guide behaviors towards affectively rewarding end states (McClelland et al., 1989, Schultheiss, 2008). Building on this, it can be derived that different behavioral outcomes can be more or less determined by explicit and implicit antecedents, and their interplay (Woike, 2008).

Individuals generally pursue behaviors that correspond with their conscious views about themselves (Swann & Read, 1981). However, for some types of behaviors just the conscious force to engage in a particular behavior might not be sufficient to elicit behavior, and additionally an unconscious, implicit energizer might be needed (Baumeister et al., 2011; Woike 2008). Translated into motivational terms this means that goal-directed behaviors can be determined by both the explicit and implicit motivational channel, and their interplay. How and to what extent explicit and implicit motives are involved in guiding behavior, though, seems most likely to be determined by the particular type of behavior. Theory and evidence on the dual process model of motivation show that self-reported (explicit) motivation, goals, or values, particularly determine consciously *planned* choice behaviors that take place in well-structured situations (Brunstein & Maier, 2005; McClelland, 1980; Schultheiss, 2008), whereas long-term behavioral trends and *spontaneous* behaviors are determined through unconscious affect-based motivators, i.e., implicit motivation (see also Brunstein & Maier, 2005; McClelland & Pilon, 1983). Related to that, Woike (1995) documented differential effects of implicit and explicit motivation on the type of information that is recalled from autobiographical memory. Her findings show that implicit motives were related to motive-respective affective memories, while explicit motives were related to motive-respective routine memories and self-descriptions. This supports the notion that these two motivational channels are linked to distinct types of information, and hence differentially drive behavior.

Theory and evidence on predictive effects of motives further indicate that motives on different levels of consciousness are differentially elicited by the social context (Woike, 2008). Evidence shows that particularly implicit motives are more likely to predict behavior when they are aroused by corresponding environmental cues, such as primes or goal-imagery tasks (Schultheiss & Brunstein, 1999; Slabbinck, De Houwer, & van Kenhove, 2011). The present research aims at examining the predictive effects of implicit and explicit prosocial power motivation on PH and SH in natural helping environments. We therefore do not

introduce an additional, and mostly artificial, prosocial cue to activate the respective motivations. Instead, we conceptualize and understand the behavioral "task" per se, i.e., being faced with the possibility to perform helping, as a sufficient contextual cue to activate individuals' prosocial motivational system.

Prosocial Power Motivation

Prosocial power motivation[1] is conceptualized as a subtype of the power motive and defined as one's need to exert an impact on other people's emotions and behaviors in a prosocial way (Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001; McClelland, 1975; Winter, 1973). Studies have documented that implicit prosocial motivation is related to a range of variables. Findings indicate that across cultural groups, growing up with younger siblings promotes the development of implicit, but not explicit prosocial motivation, and that implicit prosocial motivation in turn is related to generativity (Hofer et al., 2008) and parenthood (Chasiotis et al., 2006). These findings support the notion that implicit prosocial motivation is conceptually distinct from explicit prosocial motivation, both developmentally and functionally. Yet, as both processes operate in parallel (McClelland et al., 1989), they should both be understood as processes that guide behavior. Accordingly, the present research tests a motivational model that examines both explicit and implicit prosocial motivations' effects on helping.

The Present Research

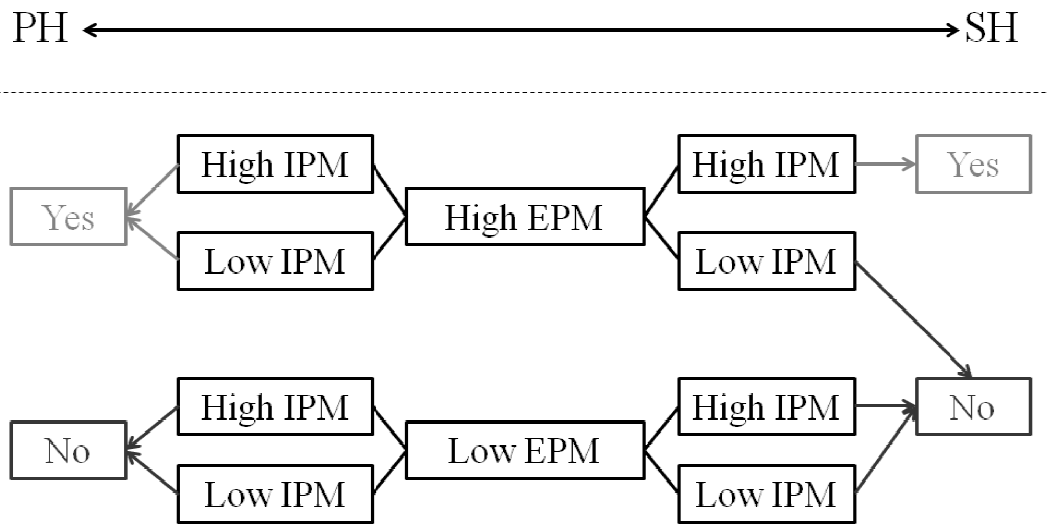
Based on McClelland et al.'s (1989) conceptualization of motivational functioning, and the predictive effects of the explicit and implicit motivational channels, we argue that activation of goal directed behavior takes place via two distinct paths: first, an explicit path that is based on cognition driven processes, and second, an implicit pathway that is *additionally* channeled through unconscious affect based processes. We argue that depending on where a particular behavior is situated on the continuum ranging from purely planned to purely spontaneous applications of helping, the effect of explicit prosocial motivation will be more or less moderated by implicit prosocial motivation. Translated into specific hypotheses, we propose to find the following relationships: Individuals' tendency to engage in PH should be related to their explicit prosocial motivation (H1a). This effect of explicit prosocial motivation on PH should *not* be moderated by implicit prosocial motivation (H1b), as this type of behavior

[1]For practical reasons and to facilitate readability, we will refer to prosocial power motivation as prosocial motivation.

represents an operation that is purely driven by conscious cognition. SH, on the other hand, mostly requires immediate responses that do not allow for much consideration. Hence, SH is less likely to be driven by cognition-based processes only, and more likely to be also driven by automated affect-based process. Thus, SH should be determined by the interplay of explicit and implicit motivation. In other words, the effect of explicit prosocial motivation on SH should be moderated by implicit prosocial motivation and only lead to SH when it is accompanied by high implicit prosocial motivation (H2a), but not when implicit prosocial motivation is low (H2b). A graphical representation of our predictions is depicted in Figure 3.1.

To test our propositions, we conducted three studies. In Study 1, we assessed individuals' implicit and explicit prosocial motivation and asked them to self-report their willingness to engage in SH and PH. In Study 2 and 3, we moved beyond self-reported intentions and tested the relationship between explicit and implicit prosocial motivation on PH (Study 2) and on SH (Study 3) by employing real-life helping measures as dependent variables.

Figure 3.1 Motivational Pathways Leading to Planned Helping and Spontaneous Helping



Notes. PH = Planned Help; SH = Spontaneous Help; EPM = Explicit Prosocial Motivation; IPM = Implicit Prosocial Motivation.

STUDY 1

In the first study, we employed a self-report measure of helping that asked participants to indicate their willingness to perform SH and PH. To avoid confounding effects that might emerge by using a particularly emergent type of helping or by using helping that is directed at a particular target (Graziano et al., 2007), we kept these variables constant and utilized examples of helping that are low in emergency level, and impersonal, detached from a particular target. Moreover, we conducted the study online where identifiability (and ensuing social pressure) is arguably low.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were recruited by means of a large online panel (LISSpanel; http://www.lissdata.nl/lissdata/) of the MESS (Measurement and Experimentation in the Social Sciences) project which is funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research. Data collection for this online panel is arranged by CentERdata (Tilburg University, The Netherlands). Every month, members of the panel are electronically invited to answer a set of questions that takes at maximum fifteen minutes to be completed. The panel is based on a true probability sample of households drawn from the population register. Households that could not otherwise participate are provided with a computer and internet connection. An individual administrative code, designed to protect the participants' identity, makes it possible to connect data from different acquisition waves. For the purpose of this study, data were obtained from five assessments between September 2009 and January 2013 to include all study variables. The sample comprised a total of 207[2] Dutch individuals (M_{age} = 51.4 years; 51.7% female) who completed all measures of the present study.

Measures

Explicit prosocial motivation. For the purpose of this study we developed a scale to assess explicit prosocial motivation. This instrument comprises six items and is designed to

[2]Before the analyses, 170 participants were excluded due to more than two missing values in the measure of implicit motivation (out of twelve). Compared to other studies using the same measure (e.g., Hofer & Chasiotis, 2003; Hofer, Chasiotis, Friedlmeier, Busch & Campos, 2005), the number of missing values here is relatively high. The main reason for this is that the complete measure for implicit motivation was administered in two separate data collection waves. Hence, not all individuals that completed one part had also data available for the other part, and were therefore excluded from the final sample.

assess individuals' conscious and self-ascribed goals to act prosocially. It represents an adaptation of the Motive Enhancement Test (Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001; Kuhl & Henseler, 2003) for the content domain of prosocial motivation. Participants were asked to rate all six items of explicit prosocial motivation on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *1 = not applicable at all* to *5 = very applicable*. An example item is "Taking care of other people gives me a good feeling inside". A total score of explicit prosocial motivation was calculated by using the mean score of these items. An Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) revealed a unifactorial structure of the scale indicating that 53.4% of the total variance is explained through a single factor. The internal consistency of this scale was $\alpha = .82$.

Implicit prosocial motivation: The Operant Multi-Motive Test. Implicit prosocial motivation of the participants was assessed with the Operant Multi-Motive Test (OMT; Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001), which represents a Picture Story Exercise (PSE) that is adapted from the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT; Murray, 1943). Like the TAT, the OMT is a Picture Story Exercise (Schultheiss, 2008), a fantasy-based projective measure that asks individuals to respond to open ended questions related to ambiguous picture stimuli. The version used in the present research utilized twelve ambiguous picture stimuli. For each picture participants were asked to answer three questions: (1) "What is important for the person in this situation and what is the person doing?", (2) "How does the person feel?", and (3) "Why does the person feel this way?". Answers were coded for the presence of motive content as described in the OMT Manual (Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001). Unlike the TAT, in the OMT no correction for word numbers is required, as only one motivational category can be coded per picture (including a zero category if answers contain text without motivational content). When no answer was given to a picture, the code for the corresponding picture was counted as a missing value.

In addition to identifying the presence of each motive (i.e., power, affiliation, and achievement), the OMT also allows for the differentiation of four approach components and one avoidance component. Implicit prosocial motivation is one possible motivational category, and represents an approach component of the power motive. As stated above, it is defined as one's need to have impact on other people's emotions and behaviors for other-serving goals (Winter, 1973). In the OMT, implicit prosocial motivation is coded when answers contain prosocial themes (e.g., helping, supporting, protecting, or giving advice) that are described as being realized intuitively, with ease, and are accompanied by experiencing positive affect. Coding was carried out by four coders that were trained by an experienced person. After an interrater agreement of 80% and above was established on practice materials, each coder individually coded a subset of the answers given by the participants. Unclear cases

in which the coders could not decide on a final code by themselves were discussed with the other coders (for applications, see also Chasiotis et al., 2006; 2014). For each participant, a score of implicit prosocial motivation was calculated as the number of answers that were coded as prosocial motivation. For the analyses, a dichotomous score of implicit prosocial motivation was applied. The code of 1 was given when at least one out of the twelve pictures presented was coded for prosocial motivation, the code of 0 was given when none of the twelve pictures was coded for prosocial motivation.

Over the last decade, research has revealed the convergent validity of the OMT and the traditional TAT. In a number of studies, the OMT's predictive validity was established with regard to behavioral correlates (Baumann et al., 2005; Baumann & Scheffer, 2011; Heckhausen & Tomasik, 2002), and across cultures (Chasiotis, Bender, Kiessling, & Hofer, 2010; for overviews, see Baumann, Kazen, & Kuhl, 2010, and Hofer & Chasiotis, 2011). For the motive domain of implicit prosocial motivation, validity has been established by showing its relationship to concepts related to guidance behaviors and involving a strong caring component like generativity (Hofer et al., 2008) and parenthood (Chasiotis et al., 2006).

Dependent variables. Participants were asked to indicate how willing they are to perform prototypical examples of SH and PH. All items were presented on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from *1= not willing at all* to *5= very willing*.

Planned helping (PH). Willingness to provide PH was measured with five items asking for the participant's willingness to engage in examples of impersonal PH. Item examples are "Distribute leaflets for a cloth donation campaign to peoples' mailboxes" or "Clean a playground for free". Results of an EFA suggested a single factor solution with 40.0% of explained variance. The internal consistency for this scale was moderate with $\alpha = .60$. Mean scores of all five items were used as a measure of willingness to engage in PH.

Spontaneous helping (SH). Willingness to provide SH was assessed with five items developed for the present study. These items comprised different behavioral examples of impersonal forms of SH. Item examples are "Put a letter that has just fallen out of a mailbox back into the mailbox" and "Remove a sharp piece of glass from the entrance to a car park after having seen it in passing". The internal consistency for this scale was $\alpha = .74$. Moreover, results of an EFA supported a single factor solution with 49.4% of explained variance. The mean score across those five items was interpreted as an indicator for the self-reported readiness to provide SH.

Results

We tested our hypotheses that motivationally distinct processes are involved in PH as opposed to SH by employing two hierarchical linear regression analyses with standardized scores of our two predictors entered in the first step, and their interaction entered in the second step. Descriptive statistics for implicit prosocial motivation, explicit prosocial motivation, SH, and PH are displayed in Table 3.1.

Planned Helping (PH)

Regression analysis supported the proposed hypotheses for PH. As expected, PH was significantly related to explicit prosocial motivation (H1a) ($\beta = .21$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .033$), but not to implicit prosocial motivation. Also no significant interaction, hence no moderation effect emerged (H1b). Correlations between implicit and explicit prosocial motivation and PH can be derived from Table 3.1.

Spontaneous Helping (SH)

Descriptive statistics for SH revealed that the distribution is highly skewed (skewness = 6.25), indicating a ceiling effect. Hence, we used a log transformation to correct for skewness (skewness = 1.53) in our distribution (Shapiro & Wilk, 1965). Correlations between the transformed SH variable and implicit and explicit prosocial motivation are presented in Table 3.1. Results of the regression analyses with the transformed SH variable were in line with the hypothesized relationships. As proposed, a significant interaction effect emerged ($\beta = .14$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .021$), while both implicit and explicit prosocial motivation had no significant main effect on SH. We further examined whether, as proposed, implicit prosocial motivation moderates the effect of explicit prosocial motivation on SH and examined the relationships between explicit prosocial motivation and SH separately for individuals with low versus high implicit prosocial motivation. As hypothesized, a significant relationship between explicit prosocial motivation and SH emerged when implicit prosocial motivation was high ($r = .26$, $p < .05$) (H2a), but no relationship was found when implicit prosocial motivation was low ($r = .05$, $p = .555$) (H2b).

Table 3.1 Correlations between implicit prosocial motivation, explicit prosocial motivation, and willingness to engage in SH and PH

			Study 1		Study 2	Study 3
	Implicit prosocial motivation - dichotomous (IPM) (Study 1 / Study 2/Study 3)	Explicit prosocial motivation (EPM) (Study 1 / Study 2 /Study 3)	Willingness to engage in spontaneous helping (SH-W)	Willingness to engage in planned helping (PH-W)	Planned helping: Volunteering - dichotomous (PH-V)	Spontaneous helping: Amount of donated money (SH-D)
IPM	1	.059 / .012 / .024	.121	.018	.079	.223
EPM		1	.061	.206**	.198**	.069
SH-W			1	.344***	---	---
PH-W				1	---	---
PH-V					1	---
PH-FV						---
SH-D						1
Mean	0.34 / 0.30 / 0.41	3.60 / 3.74 / 3.63	6.02	4.00	0.60	76.91(cent)
SD	0.48 / 0.46 / 0.50	0.57 / 0.61 / 0.47	0.91	1.13	0.49	105.91(cent)

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

Discussion

Results confirm our proposed model and suggest that depending on the type of helping, the effect of explicit prosocial motivation on helping can be moderated by implicit prosocial motivation. As expected, explicit prosocial motivation predicted PH regardless of individuals' implicit prosocial motivation, while its effect on SH was strongly moderated by implicit prosocial motivation, and only significant when also implicit prooscial motivation was high. Hence, findings support our view that PH is driven by the explicit cognition-based motivational channel, while engaging in SH additionally requires activation through implicit affect-based motivational channels.

In sum, it can be concluded that our proposed motivational model of prosocial acting has been confirmed on the basis of self-reported willingness to engage in PH and SH as dependent variables. However, as "self-reports were supposed to shed light on the behavior, not replace it" (Baumeister, Vohs, & Funder, 2007, p. 401), the question still remains whether our model holds true beyond hypothetical helping situations. To answer this question and to replicate and validate our results obtained in the first study, further studies using real-life applications of both PH and SH were needed. Therefore, in the following two studies, we test the same relationships with real-life measures of PH (Study 2) and SH (Study 3).

STUDY 2

Using a real-life measure of PH, we expect to replicate our finding that PH is related to explicit prosocial motivation (H1a), regardless of individuals' implicit prosocial motivation (H1b). We chose volunteering as an example of PH, as this is, according to Pearce and Amato's (1980) classification, the most planned application of helping. Moreover, and in concordance with the PH measure applied in the first study, the activity of volunteering is a formal type of helping mostly directed at unknown targets, which meets the demands of the present study. Finally, and unlike the sample in the first study, the second study examines volunteering among US participants which increases external validity of our findings.

Method

Participants

The sample of the present study consisted of 193[3] (M_{age} = 35.2 years; 64.2% female) individuals from the United States recruited online through Amazon Mechanical Turk (https://www.mturk.com) in exchange for a 5US$ monetary compensation.

Measures and Procedure

Participants completed the same measures of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation as in Study 1 and 2. An EFA for explicit prosocial motivation confirmed the previously found unifactorial structure with 40.7% of the total variance explained. The internal consistency was $\alpha = .70$.

After participants completed the motivational measures, they were presented with a list of 14 different types of voluntary organizations (including one open "other type of organization" category) and asked to indicate whether they had performed voluntary work for any of those organizations in the past twelve months. The list of the organizations was adapted from the World Values Survey (www.worldvaluessurvey.org) and included organization types such as "church or religious organization" or "environmental organization". If participants indicated to have engaged in at least one type of volunteer work, they were identified as volunteers (i.e., high PH), if not, as non-volunteers (i.e., low PH). Descriptive statistics and correlations between our motivational predictors and volunteering are presented in Table 3.1.

Results

We carried out a binary logistic regression analysis with the standardized scores of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation entered in the first block, and their interaction entered in the second block. As expected, results of the regression analysis revealed a significant main effect of explicit prosocial motivation ($\beta = .41$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .060$) (H1a), while implicit prosocial motivation had no effect on volunteering, neither directly nor in interplay with explicit prosocial motivation (H1b). Hence, we supported our hypothesis that explicit prosocial motivation is a sufficient motivational predictor for PH, regardless of implicit prosocial motivation.

[3]In total 12 participants had more than two missing values (out of twelve) on the measure of implicit motivation and were therefore excluded from the analyses beforehand.

Discussion

The significant main effect of explicit prosocial motivation for volunteering found in the present study indicates that applications of PH are generally driven by the explicit motivational channel, which provides strong support for our model that proposes different types of helping to be driven by distinct motivational processes and their interplay. To further corroborate this model, we carried out a third study that tested the propositions of our model with a real-life application of SH.

STUDY 3

In Study 3, we set out to test the effects of both explicit and implicit prosocial motivation on SH with a real-life SH measure. In line with the dependent variable in Study 1, we chose a real-life, non-emergency, spontaneous helping behavior that is rather impersonal, i.e., not directed at a particular other, and can be realized without social pressure. We therefore examined participants' donation behavior, more specifically the amount of money that they donated (including not donating at all) in an experimental setting. Donating money to charity can be realized in many different ways, and thus represents a heterogeneous helping activity that can involve both SH and PH. For instance, it can be performed as a spontaneous act (e.g., when being asked by a passersby on the street) and classified as SH, or it can be performed in a more deliberate manner (e.g., recurring donations, memberships) and represent an example of PH. Such a heterogeneity is reflected in findings by Pearce and Amato's (1980) multidimensional scaling analyses: donating money turned out to have a rather intermediate position along the dimension of SH versus PH. For the purpose of the present study, we created an experimental setting that requires a spontaneous donating reaction as a measure for SH. Based on our model, and building on findings obtained in Study 1, we expect to find an interaction effect. More specifically, we propose that implicit prosocial motivation serves as a moderator for the effect of explicit prosocial motivation on SH in such a way that explicit prosocial motivation will not relate to SH when implicit prosocial motivation is low (H1a), but relate to SH when implicit prosocial motivation is high (H1b).

Method

Participants

In total, 110 psychology undergraduate students (M_{age} = 21.0 years; 67.3% female) from Tilburg University, the Netherlands, participated in this study in exchange for course credit and 3.50€ (~4.50 US$) cash compensation that was always handed out as two 1€ coins and

three 50 cent coins. After having finished their session, participants were asked by the experimenter about their ideas of the purpose of the study and whether they noticed anything unusual. In total 37 of those participants indicated that they thought that the appeal to donate money is part of the study and were therefore excluded from our sample[4], reducing the final sample to 73 individuals (M_{age} = 20.8 years; 68.5% female).

Measures

Participants completed the same measures of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation as in Study 1. An EFA for explicit prosocial motivation confirmed a unifactorial structure with 38.6% of the total variance explained, and rendered an internal consistency of $\alpha = .67$. As dependent variable the amount of donated money was used. Descriptive statistics for all variables involved are depicted in Table 3.1.

Procedure

The study consisted of two parts. Upon registration, participants were asked to complete the first part of the study online by answering a questionnaire on explicit prosocial motivation. This split was applied to keep participants unaware of the fact that our study is investigating helping behavior, as the measure of explicit prosocial motivation could have served as a cue for that. Later, during the session in a room within Tilburg University, participants were asked to fill in the remaining measures. The two parts of the study were then matched by an individual, but anonymous, participation code. After participants had filled in the questionnaires, the experimenter (a student actor) pretended that he/she had forgotten the participation list that is needed to assign course credit to the students. Using this excuse, the experimenter paid the participant for the participation and asked him/her to wait for a couple of minutes in the experimental room until he/she will be back with the list. Right when the experimenter was about to leave the room, he/she pointed to a nontransparent UNICEF donation box that was unobtrusively placed in a corner of the room, close to the exit. The experimenter told the participant that UNICEF had asked Tilburg University to place a donation box where money is handed out, and mentioned that people can donate if they want, but that it is equally fine if they decide not to do so. Then, the experimenter left the room for three minutes, to ensure that participants do not feel socially pressured to donate. After the

[4]The relative high rate of students indicating suspicion (33.6%) is likely to be a consequence of having recruited also psychology students that were at more advanced stages of their study. A comparison of age supported this view by showing that naïve students were generally younger (M_{age} = 20.8 years) –probably still in the beginning of their studies- than their suspicious counterparts (M_{age} = 21.6 years).

experimenter returned, participants were thanked for their participation, asked about their ideas concerning the nature of the study, and were then fully debriefed. After the session, we assessed how much money participants donated by opening the donation box.

Results

Before we tested our hypotheses, we transformed our dependent variable (amount of money donated) into a dichotomous variable by using a median split (0 = individuals who donated 50 cents or less; 1 = individuals who donated at least 51 cent). We applied this transformation, as the initial distribution was highly skewed (skewness: 5.87). Correlations with explicit and implicit prosocial motivation and the dichotomous donation variable are presented in Table 3.1.Using the dichotomous donation variable, we employed a binary logistic regression analysis as described in Study 2. Results revealed a significant interaction effect ($\beta = 1.64$, $p < .01$; $R^2 = .31$), while neither explicit nor implicit prosocial motivation had a main effect on donation behavior. Further investigation of the interaction effect indicated that the relationship between explicit prosocial motivation and SH was not significant when implicit prosocial motivation was low ($r = -.21$, $p = .192$) (H1a), but significant when implicit prosocial motivation was high ($r = .59$, $p < .01$) (H1b). This finding is first consistent with our model and the proposed moderation hypothesis, and also in line with findings for SH that were obtained in Study 1.

Discussion

Findings of Study 3 using a real-life helping measure as dependent variable are concordant with findings obtained with the self-report measure of SH in Study 1. Results provided strong support for the proposed moderation effect, and confirmed that an effect of explicit prosocial motivation on SH is only present, when also implicit prosocial motivation is high, but not when implicit prosocial motivation is low This underlines the need of considering implicit prosocial motivation as a dispositional antecedent of helping, particularly in the case of more spontaneous applications of helping.

General Discussion

We tested our model that proposed different motivational antecedents to be involved in PH as opposed to SH in three studies. In Study 1 we tested the effect of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation and their interaction on both PH and SH by utilizing participants' self-reported willingness as a measure of helping. We found that, as expected, PH was determined

by explicit prosocial motivation only, while SH was determined by the interplay between explicit and implicit prosocial motivation. To examine whether the findings of the first study can be considered as valid and robust, we conducted two studies and tested our proposed model with real-life measures of PH (Study 2), and SH respectively (Study 3).

In Study 2, we examined effects of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation on PH by using *volunteering* a measure of PH. In line with findings from Study 1, explicit prosocial motivation emerged to be strongly related to *volunteering.* This corroborates our argument that PH is based on conscious and cognition-driven motivations, goals, or dispositions that individuals ascribe to themselves (see also Aydinli et al., 2013). In Study 3, we tested the effects of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation on SH by utilizing a real-life measure of SH, namely *amount of money donated* to charity in an experimental setting. As proposed, and as shown in Study 1, we again demonstrated a moderating effect on SH: There was only a significant effect of explicit prosocial motivation on SH, when also implicit prosocial motivation was high. Results from both studies (Study 1 and Study 3) show that SH cannot be predicted by considering only explicit prosocial motivation. In sum, findings of all three studies support our model that PH is determined through the explicit motivational channel, whereas SH is determined through the interplay of explicit and implicit motivational channels, and hence most likely to occur when both explicit and implicit prosocial motivation are high. Our findings are therefore in line with our proposed model (see Figure 3.1), and corroborate previous findings on predictive effects of implicit versus explicit motives (e.g., Brunstein & Maier, 2005; McClelland & Pilon, 1983). Beyond the area of motivational research, our research also replicates findings from other areas of cognitive functioning showing that automatic or implicit processes relate to spontaneous behavioral outcomes, whereas controlled or explicit processes relate to planned behavioral outcomes (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Perugini et al., 2011).

Moreover, the moderation effect we found can be linked to research on motivational congruence effects, and opens new research directions for this area. Motivational congruence means that both the implicit and the explicit motivational systems of an individual are aligned, which means that both systems are directed towards the same goals. Notably, as both motivational systems are independent from each other, alignment or congruence is not always the case (e.g., Spangler, 1992). This means that motives or goals that people ascribe to themselves (their explicit motivation) are not always in line with their unconscious needs (their implicit motivation). Mismatch /incongruence would be present, when for instance a person who has a pronounced implicit need to be connected and related to others (i.e., high

implicit affiliation motive) describes himself/herself as a person who does not enjoy social occasions much (i.e., low explicit affiliation motive). Evidence suggests that incongruence between implicit and explicit motives often leads to negative psychological outcomes such as low levels of well-being (see Baumann et al., 2005; Kuhl & Kazén, 1994; Thrash, Cassidy, Maruskin, & Elliot, 2010). In contrast, for motive congruence (i.e., when both explicit and implicit motives are aligned) findings repeatedly affirmed the positive effects on individuals' well-being across divergent cultures (e.g., Hofer & Chasiotis, 2003; Hofer, Chasiotis, & Campos, 2006; for an overview, see Hofer & Chasiotis, 2011). The moderation effects documented in our studies represent examples of motive congruence effects in the domain of prosocial behavior. Our findings show that SH is most likely to occur when both individuals' explicit and implicit prosocial motivation are high. This implies that both the implicit and the explicit motivational system are directed towards the same goal, or in other words, when they are *congruent* (as shown in Figure 3.1). By documenting a motive congruence effect on actual *behavior,* our study opens a new avenue in the research area of motivational congruence that was so far restricted to explore effects of motive congruence on affective states, but did not investigate congruence effects on actual behavioral outcomes. By showing that motive congruence can enhance SH, our study is the first that documents these effects on real behavioral outcomes.

Implicit Prosocial Motivation's Contribution to the Study of Helping

By utilizing explicit or self-ascribed motivation as an antecedent of both SH and PH, our research connects to the existing body of helping research (e.g., Carlo et al., 2005; Graziano et al., 2007; Smith & Nelson, 1975). However, our research also substantially extends this line of research by considering implicit motivation as a hitherto neglected antecedent of helping. Results point towards the necessity to go beyond self-reported information when studying dispositional or motivational antecedents of helping. Notably, for SH, using only the self-report measure of prosocial motivation had no predictive value at all; only when it was applied in combination with its implicit counterpart, the measure of explicit prosocial motivation gained relevance. Hence, integrative helping research should answer the question of *who* is more likely to help by considering implicit prosocial motivation as an antecedent of helping.

Limitations and Future Research

This research is, to our knowledge, the first to include implicit motivation as an antecedent of real-life helping behavior. Across three studies we illustrated the predictive power of implicit prosocial motivation on different types of helping. Nevertheless, some limitations, mainly with regard to the utilized dependent variables, should be mentioned.

A first limitation refers to the dependent variable of PH used in Study 2, namely self-reported retrospective volunteering. Using a retrospective measure to assess PH might go along with two main methodological limitations: First, due to social desirability and memory bias, there is reason to doubt whether the retrospective reports truly represent realistic circumstances. Second, due to this assessment being retrospective and correlational, an interpretation towards causal effects is problematic. It might well be that motivations of volunteers are changed towards becoming more prosocial through the experience of volunteering rather than predicting volunteering. In this regard, it should be noted that "(p)lanned helping, by its nature, is difficult to study experimentally, since the time and place of its occurrence are determined by the helper" (Amato, 1985, p. 235). As PH is often a time-intensive enterprise that is performed after at least some consideration, it cannot be easily translated into an experimental setting (Amato, 1985). One possible solution to overcome those limitations would be to employ a longitudinal study design (see, for instance, Cemalcılar, 2009). Future research examining the motivational effects on volunteering should therefore assess individuals' motivations prior to their decision to volunteer (e.g., as part of bigger screenings in universities), and at different time points during their experience of volunteering.

A second limitation of the present research revolves around the use of donating money as an example of SH in Study 3. One may argue that donating money to charity is a form of prosocial behavior that rather resembles more PH than SH. However, as indicated earlier, donating behavior is heterogeneous and can be realized in different ways. The way that donation behavior was conceptualized in Study 2 represents one specific form. Arguably, in typical donation scenarios (unlike in our study), people have more time to ponder their behavior. In the present experimental setting however, participants were unexpectedly given the possibility to donate money to UNICEF, and were therefore asked to spontaneously help. Yet, we cannot exclude the possibility that both dependent variables that were used to operationalize SH –the self-report measure in the first study and donation behavior in the third study– also involved aspects of planned behavior. In other words, one may argue that our variables used to measure SH rather capture behaviors that are best described as a mixture

between SH and PH, which is the case of the majority of helping behaviors. It might for instance be the case that our model needs modification and that more extreme applications of SH are only determined by the implicit motivational channel, similar to PH being only determined by the explicit motivational channel. Hence, in order to gain more certainty about our proposed model, future research should examine the effects of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation on SH by applying a behavioral outcome measure that is even more spontaneous than donating money, such as for instance helping someone to pick up dropped items.

A third limitation of the present research is the use of prosocial behavior examples that are rather impersonal. We deliberately chose to do so, as we aimed at avoiding confounding effects by introducing a particular help target. However, this limits our conclusions to SH and PH to scenarios where no particular recipient is present. As argued in Aydinli et al. (2013), it is likely that effects of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation on SH and PH will differ as a function of the target person. Research on helping has repeatedly underlined the effect that target characteristics have on individuals' helping intentions or behaviors (e.g., Burnstein et al., 1994; Graziano et al., 2007; Levine et al., 2005; Miller et al., 1990; Stürmer et al., 2005). Accordingly, further research on effects of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation by systematically varying the target of help is needed, for instance through varying the help targets' status as an in-group versus out-group member.

Another limitation concerns the fact that we did not use any situational cue other than the behavioral task itself to elicit prosocial motivation, and that motivational effects might have been different when a prosocial cue had been used. As stated above, it is not the effect of the explicit, but particularly the effect of the implicit motivational system that is affected by contextual stimuli such as prosocial primes (Woike, 2008). Hence, it is very unlikely that the effect of explicit prosocial motivation would be affected by a helping prime. For the effect of implicit prosocial motivation, however, recent findings from the related area of implicit prosocial *attitudes* indeed support the notion that implicit attitudes predict helping only, when they are preceded by a prosocial prime (Perugini et al., 2011). However, findings of the same research also document that scoring high on the self-report (explicit) measure for dispositional empathy is functionally equivalent to a helping prime, as high dispositional empathy also led to a predictive effect of implicit prosocial attitudes (while no predictive effect was documented for individuals scoring low on empathy). Hence, we can conclude that elicitation of implicit cognitive systems cannot be realized only by situational cues such as by using primes, but also takes place inherently through dispositional characteristics. Applied to the

present study this means that individuals' implicit prosocial motives were activated both through the helping task itself, and additionally through their inherent level of explicit prosocial motivation. Nevertheless, conducting future studies that additionally employ a prosocial cue to activate the implicit motivational system would be needed to further examine the effects of the two motivational systems on different types of helping.

A last limitation of our research concerns the samples that we used. In all three studies, we employed typically Western samples, namely Dutch and US-American, which restricts our conclusions to those populations. In order to examine the generalizability of the obtained results, research should also investigate to what extent implicit and explicit pathways leading to SH and PH are culturally invariant, and test the proposed relationships with non-Western samples.

Conclusion

The present study highlights that implicit motivation is an important but until now neglected source of information to predict helping behavior. Our results indicate that the extent to which implicit and explicit motivational processes are involved in helping depends on the nature of the helping task, with planned helping being determined by explicit motivation and spontaneous helping being determined by the interplay between explicit and implicit prosocial motivation. Our findings show that the effect of explicit prosocial motivation on spontaneous help is moderated by implicit prosocial motivation, and that a predictive effect can only be found when also implicit prosocial motivation is high. Hence, spontaneous helping is most likely to occur when both high implicit and high explicit motivation come together, i.e., when motive congruence is present. Our research is the first that introduces implicit motivation as an antecedent of real-life helping behavior, and provides a conceptually unique variable to broaden our understanding of helping behavior. By documenting moderation effects, or more specifically motive congruence effects on actual helping behavior, the present research opens an innovative avenue for future research, both on the area of motivation and in the area of helping.

Chapter 4

A Cross-Cultural Study of Explicit and Implicit Motivation for Long-Term Volunteering

Introduction

"If our hopes of building a better and safer world are to become more than wishful thinking, we will need the engagement of volunteers more than ever."
Kofi Annan - Secretary-General of the United Nations (1997 to 2006)

Volunteering is an essential part of a society's social capital (Putnam, 2000), and is of great economic value. Yet, recent findings suggest that volunteering is in a state of decline (Salamon, Sokolowski, & Geller, 2012, for the US; van Ingen & Dekker, 2011, for the Netherlands). Voluntary organizations have difficulties in recruiting and keeping long-term volunteers. Despite societal benefits and evidence for volunteering's effect on various positive outcomes, the question of "who is likely to become and stay a *long-term* volunteer?" is not sufficiently answered. Past research on volunteering is characterized by several limitations. For instance, studies on volunteering have largely focused on self-reported motivations or dispositions as determinants of volunteering (e.g., Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998), and neglected the investigation of implicit or unconscious aspects that can be a driving force of sustained volunteerism. Moreover, a large number of studies examined volunteering only within a single, mostly Western, cultural setting (Clary et al., 1998). The few studies that did examine volunteering across cultures mainly compared rates of volunteering across different nations (e.g., Curtis, 1971; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006). None of the cross-cultures studies on volunteering so far examined whether pathways leading to volunteering are the same across cultures. The present study addresses these deficits. First, it introduces *implicit motivation*, and thus goes beyond considering only self-reported (explicit) motivation as an antecedent of volunteering. Second, it tests the applicability of the proposed motivational model *across four diverse cultural samples* (i.e., China, Germany, Turkey, and the US).

Volunteering

Volunteering is defined as a planned, long-term, and non-obligatory prosocial commitment, typically within an organizational setting and directed at unknown others (Penner, 2002). It is accompanied by a range of positive outcomes for the society (Putnam, 2000) and the individual (Primavera, 1999). Therefore, it is not surprising that volunteering gained increasing relevance in research fields such as psychology and sociology. We first describe

sociological research that focused on cultural comparisons of rates of volunteering, and subsequently present findings from psychological research that focus on antecedents of volunteering.

Volunteering across cultures: Different rates, but same antecedents? Culture has scarcely been considered in research on volunteering. In one of the few cross-cultural studies, Curtis (1971) compared membership rates in voluntary associations across the US, Canada, Great Britain, Western Germany, Italy, and Mexico, and found that Americans and Canadians held more memberships than citizens of the remaining nations. Concordant findings were derived from a comparison of 33 democratic nations based on datasets of the World Values Survey (Curtis et al., 2001). Curtis and colleagues summarized that memberships in volunteering organizations are more frequent in countries that have a high level of economic development, are predominantly protestant, and have a long democratic history and a liberal, democratic political system. Similar findings were obtained in a meta-analysis by Allik and Realo (2004). They revealed that a country's social capital – with civic engagement being an important aspect of it (Putnam, 2000) – was positively related to scores on individualism (see also Kemmelmeier et al., 2006). Taken together, it seems that volunteering is typically higher in urban, individualist, and affluent cultural contexts (for a recent review, see Aydinli et al., 2013).

However, as stated earlier, cross-cultural studies did not go beyond the mere comparison of rates of volunteering, thereby missing whether the structure of volunteering and its *antecedents* are invariant across cultures: Such an invariance would imply moderate universalism, according to which basic processes leading to a particular behavioral outcome (e.g., motivational antecedents leading to volunteering) are identical across cultures, while the way in which and how much such behavioral outcomes are expressed (e.g., culture-specific manifestations and rates of volunteering) may differ across cultures (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011). It is therefore needed to move beyond solely comparing rates of volunteering across cultures, and to examine whether or to what extent sustained volunteering is driven by the same antecedents across different cultural environments.

Antecedents of volunteering. Psychological research on volunteering focuses mainly on dispositional antecedents (i.e., the characteristics of the individual that promote volunteering). Two prominent examples are the prosocial personality model by Penner (2002), and the functional approach to volunteering by Omoto and Snyder (1995). Both approaches focus on a volunteer's *self-reported* prosocial dispositions as critical ingredients

volunteering. While the prosocial personality model by Penner highlights the relevance of other-oriented empathy and helpfulness as a *precursor of volunteering*, Omoto and Synder's (1995) model focuses on motivational variations *among volunteers* and proposes that different individuals engage in volunteering for different reasons or motives (e.g., values, career, or social) (see also Clary et al., 1998).

Findings from both the dispositional and the motivational perspective on volunteering add to our understanding of the phenomenon (e.g., Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Penner, 2002; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998). However, research on dispositional antecedents of volunteering is so far purely based on self-reported traits and motives, and neglects the influence of unconscious, implicit variables (for exceptions see Aydinli et al., 2014; 2015; Perugini et al., 2011). Hence, research on antecedents of volunteering can expand towards the examination of implicit antecedents, as the use of only self-report (i.e., explicit) variables in volunteering studies comes along with two major disadvantages. First, using only self-reports constitutes a methodological constraint, as self-reports are often confounded with response tendencies such as socially desirable responding (Paulhus, 1991). Second, using only self-reports also constitutes a conceptual constraint, because self-reports restrict our source of information to only those variables that an individual can consciously access and is willing to report; as a consequence, implicit motivations that have predictive impact on a wide range of behaviors (Baumeister et al., 2011), are excluded. This is particularly an issue for understanding behaviors that are likely to be affected by unconscious (implicit) variables; volunteering might be one of those behaviors. Dual process models of cognitive functioning (e.g., Greenwald et al., 1995; Tulving, 1985) disentangle the predictive effects of these two processes, and provide insight into the types of behaviors that are likely to be elicited by explicit and / or implicit processes.

Dual Process Model of Motivation

The dual process model of motivation proposes that goal-directed behaviors are determined by two qualitatively distinct motivational systems: implicit motivation and explicit (or self-reported) motivation (McClelland et al., 1989). The distinction between implicit and explicit motives is *not* a distinction in terms of measurement methods (i.e., implicit vs. explicit assessment of the same construct), but refers to a conceptual distinction of two independent motivational systems, as outlined below.

Predictive effects of implicit and explicit motivation. These two motivational processes differ with respect to a number of aspects, such as stage of development,

representation, and behaviors they relate to. Implicit motives develop in very early pre-linguistic stages of ontogeny (McClelland & Pilon, 1983), are not consciously represented, and operate outside individuals' control. They unconsciously guide individuals' behaviors towards affectively rewarding end-states (Schultheiss, 2008). Explicit motives, in contrast, are acquired through socialization after language and cognitive representations of concepts or behavior have been developed. They are represented consciously, and hence operate alongside individuals' awareness and control. As a consequence, explicit motives are directed towards behavioral outcomes that individuals evaluate as important or desirable, and therefore decide to pursue (McClelland et al., 1989).

There is empirical evidence that these two types of motivations are associated with different types of behaviors: implicit motives have been found to predict *spontaneous behaviors* and *long-term behavioral trends* in which individuals engage intuitively, whereas explicit (or self-reported) motives have been found to determine *planned behaviors* that are performed after *conscious consideration* and that take place in well-structured situations (Aydinli et al., 2014; 2015; McClelland et al., 1989). A review by Woike (2008) supports the idea that behaviors can differ in the extent to which they are affected by implicit and explicit motives. For the area of autobiographical memory, Woike (2008) showed that implicit and explicit memories differ in terms of both how and what type of content is recalled; implicit motives have been found to affect the encoding of affective experiences, while explicit motives are involved in encoding and recall of routine experiences.

For the area of helping and volunteering, a recent study by Perugini et al. (2011) examined the effects of self-reported prosociality and implicit altruism *attitudes* on various types of helping. They found that implicit attitudes were related to spontaneous helping, while self-ascribed prosocial dispositions were related to engagement in volunteering (i.e., planned helping). More importantly, Perugini et al. found that a more complex and long-term behavioral outcome of planned helping, namely the amount of time that is monthly spent on volunteering, was related to both self-reported (explicit) prosociality and implicit attitudes. Similar findings were obtained in the field of implicit and explicit *motives*, and their effects on prosocial behavior. Results of a recent study by Aydinli et al. (2014) show that planned types of helping were related to explicit prosocial power motivation, whereas spontaneous types of helping were related to the interaction of explicit and implicit prosocial power motivation. More specifically, the authors found that planned helping was highest when self-reported (i.e., explicit) prosocial power motivation was high (regardless of implicit prosocial power motivation), whereas the effect of explicit prosocial power motivation on spontaneous

helping was moderated by implicit prosocial power motivation: There was only a relationship between explicit prosocial power motivation and spontaneous helping, if also implicit prosocial power motivation was high. Accordingly, spontaneous helping was highest when both explicit and implicit prosocial power motivation were high; or in other words when they were congruent.

Based on findings by Perugini et al. (2011) and Aydinli et al. (2014), and in line with the dual process model of motivational functioning (McClelland et al., 1989) helping behaviors seem to differ in the extent to which they are driven by implicit vs. explicit processes. Implicit processes seem to constitute a substantial activator of spontaneous helping activities, while purely planned behaviors, such as volunteering, seem to be driven by conscious (i.e., explicit) processes. However, in reality, only few behaviors may exist that can be classified as purely spontaneous or purely planned. Instead, behaviors are often multifaceted and complex, meaning that they comprise both spontaneous and planned features, and are thus likely to be influenced by both implicit and explicit processes (e.g., monthly time spent on volunteering; Perugini et al., 2011).

Prosocial power motivation. The need for power, that is, the desire to have an impact on other peoples' emotions and behaviors, can take two different forms. These forms are also known as the *dual nature of power*: Power motivation can be both destructive and constructive (McClelland, 1970; Winter, 1991). It can be destructive when used in an antisocial manner (i.e., personalized power), but constructive when used by a responsible leader, or in a prosocial manner to exert a beneficial influence on other people's lives (i.e., socialized power) (McClelland, 1970; Winter, 1973). This reasoning is in line with Kuhl's (2000) Personality Systems Interaction Theory (PSI-Theory) and his conceptualization of the power motive. According to Kuhl, power motivation contains different subtypes, one of them being the *need to help*. This need is labeled *prosocial motivation* (Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001; Winter, 1973; see also Chasiotis & Hofer, in press), and will be utilized as *the* motivational antecedent of volunteering in the present research.

Building on McClelland et al.'s (1989) earlier distinction, motivation to act prosocially is realized in two ways: the explicit and the implicit one. Studies across cultural groups suggest that the development of implicit, but not explicit, prosocial motivation is enhanced by growing up with younger siblings (Aydinli et al., 2015; Chasiotis, et al., 2014). Moreover implicit prosocial motivation enhances individuals' love for children, and was related to being a parent (Chasiotis et al., 2006), to having an interest and concern for guiding the next generation (i.e., generativity) (Hofer et al., 2008), and finally to helping (Aydinli et

al., 2014; 2015; for a recent overview, see Chasiotis & Hofer, in press). Accordingly, we utilize both explicit (i.e., self-reported) *and* implicit prosocial motivation as antecedents of sustained volunteering.

The Present Study

Effects of explicit and implicit prosocial motivation on sustained volunteering. We described that behaviors are activated through two distinct paths and their interplay: an explicit path based on cognition driven processes which is predictive for planned behaviors, and an implicit path based on affect driven processes that is predictive for planned behaviors and long-term behavioral trends.

Certainly, sustained volunteering is mainly a planned activity. However, it is also a recurring and long-term behavioral engagement. We therefore argue that volunteering is best described as a multifaceted prosocial activity that comprises both elements of planned and spontaneous helping. Hence, we propose that in addition to explicit motivation, implicit prosocial motivation will be involved in sustained volunteering (as implicit motives relate to spontaneous behaviors and long-term behaviors).

Volunteering across cultures: Universal pathways? The present study examines *how* sustained volunteering is motivationally founded across different cultural groups, and whether and to what extent these motivational antecedents function in a culturally invariant manner. In this respect, it should be noted that previously documented differences in rates of volunteering across cultures (e.g., Allik & Realo, 2004; Kemmelmeier et al., 2006) do not necessarily mean that motivational mechanisms leading to volunteering also differ. There is no empirical research suggesting that antecedents of volunteering differ across cultures (e.g., Clary et al., 1998; Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998). Neither do findings from motivational research indicate that implicit and explicit motives function differently across different cultures (for an overview, see Hofer & Chasiotis, 2011).

Hypotheses. First, sustained volunteering will relate to explicit prosocial motivation (H1). Second, this relationship between explicit prosocial motivation and sustained volunteering will be strongest when also implicit prosocial motivation is high (compared to low and moderate levels of implicit prosocial motivation) (H2). Finally, the structure of motivational antecedents of volunteering will be invariant across different cultural groups. More specifically, the main effect of explicit prosocial motivation on sustained volunteering (see H1) and the interaction effect of explicit and implicit prosocial motivation on sustained volunteering (see H2) will be invariant across the different cultural groups (H3).

Sample selection. To test our motivational model of sustained volunteering (H1 and H2) and our hypothesis of identical relationships across cultures (H3), we selected cultural samples that do not only differ in sociocultural markers, but also in rates of volunteering (to explore universality of motivational processes despite of mean-level differences in volunteering). First, we selected samples from the US and China as representing the most frequently applied comparison between a prototypically individualistic / independent versus collectivistic / interdependent culture (e.g., Bond, Wan, Leung, & Gialocone, 1985). Building on self-report data obtained from the World Values Survey, both the US and China are among nations with very high rates of volunteering (> 60%) (Rochester, Ellis Paine, Howlett, & Zimmeck, 2010). We know from cross-cultural psychology that more than two cultures are needed to arrive at conclusions that are easier to interpret in terms of sociocultural markers (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). To ensure some variability with respect to rates of volunteering, we selected Germany and Turkey, because the rates of volunteering are comparatively low in these two countries (21-30% for Germany, and < 10% for Turkey) (Rochester et al., 2010). At the same time, these two countries differ with respect to their sociocultural value orientation. While Germany represents a more individualistic / independent context, Turkey represents a more collectivistic / interdependent context (Hofstede, 1980).

Method

Participants

Participants were 1082 adult individuals[1] (70.7% volunteers) recruited from four different countries: 252 individuals from Germany (M_{age} = 33.2 years; 57.1% female), 272 individuals from Turkey (M_{age} = 33.0 years; 55.1% female), 300 individuals from the US (M_{age} = 33.8 years; 61.7% female), and 258 individuals from China (Hong Kong) (M_{age} = 35.5 years; 54.7% female) (see also Table 4.1).

[1] 112 participants were excluded from the sample in advance due to more than two missing values in the measure of implicit motivation (out of twelve). For similar applications see Aydinli et al. (2013). Moreover, data of seven participants were excluded from further analyses, as they had indicated having volunteered for more than 200 hours per month (a highly improbable value).

Table 4.1 Descriptive statistics of socio-demographical variables and variables used in the motivational model of sustained volunteering

	Germany *n* = 252	Turkey *n* = 272	USA *n* = 300	Hong Kong *n* = 258
Age / M*(SD)*	33.23 *(12.13)*$_a$	32.99 *(11.94)*$_a$	33.75 *(13.08)*$_a$	35.46 *(13.80)*$_a$
Sex (% female)	57%$_a$	55%$_a$	62%$_a$	55%$_a$
Education in Years / M *(SD)*	15.81 *(3.28)*$_a$	14.71 *(3.31)*$_a$	15.99 *(9.79)*$_a$	15.23 *(4.46)*$_a$
Marital Status / % married	27%$_a$	35%$_a$	29%$_a$	35%$_a$
Implicit prosocial motivation / M *(SD)*	0.38 *(0.65)*$_a$	0.32 *(0.60)*$_a$	0.39 *(0.65)*$_a$	0.10 *(0.33)*$_b$
Explicit prosocial motivation / M *(SD)*	3.90 *(0.52)*$_a$	4.00 *(0.60)*$_b$	3.78 *(0.63)*$_c$	3.53 *(0.53)*$_d$
Volunteering / % volunteers	75%	67%	74%	67%
Frequency of volunteering / M *(SD)*	2.53 *(1.88)*$_a$	1.69 *(1.59)*$_b$	1.94 *(1.46)*$_b$	1.72 *(1.46)*$_b$
Length of volunteering/ M *(SD)*	3.28 *(2.17)*$_a$	2.26 *(2.08)*$_b$	2.87 *(2.07)*$_b$	2.75 *(2.23)*$_b$
Monthly volunteering hours M *(SD)*	16.94 *(24.58)*$_a$	14.35 *(30.44)*$_a$	9.00 *(13.86)*$_b$	9.51 *(22.25)*$_b$

Notes. Each subscript letter represents a subset of countries whose values on a particular variable do not significantly differ from each other on $p = .05$ level.

Procedure

Recruitment took place in two different ways. In Germany and Hong Kong the samples were recruited through personal and professional networks, while in Turkey and USA sampling was only realized through professional networks. Moreover, two different types of samples were assessed: the convenience sample vs. volunteer sample.

Firstly, in all four countries individuals were recruited regardless of whether they volunteered or not (i.e., as a convenience sample). In Germany and Hong Kong the convenience samples were recruited through personal and professional networks of the authors, in Turkey and the US only through professional networks. In Turkey, a research agency providing data collection services (www.optimistresearch.com) was employed, and in the US the online labor market Amazon Mechanical Turk (www.mturk.com) that allows online data collection from US residents was utilized.

In order to attain a sufficient number of volunteers in our dataset (which is particularly relevant for countries in which rates of volunteering are typically low), additional individuals

were recruited through approaching voluntary organizations (i.e., the volunteer samples). As our convenience sample in USA already contained a substantial number of volunteers; approaching additional voluntary organizations was not necessary here. Voluntary organizations that agreed to participate were asked to forward our questionnaire to their volunteers. The measures could be completed in a paper-pencil format or in online form. Completing the questionnaire took between 45-60 minutes and all participants (regardless of recruitment procedure) were rewarded with a monetary compensation worth ~US$10 (the exact amount slightly differed across countries due to conversion rates)[2].

Measures

Sociodemographics. Participants were asked to indicate their age, gender, their marital status (i.e., whether they are married or not), and the number of years that they have spent in formal education (starting from primary school).

Explicit prosocial motivation. To assess individuals' self-attributed, explicit motivations to act prosocially, an adaptation of the Motive Enactment Test (Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001) was used (see also Aydinli et al., 2014; 2015). The Motive Enactment Test assesses motivation in accordance with PSI-Theory (Kuhl, 2000). Here, motivation is understood as a process that can be realized in different ways; it can be driven through approaching, avoiding, or balancing positive and negative affective states. The six items constituting the measure describe prosocial motivation as driven by various affective states. Exemplary items are "Taking care of other people gives me a good feeling inside" (e.g., for realizing prosocial motivation in the mode of approaching positive affect) or "Even in difficult situations, I find effective ways of supporting others" (e.g., for turning a negative affective state into a positive affective state). All items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from *1 = not applicable at all* to *5 = very applicable*. Validity was supported by relating explicit prosocial motivation to both self-reported willingness to help and real-life helping (i.e., donating money to a donation box) (Aydinli et al., 2014). For the purpose of this study, the instrument (which was originally developed in German) was translated and back-translated into English, Turkish, and

[2]In Germany, the convenience sample consisted of n = 125 (49.6%) individuals, while the volunteer sample consisted of n = 127 (50.4%) individuals; n = 126 (50%) German individuals completed the questionnaire online. In Turkey, the convenience sample consisted of n = 144 (52.9%) individuals, while the volunteer sample consisted of n = 128 (47.1%) individuals; n = 106 (39%) Turkish individuals completed the questionnaire online. In Hong Kong, the convenience sample comprised n = 148 (57.4%) individuals, while the volunteer sample consisted of n = 110 (42.6%) individuals; n = 5 (2%) Chinese individuals completed the questionnaire online. In the USA, the convenience sample comprised n = 300 (100%) individuals and all participants completed the questionnaire online.

(traditional) Chinese. Internal consistencies were reasonably high in all four countries, with α = .70 for Germany, .69 for Turkey, .72 for the US, and .64 for Hong Kong. A multigroup confirmatory factor analysis to test for metric and scalar invariance supported partial metric invariance: $\chi^2(38, N = 1089) = 58.17$, $p = .091$, RMSEA = .022, CFI = .978 (ΔCFI = .010). Invariance constraints on the loading of the first item "Taking care of other people gives me a good feeling inside" had to be released for the Turkish group, as its loading on the factor of explicit prosocial motivation was weaker than in the other three groups, yet still significant. The mean score of all six items was taken as an indicator of individuals' explicit prosocial motivation.

Implicit prosocial motivation. Participants' implicit prosocial motivation was assessed by using the Operant Multi-Motive Test (OMT; Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001) which represents an adaption of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT; Murray, 1943). The OMT has been proven to be a valid measure of implicit motivation: It showed convergent validity with the TAT, and revealed relationships to behavioral correlates such as hormonal fluctuations and psychosomatic symptoms (Ball et al., 2014; Baumann et al., 2005; Baumann & Scheffer, 2011). Moreover, the OMT's applicability in cross-cultural research has been repeatedly demonstrated (for an overview, see Hofer & Chasiotis, 2011). Most relevant for the present study, there are previous studies supporting the OMT's validity in the domain of implicit prosocial motivation across different cultural groups. Implicit prosocial motivation as measured by the OMT is positively associated with the number of (younger) siblings in Cameroon, Costa Rica, Germany, and China (Chasiotis et al., 2014), as well as Turkey and the USA (Aydinli et al., 2015). Furthermore, studies document its relationship to behaviors that involve a strong guiding or caring component: Across Latin-America, Africa, and Europe, implicit prosocial motivation measured with the OMT was related to being a parent (i.e., having children or not; Chasiotis et al., 2006) and the concern for providing guidance to the next generation (i.e., generativity; Hofer et al., 2008).

In the OMT twelve ambiguous picture stimuli are presented. Each picture contains at least one protagonist, and respondents are asked to answer the following three questions: (1) "What is important for the person in this situation and what is the person doing?", (2) "How does the person feel?", and (3) "Why does the person feel this way?". The answers are then coded for motivational categories according to Kuhl and Scheffer's (2001) OMT Manual, whereby one code is assigned to each picture. When no answer or a non-content answer (e.g., "I don't know" or "I cannot see anything") is given to a picture, it is counted as a missing value. For each motivational category (i.e., power, affiliation, and achievement), the OMT

differentiates between five different motive realizations, four approach components and one avoidance component. Hence, for each answer/picture one out of 16 possible codes can be given (five components for each of the three basic motives and one zero code when no motivational content is present). Implicit prosocial motivation is conceptualized as an approach component of the power motive. It is coded when individuals describe prosocial activities such as helping, comforting, supporting, or protecting others in combination with positive affect (Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001). The first 20% of answers in the German sample (i.e., answers of 50 participants) were coded independently by the first, second, and third author in sequences of ten answers per session. In each of those five sequences, a pairwise interrater reliability > 80% was established between the first, second, and third author, respectively. The remaining answers were coded individually by the first author (Chinese answers were translated into English by a bilingual student). Unclear cases, in which the first author could not decide on a definite code, were discussed and resolved with the second and third author (see also Chasiotis et al., 2006; 2014). To test whether the twelve pictures functioned equally to assess implicit prosocial motivation across the four cultural samples an analysis of differential item functioning (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997) using logistic regression was employed. Results indicate a uniform bias for the first picture (i.e., in some cultures this pictures contribution to the total score of implicit prosocial motivation is higher than in other cultures), and non-uniform bias for the third picture. All other pictures function equally across cultures in terms of implicit prosocial motivation. As we do not examine mean-level differences across different cultural groups, a uniform bias does not constitute a problem for the present study. Therefore, only answers given to the third picture were excluded from our measure of implicit prosocial motivation. The sum of the remaining eleven answers that were coded for prosocial power motivation was used as a score for participants' implicit prosocial motivation[3].

Assessment of sustained volunteering. According to Marta and Pozzi (2008) and Omoto and Snyder (1995), the length of service is a key element in the definition of sustained volunteerism. Moreover, Finkelstein et al. (2005) suggested time invested into volunteering as an important variable to evaluate commitment to volunteering. Accordingly, we conceptualized sustained volunteering as a latent factor composed by the following four indicators: Presence of volunteering, length of voluntary service, service frequency, and hours spent on volunteering.

[3]Detailed results of the Differential Item Functioning analysis are available from the authors upon request.

Presence of Volunteering. The assessment of this variable was realized in two different ways: Participants that were recruited independently of voluntary organizations (i.e., the convenience samples) were presented with a list of 14 different types of voluntary organizations (including one open "other type of organization" category) that was adapted from the World Values Survey (www.worldvaluessurvey.org/). They were asked to indicate whether they performed voluntary work for any of those organizations in the past twelve months. Exemplary organization types were "church or religious organization" or "environmental organization". If participants indicated that they were engaged in at least one type of volunteer work, they were coded as volunteers (= 1), and if not, they were coded as non-volunteers (= 0). Participants that were recruited through approaching the volunteering organizations were not presented with that list and coded as volunteers (= 1).

Length of voluntary service. Participants engaged in volunteering (i.e., those coded as volunteers) were asked to indicate when they have started to volunteer on a five-point scale, with *1 = one to three months ago*; *2 = three to six months ago*; *3 = six to twelve months ago*; *4 = one to two years ago*; and *5 = more than two years ago*. The code of zero was given for individuals who were not engaged in volunteering over the past twelve months.

Service frequency. To measure differences in frequency of engagement among individuals who were engaged in volunteering over the past twelve months, we employed a 5-point measure and asked individuals to indicate how often they performed voluntary work during the past year. Answer categories were *1 = once*; *2 = a few times*; *3 = almost every month*; *4 = almost every week*; and *5 = almost every day.* We chose this answer format, as the answer options are reasonably independent from voluntary service duration (i.e., both long-term volunteers and volunteers who just started their service can attain all scores between one and five). Again, participants who did not engage in volunteering over the past twelve months were coded with zero.

Time spent on volunteering. To assess hours spent on volunteering, we asked volunteers to estimate the *average amount* of hours *per month* that they have spent on volunteering during the past year. We asked individuals to indicate their average hours of volunteering per month (not their total hours) to attain a score that is largely independent from length of voluntary service. For individuals, who did not volunteer over the past twelve months the amount of hours was set at zero.

Based on these four indicators of sustained volunteering, a multigroup confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was performed to test for metric and scalar invariance across the four cultures. Results supported metric invariance for sustained volunteering across the four

cultural groups: $\chi^2(13, N = 1082) = 63.64$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .060, CFI = .983 (ΔCFI = .010). The factor score composed of the four indicators was utilized as a measure of sustained volunteering.

Results

Notably, our four samples differed with respect to scores of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation and indicators of sustained volunteering (see Table 4.1). However, as the aim of the present study does *not* lie in examining mean level differences in these variables between the cultural groups, this does not constitute a problem. For all following analyses, we used scores of implicit prosocial motivation, explicit prosocial motivation, and sustained volunteering that were *z*-standardized within each country. Moreover, to control for the differential effects of socio-demographical background variables on sustained volunteering in the four cultural groups (see Table 4.2), we used the residual factor score of volunteering that was obtained after regressing volunteering on age, sex, marital status, and educational level.

Table 4.2 Pearson correlations between socio-demographical variables and sustained volunteering

	Sustained Volunteering[a]			
	Germany *n* = 252	Turkey *n* = 272	USA *n* = 300	Hong Kong *n* = 258
Age (lower scores = younger age)	.09	-.23***	.06	-.06
Sex (0 = male; 1 = female)	-.09	-.02	-.14*	.06
Educational Level (lower scores = less education)	-.08	.23***	.07	-.01
Marital Status (0 = unmarried; 1 = married)	-.16*	-.10	.01	.06

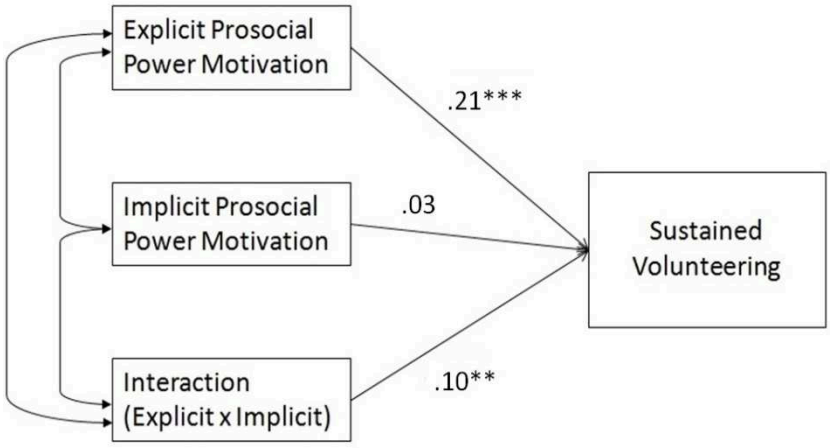
Notes. [a] higher scores indicate longer, more frequent and more average hours of voluntary service. *$p < .05$. ***$p < .001$.

Motivational Effects on Sustained Volunteering

We tested our motivational model of sustained volunteering (see Figure 4.1) by using multigroup regression analysis. This analysis first tests the applicability of the proposed model separately for each group (i.e., configural invariance model), and secondly tests to what extent the direction and strength of the proposed relationships are invariant across these groups (i.e., structural weights model). We entered explicit prosocial motivation, implicit prosocial motivation, and their interaction as predictors of sustained volunteering to our

regression model. As we utilized within-country standardized scores to test our proposed model, means and intercepts were set to be equal across countries. Therefore, testing more restrictive models than the structural weights model, which also constrain the means and intercepts to be equal across cultural, was not appropriate. Results of the multigroup analysis revealed a good fit for the structural weights model: $\chi^2(9, N = 1082) = 4.36$, $p = .886$, RMSEA = .000, CFI = 1.000, ΔCFI = .00, $R^2 = .06$. This indicates that the relationships between explicit and implicit prosocial motivation and their interaction with sustained volunteering are invariant across the four cultural groups, which suggests that the patterning of volunteering and its antecedents shows the expected invariance of relationships across cultures (H3).

Figure 4.1 Effects of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation and their interaction on sustained volunteering across four cultures.

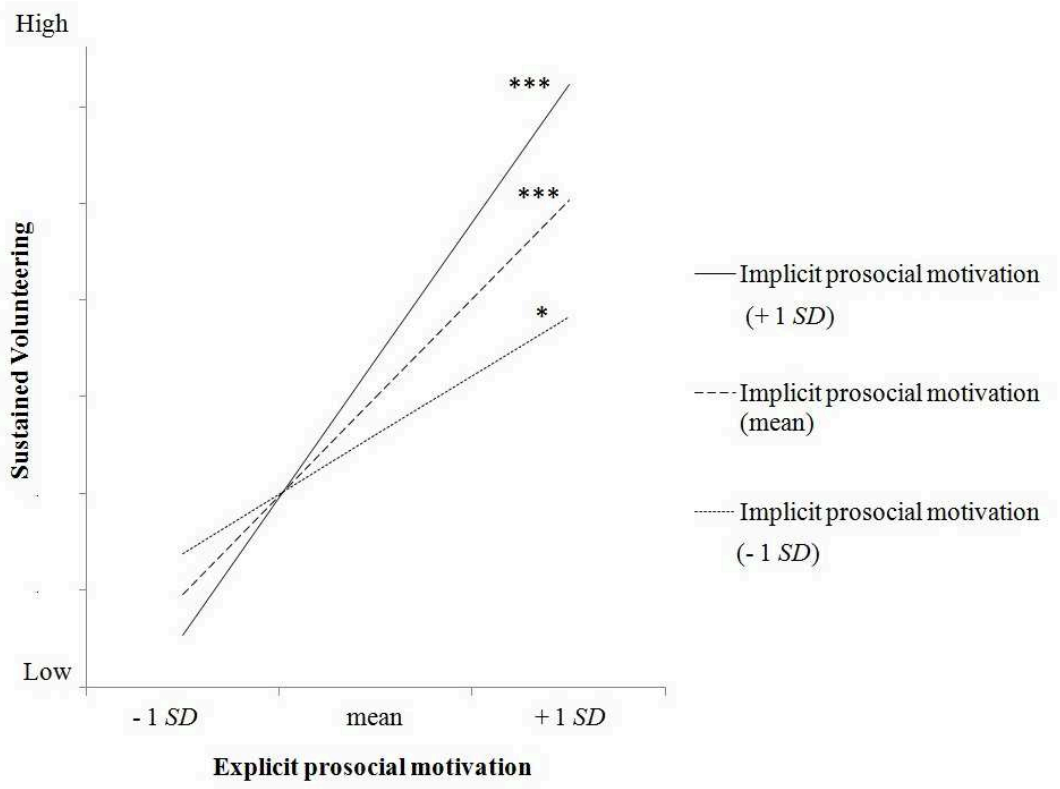


Notes. Path coefficients represent standardized regression coefficients for the structural weights solution; z-standardized scores of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation were applied; sustained volunteering represents the residual score obtained after regression on age, sex, educational level, and marital status; $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

An inspection of the standardized regression weights of the structural weights solution confirmed the hypothesized main effect of explicit (self-reported) prosocial motivation on sustained volunteering (β = .21, $p < .001$, Cohen's $f^2 = .04$) (H1), while there was no significant effect of implicit prosocial motivation (β = .03, $p = .329$). Moreover, our model revealed a significant interaction (β = .10, $p < .01$, Cohen's $f^2 = .05$). To further examine the source of the significant interaction and to test our hypothesis (H2), we employed a slope test across all groups (O'Connor, 1998). The slope test examines whether and which combinations

of different values of explicit and implicit prosocial motivation (i.e., low, mean, and high) predict a particular outcome (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003), in this case sustained volunteering. Results of the slope test confirmed the expected interaction effect (for a graphical representation, see Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Interaction of explicit and implicit prosocial motivation on sustained volunteering across four cultures.



Notes. *slope differs significantly from zero with $p < .05$; ***slope differs significantly from zero with $p < .001$; all three slopes significantly differ from each other with $p < .05$.

The relationship between explicit prosocial motivation and sustained volunteering was strongest when implicit prosocial motivation was high ($\beta = .31$, $p < .001$), somewhat weaker when implicit prosocial motivation was moderate ($\beta = .22$, $p < .001$), and weakest when implicit prosocial motivation was low ($\beta = .12$, $p < .05$) (H2). Examination of the 95% confidence intervals revealed that all three slopes significantly differed from each other, which supports our hypothesis that the effect of explicit prosocial motivation on sustained volunteering is amplified by implicit prosocial motivation (Figure 4.2). Hence, as expected,

sustained voluntary engagement is a function of explicit prosocial motivation and is *most likely* when both explicit and implicit prosocial motivation are high[4].

Discussion

Culturally Invariant Pathways

Results of the multigroup regression analysis revealed that our motivational model of sustained volunteering is applicable across four different cultural groups, and therefore provide first evidence that the relationships between motivational antecedents and sustained volunteering are invariant across these four groups (see Figure 4.1). Finding invariant relationships in such diverse cultural environments could mean that our model might also be applicable to describe sustained volunteering in other cultural contexts. Results indicate that in the four investigated cultural environments[5], individuals who report a high explicit need for prosociality and who are at the same time implicitly driven to act prosocially, are those individuals that are most likely to perform sustained volunteering. In other words, individuals who self-ascribe prosocial motives and show a pronounced implicit need for prosocial acting (i.e., individuals with congruent motives) seem to be those who are most likely to engage in sustained volunteering.

Implications

Understanding and predicting sustained volunteering is not only of scientific relevance, but also has essential societal implications: Sustained volunteering is a crucial element of social capital (Putnam, 2000), and is of great economic value (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2012). With rates of volunteering declining (Salamon et al., 2012), it becomes more important for organizations to recruit and identify suitable volunteers that are likely to stay committed over a long period of time. Considering both explicit and implicit motivation, and their interaction, represents an innovative approach to address this need. Our

[4]We repeated the same multigroup regression models for each indicator of volunteering separately. Results did not differ from the findings with a combined factor score: Across the four cultural groups, analyses revealed a significant main effect of explicit prosocial motivation and a significant interaction on presence of volunteering, service length, service frequency, and hours spent on volunteering. Strongest relationships for all four indicators were consistently achieved when implicit prosocial motivation was also high. Detailed results are available from the authors upon request.

[5]Recruited samples differed with respect to conformity and tradition values, measured by the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ, Schwartz et al., 2001). Both conformity and tradition were most endorsed by Hong Kong Chinese participants, moderately endorsed by Turkish and American participants, and least endorsed by German participants, which indicates that variation regarding sociocultural value orientation was present in the recruited samples.

findings corroborate the contention that individuals who have a high explicit goal and high implicit need (or motive) to act prosocially are those that are most committed to volunteering, as they provide voluntary service more frequently, devote more time to volunteering, and provide voluntary service over a longer period of time. Hence, our study opens an innovative avenue for organizations across various cultural settings to more efficiently recruit sustainable volunteers. Voluntary organizations of any type can employ or consult trained psychologists and may apply measures to assess volunteers' implicit helping motivation. Based on their scores, volunteers might be placed at positions fitting their profile. Positions that require more responsibility and hence would be more affected by turnover, for instance, deserve a more careful placement, and could be reserved for individuals that score high on both explicit and implicit prosocial motivation. Certainly, assessing implicit and explicit motives requires resources at the side of the voluntary organization. An alternative to examining implicit motives might lie in assessing proxies that have been shown to relate to implicit prosocial motivation in previous research: For instance, the number of younger siblings (Aydinli et al., 2015; Chasiotis et al., 2014), self-reported love for children (Chasiotis et al., 2006), and concern for guiding and caring for the next generation (Hofer et al., 2008). Moreover, previous research has shown that congruence in the motive domains of power, achievement, and affiliation (i.e., scoring high on both implicit and explicit power, achievement or affiliation motivation) seem to relate to enhanced life-satisfaction across different cultural groups (e.g., Hofer et al., 2006). Adapted to the area of volunteering, a perspective would be that congruence in the motive domain of prosocial motivation (i.e., scoring high on implicit and explicit prosoical motivation) might also lead to higher satisfaction with life or satisfaction with volunteering. As those individuals seem also to be those that are most likely to serve as long-term volunteers, assessing volunteers' satisfaction might serve as an indicator for how likely they are to provide sustained service.

Limitations and Future Research

A first limitation concerns the diversity in sampling procedures that were employed in the present study. While the inclusion of different types of voluntary organizations represents a strength of this study, potential issues due to the large variation in the sampling procedure for the convenience sample cannot be excluded. In Germany and Hong Kong, sampling was conducted by using also personal networks, in the US and in Turkey however, only through professional channels, such as Amazon Mechanical Turk and a research agency, respectively. A consequence of this variation might be that social pressure or socially desirable responding

could be enhanced for the samples that were recruited also by means of personal networks. However, as we were not interested in mean level comparisons *between*, but in the motivational structure *within* the four cultural groups - the variation in sampling procedures therefore appears less problematic, particularly since the heterogeneity of the sampling makes our test more conservative[6].

A second limitation refers to the measurement of volunteering by utilizing subjective retrospective information. The use of such self-reports can be problematic in several ways: First they might be affected by methodological constraints such as socially desirable responding, memory bias, or shared method variance. Second, they do not allow for any causal conclusions: Since the design of our study is correlational, it could also well be that a more pronounced implicit and explicit prosocial motivation among sustained volunteers rather represents a result of voluntary service than its antecedent. To overcome the methodological constraints and to clarify the causal direction of the motivational effects, an experimental study design is required. However, the study of planned helping in general, and volunteering in particular, in an experimental setting is a challenging enterprise (Amato, 1985), as volunteering by its nature is a long-term behavioral commitment that is difficult to incorporate in an experiment with limited time frames. A quasi-experimental longitudinal design (see for instance, Cemalcılar, 2009) seems to be the best solution to overcome these limitations. Such a design would also allow for a more objective and *not* self-report based assessment of commitment to volunteering, such as devoted time, frequency, or longevity of service. Moreover, it would help to clarify whether prosocial motivation (both implicit and explicit) is an antecedent or outcome of sustained volunteering. Hence, future research investigating motivational effects on volunteering should measure individuals' motivations before engaging into volunteering (e.g., as part of student based volunteering programs in universities), and also at different time points during their volunteering experience.

A last limitation concerns the examination of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation and their interplay as antecedents of volunteering. As outlined in the functional approach to volunteering by Omoto and Synder (1995), individuals may engage in volunteering for different reasons: While some volunteers may provide service due to

[6]We tested whether the model proposed in Figure 4.1 also applies for different types of recruitment (i.e., personal/professional vs. professional; online vs. paper-pencil), and for males and females. In all three cases, we obtained a good fit for the structural weights solution, indicating that structure and relationships seem to be invariant across samples collected through only professional or professional and personal networks, across responses collected online or through paper-pencil, and across responses collected from males and females. In all three tests, the hypothesized main effect of explicit prosocial motivation and interaction of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation on sustained volunteering could be confirmed.

prosocial motives, other might engage in volunteering for social reasons (i.e., affiliation motive) or for career reasons (i.e., achievement motive)[7]. The examination of such interaction effects for other motive domains, however, has not been realized in the present research, as prosocial motivation was assumed to constitute the most relevant motivation. Therefore, we believe that future research on sustained volunteering would gain substantial insight through addressing the interplay between these self-reported motives proposed by Omoto & Snyder and their implicit correspondent with respect to frequency, service length, and hours spent on voluntary service.

Conclusion

We found support for a new motivational model on sustained volunteering in samples from four diverse cultural groups. We both replicated and extended previous approaches to volunteering. In replication of previous research, we confirmed that self-reported prosocial motivation is strongly related to volunteering. In extension of previous research, we included implicit prosocial motivation as an interacting variable, and confirmed its relevance for a more comprehensive view on sustained volunteering. Across cultures, individuals with high explicit and high implicit prosocial motivation were most likely to be sustained volunteers, in other words, long-term volunteers that volunteered more frequently and spent more time on volunteering. The present study points out that considering solely self-reported motivational information as antecedents of volunteering (as done in research so far) lacks the implicit component, and hence only delivers a limited understanding. Following the example of the present study, future studies examining volunteering and other types of prosocial behaviors should include implicit prosocial motivation as an antecedent and test motivational effects.

[7]An investigation of zero-order correlations in the motive domains of affiliation and achievement revealed that volunteering was negatively related to the intimacy domain of the affiliation motive ($r(1082) = -.07$, $p < .05$), and positively related to the flow domain of the achievement motive ($r(1082) = .06$, $p = .0\,59$).

Chapter 5

Implicit and Explicit Prosocial Motivation as Antecedent of Volunteering: The Moderating Role of Parenthood

Introduction

Volunteering is a non-obligatory, planned, and long-term prosocial activity occurring within an organizational setting (Penner, 2002). Recent statistics suggest that volunteering is in a state of decline (see Salamon et al., 2012), indicating that it becomes increasingly difficult for organizations to attract and keep long-term volunteers. Our insight in motives to volunteer is lacking in three important aspects: First, motivations to volunteer were scarcely examined in light of a lifespan perspective. Second, research on motivational antecedents of volunteering is so far mostly based on self-reported motives (e.g., Clary et al., 1998; Omoto & Snyder, 1995), thereby neglecting effects of implicit motivation (Aydinli et al., 2014). Third, few *cross-cultural* studies have addressed volunteering, despite the large country differences in volunteering. The present study addresses these shortcomings and examines motivational antecedents as a function of *parenthood,* utilizes *implicit prosocial power motivation* as an antecedent, and comprises samples from *Turkey and the US*.

Volunteering across the Lifespan

Building on Omoto and Snyder's (1995) motivational approach to volunteering, Clary et al. (1998) identified a set of different motivations for volunteering. Even though this approach gained huge popularity in research on antecedents of volunteering, the examination of motives to volunteer across the lifespan remained rather scarce.

Socio-emotional selectivity theory and moving beyond age-based goals. One of the few studies examining life span effects on motives to volunteer is by Okun and Schultz (2003) who find age-graded changes in motives: Social goals gain importance with increasing age, but the importance of career-related motives as reasons for volunteering decreases (see also Okun, Pugliese, & Rook, 2007). Okun and Schultz interpreted their findings in light of the Socio-emotional Selectivity Theory (SST; Carstensen et al., 1999), which posits that individuals' primary purposes for engaging in social interactions are determined by their perception of time. When time is perceived to be limitless (typically in younger age), social interactions are sought for *knowledge-related goals*. However, when time is perceived as a limited resource (typically in older age), *emotional goals* gain priority (see also Fung, Carstensen, & Lang, 2001).

So far, life span research conceptualized and measured life span effects by using age. However, life span models of motivation posit that motivational changes across the lifespan

do not necessarily relate to age-based developments, but rather emerge through age-graded *transitions* that are accompanied by specific developmental tasks and demands (Baltes & Baltes, 1990). This approach to life span effects and an examination of associated motivational changes has been absent in volunteering research so far.

A Dual Process Approach to Motivation

In line with the reasoning that behavior is driven by conscious and unconscious forces (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981; Woike, 2008), motivational literature distinguishes two *independent* motivational systems: implicit motivation and explicit (or self-reported) motivation (McClelland et al., 1989; Schultheiss, 2008). Whereas implicit motives develop during the pre-linguistic stage, the development of explicit motives is a cognition-driven process that takes place after language, self, and conceptual representations have been formed (Hofer & Chasiotis, 2011). Furthermore, the systems differ in *how* they develop and the type of behaviors they relate to. Implicit motives are acquired unconsciously through affective experiences in early childhood, operate outside individuals' control, and guide behaviors towards *affectively rewarding end-states*. Explicit motives, on the other hand, are products of conscious socialization, operate alongside individuals' awareness and control, and guide behavior towards *consciously chosen goals* (Schultheiss & Brunstein, 2010; Woike, 2008).

Motives to Volunteer across Cultures

Recent findings on motivational antecedents of volunteering indicate that both structure and strength of motivational effects do not differ across cultures (Aydinli et al., in press). This provides evidence for the notion of *moderate universalism* (Berry et al., 2011) in which "basic psychological processes are likely to be common features of human life everywhere" (p. 290), while their manifestations or the extent to which they are expressed might vary. This means that the basic motivational mechanisms of volunteering (or other types of long-term ad planned helping) are likely to be invariant, even though the form and the extent to which volunteering is expressed can differ across cultures.

The Present Study

We set out to examine implicit and explicit prosocial power motivation and their relation to volunteering among parents and non-parents from two countries to address the limitations presented above.

Parenthood was selected as *the* critical life course factor as it is accompanied by substantial biological, social, and psychological changes including motivation (Salmela-Aro, Aunola, & Nurmi, 2007). Moreover, volunteering and parenthood are conceptually linked, as both relate to the concept of generativity, a "concern in establishing and guiding the next generation" (Erikson, 1963, p. 276). It has been argued that both parenthood and volunteering can be considered as realizations of generativity, with the former representing *parental generativity* (i.e., through having children), and the latter representing *societal generativity* (i.e., by being engaged in volunteering; Shin An & Cooney, 2006).

Prosocial motivation is defined as one's concern to exert a positive impact on other people's lives, and represents one specific mode of realizing the need for power (Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001). Growing up with *younger siblings* promotes the development of implicit prosocial motivation across different cultural groups (Chasiotis et al., 2006, 2014). Moreover, implicit prosocial motivation is related to generativity (Hofer et al., 2008), parenthood (Chasiotis et al., 2006) and prosocial behavior (Aydinli et al., 2014). We therefore propose it as an antecedent of volunteering.

Developmental Pathways of Implicit and Explicit Prosocial Motivation

In line with previous research, we expect implicit prosocial motivation to be positively related to the number of younger siblings (see Chasiotis et al., 2006; 2014) (H1). We further hypothesize a relationship between explicit prosocial motivation and prosocial norms of close others (H2). Norms of close others represent socialization goals and normative teaching, and thus refer to mechanisms on which the development of explicit motives is based (McClelland et al., 1989). Extending this line of thought, we also expect social desirability, the need to 'fit in' a society (Paulhus, 1991), to be related to explicit prosocial motivation (H3).

Motivational Antecedents of Volunteering: The Role of Parenthood

Previous research on motives to volunteer proposed perceptions of time, and hence selectivity in goals, to change with individuals' age. We go beyond this research by proposing that changes in perception of time emerge through age-graded transitions (in our case becoming a parent) that are accompanied by changes in social roles, responsibilities, and motivation (Salmela-Aro et al., 2007). Due to their parental involvement, parents likely perceive their time to be more limited than non-parents. Consequently, in accordance with SST (Carstensen et al., 1999), parents should be more selective in their social interactions, and these interactions should predominantly serve *affective* goals. Hence, parents seek *affectively*

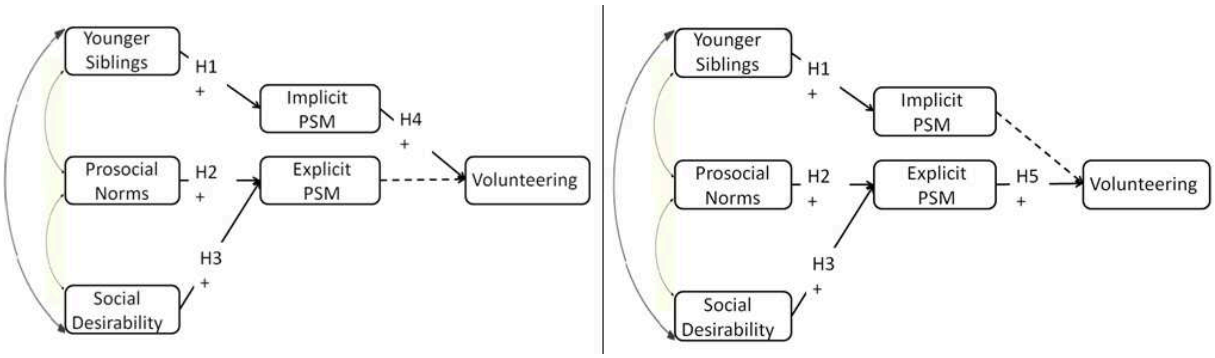
rewarding experiences when volunteering, which, in motivational terms, refers to the *implicit system* (Schultheiss, 2008). Combining these propositions, it can be hypothesized that (beyond an effect of age) parents' engagement in volunteering should be mainly driven by implicit prosocial motivation (H4).

On the other hand, non-parents should be less time limited, therefore less selective, and their social interactions should serve knowledge-related goals (Fung et al., 2001). The purpose of non-parents' volunteering should rather serve the goal of making *new and valuable experiences*, which, in motivational terms, refers to the *explicit system*. We therefore expect that non-parents' volunteering should be driven by explicit prosocial motivation (H5).

Culturally Invariant Pathways of Motivation and Volunteering

Since there is no indication that developmental pathways of implicit and explicit motives would differ across lifespan or culture, we expect the proposed relationships to be invariant across cultures and parents and non-parents. Moreover, building on previous findings in the field (Aydinli et al., in press) that indicate moderate universalism (Berry et al., 2011) for motivational antecedents of volunteering across different cultural groups, we expect a culturally invariant impact of parenthood on motivational trajectories of volunteering (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1 Proposed Path Model for Engaging in Volunteering for Parents (left) and Non-Parents (right).



Notes. Dashed lines represent possible effects that are tested although they are not hypothesized; PSM = Prosocial Motivation

Method

Participants

A test of moderate universalism requires the use of samples that are not only culturally diverse, but also different in terms of how and *how much* volunteering is typically expressed. Hence, we collected data from 570 adult individuals[1] (M_{age} = 33.7 years; 58.2% female; 70.4% volunteers) from Turkey and the US (see Table 5.1 for descriptives and sample differences). While the US represents a prototypically individualistic sociocultural context with very high rates of volunteering (> 60%), Turkey represents a collectivistic cultural context in which formal volunteering is uncommon (< 10%; Hofstede, 1980; Rochester et al., 2010). Recruitment in Turkey was realized by directly approaching voluntary organizations to ensure a sufficient number of volunteers, and by recruiting participants regardless of voluntary activity (via a research agency; www.optimistresearch.com). In the US, data was collected using Amazon Mechanical Turk (www.mturk.com). Completing the survey took around 45-60 minutes. Participants received 5 US$ (or its equivalent in Turkey).

Measures

Measurement invariance. To ensure linguistic equivalence, all measures were translated and back-translated from English into Turkish by the first and fifth author, following the guidelines by van de Vijver and Leung (1997). The equivalence of factor structures was checked by using Tucker's phi, an index that describes the congruence of different sets of factor solutions (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). We compared the factor structure obtained by separate EFAs of prosocial norms, social desirability, and explicit prosocial motivation between the Turkish and the US samples. In all three cases, an invariant factor structure was confirmed with Tucker's φ values > .97.

Sociodemographics. Participants indicated their gender, age, the number of years spent in formal education, and the number of their children.

Younger siblings. Participants reported the number, gender, and age of their siblings with whom they shared the same household during the first ten years of their childhood.

Prosocial norms. As a proxy for how a participant's environment viewed prosociality, a 15-item measure adapted from the benevolence and universalism dimensions of the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ; Schwartz, Melech, Lehmann. Burgess, Harris, & Owens, 2001)

[1]From the sample, 55 participants were excluded because they had more than two missing values in the measure of implicit motivation (out of twelve).

was developed. Items were worded positively, and rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *1 = not applicable at all* to *5 = very much applicable* (e.g., "People in my direct environment find it important to do something for other peoples' well-being"). Internal consistencies were high in all four groups with $\alpha = .91$ for the US non-parents and .93 for the other three groups.

Social desirability. A 17-item scale of social desirability by He and van de Vijver (2013) was used. Items were presented on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *1 = I do not agree at all* to *7 = I fully agree*. (e.g., "I help others in trouble"). Internal consistencies were $\alpha = .86$ for Turkish and US parents, .72 for Turkish non-parents, and .85 for US non-parents.

Explicit prosocial motivation. An 18-item instrument adapted from the Motive Enactment Test (Kuhl & Henseler, 2003) was used. Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *1 = not applicable at all* to *5 = very applicable* (e.g., "Taking care of other people gives me a good feeling inside"). Internal consistencies for the Turkish parents, American parents, Turkish non-parents, and American non-parents were $\alpha = .90$, .88, .87, and .91, respectively.

Implicit prosocial motivation. Implicit prosocial motivation was assessed with a Picture Story Exercise, the Operant Motive Test (OMT; Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001), an adaptation of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT; Murray, 1943). The OMT contains twelve ambiguous picture stimuli. For each picture, participants answered three questions: (1) "What is important for the person in this situation and what is the person doing?", (2) "How does the person feel?", and (3) "Why does the person feel this way?". If an answer was given, a motivational code was assigned per picture (otherwise it was a missing value). Implicit prosocial motivation was coded when answers contained activities such as helping, comforting, or protecting others in combination with positive affect (Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001). Coding was realized by the first author after an interrater reliability of at least 80% was established between the first, second, and third author on training material. Unclear answers were resolved through discussion. The prosocial motivation measure within the OMT shows convergent validity with the TAT, with behavioral correlates and has been proven to be applicable for cross-cultural research (Chasiotis & Hofer, in press). The number of answers (out of twelve) that were coded for prosocial motivation was accumulated. Due to a highly skewed distribution, a dichotomized score was applied. Participants who described at least one OMT picture with a prosocial theme were given the code "1", other individuals were given the code "0".

Volunteering. Participants were given a list of 14 different types of voluntary organizations adapted from the World Values Survey (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). For each organization, respondents indicated whether they had performed voluntary work in the past twelve months. Organization types were for instance "religious organization", or "environmental organization". If participants had performed voluntary work for at least one type of volunteer organization, they were coded as volunteers (= 1), and if not as non-volunteers (= 0). Participants recruited via organizations were coded as volunteers (= 1).

Table 5.1 Descriptive statistics of path model variables and sample differences

	TR parents (n = 79)	US parents (n = 101)	TR non-parents (n = 192)	US non-parents (n = 198)	Sample differences
Age in Years[a] Mean (SD)	43.9 (10.5)	42.4 (13.8)	29.2 (9.2)	29.4 (10.2)	$F_{(3, 566)} = 69.09$***
Sex % Females	46.8	69.3	58.1	57.3	$\chi^2_{(3, 570)} = 9.38$*
Educational Years[b] Mean (SD)	13.6 (4.0)	15.6 (3.1)	15.2 (2.9)	15.6 (2.9)	$F_{(3, 562)} = 8.41$***
Number of Younger Siblings[c] Mean (SD)	1.1 (1.3)	1.2 (1.4)	0.8 (0.9)	0.9 (1.2)	$F_{(3, 555)} = 3.46$*
Prosocial Norms[d] Mean (SD)	3.9 (0.7)	3.5 (0.8)	3.9 (0.7)	3.4 (0.8)	$F_{(3, 547)} = 16.87$***
Social Desirability[d] Mean (SD)	5.6 (0.9)	5.1 (0.8)	5.5 (0.9)	4.9 (0.9)	$F_{(3, 547)} = 22.72$***
Explicit PSM[d] Mean (SD)	3.9 (0.7)	3.8 (0.5)	4.1 (0.5)	3.7 (0.6)	$F_{(3, 564)} = 14.31$***
Implicit PSM % Individuals with implicit PSM	34.2	36.6	34.5	35.5	$\chi^2_{(3, 570)} = 0.14$ (ns)
Volunteering % Volunteers	55.7	68.3	70.8	76.8	$\chi^2_{(3, 570)} = 12.26$**

Notes: PSM = Prosocial Power Motivation; TR = Turkish; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$
[a] The two parent groups significantly differ from the two non-parent groups
[b] Turkish parents significantly differ from the other three groups
[c] Turkish non-parents and US parents significantly differ from each other
[d] The two Turkish groups significantly differ from the two US groups

Results

We tested whether age, gender, and educational level were associated with volunteering. Correlational analyses revealed that both age ($r(570) = -.102$, $p < .05$) and educational level ($r(566) = .246$, $p < .001$) were significantly related to volunteering. To control for these effects, in all following analyses the standardized residual scores of volunteering (after regressing on age and education) were employed. Controlling age effects is also of conceptual

relevance, as we propose that parenthood will influence motivational pathways of volunteering *beyond* the effect of biological age (see Chasiotis et al., 2006).

A Test of Culturally Invariant Pathways

To test whether the proposed relationships (Figure 5.1) differed as a function of culture (as a test of moderate universalism), we carried out two comparisons. First we compared Turkish and American parents, and then Turkish and American non-parents. Results of the multigroup path analysis supported the structural weights solution in both cases, with $\chi^2(17, N = 180) = 20.56$, $p = .246$, RMSEA = .034, CFI = .95, ΔCFI = .01 for the parents, and $\chi^2(17, N = 390) = 24.73$, $p = .101$, RMSEA = .034, CFI = .96, ΔCFI = .01 for the non-parents. Hence, structure, direction, and strength of relationships did not differ between the two cultural groups, neither for parents nor for non-parents. Thus, for all following analyses, we combined the Turkish and the US parents into one parent sample, and the Turkish and US non-parents into one non-parent sample.

Motivational Pathway of Volunteering

To test whether motivational pathways leading to volunteering differ as a function of parenthood (see Figure 5.1), we used multigroup path analyses (Arbuckle, 2009). Results revealed a good fit for the unconstrained, $\chi^2(12, N = 570) = 14.93$, $p = .245$, RMSEA = .021, CFI = .99, but not for the structural weights solution (ΔCFI = .05). This means that our model describes the structure of motivational antecedents of volunteering for parents and non-parents separately, but that the strength or direction of relationships varied among these two groups. We then tested a partial invariance model, in which the effects of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation could vary for parents versus non-parents (as hypothesized in H4 and H5). We obtained a good fit for the modified structural intercepts solution: $\chi^2(18, N = 570) = 23.03$, $p = .190$, RMSEA = .022, CFI = .98, ΔCFI = .00 (see Table 5.2).

Development of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation. Examination of the regression weights confirmed our hypotheses; both parents' and non-parents' implicit prosocial motivation was positively associated with the number of younger siblings ($\beta = .07$, $p = .057$) (H1), and explicit prosocial motivation was positively related to both prosocial norms ($\beta = .36$, $p < .001$) (H2) and social desirability ($\beta = .29$, $p < .001$) (H3).

Motivational antecedents of volunteering. As hypothesized, volunteering among parents was influenced by implicit prosocial motivation ($\beta = .22$, $p < .01$) (H4), but not by

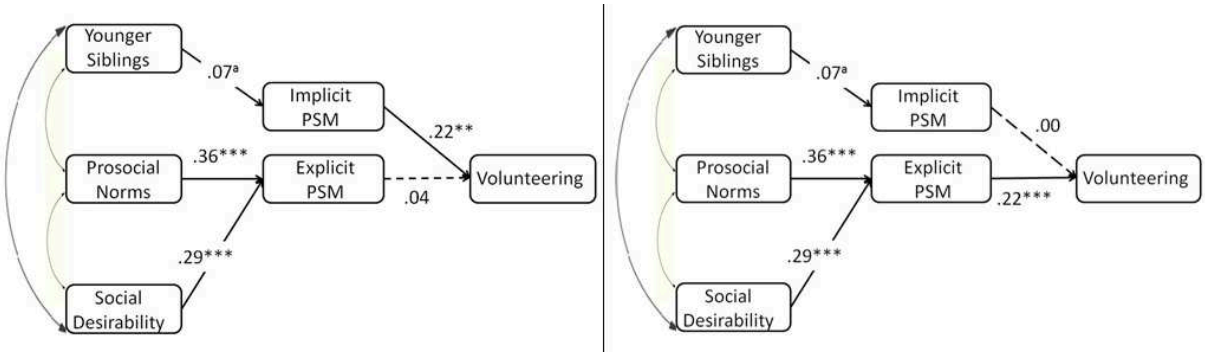
explicit prosocial motivation (β = .04, p = .599), whereas the opposite was true for non-parents. For non-parents, volunteering was related to explicit (β = .23, p < .001) (H5), but unrelated to implicit prosocial motivation (β = .00, p = .958) (see Figure 5.2).

Table 5.2 Comparative Fit Indices for the Volunteering Model of Parents vs. Non-Parents

Model	χ^2 (*df*)	$\Delta\chi^2$ (Δ*df*)	AIC	RMSEA	CFI	ΔCFI
Configural invariance	14.93(12)	-	98.93	.02	.99	-
Structural weights	20.65 (15)	5.72 (3)	98.65	.03	.98	.01
Structural intercepts	*23.03 (18)*	*2.38 (3)*	*95.03*	*.02*	*.98*	*.00*
Structural means	32.61 (21)*	9.58 (3)*	98.61	.03	.96	.02
Structural covariances	58.40 (27)***	25.79 (6)***	112.40	.05	.88	.08
Structural residuals	61.65 (31)**	3.25 (4)	107,65	.04	.89	.01

Note: Selected model with a good fit is printed in italics. * p < .05. ***p < .001.

Figure 5.2 Standardized coefficients of the structural weights model for engaging in volunteering for parents (left) and non-parents (right).



Note. Dashed lines represent non-significant paths; PSM = Prosocial Power Motivation; Error terms of implicit PSM, explicit PSM and Volunteering were not depicted; Error terms of implicit and explicit PSM were correlated; **p < .01. ***p < .001. [a] p = .057.

Discussion

Culturally Invariant Pathways

Our results confirmed the proposed motivational model of volunteering (H1 – H5) across two diverse settings that differ both regarding sociocultural value orientation and regarding the salience of volunteering. By that, our findings provide support for moderate universalism (Berry et al., 2011): Even though manifestations of childhood context, prosocial norms, prosocial motivation, and volunteering might vary across cultural environments (as can be seen in Table 5.1), the underlying relationships and mechanisms leading to volunteering seem to be invariant across two different cultural groups.

The Developmental Antecedents of Prosocial Motivation: Universal Pathways

Our findings extend support for universality of the developmental trajectories of both implicit and explicit prosocial motivation. In line with earlier findings (see Chasiotis et al., 2006; 2014), we found that the number of younger siblings is associated with implicit prosocial motivation, while prosocial norms and social desirability relate to explicit prosocial motivation, both for parents and non-parents across the two cultures.

Motivational Pathways of Engagement in Volunteering: A Matter of Parenthood

Based on SST (Carstensen et al., 1999) and the dual process model of motivation (McClelland et al., 1989), we proposed that motivational antecedents of volunteering would differ as a function of parenthood. Our results indeed confirm that motives for volunteering are different for parents and non-parents. Notably, this moderation effect was present above and beyond age effects. Across two different cultural settings, non-parents' engagement in volunteering was related to explicit, and parents' volunteering was related to implicit prosocial motivation. Our findings highlight that focusing on age only may be insufficient for studying motivational change across the life span. Instead, focusing on age-graded transitions (e.g., parenthood) should be taken into account. Our research also offers practical implications: It may help voluntary organizations to recruit their volunteers by evaluating individuals' motivations against the background of whether they are parents or not.

Limitations and Future Research

A first limitation of our study involves the small number of cultures examined. Data from more cultural groups are needed before concluding that our model is universally valid across

parents and non-parents. Second, our argument that parenthood is the moderating variable is open to alternative interpretations, as parenthood is confounded with other variables such as being married or having a partner. Third, even though we built our hypotheses on the SST, our study does not provide a sound test of the SST and its predictions, as we did not directly assess participants' perception of time as more or less limited. Finally, as our research is correlational, no causal inference regarding the relationship between implicit and explicit prosocial motivation and volunteering can be drawn. Future research on motives for volunteering across the life span should take these limitations into account, aim at including more cultural groups, disentangle confounding effects, assess mediating variables such as perception of time, and apply longitudinal studies to clarify causal directions (see for instance, Cemalcılar, 2009).

Conclusion

Our research offers a novel approach to study motivations of volunteering by (a) examining implicit prosocial motivation, often neglected; (b) examining volunteering in light of parenthood; (c) testing motivational pathways in two different cultures. Our findings clarify the importance of these novel perspectives.

Chapter 6

Applying Western Models of Volunteering in Hong Kong: The Role of Empathy, Prosocial Motivation, and Motive-Experience Fit for Volunteering

Introduction

Volunteering is a planned, long-term, and non-obligatory prosocial activity that typically takes place in an organizational setting (Penner, 2002). For 2009 alone, the total monetary value of voluntary services in Hong Kong reached an amount of HK$ 5.5 billion, with almost 20% of the adult population being volunteers (Centre for Civil Society and Governance, 2010). Beyond economic benefits for a society, volunteering has substantial benefits for the volunteering individual. Through engaging in prosocial activities, building social relationships, and acquiring new knowledge and skills, volunteers across various age groups experience psychological and social gains (e.g., McBride, Greenfield, Morrow-Howell, Lee, & McCrary, 2012; Parkinson, Warburton, Sibbritt, & Byles, 2010; Tang, 2009; Wilson, 2000).

Despite its positive effects, voluntary engagements seem to decline (Salamon et al., 2012; van Ingen & Dekker, 2010) which constitutes a serious problem for organizations that rely on voluntary engagement (e.g., the Red Cross). In Hong Kong, volunteering mainly comprises service in schools, social service organizations, and religious organizations (Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, 2001). The Hong Kong government has recognized the importance of volunteering and highly supports projects promoting it (Law & Shek, 2009). However, research on volunteering in Hong Kong is still in a premature stage. Little is known about whether "Western" models that describe the volunteering process are applicable outside of Northern America and Europe. Few studies have tested whether antecedents of volunteering and factors promoting its sustainability that are derived from Western studies are applicable in Hong Kong (for an exception see, Chong, Rochelle, & Liu, 2013).

We raise three questions that are critical to expand our understanding of volunteering and how to promote it in Hong Kong: First, who emerges as a volunteer (i.e., antecedents)? Second, what leads to sustained (i.e., long-term and frequent) voluntary engagement (i.e., experiences)? And third, what are the benefits of volunteering for the volunteering individual (i.e., outcomes) (see the three stages of volunteering, Wilson, 2000, 2012)?

In Study 1, we address *antecedents* and *outcomes* of volunteering in Hong Kong, while Study 2 examines how volunteering experiences in Hong Kong relate to sustainability. Results similar to what Western frameworks of volunteering would predict, indicate that theoretical, but also practical implications of Western studies are applicable in Hong Kong, which can open avenues to foster sustained volunteering.

Three Stages of Volunteering

Antecedents: Who Emerges as a Volunteer? Research on antecedents of volunteering is mostly concerned with identifying disposition, such as other-oriented empathy (Omoto et al., 2010; Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Penner, 2002) or prosocial power motivation (see Aydinli et al., 2014; Aydinli et al., in press).

Other-Oriented Empathy. One of the most prominent approaches is the prosocial personality model by Penner (2002) that proposes *other-oriented empathy* to be an antecedent of volunteering. Other-oriented empathy captures prosocial thoughts and feelings, more specifically the tendency to feel empathy, concern and responsibility for the welfare of others. It is a composite construct comprising *social responsibility, empathic concern, perspective taking, other-oriented moral reasoning, and mutually concerned moral reasoning*. Research has shown that other-oriented empathy distinguished between volunteers and non-volunteers, and short-term and long-term volunteers (Penner & Fritzsche, 1993). It also relates to time spent volunteering and intentions to volunteer (Penner, 2002; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998).

Prosocial Power Motivation. Another dispositional antecedent of volunteering across different cultural environments is self-reported prosocial power motivation (Aydinli et al., 2014; Aydinli et al., in press). Prosocial power motivation is an individual's need to impact other people's emotions and behaviors, which can take two different forms, referred to as the dual nature of power: Power can be used in an antisocial or prosocial manner (McClelland, 1970; Winter, 1973). Prosocial power motivation (hereafter: prosocial motivation) refers to the socialized form of the power motive and can be expressed as the *need to help* (Winter, 1973).

Compared to prosocial motivation, other-oriented empathy arguably seems to be a more target dependent construct, as it is about feelings of empathy, concern, and responsibility for *others.* Prosocial motivation describes a more general, overarching need to help that has been shown to relate to a wide array of prosocial behaviors across different samples (Aydinli et al., 2014; Aydinli et al., in press). The present research investigates these antecedents of volunteering in Hong Kong.

Experiences: What Leads to Sustained Volunteering? Sustained volunteering is defined as a voluntary activity that is long in length and frequent in service (e.g., Finkelstein et al., 2005; Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Penner, 2002; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998). Retaining volunteers and reducing dropouts is a major issue for voluntary organizations. The decline of volunteering rates (Salamon et al., 2012; van Ingen & Dekker, 2010), creates a sense of urgency to identify factors contributing to sustained voluntary service. One major

psychological approach to do so is the Volunteer Process Model (VPM) by Omoto & Snyder (1995). The VPM studies antecedents of sustained volunteering from the functional perspective proposing that volunteering may satisfy six different motives. These motives, assessed through the Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) are: (1) *values*, highlighting volunteering as a means to express altruistic and humanitarian concerns; (2) *understanding*, highlighting the opportunity to obtain new experiences, and to practice knowledge, skills, and abilities through volunteering; (3) *social,* reflecting the possibility to spend time with friends and to engage in an activity that is viewed highly favorable by others; (4) *career*, using volunteering for career opportunities and career-related networking and skills; (5) *protective*, enabling volunteers to escape negative feelings related to their selves; and (6) *enhancement,* the possibility to experience personal growth and satisfaction through volunteering (Clary et al., 1998; Omoto & Snyder, 1995). According to the VPM, when experiences made during volunteering match the motives for volunteering, satisfaction with volunteering increases, which in turn leads to sustained engagement.

The VPM has been widely investigated and findings seem generally supportive for the proposed model (e.g., Carlo et al., 2005; Clary et al., 1998; Finkelstein, 2008; Omoto et al., 2010; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998). Matching volunteers' motives and expectations (or a lack thereof) is an important factor for volunteering sustainability. Not recognizing efforts by the volunteer (Gora & Nemerowicz, 1985) or a mismatch between assigned tasks and skills or interests (Harris, 1996) were reported as reasons to stop volunteering. More recently, Yanay and Yanay (2008) found in a longitudinal study that the discrepancy between expected and actual experiences predicts drop-outs.

Outcomes: What are Benefits for the Volunteering Individual?Volunteering has been reported to have substantial benefits for the volunteering individual (e.g., McBride et al., 2012; Parkinson, et al., 2010; Wilson, 2000). In particular, volunteers exhibit greater physical health (Chong et al., 2013; Oman, Thoreson, & McMahon, 1999; Tang, 2009), show higher levels of community belongingness (Johnson, Beebe, Mortimer, & Snyder, 1998), express more pro-social attitudes and social responsibility (Giles & Eyler, 1994), and are both socially and politically more active (Youniss, Christmas-Best, McLaughlin, & Silbereisen, 2002) than non-volunteers. The most frequently studied outcome of volunteering is psychological well-being. Several studies show that volunteering, across different ethnic groups, is associated with higher levels of psychological well-being (e.g., Dulin, Gavala, Stephens, Kostick, & McDonald, 2012; Piliavin & Siegl, 2007; for a review see Wilson, 2012).

Volunteering Across Cultures The Context of Hong Kong

Research on volunteering across cultures mainly focused on comparing nations and their rates of volunteering, but did not examine whether volunteering emerges and functions in a culturally-invariant manner (for an exception see, Aydinli et al., in press). Findings overall suggest that memberships in voluntary organizations are more frequent in individualistic and affluent nations with a large protestant population and a long democratic and liberal history (see also Allik & Realo, 2004; Curtis et al., 2001; Kemmelmeier et al.; for a review see Aydinli et al., 2013). There are two common explanations for cross-national differences in volunteering. The *institutional explanation* offers a pragmatic reason for why nations differ in rates of volunteering. It suggests that volunteerism is more likely in places that provide supportive infrastructure, which facilitates access to voluntary organizations (Wilson, 2012). Lower rates of volunteering in more collectivistic, less affluent, and non-Western contexts might result from fewer opportunities for volunteering. The *cultural explanation* proposes that the lower prevalence of volunteering is associated with cultural differences in values of prosociality. While being prosocial is generally valued across most cultures or societies, its extent and whether it is normatively expected to be prosocial towards out-group members (as in volunteering) varies across cultures (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001, Triandis, 1991).

In light of these two explanatory approaches, it would be useful to study volunteering in a context that is different from Western contexts in terms of prevalent *cultural values*, but still supplies an *institutional* infrastructure of voluntary organizations that resembles those of Western nations. Hong Kong is an ideal context in this regard: It provides easy access to a huge number and variety of voluntary organizations, with a similar ease of access as in Western societies, while it is a culturally distinct context in terms of its markedly Chinese values (Gelfand et al., 2000). By examining the antecedents of, experiences during, and outcomes of volunteering in an East-Asian context that resembles the Western context with respect to infrastructure, but differs in terms of cultural values, we hope to open an avenue to disentangle cultural and institutional factors that contribute to the phenomenon of volunteering.

The Present Research

We summarized prominent methods, theories and findings on predictors and outcomes of (sustained) volunteering, and highlighted that systematic tests of cross-cultural applicability are still missing. We therefore set out to examine the process of sustained volunteering in Hong Kong in two studies. In the first study, we focus on antecedents and outcomes of

volunteering in Hong Kong, in the second study we examine the experiences while volunteering, and how these experiences relate to the frequency and length of voluntary service. By that, our research extends the borders of volunteering research and offers insight into whether and to what extent the process of volunteering seems to function in a culturally invariant manner.

STUDY 1

The present study tests whether *other-oriented empathy* (Penner, 2002) and *prosocial motivation* (Aydinli et al., 2015) constitute antecedents of volunteering in Hong Kong. Moreover, we examine the frequently documented positive association between volunteering and *psychological well-being* (e.g., Piliavin & Siegl, 2007). If Western models are applicable to volunteering in Hong Kong, we hypothesize that both other-oriented empathy and prosocial motivation will relate to volunteering (H1), and that volunteers will report higher levels of satisfaction with life than non-volunteers (H2).

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were 149 Hong Kong Chinese adult individuals (M_{age} = 34.8 years; 51.7% female). Recruitment was realized through convenience sampling. We invited individuals who were at least 18 years old and able to fill in the self-report questionnaire to participate in the study. Non-government organizations were approached as a source for respondents. Efforts have been made to ensure equal distribution in gender. For completing the questionnaire each participant was compensated with a nominal coupon of HK$40.

Measures

Missing values. For all scales that were administered, Little`s test of Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) was conducted (Little, 1988). Analyses confirmed that the distribution of missing values was completely random. Missing values were therefore imputed following the expectation maximization approach (for details see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Missing Value Analyses

	Measures / Variables	Number of Missing Values	Results of Little`s MCAR test
Study 1 (n = 149)	Other- oriented empathy (22 items)	0	---
	Prosocial motivation (18 items)	3	χ^2 (34) = 21.4; p = .96
	Volunteering (1 item)	0	---
	Satisfaction with life (5 items)	2	χ^2 (3) = 4.3; p = .23
Study 2 (n = 119)	Motives to volunteer (30 items)	14	χ^2 (287) = 264.7; p = .82
	Experiences while volunteering (12 items)	5	χ2 (33) = 22.4; p = .92
	Satisfaction with volunteering (5 items)	4	χ2 (16) = 25.2; p = .07
	Length of voluntary service (1 item)	0	---
	Frequency of voluntary service (1 item)	0	---

Other-oriented empathy. We used the 22-item scale on other-oriented empathy from the Prosocial Personality Battery (PSB) by Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger, and Freifeld (1995). Each item was rated on a 5-point scale ranging from *1 = not applicable at all* to *5 = very applicable.* An exemplary item was "I am often quite touched by things that I see happen". For the present study, the English version was translated and back-translated into (traditional) Chinese following the guidelines by van de Vijver and Leung (1997). A Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was employed, revealing a bad fit with $\chi^2(209) = 542.1$, $p = .000$; CFI = .44. Examination of the regression weights showed that the factor loadings of the ten reverse coded items were non-significant. Repeating the CFA with the remaining twelve items rendered a good fit with $\chi^2(46) = 62.6$, $p = .05$; CFI = .95. Internal consistency of these twelve items was good with $\alpha = .78$. Therefore, the mean score of these twelve items was applied as an indicator of other-oriented empathy.

Prosocial motivation. An 18-item measure adapted from the Motive Enactment Test (Kuhl & Henseler, 2003) was used to measure prosocial motivation. Items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from *1 = not applicable at all* to *5 = very applicable.* Exemplary items were "Taking care of other people gives me a good feeling inside" or "I find effective ways of being supportive to other people even in difficult situations". The measure was developed in German, translated and back-translated into English, and then translated and back-translated from English into (traditional) Chinese (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). A CFA confirmed the

factor structure with $\chi^2(117) = 175.7$, $p = .000$; CFI = .94. The internal consistency was high with $\alpha = .88$. The mean score of all 18 items was applied as a measure of prosocial motivation.

Engagement in volunteering. Volunteering was assessed in line with the World Values Survey (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). Participants were asked whether they performed any voluntary service during the last twelve months for each of 14 different types of voluntary organizations (including one open "other type of organization" option). Sample organizations were "environmental organization" or "church or religious organization". If participants reported to have volunteered for at least one of the 14 organizations in the past year, they were coded as volunteers (=1), if not, they were coded as non-volunteers (=0). In our sample, 59 individuals (40%) indicated voluntary engagements. Most voluntary engagement occurred within humanitarian organizations (32%), followed by educational (22%) and religious organizations (20%). Youth organizations, professional organizations, and sports organizations were reported between 10% and 15%, while labor, political, environmental, health, women, peace, consumer, and other organizations were reported by less than 10% of participants.

Satisfaction with life. We measured satisfaction with life by using the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The scale consists of five items that are each evaluated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *1 = strongly disagree* to *7 = strongly agree.* A sample items is "In most ways my life is close to my ideal". The Chinese version provided by Pavot & Diener (1993) was applied. A CFA confirmed the factor structure with $\chi^2(4) = 12.0$, $p = .017$; CFI = .99, and internal consistency was high with $\alpha = .90$. The mean of all five items was used as a proxy of satisfaction with life.

Analyses

All analyses were conducted with SPSS version 19 and AMOS version 19 (Arbuckle, 2009). To test the first hypothesis, we employed a hierarchical logistic regression analysis with other-oriented empathy entered as predictor in the first step, and prosocial motivation entered in the second step to predict volunteering. To test the second hypothesis, a hierarchical linear regression was conducted, with life satisfaction as dependent variable. Other-oriented empathy and prosocial motivation were entered in the first block (to control for possible effects), and volunteering was entered as predictor in the second block. Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations are presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Other-Oriented Empathy, Prosocial Motivation, Volunteering, and Life Satisfaction

	1. Other-Oriented Empathy (5-point scale)	2. Prosocial Motivation (5-point scale)	Volunteering (no – yes)	Life Satisfaction (7-point scale)
M*(SD)*	3.59 *(0.46)*	3.55 *(0.50)*	40% volunteering *(0.49)*	4.51 *(1.33)*
1.	1	.53***	.13	.22**
2.	.53***	1	.23**	.19*
3.	.13	.23**	1	.20*
4.	.22**	.19*	.20*	1

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

Results

The present study examined antecedents and outcomes of voluntary engagement. Focusing on antecedents, results of the binary logistic regression rendered prosocial motivation as a significant predictor of volunteering ($\beta = 0.99$, $\beta(SE) = 0.43$, Wald`s $\chi^2(1) = 5.38$, $p < .05$), while the predictive effect of other-oriented empathy remained insignificant ($\beta = 0.06$, $\beta(SE) = 0.44$, Wald`s $\chi^2(1) = 0.02$, $p = .89$). Notably, even when only other-oriented empathy was entered as a predictor of volunteering (i.e., in the first step of the logistic regression) no significant effect could be obtained ($\beta = 0.60$, $\beta(SE) = 0.37$, Wald`s $\chi^2(1) = 2.58$, $p = .11$). Hence, our first hypothesis could be confirmed only partly: While prosocial motivation emerged as an antecedent of volunteering, other-oriented empathy did not (unlike previous studies on Western participants).

We found support for our hypothesis that engagement in volunteering resulted in higher levels of life satisfaction ($\beta = 0.44$, $\beta(SE) = 0.22$, $p < .05$), while considering also the effect of prosocial motivation and other-oriented empathy. Prosocial motivation remained unrelated to life satisfaction ($\beta = 0.17$, $\beta(SE) = 0.25$, $p = .50$), and the effect of empathy was marginally significant ($\beta = 0.46$, $\beta(SE) = 0.27$, $p = .09$). Notably, the marginal effect of empathy on life satisfaction turned significant, when prosocial motivation was excluded from the regression model ($\beta = 0.55$, $\beta(SE) = 0.23$, $p < .05$). We conclude that our hypothesis that volunteers exhibit greater levels of life satisfaction compared to non-volunteers (H2) seems confirmed.

Discussion

Our analyses provide mixed evidence as to whether antecedents and outcomes of volunteering in Hong Kong resemble those obtained in Western contexts of volunteering. Our findings support indeed cultural universality for volunteering`s effect on life satisfaction, but suggest that dispositional antecedents of volunteering may not be entirely applicable to volunteering in Hong Kong. While prosocial motivation relates to voluntary engagement also in Hong Kong (see also Aydinli et al., in press), the effect of other-oriented empathy seems less stable (see also Finkelstein, 2008). Different from previous studies in Western contexts (e.g., Penner & Finkelstein, 1998; Finkelstein et al., 2005) and also different from a study conducted by Lee and Chang (2007) in Taiwan, other-oriented empathy was not associated with volunteering in our Hong Kong sample. Instead, it seemed to be directly, positively related to respondents` level of life satisfaction, and not related to volunteering.

The second study moves a step further, and examines experiences during volunteering. It seeks an answer to the question of "what leads to sustained volunteering (i.e., long and frequent voluntary service)?" by examining volunteering individuals, their motives, experiences, and satisfaction with their voluntary service.

STUDY 2

The VPM specifies that voluntary service becomes a long-term and frequent engagement when volunteers` motives for engaging in volunteering are satisfied through the particular volunteering experience. More specifically, the model proposes that a match between the six motives of volunteering and the voluntary experiences increases satisfaction with volunteering, and thereby enhances its sustainability (Omoto & Snyder, 1995). Building on the VPM, we propose that across all six motives to volunteer (i.e., career, social, values, understanding, protective, and enhancement), volunteers whose motives are met by motive-relevant experiences will report higher satisfaction with volunteering than volunteers whose motives are not met (H1). The level of satisfaction with volunteering, in turn, should positively relate to the length (H2) and frequency of voluntary service (H3).

Method

Participants and Procedure

Our sample consisted of 119 Hong Kong Chinese volunteers (M_{age} = 36.9 years; 58.0% female) that were recruited through approaching different voluntary organizations (e.g., St.

James Settlement, Taipoea, Greensense). Completing the questionnaire took 30 minutes, and volunteers were compensated for participation with a nominal coupon of HK$40.

Measures

Missing values. For all scales that were administered, Little`s MCAR test was conducted (Little, 1988). Analyses confirmed that the distribution of missing values was completely random. Missing values were therefore imputed following the expectation maximization approach (for details see Table 6.1)

Motives to volunteer. Volunteers' motives to engage in volunteering were assessed with 30 items from the VFI (Clary et al., 1998). We applied a Chinese version with good psychometric properties (Wu, Lo, & Liu, 2009). For each of the six volunteer motives, volunteers responded to five items capturing reasons for volunteering. Items were presented on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *1 = strongly disagree* to *7 = strongly agree.* Sample items are "I feel it is important to help others" (values), "Volunteering lets me learn through direct, hands-on experience" (understanding), "Volunteering makes me feel better about myself" (enhancement), "Volunteering can help me to get my foot in the door at a place where I would like to work" (career), "People I know share an interest in community service" (social), and "Volunteering is a good escape from my own troubles" (protective).

Separate CFAs revealed a good fit for all six motives, with $\chi^2(4) = 4.9$, $p = .30$, CFI = .97 for values; $\chi^2(5) = 15.6$, $p = .01$, CFI = .96 for understanding; $\chi^2(4) = 13.4$, $p = .01$, CFI = .97 for enhancement; $\chi^2(5) = 7.2$, $p = .21$, CFI = .99 for career; $\chi^2(4) = 8.7$, $p = .07$, CFI = .98 for social; and $\chi^2(4) = 3.1$, $p = .55$, CFI = 1.00 for protective. Reliabilities were $\alpha = .83$ for the values, $\alpha = .87$ for understanding, $\alpha = .87$ for enhancement, $\alpha = .87$ for career, $\alpha = .83$ for social, and $\alpha = .80$ for protective. For each motive, the mean score of the respective five items was used as a measure of motives to volunteer.

Volunteering experiences. Similar to the motives, the motive-relevant experiences were also assessed, with an adapted Chinese version of the VFI (Wu et al., 2009). The scale consists of twelve items, with two items per motive-relevant experience. For each item, volunteers had to indicate their agreement on a 7-point Likert scale. Exemplary items were "In volunteering with this organization, I made new contacts that might help my business or career" (career), "People I know best know that I am volunteering at this organization" (social), "People I am genuinely concerned about are being helped through my volunteer work at this organization" (values), "My self-esteem is enhanced by performing volunteer

work in this organization" (enhancement), "By volunteering at this organization, I have been able to work through some of my own personal problems" (protective), "I have learned how to deal with a greater variety of people through volunteering at this organization" (understanding). Internal consistencies for each of the six experience types were $\alpha > .60$. The mean score of each of the two items was applied as a measure of volunteering experiences.

Satisfaction with volunteering. To assess satisfaction with volunteering, five items of the VFI (Clary et al., 1998) were translated and back-translated into Chinese (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). Each item was presented on a 7-point Likert scale (*1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree*). A sample item was "I am enjoying my volunteer experience". A CFA testing the factor structure revealed good fir with $\chi^2(3) = 9.4$, $p = .02$, CFI = .98, and good internal consistency with $\alpha = .87$. We used the mean score of all five items.

Service length. Volunteers were asked to indicate when they had started to volunteer by using a five-point scale (*1 = one to three months ago*; *2 = three to six months ago*; *3 = six to twelve months ago*; *4 = one to two years ago*; and *5 = more than two years ago*).

Service frequency. Frequency of engagement was assessed through an item that asked volunteers to indicate how often they performed voluntary work during the past year. Answer categories were *1 = once*; *2 = a few times*; *3 = almost every month*; *4 = almost every week*; and *5 = almost every day.*

Analyses

All variables were z-standardized and interaction scores for all six motives and motive-relevant experiences were calculated (e.g., career motive × career experience). For the first hypothesis, linear regression analyses with motives, experiences, and their products as predictors, and satisfaction with volunteering as dependent variable, were conducted using SPSS version 19. If a significant interaction emerged, a slope test was performed (O`Connor, 1998). To examine the second and third hypothesis, a multivariate regression analysis using Bayesian estimation with AMOS version 19 was performed. Satisfaction with volunteering was entered as predictor and service length and service frequency as dependent variables. Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations are presented in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Motives to Volunteer, Experiences of Volunteering, Satisfaction with Volunteering, Service Length and Frequency

	Motives						Experiences						Outcomes		
	1. Values	2. Career	3. Social	4. Under-stand.	5. Enhan-cem.	6. Protect-tive	7. Values	8. Career	9. Social	10. Under-stand.	11. Enhan-cem.	12. Protect-tive	13. Volun. Satisf.	14. Service Length	15. Service Freq.
M*(SD)*	5.2*(1.0)*	4.6*(1.3)*	4.3*(1.2)*	5.2*(1.1)*	4.9*(1.1)*	4.0*(1.2)*	5.1*(1.0)*	4.5*(1.4)*	4.8*(1.2)*	5.0*(1.1)*	4.9*(1.1)*	3.8*(1.4)*	5.3*(1.0)*	4.1*(1.3)*	2.7*(1.0)*
1.	1	.57***	.47***	.71***	.66***	.48***	.66***	.46***	.58***	.69***	.62***	.33***	.68***	.13	.19*
2.	.57***	1	.64***	.74***	.73***	.65***	.54***	.78***	.56***	.64***	.59***	.57***	.55***	.06	.20*
3.	.47***	.64***	1	.55***	.59***	.67***	.45***	.55***	.68***	.48***	.51***	.56***	.45***	.10	.26**
4.	.71***	.74***	.55***	1	.81***	.63***	.67***	.53***	.48***	.77***	.69***	.39***	.71***	.06	.23*
5.	.66***	.73***	.59***	.81***	1	.68***	.72***	.61***	.52***	.72***	.82***	.48***	.80***	.11	.27**
6.	.48***	.65***	.67***	.63***	.68***	1	.42***	.60***	.48***	.55***	.59***	.75***	.44***	.07	.16
7.	.66***	.54***	.45***	.67***	.72***	.42***	1	.50***	.57***	.68***	.80***	.38***	.82***	.12	.36***
8.	.46***	.78***	.55***	.53***	.61***	.60***	.50***	1	.63***	.58***	.58***	.62***	.46***	.07	.04
9.	.58***	.56***	.68***	.48***	.52***	.48***	.57***	.63***	1	.55***	.56***	.48***	.52***	.08	.15
10.	.69***	.64***	.48***	.77***	.72***	.55***	.68***	.58***	.55***	1	.70***	.45***	.74***	-.06	.13
11.	.62***	.59***	.51***	.69***	.82***	.59***	.80***	.58***	.56***	.70***	1	.49***	.76***	.12	.28**
12.	.33***	.57***	.56***	.39***	.48***	.75***	.38***	.62***	.48***	.45***	.49***	1	.34***	.12	.12
13.	.68***	.55***	.45***	.71***	.80***	.44***	.82***	.46***	.52***	.74***	.76***	.34***	1	.14	.34***
14.	.13	.06	.10	.06	.11	.07	.12	.07	.08	-.06	.12	.12	.14	1	.37***
15.	.19*	.20*	.26**	.23*	.27**	.16	.36***	.04	.15	.13	.28**	.12	.34***	.37***	1

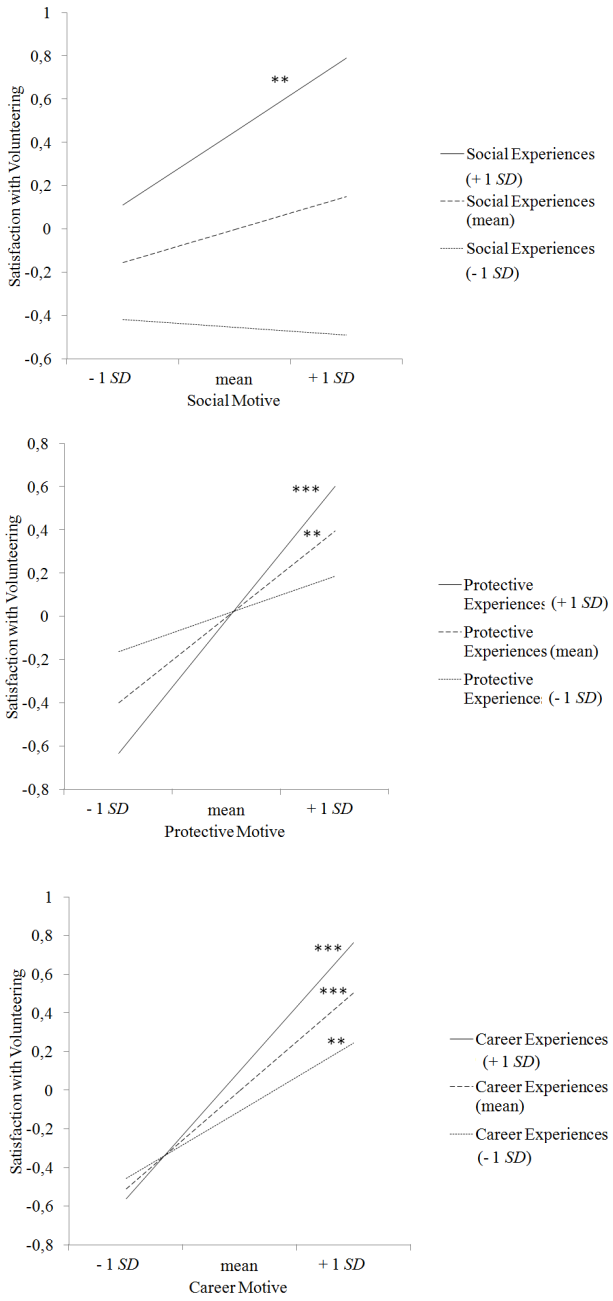
Notes. *$p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Results

Linear regression for each motive domain, with each motive, motive-relevant experience, and their interaction as predictors, and satisfaction with volunteering as outcome variable, revealed significant interaction effects for the social, career, and protective motive domains (all *p*s < .05). For the domains of values, understanding and enhancement, on the other hand, no interaction effect, but significant main effects of motives and motive-relevant experiences were obtained (all *p*s < .01). To examine the nature of the significant interactions, simple slope tests were employed. Results revealed that the social motive only led to increased satisfaction when also social experiences were high ($\beta = .34$, $p < .01$), but not when social experiences are moderate or low (both *p*s > .16). The protective motive increased satisfaction with volunteering when protective experiences were high ($\beta = .59$, $p < .001$) and moderate ($\beta = .40$, $p < .01$), but not when protective experiences were low ($\beta = .16$, $p = .21$). The career motive, eventually, was significantly related to satisfaction with volunteering for all three levels of career experiences (i.e., low, moderate and high), but the relationship was strongest when career experiences were high ($\beta = .64$, $p < .001$), and weakest when experiences were low ($\beta = .37$, $p < .01$). Investigation of the 95% confidence intervals revealed that all three slopes significantly differed from each other (see Figure 6.1).

Examination of the relationships between volunteering satisfaction and sustained voluntary service revealed significant relationships between volunteering satisfaction and service length, as well as between volunteering satisfaction and service frequency. As expected, the more satisfaction with volunteering was experienced, the longer was the length of volunteering ($\beta = .19$, $p < .05$) (H2), and the more frequent was volunteering ($\beta = .32$, $p < .01$) (H3).

Figure 6.1 Interaction Effects for Motives × Experiences for the Domains of Social, Protective and Career



Notes. Slopes that differ significantly from zero are marked with asterisk. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Discussion

In Study 2, we examined the processes that promote volunteering satisfaction, and through that sustained volunteering. More specifically, propositions of the VPM were applied and tested in the context of Hong Kong. Our findings showed that, as proposed, higher levels of

satisfaction with volunteering are associated with longer and more frequent voluntary engagement. Moreover, results also provided evidence for the proposition that a match between volunteers` motives and motive-relevant experiences while volunteering increases satisfaction with volunteering. However, this was not the case for all motive domains: While a match between individuals` career, social, and protective motives and experiences of volunteering was relevant for satisfaction with volunteering, motives and experiences in the domains of values, understanding and enhancement independently promoted satisfaction with volunteering. In other words, if volunteering was mainly motivated through instrumental goals, such as career boosting, strengthening social bonds, or escaping from problems, satisfaction with volunteering only emerged when these goals were met by respective experiences. In turn, when volunteering was practiced for less instrumental, and more volunteering-specific goals (i.e., values, understanding, enhancement motives), satisfaction with volunteering increased independent from a match between motives and motive-relevant experiences: Both motives and experiences of volunteering independently led to higher levels of satisfaction with volunteering. Examination of the descriptive statistics (see Table 6.3) suggests that the absence of motive-experience fit effects might also be caused through ceiling effects, as all volunteers scored relatively high on these experiences. It seems likely that values, enhancement, and understanding experiences are anyway made as a volunteer which explains why these motives lead to higher satisfaction with volunteering across all three levels of values, enhancement and understanding experiences (i.e., low, moderate, and high).

Taken together our, findings are largely in line with premises of the VPM. Despite small limitations, the VPM seems to offer a viable framework to describe sustained volunteering in Hong Kong. Similar as in studies examining sustained volunteering with Western samples (Clary et al., 1998; Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Omoto et al., 2010), results show that the fit between volunteers` motives and their experiences can increase satisfaction with volunteering, which eventually leads to a sustained voluntary engagement. For volunteering to be a long-lasting and intensive engagement, it is necessary to enhance volunteers` satisfaction with their service. Satisfaction, on the other hand, can be achieved if voluntary organizations pay attention to volunteers` motives, and aim at facilitating experiences consistent with volunteer motives. This seems particularly relevant when voluntary activities are driven by instrumental goals.

General Discussion

The present set of studies investigated the process of (sustained) volunteering by testing the applicability of prominent Western volunteering frameworks in an East Asian setting, using Hong Kong as the case study. First, we examined dispositional and motivational antecedents of volunteering, and the effect of volunteering on life satisfaction (Study 1). Second, we investigated the effects of motive-experience fit on satisfaction with volunteering, and eventually on voluntary service length and frequency (Study 2).

In general, relationships derived from Western studies on volunteering seem to apply in Hong Kong: Our findings support that prosocial motivation relates to volunteering, volunteering relates to higher life satisfaction (Study 1), and sustained volunteering is achieved through satisfaction with volunteering which depends on the match between motives and experiences while volunteering (i.e., when instrumental motives are concerned).

However, the role of other-oriented empathy as an antecedent of volunteering seems to be affected by the cultural context. In difference to previous research (Finkelstein & Penner, 2004; Penner, 2002; Lee & Chang, 2007), our analyses revealed that other-oriented empathy was *not* related to volunteering in Hong Kong. It is possible that this may represent an artifact of the present study, which requires replication. This observation, however, would be consistent with a culture-specific lack of emphasizing dispositional qualities in attributing behavior, as well as with culture-specific characteristics of in-group and out-group helping. Other-oriented empathy is a dispositional construct that seems to imply some form of target-dependency; it is defined as compassion, concern, and responsibility felt towards others (Penner, 2002). The inclusiveness of the group towards whom such feelings are usually felt and expressed is likely to be a question of culture: While cultural values of Western societies usually prescribe to feel moral obligation and responsibility towards a broader group of targets, namely also towards people outside one`s close in-group, feelings of concern, compassion and responsibility are more restricted to a close and non-permeable circle of close others and not applicable to strangers in Eastern societies (Knafo, Schwartz, & Levine, 2009). As a consequence, it seems not surprising that empathy showed no relation to volunteering, which typically occurs in an organizational context and therefore represents a service that is directed at people outside one`s circle of close others. Prosocial motivation, in contrast, describes a more unconditional disposition that is related to a wide array of different types of prosocial behaviors, also towards strangers (Aydinli et al., 2014, Aydinli et al., 2015). It represents a rather general and target-free need to help, and therefore emerges as an antecedent of volunteering also in Hong.

It is possible that in our Hong Kong sample, due to the normative emphasis on collectivity, the disposition of other-oriented empathy is more likely to find its expression in informal helping, that is directed at known others within established social networks. Such a view is also consistent with the positive relationship between other-oriented empathy and life satisfaction that was found in our research. This finding can be interpreted in two ways: First, the more straightforward and simple interpretation would be that the mere disposition of other-oriented empathy by itself leads to higher life satisfaction in Hong Kong; possibly because being prosocial (in one's network) represents a disposition that is highly desirable and therefore adaptive in the Hong Kong context. A second interpretation would be that this ostensibly direct relationship between other-oriented empathy and life satisfaction is in fact mediated by a third variable that was not assessed in the present study: Hong Kong Chinese individuals that score high on empathy might express their disposition through more *informal* helping activities that in turn may increase their life satisfaction, similar to the effect of formal helping (i.e., volunteering) on life satisfaction. Hence, research on volunteering in contexts beyond the West might therefore gain from conceptualizing volunteering in a broader sense, and consider domain-specific relationships. Further research on volunteering should therefore also examine informal types of long-term and planned helping activities to understand prosocial acting on light of different cultural settings. Such an approach would help to clarify to what extent processes of volunteering are similar or different across cultural settings.

Limitations and Future Research

A major limitation of the present research is its cross-sectional design. Relationships between variables are merely correlational, and thereby keep us from causal interpretations. For instance, it is equally possible that higher levels of life satisfaction precede volunteering, or that prosocial motivation increases as a consequence of voluntary activities. Moreover, the cross-sectional design represents a limitation for the examination of motive-experience fit and its effect on volunteering satisfaction. Questionnaires assessing volunteers` motives and their experiences were administered at the same time and the content of these items was inevitably very similar. Moreover, both motives and experiences were measured through self-reports. As a consequence, shared method variance, striving for self-consistency, or social desirability might be an issue (Brannick et al., 2010, Paulhus, 1991). For more robust conclusions, future studies should apply longitudinal designs (e.g., Cemalcilar, 2009) and involve direct observations or implicit assessments of variables influencing the volunteer process.

A second limitation of our study refers to using only one East Asian sample (i.e., Hong Kong Chinese participants) to examine the applicability of prominent Western volunteering models. We can therefore only provide a first look on whether or to what extent the tested models can be utilized to describe the volunteer process in East Asian cultural contexts. To arrive at a more general cultural conclusion regarding these models, data from more East Asian samples, ideally in direct comparison with Western samples, are needed.

Conclusion

The present research tested the applicability of prominent Western models of (sustained) volunteering in Hong Kong. By and large, models derived from Western studies on volunteering seem to apply in Hong Kong. Concordant with previous findings, prosocial motivation was related to volunteering, volunteers reported higher life satisfaction compared to non-volunteers (Study 1), and long-term and frequent voluntary service was determined by satisfaction with volunteering, which, in turn was associated with the fit between volunteering motives and experiences when volunteering was performed for instrumental reasons (Study 2). Different from Western studies, our findings show that other-oriented empathy was not related to formal volunteering, suggesting that a prosocial disposition such as empathy may find different expressions in different cultural contexts (e.g., in a more informal way to provide long-term help). To conclude, we provide evidence that antecedents and outcomes of volunteering among Hong Kong Chinese volunteers are associated in a way similar to the pattern obtained in Western Studies. But at the same time, we also obtain clear differences from these Western patterns providing an innovative starting point for future research.

Chapter 7

Similarities and Differences in Helping across Cultures: The Role of the Help Target

Introduction

Helping is one of the most studied concepts in social psychology. While culture, conceptualized as ethnic group belonging or cultural value orientations (e.g., individualism vs. collectivism; independent vs. interdependent self-construal), has been utilized to explain differences on a wide range of behaviors, little is known about how culture affects helping. A recent review by Aydinli et al. (2013) revealed that research on helping across cultures is not only rare, but also that evidence is mixed. Studies tentatively indicate that the target of helping matters: Differences in helping across cultures are unlikely when the target of help is close, while differences are more likely when help is directed at distant targets or strangers. Moreover, most cross-cultural research on helping has focused on frequencies of helping, and thereby neglected the investigation of mechanisms that antecede helping across cultures.

The present research goes beyond previous research in two ways: First, it systematically studies the role of the help target in two studies by varying the closeness of the target of help and examining whether the amount of help given to these targets differs across cultural groups. Second, it also tests the relationships between implicit and explicit helping motivation as antecedents of helping across different cultural groups in Study 2. In the first study, the assessment of helping takes place through self-reported likelihood to help a family member, a friend, and a stranger by using data obtained from different cultural groups within the Netherlands (i.e., mainstream Dutch, Western immigrants, and non-Western immigrants). The second study uses vignettes to compare helping directed at a family member and a friend, and a behavioral measure to assess helping directed at a stranger across German and Turkish individuals.

Helping across Cultures: Mixed Evidence

Cross-cultural comparisons often utilize the conceptualization of culture along the dimensions of Individualism vs. Collectivism (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1991). Generally, individualists are characterized as being oriented towards themselves and their nuclear family, while collectivists give more priority to the welfare of one or more groups (Triandis, 1995). Building on this, one might expect that collectivists have a stronger concern for others, and are therefore more helpful. But are people living in collectivist societies really more inclined to provide for others than people living in individualistic cultures? The empirical evidence is mixed (for an overview, see Aydinli et al., 2013).

For instance, the study by Levine et al., (2001) observed real-life spontaneous helping directed at strangers (e.g., alerting a stranger who dropped a pen) across big cities in 23 different countries (e.g., Rio de Janeiro, Amsterdam, Shanghai, Tel Aviv, New York, and 18 others), and found that frequencies of helping were highest in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil, 93%) and lowest in Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia, 40%). Overall, two variables were related to helping. First, helping was positively related to the value of *simpatia,* a cultural norm that is typically found in Spanish and Latin American contexts, and involves being polite, helpful, and friendly to strangers (Díaz-Loving & Draguns, 1999; Triandis et al., 1984). Second, helping was negatively related to a country's economic power, meaning that helping occurred more frequently in less wealthy contexts. Concordant results were found in a study by Miller et al., 1990), who compared US Americans' and Indians' self-reported responsibility and moral obligation to help. Their findings show that across cultures feelings of responsibility were higher when helping situations were more serious and when the target of the helping act was perceived as closer. Most interestingly, though, findings by Miller et al. (1990) also indicate that feelings of responsibility and obligation were generally higher among Indians than among Americans, which corroborates the proposition that helping is more likely in economically weaker, collectivistic cultural contexts. However, other studies portray a different picture. For instance, research by Kemmelmeier et al., (2006) indicates that volunteering and charitable donations – both prosocial activities – are more frequent in individualist and economically stronger states than in collectivist and poorer states. Similarly, the meta-analysis by Allik and Realo (2004) shows that the social capital of a country (i.e., social connectedness, civic engagement and generalized trust, see Putnam, 1995; 2000) was positively associated with a country's score on individualism – meaning that there is more civic engagement in individualistic contexts. Another set of studies provides evidence that helping is relatively similar across different cultures. For instance, the study by Fijneman et al. (1996) shows that the ratio of participants' self-reported readiness to provide help to ten different targets and their expectations to receive help from those target persons was highly similar in Hong Kong, Greece, Turkey, the Netherlands, and the United States. Across these five cultural groups, both the readiness to provide help and the expectation to receive help increased the closer targets were perceived.

A first step towards a reconciliation of this evidence is that helping does not equal helping. For instance, considering the type of helping (e.g., spontaneous vs. planned help), and the target of helping can help to resolve the inconsistency in findings (see Aydinli et al.,

2013; 2014). The present studies examine the role of culture for helping directed at very close vs. very distant targets.

The Target of Help: Close vs. Distant Targets

We do not help indiscriminately: How close we are to the target of help matters. First of all, the tendency to help is a function of relatedness; kin and genetically close targets are more likely to receive help than non-related or distant targets (Burnstein et al., 1994). Second, and related to this, evidence suggests that inter-individual and cross-cultural differences with respect to helping are rare when help is directed at kin or other very close targets are examined (as it resembles a ceiling effect); instead, differences emerge when the target of help is distant or a stranger (see Aydinli et al., 2013). In line with that, Miller et al. (1990) report that ratings of moral obligation and feelings of responsibility were highly similar in Americans and Indians when the hypothetical helping act was described as a parent-child dyad. Similarly, Graziano et al., (2007) show that different levels of agreeableness do not predict an individuals' willingness to help a sibling– but *do* predict the willingness to help a stranger. Comparisons on national level also support this interpretation. Amato (1993) examined help directed at *close others* (i.e., family, relatives, and close friends) across urban and rural regions within the USA, and found no differences in frequencies of help. However, when help is directed at strangers, studies find urban-rural differences or cross-cultural differences in helping (e.g., Korte & Kerr, 1975, House & Wolf, 1978; Levine et al., 2001).

A careful interpretation of the data thus suggests that cultural differences are unlikely to emerge when help is directed at close others. A likely explanation for the absence of cultural differences in helping close others is that such types of helping are influenced by *kin selection* (Hamilton, 1964). Kin selection describes helping activities directed at offspring or other relatives (e.g., siblings) and proposes that helping genetically related others is mainly performed to promote an individual's inclusive fitness (see also Barrett et al., 2002; Chasiotis, 2011a). By that, helping close others or kin represents an evolutionary anchored tendency that is likely accompanied by strong norms and conventions everywhere, and therefore explains why cross-cultural differences in helping close targets are rather small.

Instead, differences between individuals and differences between cultures in helping are more visible when the target of help is not genetically related; particularly when it is a stranger. Unlike helping kin, helping an unrelated target is a more context-sensitive evolutionary strategy (Chasiotis, 2011a). Therefore, norms, values and conventions to help distant others or strangers are more likely to differ across cultures (e.g., Feldman, 1968;

Levine et al., 2001), which in turn may explain cultural differences when help given to strangers is examined (for the whole argument, see Aydinli et al., 2013).

Motivational Mechanisms Anteceding Helping

It seems quite plausible that antecedents of helping change as a function of the strength of norms and expectations to help. For instance, the studies by Graziano et al. (2007) and Miller et al. (1990) show that prosocial dispositions, such as the feeling of moral obligation or agreeableness, loose predictive value when the target of help is very close. Instead, when the target is a stranger, inter-individual differences in agreeableness and cross-cultural variation in feelings of moral obligation become predictive. Put together, such findings suggest that in situations and contexts in which helping is strongly expected or valued, an individual does not need to be dispositionally prosocial to engage in helping. Conversely, in situations or cultures where it is not expected to help, a prosocial disposition might gain relevance. In such situations, an individual's *inner need* to be prosocial should be predictive of helping. In motivational terms, this means that in situations where help is not normatively required, individuals' implicit helping motivation (i.e., their unconscious inner need to act prosocial) should drive helping. Conversely, in situations where help is normatively expected, individuals' explicit helping motivation (i.e., their self-reported prosocial disposition) should drive behavior, as explicit motives relate to societal norms and expectations (Aydinli et al., 2015; McClelland et al., 1989; Schultheiss & Brunstein, 2008).

Evidence supporting this view comes from recent research on the effects of implicit and explicit helping motivation on helping. An exploration of motives to volunteer across individuals with children (i.e., parents) versus individuals without children (i.e., non-parents) showed that volunteering of parents was motivated by implicit helping motivation, whereas volunteering of non-parents was motivated by explicit helping motivation (Aydinli et al., 2015; see also Chasiotis et al., 2006). For parents, the normative or societal pressure to engage in volunteering is likely low, as they have caretaking responsibilities and therefore less time than non-parents. Without such a normative expectation, helping is likely determined by their inner prosocial need (i.e., implicit helping motivation). That means that individuals would not engage in volunteering because they think they *should* (i.e., explicit motivation), but rather because they are unconsciously driven to do so (i.e., implicit motivation). In summary, the contextual factor of having children and normative expectations related to this state might have moderated individuals' motivations to enroll in volunteering. It is therefore also thinkable that individuals' more distal contextual environments (i.e., cultural

context) and the norms that exist in these environments shape motivations to engage in helping.

The Present Research

Building on the proposition that collectivists engage in a stronger distinction between insiders and outsiders (Triandis, 1995), it has often been argued that people from collectivistic cultures give less attention to distant others or strangers (i.e., outsiders) than people from individualistic cultures (Sethi, Lepper, & Ross, 1999). Related to this, it has also been argued that norms and expectations to help such outsiders or strangers differ across cultures. While being prosocial is certainly valued across most cultures (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001), the degree to which it is expected when a stranger is concerned strongly varies. In individualistic cultures or societies, prosocial values and norms are more likely to apply to a broad community including members of different groups (due to a broader inclusiveness of their moral in-group), while in more collectivistic societies, norms to help people that do not belong to one's group might be rather weak (Schwartz, 2007, Triandis, 1995).

As a consequence, for the first study we propose the following: First, across cultural groups, helping close targets is more likely than helping distant targets (H1). Second, differences in helping between the cultural groups increase with increasing distance of the target of help: This means that no differences are expected between the cultural groups for helping family members (i.e., very close targets) (H2), moderate differences are expected for helping a friend (i.e., moderately close target) (H3), and most differences between the cultural groups are expected for helping strangers (H4), with both help directed at friends and strangers more likely to occur in individualistic cultures than in collectivistic cultures.

STUDY 1

We tested our hypotheses by using a self-report measure of helping that assesses participants' likelihood to provide spontaneous helping to a family member, a friend, and a stranger.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were recruited through an online panel (LISSpanel; http://www.lissdata.nl/lissdata/) which is part of the MESS (Measurement and Experimentation in the Social Sciences) project and funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research. The collection of data for this panel was arranged by CentERdata

(Tilburg University, The Netherlands). The panel involves members of the Dutch population, and represents a true probability sample drawn from the population register of the Netherlands. By that, the panel offers to collect data from a nationally representative Dutch sample that involves both mainstream Dutch participants and participants belonging to various immigrant groups. Every month, members of the panel are invited to fill in a short questionnaire that takes no longer than fifteen minutes. The data used for the present research was collected in January 2013. The sample comprises 483 mainstream Dutch participants (M_{age} = 48.6 years; 49.7% female), 528 immigrants of Western origin (M_{age} = 50.6 years; 53.3% female), and 319 immigrants of non-Western origin (M_{age} = 40.0 years; 56.6% female)[1].

Measures

Socio-demographics. Participants' age in years, their gender and their educational level coded according the "Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek" (CBS; Statistics Netherlands, 2001) categorization, ranging from *1 = primary school* to *6 = university degree,* were assessed.

Helping. Helping was assessed separately for a family member, a friend, and a stranger. For each of those three targets four items that describe spontaneous helping activities were presented, and participants were asked to rate their probability to engage in the described helping activities when the target of help was a family member, a friend, and a stranger. Answer options could range from *1 = I probably would not do this* to *7 = I probably would do this.* Sample items were "Help him/her with picking up the groceries that he/she just dropped" or "Help him/her look for a lost item". Internal consistencies were high for all targets and across the three samples, with Cronbach's αs > .85 for helping a family member, > .90 for helping a friend, and > .84 for helping a stranger.

Results

Before we tested our hypotheses, we explored whether our samples differed in terms of socio-demographic background variables, and whether these variables had any impact on helping.

[1]Categorization was realized according to the CBS classification of ethnic groups in the Netherlands (Statistics Netherlands, 2001). The category Western consists of persons from Europe (mainly Germany and Belgium), North America, Oceania, Japan and Indonesia (including the former Dutch East Indies).The category non-Western mainly consists of persons originating from Morocco, Turkey, the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, and Suriname.

Socio-demographic Markers

We compared our three samples with respect to their age, their level of education by using an ANOVA, and with respect to their gender distribution by employing a Chi-Square test. Results for all three socio-demographic variables revealed that the sample of non-Western immigrants was significantly younger (both *p*s < .001) and significantly less educated than the mainstream Dutch and the Western immigrants samples (both *p*s < .01), whereas no differences emerged in terms of gender distribution (Table 7.1).

Examining further whether the three demographic markers had any impact on our measures of helping, simple correlations between age, gender, education and helping a family member, a friend, a and a stranger were calculated. Results indicate that participants' age was negatively correlated with helping a family member and helping a friend (both *p*s < .05), but positively related to helping stranger ($p < .001$). Throughout all targets, females and higher educated individuals reported higher probabilities to help than males and less educated individuals (all *p*s < .01). In all following analyses, we therefore entered our three socio-demographic variables as covariates.

Table 7.1 Descriptive statistics of socio-demographic variables and self-reported likelihood to help various targets

	Mainstream Dutch $n = 483$	Western Immigrants $n = 528$	Non-Western Immigrants $n = 319$
Socio-demographics			
Age in Years / M*(SD)*	48.6 *(15.7)*$_a$	50.6 *(16.4)*$_a$	40.0 *(13.1)*$_b$
Sex (% Female)	49.7 %$_a$	53.3%$_a$	56.3%$_a$
Educational in CBS categories / M*(SD)*	3.7 *(1.5)*$_a$	3.9 *(1.6)*$_a$	3.3 *(1.5)*$_b$
Self-Reported Likelihood to Help			
Family Member / M*(SD)*	6.5 *(0.8)*$_a$	6.6 *(0.8)*$_a$	6.5 *(0.9)*$_a$
Friend / M*(SD)*	6.2 *(1.0)*$_a$	6.2 *(1.1)*$_a$	6.0 *(1.1)*$_b$
Stranger/ M*(SD)*	4.2 *(1.6)*$_a$	4.4 *(1.7)*$_a$	4.2 *(1.7)*$_a$

Notes. Same subscript letters represent a set of cultural groups that do not significantly differ from each other on $p = .05$ level. Group differences in helping were analyzed by controlling for age, gender, and educational differences.

Differences in Helping Various Targets (Within – Sample Comparisons)

Separate repeated measures ANCOVAs with age, gender and education as covariates were employed to test our first hypothesis that proposed helping close targets to be more likely than helping distant targets, across cultural groups. Results for all three samples show that there is a significant difference in self-reported likelihood to help the three targets, with Greenhouse-Geisser corrected $F(1.48, 706.36) = 811.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2=.63$ for the mainstream Dutch sample, $F(1.40, 736.84) = 763.86$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2=.59$ for the Western immigrant sample, and $F(1.57, 494.25) = 428.96$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2=.58$ for the non-Western immigrant sample. Exploring the pairwise comparisons between the targets revealed that all three targets significantly differed from each other in likelihoods to be helped (all *p*s < .001). As hypothesized (H1), across cultural groups most help was given to a family member, least help was given to a stranger, and help given to a friend was on an intermediate level (Table 7.1).

Cultural Comparisons

To test whether the three samples differ in helping the various targets, three ANCOVAs were conducted with cultural group as independent variable, age, gender, and education as covariates, and the three targets as dependent variables (i.e., family member, friend, and stranger), respectively. As hypothesized (H2), no difference between the cultural groups emerged for helping a family member, $F(2, 1302) = 1.30$, $p = .27$. With respect to helping a friend the expected difference between the cultural groups (H3) was found, $F(2, 1300) = 3.19$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2=.01$: As proposed, non-Western immigrants scored lower on helping a friend than mainstream Dutch and Western immigrant participants. However, with respect to helping a stranger the proposed difference between the three groups (H4) could not be found.

Discussion

Results obtained in the first study provide partial support for our hypotheses. While findings confirm that within each cultural group closer targets are more likely to be helped than distant targets (H1), the comparisons between the cultural groups delivered mixed evidence: Findings supported our propositions with respect to helping a family member (H2) and helping a friend (H3), but no difference between the cultural groups emerged with respect to helping a stranger (H4).

One possibility is to reject our hypothesis (H4) regarding cultural differences in helping strangers. However, not finding differences could also be related to the use of *self-*

reported likelihoods as a measure of helping. Self-reports are likely to be influenced by response tendencies such as socially desirable responding, which is even more the case when the examined subject represents desirable behavior such as helping (Paulhus, 1991). It might therefore well be, that what participants reported in terms of helping is not necessarily representative for their actual helping behavior (Schwartz, 1973).

STUDY 2

To resolve whether our hypothesis has to be rejected or whether the unexpected result represents an artifact of the measures used in Study 1, a second study that uses more realistic and therefore more valid measures of helping was conducted, with samples from Germany (i.e., prototypically individualistic cultural context) and Turkey (i.e., prototypically collectivistic cultural context) (Hofstede, 1980). We applied a behavioral measure for helping a stranger. For helping a family member and helping a friend, vignettes were used, because actual behavior directed at family members and friends is difficult to implement in an experimental setting. Moreover, vignettes have been proven to be a valid measure to approach real behavioral tendencies across cultural groups, that are less affected by response tendencies than classical self-reports (Rice, Robone, & Smith, 2010; 2012).

Beyond the question of how cultural groups differ in their likelihoods of helping various targets, the second study also examines where such differences might come from, and investigates the motivational bases that underlie helping a family member, a friend, and a stranger. More specifically, the present study focuses on effects of implicit and explicit helping motivation, and examines whether the motivations to help different targets are different for German versus Turkish individuals.

In terms of frequencies of helping, we test the same hypotheses as in the first study. However, the first hypothesis that proposes helping close targets to be more frequent than helping distant targets will not be tested, as different measures of helping are applied that impede comparability between targets: Vignettes are used for helping a sibling, and a friend; and a behavioral measure is used for helping a stranger. In line with hypotheses of Study 2, we expect no differences between the cultural groups for helping a sibling (H2), moderate differences for helping friends (H3), and most differences for helping a stranger (H4), with both help directed at friends and strangers being more likely to occur in the German than in the Turkish sample. Beyond the question of how different cultural groups differ in their frequencies of helping a sibling, a friend, and a stranger, the second study also focuses on effects of implicit and explicit helping motivation, and examines whether motives to help

these targets differ as a function of cultural group. With respect to motivational mechanisms, we already outlined that explicit motives should drive helping in situations where helping is highly expected and normative, while implicit motives should become predictive in situations in which norms to help are rather weak. As a consequence, we propose that helping a sibling and helping a friend will relate to explicit helping motivation both in the German and in the Turkish sample (H5), as norms to help these targets are strong across cultural groups (Schwartz, 2007). For helping strangers, however, motivations should differ between cultural groups. More specifically, we expect that helping a stranger will relate to explicit helping motivation in the German sample, as universalistic prosocial norms and values are present in individualistic cultural contexts (H6a) (McFarland et al., 2012; Schwartz, 2007). However, in the Turkish sample, helping a stranger should to relate to implicit helping motivation (H6b), as the moral in-group is more narrow in collectivistic cultures (Schwartz, 2007), which leads to less salient norms and expectations to help outsiders.

Methods

Participants

In total, 384 individuals (M_{age} = 32.5 years, 68.5% male) participated in our study: 168 ethnically German individuals living in Germany (M_{age} = 38.5 years, 53.0% male) and 216 ethnically Turkish individuals living in Turkey (M_{age} = 27.8 years, 80.6% male).

Procedure

The whole study was administered online via Qualtrics (www.qualtrics.com). Participants were all recruited anonymously by a project coordinator of Qualtrics, and received a gift voucher of ~ 5 $ for completing the online survey. Participants first answered filter questions about their ethnicity (it had to be either German or Turkish) and their current country of residence (it had to be either Germany or Turkey). Upon meeting the recruitment criteria, they were directed to the actual survey, in which they first answered socio-demographic questions (i.e., age, gender, and educational status) and then completed measures of implicit and explicit helping motivation. Afterwards, participants were presented with the measures that assessed helping various targets (i.e., sibling, friend, and stranger).

Measures

Explicit helping motivation. A six-item measure, developed by Aydinli et al. (2014), was used to assess participants' explicit (i.e., self-reported) helping motivation. Each item was

rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *1 = not applicable at all* to *5 = very applicable*. Sample items were "Taking care of other people gives me a good feeling inside" or "I gladly stand up for other people". Internal consistencies were high for both groups with $\alpha = .81$ in the German sample, and .90 in the Turkish sample.

Implicit helping motivation. Participants' implicit helping motivation was assessed with an eight-picture version of the Operant Motive Test (OMT; Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001) which represents a Picture-Story-Exercise (PSE) and is an adaptation of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT; Murray, 1943). Participants were presented with eight ambiguous picture stimuli and asked to answer the following three questions for each picture: (1) "What is important for the person in this situation and what is the person doing?", (2) "How does the person feel?", and (3) "Why does the person feel this way?". Answers were coded by the first author for motive-relevant content (an interrater agreement with the second author of 80% and above was established beforehand, after coding training material for several months). If participants described prosocial activities in combination with positive emotion in their answers, helping motivation was coded (Kuhl & Scheffer, 2001). The number of answers that were coded with helping motivation (out of eight) were accumulated and applied as a score of implicit helping motivation.

The Helping Measures.

Helping a family member and helping a friend. We adapted a vignette measure of self-reported willingness to help that was originally developed by Burnstein et al. (1994), and also used by Graziano et al. (2007)[2]. This vignette describes an ordinary helping situation (i.e., car breakdown), whereby the target of help is described as a sibling or a friend. We applied the same story and targets, but slightly adapted the content, answer anchors and answer format. Participants were asked to indicate their likelihoods to stop and help (with taking the risk of being late for an appointment) if the person experiencing the car breakdown was a sibling or a friend. Probabilities to help each target were assessed separately through a visual analogue scale by moving a slider between the values of *0 = I would certainly not stop and help* and *100 = I would certainly stop and help.*

Helping a stranger. After participants reached the end of the study and received their gift voucher, they were asked whether they would want to participate in another, unrelated

[2]The original measure also contains stranger as a help target. However, we refrained from using the stranger category, as it is strongly confounded with issues of interpersonal trust, security and crime levels within a country. The vignette describes a situation of helping on a remote road (to emphasize the need of help). As in some countries stopping and helping an unknown person would represent a real danger and risk, we decided not to use this measure in relation to helping a stranger.

study, which was introduced as being of great help to another researcher who is ostensibly studying how individuals solve mathematical problems. They were told that their participation is entirely voluntarily, that they may stop the study at any point, that there will be no compensation, and that the study will ask them to solve basic mathematical problems and to answer questions about solving these problems. The amount of total mathematical problems that the participants solved (with a theoretical range from zero to seven) was applied as an indicator for the extent of helping a stranger.

Results

Before we tested our hypotheses, we compared the two samples with respect to their distribution of age, gender, and years of education. Moreover, we examined whether these socio-demographic variables had any impact on our dependent variables.

Table 7.2 Descriptive statistics of socio-demographic variables, explicit and implicit helping motivation, and helping various targets

	German sample *n* = 168	Turkish sample *n* = 216
Socio-demographics		
Age in Years / M*(SD)*	38.5 *(14.5)*$_a$	27.8 *(8.5)*$_b$
Sex (% Female)	47%$_a$	20%$_b$
Educational in Years / M*(SD)*	13.3 *(3.7)*$_a$	14.2 *(3.6)*$_b$
Helping Motivation		
Explicit Motivation to Help / M*(SD)*	3.8 *(0.6)*$_a$	3.6 *(0.9)*$_a$
Implicit Motivation to help / M*(SD)*	0.3 *(0.6)*$_a$	0.3 *(0.7)*$_a$
Vignettes - Likelihood to Help		
Sibling / M*(SD)*	93.0 *(19.5)*$_a$	88.1 *(23.0)*$_a$
Friend / M*(SD)*	89.4 *(20.2)*$_a$	79.0 *(26.3)*$_b$
Behavioral Help – Number of Problems Solved		
Stranger / M*(SD)*	2.8 *(3.2)*$_a$	1.0 *(2.2)*$_b$

Notes. Same subscript letter indicates that cultural groups do not significantly differ from each other on $p = .05$ level. Group differences in motivation and helping were analyzed by controlling for age, gender, and educational differences.

Socio-demographic Markers

Results of our ANOVAs revealed that the two samples differed with respect to age, $F(1, 382) = 81.4$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .18$, and years of education, $F(1, 379) = 5.6$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .01$. The Turkish

sample was significantly younger and more educated than the German sample. A Chi-Square test to examine differences in gender distribution rendered a significantly different distribution for gender, χ^2 (1, N = 384) = 33.10, $p < .001$, with males being overrepresented in the Turkish sample (see Table 7.2).

Moreover we examined whether these socio-demographic variables relate to any of our dependent variables. Results of bivariate correlations across the whole sample (n = 384) revealed that participants' self-reported likelihoods to help a sibling and a friend were positively related to their age (both ps < .05). In addition, helping a friend was also related to gender, with helping being higher for females than for males. Finally, the amount of help given to a stranger was related to all three demographic variables (all ps < .05), with helping being higher for older, more educated and female participants. Therefore, in all following analyses effects of age, gender, and education will be controlled for.

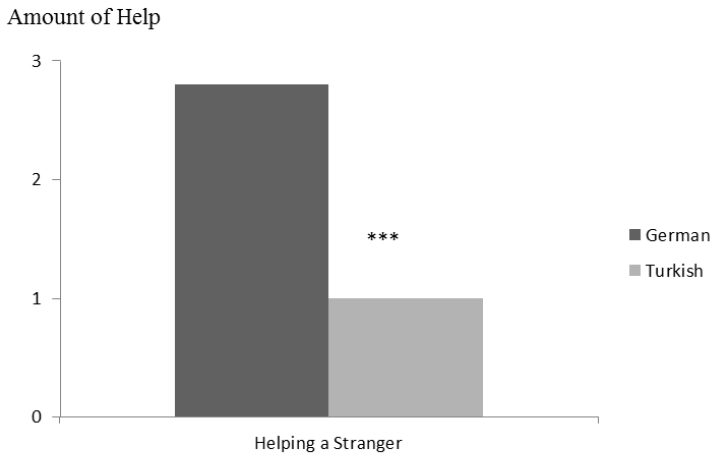
Differences in Frequencies of Helping across Cultures

To test our second, third, and fourth hypothesis, we conducted three ANCOVAs with cultural group as independent variable, helping a sibling, a friend, and a stranger as dependent variables, and age, gender, and education as covariates. As hypothesized (H2), no group differences emerged for the likelihood to help a sibling, F(1, 376) = 1.59, p = .21, and the expected difference for helping a friend between the Turkish and the German sample was found (H3), F(1, 376) = 6.13, $p < .05$, η^2=.02. Examination of the descriptive statistics shows that German participants reported higher probabilities to help a friend than Turkish participants (Table 7.2). Also for helping a stranger the hypothesized effect could be confirmed (H4). As expected, the amount of help given to a stranger was higher in the German sample than in the Turkish sample: F(1, 376) = 22.90, $p < .001$, η^2=.06 (Figure 7.1).

Motivations to Help Close vs. Distant Targets across Cultures

To examine implicit and explicit motivational bases of helping various targets across cultural groups we conducted several hierarchical linear regression analyses with socio-demographic predictors entered in the first step, implicit and explicit helping motivation entered in the second step, and the targets of help as dependent variables (correlations between motives and helping are presented in Table 7.3).

Figure 7.1 Differences between the German and the Turkish sample in helping a stranger assessed through a behavioural helping measure



Notes. Significant group differences based on the ANCOVA with socio-demographic variables as covariates are marked with ***$p < .001$.

Table 7.3 Pearson correlations between explicit and implicit helping motivation, and helping various targets

German (n = 168)	1	2	3	4	5
1. Explicit Motivation to Help	1	.04	.19*	.23**	.21**
2. Implicit Motivation to Help	.04	1	.06	-.08	-.01
3. Help a Sibling – Vignette	.19*	.06	1	.61***	.12
4. Help a Friend – Vignette	.23**	-.08	.61***	1	.05
5. Help a Stranger – Behavioral Measure	.21**	-.01	.12	.05	1
Turkish (n = 216)	1	2	3	4	5
1. Explicit Motivation to Help	1	.22**	.22**	.28***	.14*
2. Implicit Motivation to Help	.22**	1	.09	.04	.34***
3. Help a Sibling – Vignette	.22**	.09	1	.56***	.15*
4. Help a Friend – Vignette	.28***	.04	.56***	1	.13
6. Help a Stranger - Behavioral Measure	.14*	.34***	.15*	.13	1

Notes. Significant correlations are marked with * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

As expected (H5), both for Germans and for Turks self-reported likelihood to help a sibling and a friend were related to explicit helping motivation, but not implicit helping motivation: β

= .15 (p = .06, R^2 = .03) for helping a sibling and β = .21 (p < .01, R^2 = .08) for helping a friend in the German sample; β = .21 (p < .01, R^2 = .05) for helping a sibling and β = .31 (p < .001, R^2 = .10) for helping a friend in the Turkish sample.

For helping a stranger, the analyses also confirmed our hypotheses (H6a and H6b): The amount of help given to a stranger (i.e., unknown researcher) was related to explicit helping motivation in the German sample, β = .16 (p < .05, R^2 = .13) (H6a), and to implicit helping motivation in the Turkish sample, β = .31 (p < .001, R^2 = .13) (H6b)[3].

General Discussion

Our results add to previous research on helping across cultures, and highlight similarities and differences in the helping process. In terms of similarities, across cultural groups more help was given to close targets compared to distant targets (Study 1), and cultural groups did not differ with respect to helping close targets (i.e., family members), neither in their frequencies of help (Study 1 and Study 2), nor in the motivational processes that precede helping (Study 2). Therefore, our results portray that helping in various cultural contexts functions quite similarly. In terms of differences between cultural groups, we were interested in examining both mean-level differences (and similarities) in helping various targets (Study 1 and Study 2), and differences (and similarities) in motivational mechanisms to help various targets (Study 2). Results from both studies indicate differences are mainly emerging as a function of the target of help, with increasing differences for more distant targets.

Mean-level Differences

We proposed that cross-cultural differences in helping should be particularly visible for help that is provided to people who do not belong to one's close in-group. Phrased differently, while no differences were expected for helping kin, differences between cultural groups were expected to increase with increasing distance of the target. In line with other research (e.g., Amato, 1993; Graziano et al., 2007; Miller et al., 1990), findings from both studies confirmed that no differences between cultural groups exist, when help directed at family members is examined (H2). Moreover, findings of both studies also consistently portrayed that helping a friend (i.e., a target of moderate closeness) was more likely among more individualistic cultural groups than among collectivistic cultural groups (H3): In the first study, helping a

[3]In our hierarchical regression models, we also tested whether the interaction of explicit an implicit helping motivation (i.e., motivational congruence) had any predictive effect on helping a sibling, a friend and a stranger in the two cultural groups. In none of the analyses a significant effect was found.

friend was more likely among mainstream Dutch and Western immigrants than among non-Western immigrants; in the second study helping a friend was more likely for Germans than for Turks. For helping a stranger, the pattern of results is less consistent. While findings in the first study unexpectedly revealed no differences between the cultural groups (H4), results in the second study were consistent with our expectation. As hypothesized, helping a stranger was more likely in an individualistic cultural context than in a collectivistic cultural context, at least when it was assessed with a behavioral measure (Study 2). It seems possible that the unexpected result obtained in the first study may represent a methodological constraint that emerged through using a self-report measure of helping.

In sum, our hypotheses about mean level differences of helping across cultural groups are largely confirmed (H2 – H4). Across two studies, cultural groups did not differ in helping a family member (H2) and showed the expected differences in helping a friend (H3). Finally, also for helping a stranger, at least results of the second study that used a behavioral measure of helping confirmed our hypothesis (H4).

Motivational Mechanisms

Our analyses of motivational mechanisms in Study 2 confirmed that both for Turks and Germans helping a sibling and friend was related to explicit helping motivation (H5), which supported our proposition that norms to help close targets are present and strong across cultural groups. Also findings for helping a stranger confirmed our hypotheses and showed that German participants' helping was related to explicit helping motivation (H6a), while Turkish participants' helping was related to implicit helping motivation (H6b). In sum, culture seems to moderate the motivational bases of helping a stranger: When helping represents a societal norm (depending on the target and the culture), the act of helping is driven by explicit helping motivation – as explicit motives are generally predictive of normative and respondent behaviors (McClelland et al., 1989). Conversely, when helping is not normatively regulated (depending on target and culture), the act of helping requires an implicit force, namely implicit helping motivation. Here, the helper does not help to meet societal expectations (since they are non-existent or negligible), but engages in the act of helping because it satisfies the helper's inner needs.

Limitations and Future Research

Our research reveals a largely consistent pattern of results that were obtained from two independent studies with different samples and different measures of helping, which supports

validity of our findings. Nevertheless, three limitations that relate to the methods of the present research need to be mentioned.

First, the absence of a behavioral measure of helping family members and friends (in addition to self-report measures and vignettes) is a limitation of the present research. As indicated earlier, self-reports are often affected by response tendencies such as socially desirable responding (Paulhus, 1991), and do therefore not always validly represent real behavioral tendencies (Schwartz, 1973). However, studying real help directed at close others in an experimental setting would require both the respondent and their close helping targets to be present, and a highly artificial situation in which the close target would need the help. On top of the complexity to arrange such a scenario, it is questionable whether the displayed behaviors would be ecologically valid. An alternative would be to design a diary study and to follow individuals from different cultural contexts over a period of time (e.g., through a smart phone application, Hofmann, Wisneski, Brandt, & Skitka, 2014), and to code their helping behaviors as a function of the target and relating those activities to individuals' scores on implicit and explicit helping motivation.

A second limitation refers to the samples that were used to test our hypotheses. Even though we used different cultural samples in the two studies, to arrive at more valid conclusions in terms of culturally invariant and culturally different patterns of helping, further research with more, and more diverse cultural groups needs to be conducted.

Finally, a last limitation of the present research revolves around our interpretation provided for the differential effects of implicit and explicit helping motivation on helping a stranger. We proposed that cultural norms and expectations moderate motivations to help. However, we did not directly assess these norms or expectations in relation to different targets, in different cultural groups. Therefore, our explanation for the various effects of implicit and explicit helping motivation by focusing on norms and expectations has to be treated with caution at this stage. Nevertheless, previous research already showed that explicit helping motivation was related to prosocial norms of close others and individuals' tendency to comply with these norms (i.e., social desirability), while implicit helping motivation was unaffected by such norms (Aydinli et al., 2015). This notwithstanding, societal norms and expectations to help different targets need to be assessed in combination with measures of implicit and explicit helping motivation to test our proposition systematically, and to extend our understanding on when and how helping differ across cultural groups.

Conclusion

Findings from our research substantially add to our understanding of helping behavior across various cultural contexts: Depending on the target of help, helping can be either quite similar or relatively different across cultural groups, both with respect to frequencies of help and motivational mechanisms that precede helping. The more distant the target of help is, the more likely it is that cultural groups differ in their frequencies to help this target. In terms of underlying motivations, our findings imply that the strength of societal norms and expectations to help determine to what extent explicit and implicit helping motives are the driving force: When norms and expectations to help are present and strong, then helping seems to be driven by explicit motivation. Contrary, when norms and expectations to help are absent or weak, then the helping act seems to be driven by implicit helping motivation.

Chapter 8

General Discussion

Conclusion

The aim of my dissertation was to explore why people across various cultural groups engage in helping. As a first step, a review of research on helping across cultures was conducted (Aydinli et al., 2013). Findings from numerous studies revealed that evaluating and understanding helping across cultures requires a differentiation between various types of helping. Two dimensions emerged as important: (1) Whether helping is more spontaneous vs. more planned, and (2) whether help is directed at a close or a distant target. Notably, most cross-cultural differences on helping were found when help directed at a distant target (i.e., stranger) was examined. In contrast, when help given to close others was examined hardly any differences emerged.

Even though this review is a first step towards describing helping behavior across cultures, it does not explain *why* people across various cultures help. Mainly two shortcomings in research on helping across cultures became obvious: First, most cross-cultural comparisons only focused on similarities and differences regarding *frequencies* of helping, and thereby neglected the investigation of similarities and differences in *motivational* antecedents. The studies that did examine (motivational) antecedents often remained restricted to explain helping within one, mostly Western, cultural context (e.g. Clary et al., 1998; Finkelstein et al., 2005; Graziano et al., 2007). Second, hardly any research on helping – even research that is not cross-cultural - explored the role of implicit dispositional variables as antecedents of helping. The present dissertation set out to address this and raised three overarching questions:

(a) Why do people help? Are individuals always aware of their reasons to engage in helping, or can helping also be determined by motives that individuals would not be able to report, namely by implicit prosocial motivation?

(b) To what extent are implicit and explicit (self-reported) prosocial motivation involved in spontaneous versus planned helping, and in helping directed at close versus distant targets?

(c) Are such relationships culturally invariant, or can the role of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation change as a function of cultural/contextual factors?

Why Do People Help?

Findings of all empirical chapters support the view that reasons for helping go beyond reasons

or motives that helpers ascribe to themselves; helping is more than you can tell. Results show that helping can happen via two different motivational pathways and thereby corroborate the dual-process model of motivation (McClelland et al., 1989). Helping can be respondent, meaning that it is performed in response to clearly articulated requests or normative imperatives. If so, helping is driven through individuals' conscious goals, through their beliefs about themselves and how they want to be (seen): In short, helping can be motivated through explicit prosocial motivation. On the other hand, helping can also be operant, driven through unconscious inner needs, namely through implicit prosocial motivation. Whether one or the other or both mechanisms become functional seems to depend on the type of helping that is concerned and on the actor of helping and his / her contextual surroundings.

What Types of Helping Are Related to Implicit and Explicit Motivation?

The present examination of helping can be arranged along the two dimensions of spontaneous versus planned helping, and helping close versus distant targets. Overall, it seems that planned types of helping are related to explicit prosocial motivation, while spontaneous types of helping also require implicit prosocial motivation to be performed (Aydinli et al., 2014). However, hardly any type of helping is solely spontaneous or planned. In most cases, helping is far too complex to be reduced to only one dimension. As has been shown in chapter four (Aydinli et al., in press), sustained volunteering was indeed strongly related to explicit prosocial motivation, but also a significant interaction effect emerged. Considering the nature of sustained volunteering, the interaction effects is not surprising, as sustained volunteering describes a *long-term* application of *planned* helping that also involves *spontaneous* helping acts. Across four diverse cultural groups, sustained volunteering, meaning a longer, more frequent and more intense voluntary service, was most likely when both explicit and implicit prosocial motivation were high. With respect to helping close versus distant targets, conclusions need to be somewhat more speculative, as our research mainly focused on help that was directed at unknown others. Only the last empirical chapter systematically examined (spontaneous) help that is given to close targets versus strangers (Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, & van de Vijver, 2015). In line with previous findings, helping emerged to be related to closeness regardless of cultural group (Fijneman et al., 1996). The motivational mechanism that underlies helping close targets seems to be similarly unaffected by culture. Both for Turks and for Germans, helping close targets was related to explicit, but not to implicit prosocial motivation. For giving (spontaneous) help to strangers, however, cross-cultural differences were found: Helping a stranger was related to implicit prosocial motivation in the

Turkish sample, but to explicit prosocial motivation in the German sample.

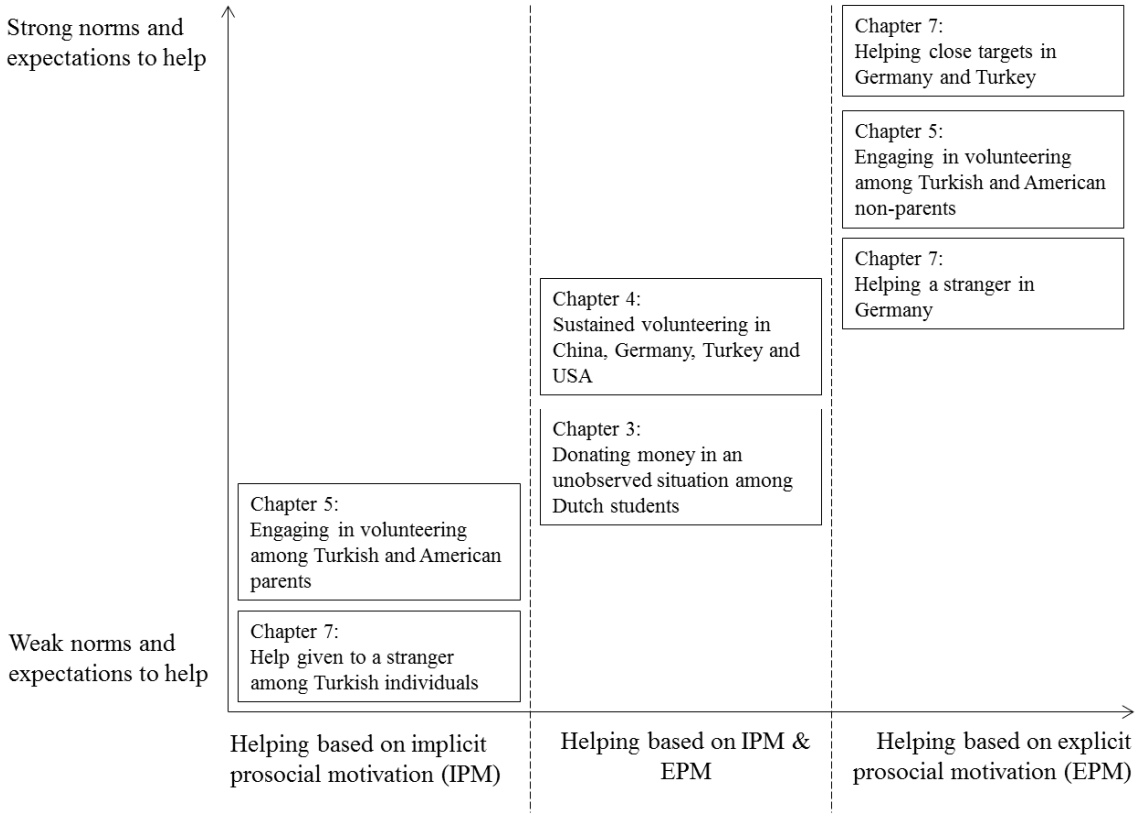
Who Is Helping? – The (Cultural) Context of the Helper

Who helps matters. Findings from two independent studies using two different types of helping (i.e., engagement in volunteering, and spontaneous help given to a stranger) demonstrated that different people engage in the same type of helping for different reasons or motives: In chapter five, being engaged in volunteering, for instance, was related to explicit prosocial motivation for Turkish and American individuals who had no children, but to implicit prosocial motivation for Turkish and American parents (Aydinli et al., 2015). Similarly, motivations to help a stranger differed as a function of who is providing help. Findings in chapter seven illustrate that helping a stranger was related to implicit prosocial motivation for Turkish individuals, and to explicit prosocial motivation for German individuals (Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, & van de Vijver, 2015). Taken together, it seems that motivations to help cannot be evaluated independent of who the helper is.

Putting the Pieces Together: Why? What Types of Help? And Who?

What is it that actually determines which motives drive helping? We have seen that motivations differ as a function of the type of help, the target of help, the actor of help, and their interactions. But is it possible to identify a common denominator that can explain most of the differences in motivational mechanisms leading to help? One possibility to understand such findings might lie in examining norms and expectations. Certainly, being prosocial is generally valued across different cultures and societies, and across different types of helping (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). However, the degree to which helping is expected or normatively required certainly depends on the type and target of help (Graziano et al., 2007; Miller et al., 1990) and the sociocultural context in which helping occurs (Levine et al., 2001; Schwartz, 2007). Overall, our findings suggest that helping seems to be predominantly driven by explicit prosocial motivation, when norms and expectations to help are present and the individual is willing to meet these norms. Contrary, when societal norms, expectations, or social pressure to help are absent or weak, then performing a helping act requires the inner disposition to be prosocial, namely implicit helping motivation. In other words, you even help when you actually are not expected to, because helping meets your inner needs. Figure 8.1 illustrates this idea by arranging our findings alongside two dimensions ranging from (1) helping driven through implicit versus explicit prosocial motivation, and (2) helping that is hardly expected or normatively required versus helping that is strongly expected and socially desired.

Figure 8.1 Effects of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation on helping as a function of norms and expectations



This explanation is also in line with predictions about developmental precursors of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation. In line with previous findings (Chasiotis et al., 2006; 2014; McClelland et al., 1989), it was shown that explicit prosocial motivation was related to (general) prosocial norms of close others and individuals' tendency to meet up with these norms. Implicit prosocial motivation, on the other hand, was unrelated to such norms, but related to early childhood experiences (i.e., having younger siblings) (chapter five; Aydinli et al., 2015). As it lies in the nature of research that you – ideally - know more afterwards, unfortunately in none of our studies particular norms or expectations to perform a specific type of helping have been assessed. Therefore, the explanation based on norms should be treated with caution, as it still represents a post-hoc explanation that has not been empirically tested yet. While this is indeed a limitation of the current research, it also provides a heuristic framework for future research.

Practical Implications

Helping is an essential part of a well-functioning society. Particularly volunteering is a crucial element of social capital (Putnam, 2000), and of great economic value (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2012). However, volunteering not only brings money, it also costs money. Therefore, two things are important:

First, attracting and recruiting new volunteers, so that the (economic) benefit gained through volunteering increases (Penner, 2004). Notably, not only the society gains from volunteering, but also the volunteers do. Through engaging in prosocial activities, building social relationships, and acquiring new knowledge and skills, volunteers across various age groups experience psychological and social gains through volunteering (e.g., McBride et al., 2012; Parkinson et al., 2010; Tang, 2009). Second, and even more important, though, is the retention of volunteers, as considerable amounts of money, time, and effort are spent on training volunteers. Therefore, to keep the costs of volunteering as low as possible, we need to identify the features that make it likely that voluntary service is provided over a longer period of time, more frequently, and more intensively. In short, markers of sustained volunteering have to be identified.

In terms of optimizing the cost-benefit ratio, it is important both to attract new volunteers and to identify those who are likely to stay committed over a long period of time. This seems particularly relevant today, as rates of volunteering are declining (Salamon et al., 2012, van Ingen & Dekker, 2011), which makes it even more difficult for voluntary organizations to recruit and retain their volunteers. By introducing the variable of implicit prosocial motivation, this research offers a novel approach to face this problem. In line with previous research (Clary et al., 1998; Finkelstein et al., 2005; Omoto & Snyder, 1995), findings presented in chapter six (Aydinli, Bender, Chong, & Yue, 2015) support the notion that a more sustained voluntary service becomes more likely when volunteers experience higher satisfaction through volunteering. Satisfaction, on the other hand, can be reached when volunteers make experiences that match their motivations or goals.

Findings further draw attention to one other important aspect: While huge variation exists regarding the question of *why* people engage in volunteering, the question of *how* sustained volunteering can be ensured seems to have a more uniform answer. More specifically, in line with previous research, the present findings reveal that motivations to engage in volunteering can differ (Aydinli et al., 2015; Aydinli, Bender, Chong, & Yue, 2015; see also Clary et al., 1998; Okun & Schultz, 2003; Omoto & Snyder, 1995). However, with respect to motivations leading to sustained volunteering the picture seems more consistent:

Across four cultural groups, sustained volunteering was most likely when both implicit and explicit prosocial motivation were high. Building on findings obtained in chapter six (Aydinli, Bender, Chong, & Yue, 2015) and the Volunteer Process Model (Omoto & Snyder, 1995), it seems that volunteers who score high on both implicit and explicit prosocial motivation are more likely to become sustained volunteers, because they arguably experience more satisfaction through their service.

Sustained volunteering represents a multifaceted type of helping that combines different behaviors and experiences. It is therefore plausible to assume that some behaviors and experiences rather correspond to, and therefore satisfy, individuals' explicit prosocial motivation, while other behaviors and experiences correspond to, and therefore satisfy, individuals' implicit prosocial motivation. By that, individuals scoring high on both motivational systems should often have a greater chance to experience higher levels of satisfaction, and thereby often be more likely to provide sustained services. This is also in line with previous research that shows that experiencing motivational congruence (i.e., scoring high on both explicit and implicit motivation with respect to a particular motive) leads to higher levels of satisfaction with life (e.g., Hofer & Chasiotis, 2003; Hofer et al., 2006; 2010). Such information might be useful for practitioners, policy makers and voluntary organizations to promote sustained volunteering by recruiting the "right" people and by enabling them to make those experiences that match their motivation most.

Where Do We Go from here?

The findings consistently showed that helping is "more than you can tell", meaning that reasons for helping go beyond what helpers report, and include individuals' inner need to help, namely implicit helping motivation. The conducted research highlights that implicit and explicit motivation represent distinct processes that are both predictive for behavior. Findings show that individuals engage in helping because they *think* it is good, because they *feel* good, or because of both. Whether one or the other mechanism is involved very much depends on what type of helping is concerned, on who is giving help, and on the interaction of these two variables. By that, the present dissertation underlines the fact that that comprehensive (future) research on helping inevitably asks for the inclusion of both explicit and implicit sources of motivational information.

Moreover, my research examined *when* or *under which circumstances* helping is driven by implicit and explicit motivation. It focuses on the relationship of implicit and explicit motivation to various types of helping, and to helping performed in various (cultural)

contexts. By doing that, my research offers a more differentiated view on motivations to help, as it does not only highlight that implicit prosocial motivation is a viable source of information in general, but also outlines when it is more likely that implicit prosocial motivation drives helping.

Yet, there is still more to explore, and more to understand. As stated earlier, it seems worth to explore to what extent the predictive effects of implicit and explicit prosocial motivation reflect a function of societal norms and expectations (as proposed in Figure 8.1). One way to gain more insight would be to assess norms and expectations to perform a particular form of helping in a particular context, and to relate these norms to whether helping behavior is driven by implicit or explicit motives. Another possibility to address the question of whether salience norms and expectations moderate effects of implicit and explicit motivation on help might lie in adapting an experimental approach. For instance, social pressure and thereby the expectation to help might be manipulated, and participants' tendencies to help might be evaluated in light of their motivations. If actually implicit prosocial motivation predicts helping in a low social pressure situation, while explicit prosocial motivation predicts helping in the high social pressure condition, an important insight on how and when implicit and explicit prosocial motivation relate to helping could be gained.

Another question that is worth to explore is the question of generalizability: To what extent are findings obtained from the present research applicable to other forms of prosocial behavior, and to other cultural groups or groups of people who share a particular condition of life? Future research should therefore expand towards examining other forms of prosocial behavior and other samples that are even more diverse in terms of norms and conventions they are exposed to. We already highlighted the different types of prosocial behavior (i.e., altruism, cooperation, and helping), and dimensions on which helping can be classified. Exploration of implicit prosocial motivations' effects on for instance cooperation in dictator games or trust games, or effects on low versus high emergency helping could further extend our understanding of helping and its motivational antecedents. Moreover, inclusion of samples beyond China, Germany, the Netherlands, Turkey and the US would help to arrive at more generalizable conclusions regarding the role of implicit prosocial motivation on prosocial behavior.

Final Remarks

By examining the effects of implicit helping motivation, the present research offers a novel approach to the study of helping. Moreover, this research substantially advances our understanding of the motivational antecedents of helping, as it provides both a more comprehensive and more differentiated view on helping. It is more comprehensive as it includes implicit helping motivation as an antecedent. And it is more differentiated as it clarifies how the type of helping, the actor of helping, and the cultural context in which helping occurs influence the effects of implicit and explicit helping motivation on helping.

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Summary

The present dissertation investigated the predictive role of implicit and explicit helping motivation for different types of helping in various cultural contexts. Overall, the aim was to provide a differentiated view on whether, how, and under which circumstances implicit and explicit helping motivation relate to helping. In particular, the following three research questions were addressed: First, why do people help? Do reasons for help go beyond motives that individuals report, and can also implicit motives drive helping? Second, how do explicit and implicit motives relate to different types and helping? And third, are relationships between motives and helping invariant across different cultural groups?

To answer these questions, first a thorough review on research on helping across cultures has been conducted. Results of this review are presented in the second chapter of this dissertation and show that helping does rarely occur indiscriminately. More specifically, results of this review suggest that two dimensions are important in evaluating and understanding helping across cultures; namely (1) whether helping describes a spontaneous versus a planned act, and (2) whether helping is directed at close versus distant targets (i.e., strangers). It emerged that differences between cultural groups were especially present when help directed at strangers was examined, whereas help given to close others seemed to be relatively similar across cultures. However, it became evident that previous research is affected by two major shortcomings: First, cross-cultural research on helping mainly investigated mean-level similarities and differences, and neglected the question whether mechanisms anteceding helping are similar or different across cultural groups. Second, previous research on helping, even research that is not cross-cultural, largely focused on self-reported dispositions as antecedents of helping and thereby ignored possible effects of implicit factors. The present dissertation took these shortcomings as a starting point, and focused on examining motivational mechanisms leading to helping across various cultural groups by studying the effects of both implicit and explicit helping motivation. This investigation systematically addressed the two most salient dimensions in relation to helping across cultures: (1) spontaneous versus planned types of helping; (2) helping directed at close versus distant targets (i.e., strangers).

In chapter three, effects of implicit and explicit helping motivation on spontaneous versus planned types of helping were examined in three studies. Building on a dual-process, interactionist perspective, it was argued that explicit helping motivation relates to helping in general, but that this relationship can be moderated by implicit helping motivation, depending on the type of helping. It was proposed that planned helping relates to explicit helping motivation, regardless of whether implicit helping motivation is low or high, while

spontaneous helping only relates to explicit helping motivation when also implicit helping motivation is high. In Study 1 (207 Dutch participants) this proposition was tested by using self-reported willingness to help as dependent variable. In Study 2 (193 U.S. participants) and Study 3 (73 Dutch undergraduate students) behavioral measures of planned and spontaneous helping were used, respectively. Results of all three studies confirmed that planned helping was determined by explicit helping motivation, whereas its effect on spontaneous helping was moderated by implicit helping motivation: Both in Study 1 and in Study 3, the effect of explicit helping motivation on helping was only significant for those individuals with high implicit helping motivation. Consequently, findings obtained in chapter three clarify that reasons to help go beyond self-reported motives.

Chapter four extended findings from chapter three in two important aspects: First, it examined effects of implicit and explicit helping motivation on a more complex and multifaceted type of helping, namely sustained volunteering. And second, it tested whether and how these effects are affected by culture, using samples from China, Germany, Turkey, and the US. Sustained volunteering was conceptualized as a latent factor comprising activity as a volunteer, service length, service frequency and hours. Results revealed three important aspects: First, sustained volunteering was strongly associated with explicit helping motivation. Second, this relationship between explicit helping motivation and sustained volunteering was strongest when implicit helping motivation was also high. And, finally, these relationships were found to be invariant across the four cultural groups under investigation. Findings obtained in this chapter underline that, across cultural groups, individuals with high explicit and high implicit helping motivation were those who were most likely to become sustained volunteers; in other words, long-term volunteers that volunteered more frequently and spent more time on volunteering.

The following empirical chapter introduced another aspect of motivational antecedents of helping. Beyond cultural group (as in chapter four), this chapter investigated the role of critical life-stage factors on motivations to engage in planned helping directed at strangers, namely volunteering. More specifically, this chapter examined whether volunteering is driven by different motivational mechanisms, depending on cultural context and parenthood. Building on the socio-emotional selectivity theory (Carstensen et al., 1999), it was proposed that parents' engagement in volunteering is driven by implicit motivation, whereas non-parents' engagement in volunteering is related to explicit helping motivation. Participants were parents and non-parents from Turkey and the US. Analyses showed that, regardless of cultural group, and in line with the expectation, parents' engagement in volunteering was

related to implicit helping motivation, while non-parents' volunteering was related to explicit helping motivation. Moreover, developmental correlates of implicit and explicit helping motivation were identified: In line with previous research, findings show that implicit helping motivation was positively related to early childhood context variables (i.e., the number of younger siblings), while explicit helping motivation was positively related to prosocial norms and to individuals' tendency to comply with such norms (i.e., social desirability). This chapter extended previous findings in two important ways: First, it showed that implicit and explicit helping motivation develop differently, and thereby further supported the validity of differentiating between two distinct motivational systems. Second, it drew attention to the fact that motivations to engage in the same type of helping, namely volunteering, can differ as a function of the helper's life stage and the particular demands related to this stage (i.e., having children). This finding implies that it is not only the type of helping that determines which motivational system becomes active, but also the actor of helping and his/her contextual surrounding that can affect implicit and explicit motivations to help.

In the sixth chapter, the role of culture for volunteering and its antecedents has been examined by taking an intra-cultural approach. Instead of examining motives to volunteer across different cultural groups, this chapter tested the applicability of established Western models of volunteering for describing the volunteering process in Hong Kong in two studies. Results showed that explicit helping motivation relates to volunteering, and that volunteering in turn predicts psychological well-being. Moreover, and different from studies in Western settings, other-oriented empathy was *not* related to volunteering, but directly related to well-being. In Study 2, the focus lied on testing the Volunteer Process Model (VPM) among Hong Kong Chinese volunteers. Findings partially support the VPM and show that a fit between volunteers' motives and their experiences in the voluntary organization is associated with increased volunteering satisfaction, and that volunteering satisfaction, in turn, enhances the duration and frequency of the voluntary service. Taken together, the findings highlight that Western models of volunteering can be used to describe volunteering in Hong Kong. However, results also show that culture-specific adaptations of these models might be necessary.

The last empirical chapter extended the scope of the present dissertation in two important aspects: First, it is the only chapter that more systematically examined the target of help, and therefore the only chapter that investigated help directed at close others (while all other chapters either focus on help given to strangers, or on target-free, general helping). Second, it is also the only chapter that compared helping across different cultural groups both

in terms of *frequencies* of helping and in terms of *motivations* that underlie helping (while previous chapters only focused on motivations). Building on previous findings, it was proposed that cross-cultural differences in helping describe a function of closeness of the help target. More specifically, no differences were expected for helping close targets, while providing spontaneous help to strangers was expected to be more likely in Western than in non-Western cultures. Hypotheses were tested in two studies that used different measures of helping, and different cultural samples. In Study 1, self-reported likelihoods to help a family member, a friend, and strangers were examined within the Netherlands, and compared across mainstream Dutch participants, Western immigrants and non-Western immigrants. Study 2 compared helping across Turkish and German individuals, and applied vignettes for assessing helping a sibling and helping a friend and a behavioral measure for helping a stranger. In accordance with cross-cultural similarities and differences regarding the frequencies of helping, it was proposed that motivations to help close targets should not differ across cultural groups. For helping a stranger, however, different effects were expected: It was hypothesized that helping a stranger would relate to explicit helping motivation in Germany (as norms of helping also apply to strangers in the West, and explicit motivation relates to norms). Conversely, for Turkey, it was expected that helping a stranger would relate to implicit helping motivation, as in a non-Western cultural context helping a stranger is less likely to represent a cultural norm, and therefore would be driven by inner needs instead of external norms. Overall, results confirmed the expected patterns and showed that helping kin did not differ across cultural groups, neither in frequencies nor in motives, while helping a stranger measured through the behavioral measure was more frequent in Germany than in Turkey; and related to explicit helping motivation in the German, and to implicit helping motivation in the Turkish sample. Findings obtained in this chapter add to previous chapters and show that beyond type of helping, beyond actor of helping, also the *target* of helping, both generally and in interaction with other factors such as culture, matters.

The last chapter summarizes and integrates findings obtained in all empirical chapters. It clarifies how the type of helping, the actor of helping, and the cultural context in which helping occurs, moderate the effects of implicit and explicit helping motivation. To explain findings, a parsimonious conceptual framework is proposed. Findings overall suggest that helping is predominantly driven by explicit prosocial motivation, when norms and expectations to help are present, and the individual is willing to meet these norms. Contrary, when societal norms, expectations, or social pressure to help are absent or weak, then performing a helping act seems to require the inner disposition to be prosocial, namely

implicit helping motivation. By that, the last chapter highlights how the present research advances our understanding of the motivational antecedents of helping, and how it provides a more comprehensive and more differentiated view on helping.

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