



VALUE & IMPACT STUDY

SUPPLEMENTARY RESEARCH

Additional Insights on Donors, Ticket-Buyers & Audiences

Commissioned by Major University Presenters with funding support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation

WolfBrown
808A Oak St., San Francisco, CA 94117
(415) 796-3060
www.wolfbrown.com

Research Background

In 2004, fourteen members of the Major University Presenters (MUP) consortium - without foundation support - commissioned WolfBrown to conduct a two-year study of the values and motivations driving performing arts attendance and donation. The findings of *The Value & Impact Study* are available in three public reports, which are available for free download at www.wolfbrown.com/mup:

- *Assessing the Intrinsic Impacts of Live Performance*
- *A Segmentation Model for Performing Arts Ticket Buyers*
- *A Segmentation Model for Donors to 12 University Presenting Programs*
- *Value & Impact Study Supplemental Research: Additional Insights on Donors, Ticket-Buyers & Audiences*

While the study concluded in 2007, much knowledge remained to be harvested from the substantial data sets that the study produced. Recognizing the opportunity, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation funded a \$50,000 proposal from the MUP consortium to extend the value of the study's two major datasets by commissioning 10 focused research papers.

WolfBrown oversaw a competitive selection process starting in October 2007 and welcomed proposals from faculty, research staff and students from all colleges and universities, and all disciplines. The proposals were evaluated based on the significance and relevance of their topic and research questions, the extent to which the research was likely to yield practical applications for the study partners – particularly in the areas of marketing and fundraising, and overall quality and rigor of the proposal.

The funded proposals went to both faculty members and graduate students; five proposals had faculty members serving as the principal investigator (PI), and five had graduate students as PI. The funded researchers represent a broad range of academic departments – public policy; sociology, tourism, recreation and sports management; arts administration; marketing; and business – and a variety of universities.

On behalf of the MUP consortium, we extend our appreciation to the Mellon Foundation for their foresight in allowing *The Value & Impact Study* to pay additional dividends. We encourage other researchers who would like to examine the original data files to be in touch with us, in the spirit of learning.

Sincerely,



Alan S. Brown, Principal



Jennifer L. Novak, Consultant

Overview of Papers

The supported research papers fall into three general topics: Donors, Ticket-buyers & Demand, and Impact. In addition, three papers cover special areas of interest: the relationship between Howard Gardner's multiple intelligences and ticket-buying, the affect of pre-performance enhancement events on impact, and the relationship between political views and both donation and ticket-buying behavior. Below are brief summaries of each paper, which are followed by more detailed abstracts, organized by general topic.

Donors

1. **The Influence of Marketing Messages and Benefits Received On Attributions of Donation Behavior to Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivations** - *Jennifer Wiggins Johnson & Bret Ellis*. This paper seeks to better understand what influenced the degree to which donors perceive extrinsic benefits as the motivations for giving.
2. **Study of MUP Donors Motivation, Behavior, and Benefits** - *May Kim, Yong JaeKo & Heather Gibson*. This paper provides a review of theoretical frameworks that guide current perspectives on donor motivation.

Ticket-Buyers & Demand

3. **Preferences and Purchase Behavior: Survey Evidence on the Relationship between Stated Interested in the Performing Arts and Ticket Purchase History** - *Sarah Lee*. This paper examines the relationship between individuals' stated preferences for performances and their actual history of ticket-buying.
4. **Community Contexts of University Presenters and Their Audiences** - *Tanya Koropecjy-Cox, Charles Gattone, William Jawde, & Deeb-Paul Kitchen*. This paper offers broader sociological perspective to the understanding of audience values and preferences, by considering the larger community contexts of the presenter-audience relationship.
5. **Anticipation: Exploring its Origins and Effects on the Live Arts Experience** - *Jara Kern*. This paper examines the causal factors and relationships underlying high levels of anticipation for performing arts programs.

Impact

6. **How We Feel About Art: Motivation, Satisfaction, and Emotional Experience in Performing Arts Audiences** - *Shelly Gilbride & David Orzechowicz*. This paper explores performing arts audiences' self-reported emotional experiences and how they relate to reasons for attending, expectations for, and satisfaction levels with a performance.
7. **Social Influences on Intrinsic Impacts of Performance** - *Trina Rose*. This paper examines the relationships between social and emotional factors and attendance, subscription and post-performance impact.

Special Interest Topics

8. **Analysis of Multiple Intelligences in Understanding the Relationships between Ticket Buyers and Their Participation in Performing Arts Programs** - *Mark Creekmore & Sarah Rush*. This paper examines the validity of using the Values & Impact data to study Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences and investigates relationship between intelligences and preferences for types of performances.

9. **Characterizing Program Enhancement Events** - *Yael Zipporah Silk & Jordan Raphael Fischbach*. This paper profiles the enhancement event audience base, examines the impact of enhancement events on patrons who self-select to attend, and identifies characteristics that are predictive of pre- or post-performance event preferences.

10. **How Beliefs Matter: Views, Motives and their Relation to Buyer and Donor Behavior** - *Ximena Varela*. This paper investigates audiences political beliefs and explores the relationship between political views and both ticket-buyer and donor behavior.

Abstracts

Donors

1. The Influence of Marketing Messages and Benefits Received On Attributions of Donation Behavior to Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivations

Jennifer Wiggins Johnson & Bret Ellis

Wiggins Johnson and Ellis examine the intrinsic and extrinsic motivations of donors to performing arts organizations using the data from the 1,771 donor respondents from the *Value Study* conducted in October 2006. The authors use the twenty items measuring different motivations to donate from these respondents, along with information on their donations from 2003-2006 and their relationships with the presenters to which they had donated. This paper seeks to better understand what influenced the degree to which respondents would perceive extrinsic benefits as the motivations for their donations. Additional data on the communications messages that respondents were likely to experience and the benefits that they were likely to receive in exchange for their donations is used to establish that the messages and benefits that donors receive can influence their attributions of their donation behavior to intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. This suggests that organizations can deliberately or inadvertently influence donor motivations through their communications.

2. Study of MUP Donors Motivation, Behavior, and Benefits

May Kim, Yong Jae Ko & Heather Gibson

In this paper, the authors offer a review of theoretical frameworks that guide current perspectives on donor motivation and its influence on donor amount or donor benefits. Using this review to structure their analyses, the authors explore donor motivations, the influence of gender and age on donor motivations, the relationship between donor motivations and donor behavior, and the relationship between donor motivations and donor benefits.

In addition, these authors wrote a second paper utilizing the Value & Impact Study data entitled *An examination of factors that influence donor behavior: The case of University art museums in the US*, and is available upon request.

Ticket-Buyers & Demand

3. Preferences and Purchase Behavior: Survey Evidence on the Relationship between Stated Interested in the Performing Arts and Ticket Purchase History

Sarah Lee

In this paper, Lee uses the Major University Presenters' *Value Study* dataset to examine the relationship between individuals' stated preferences for performances across a variety of performance types and their actual history of purchasing tickets to performances of those

same types. The author finds that there is a substantial proportion of the arts-going population who exhibit strong preferences for various types of performances, but whose ticket purchase behavior alone would not reveal those preferences (“high-demand non-purchasers”). Lee then develops a profile of high-demand non-purchasers in each performance type, focusing on the differences between high-demand non-purchasers and purchasers in demographic and background characteristics, cultural attitudes, and motivations. This paper briefly surveys the literature on participation, audience-building, and marketing in the arts; discusses the data used for this analysis; presents simple statistical evidence on the relationship between stated preferences and ticket purchase history; profiles high-demand non-purchasers, and uses these profiles to draw conclusions about potential barriers to attendance among high-demand non-purchasers.

4. Community Contexts of University Presenters and Their Audiences

Tanya Koropeckyj-Cox, Charles Gattone, William Jawde, & Deeb-Paul Kitchen

This paper builds on the original *Value & Impact Study* analyses by adding two important sociological perspectives to the understanding of audience values and preferences, taking into account the larger community contexts of the presenter-audience relationship. First, focusing on social and cultural characteristics, the authors construct an alternative audience segmentation model that draws more specifically on sociological research on social capital and engagement, socioeconomic dimensions of taste, and subculture affinities. The authors examine how an audience segmentation model based on social attributes and cultural affinities can help to elucidate audience preferences and potential attendance. Second, they incorporate data on the specific community contexts of the Major University Presenters (and their potential audiences) to examine the influence of contextual dimensions on the relations of audience characteristics with preferences and attendance. Specifically, the research addresses the following research questions:

- 1) What kind of audience segmentation results from an explicit emphasis on measures of social engagement, institutional connection, and cultural affinities?
- 2) How is this socially based segmentation related to socio-demographic characteristics and to particular audience preferences and potential attendance at performances?
- 3) How does this relationship intersect with characteristics of the larger communities in which the audience members and the University Presenters are located?

The findings offer a nuanced assessment of audience preferences within their particular communities and inform strategies for planning, marketing, and outreach that take into account contextual variations. The findings also help to inform policy and arts development by considering the interrelations of communities, institutions, and audience populations.

5. Anticipation: Exploring its Origins and Effects on the Live Arts Experience

Jara Kern

For almost any presenter of the live performing arts, *captivation, satisfaction, and remembered value* are the gold standards of a job well done. Audience members and artists who experience a powerfully positive impact during the event, and remember the moment vividly for years to come, become the favored stories of success among most arts presenters. These remembered experiences provide the catalyst for future attendance and increasing connection to the organization and its work. Yet, despite the core importance of captivation,

satisfaction, and remembered value, precious little specific research has explored where these experiences come from, how they work, and how they might be more thoughtfully encouraged. This paper is an effort to encourage such understanding and strategy. Its particular focus is on the role and influence of anticipation on the perceived satisfaction and remembered value of a live performance experience. This paper suggests and tests a causal model, examines findings from relevant literature, and incorporates interviews with audience members, practitioners, and content experts. The paper aims to provide performing arts practitioners with actionable insights on anticipation, and its central function in fostering satisfaction and remembered value in the live performing arts. This paper focuses on the relationship between cause and effect, or the causal flow, for the creation of high levels of anticipation for cultural content.

Impact

6. How We Feel About Art: Motivation, Satisfaction, and Emotional Experience in Performing Arts Audiences

Shelly Gilbride & David Orzechowicz

Using data collected from the *MUPS Value & Impact Study*, Gilbride and Orzechowicz explore the dimensions of self-reported emotional experiences in performing arts audiences. Specifically, the authors look at how these emotional experiences relate to the reasons people attend productions, the expectations they bring with them, the relevance of the performing arts to their daily lives, and their satisfaction with a show. Gilbride and Orzechowicz conduct the first analyses of the qualitative emotions data available from the study and construct ten broad categories of emotional experiences, with an additional six subcategories to provide a more nuanced understanding. These categories are based on the work of Robert Plutchik's categorization of basic and secondary emotions, as well as other research on emotion typologies. The authors then explore the relationship between these experiences and audience demographics, performance genres, and reported levels of captivation and satisfaction. Much of the analysis focuses on five specific emotional experiences: anger, dissatisfaction, fear, inspiration, and joy. The research reveals that certain emotional experiences often seen as negative in most social situations, such as fear and anger, are associated with higher levels of satisfaction and repeat arts consumers. "Positive" emotions like joy, on the other hand, are associated with lower levels of satisfaction and audience members who were out of their comfort zone. The authors speculate on the meaning of these associations and their relevance to the performing arts community.

7. Social Influences on Intrinsic Impacts of Performance

Trina Rose

There have been a number of studies regarding audiences of cultural arts. Lacking, however, is the knowledge of social and emotional factors of these audience members. What social and emotional factors predict attendance and subscription? For example, is the person or persons one attends a performance with related to their post performance impacts? The author explores this question and other gaps in the literature in more detail. To engage in this investigation, this paper uses cross-sectional data from *The Value & Impact Study* and conducts a series of path analyses to gauge whether these social factors are related with post-performance impacts, and whether these emotional factors are associated with subscription

and attendance. Results indicate that patrons' reasons for attending a performance, social factors, and ticket price were significantly related to post-performance impacts. Additionally, post-performance impacts were significantly related to attending live performances and performance discipline.

Special Interest Topics

8. Analysis of Multiple Intelligences in Understanding the Relationships between Ticket Buyers and Their Participation in Performing Arts Programs

Mark Creekmore & Sarah Rush

The concept of multiple intelligences (MI) has been used in educational settings, but it can also be used to differentiate arts' patrons by their different abilities, sensibilities and orientations. The hope is that this knowledge may be used to create more specific communication and marketing tools and identify ways to understand and address the preferences among different kinds of patrons. Using the Values Survey from *The Value and Impact Study*, nine forms of MI (Linguistic, logical-Mathematical, Bodily-Kinesthetic, Musical, Spatial, Naturalist, Interpersonal, Intrapersonal, Existential) are examined in relation to other patron characteristics, including demographic information, inner-directed values, outer-directed values and performance preferences. A considerable portion of this research focused on validating the nine intelligences, identifying relations with performance preferences and investigating differences across the study sites.

9. Characterizing Program Enhancement Events

Yael Zipporah Silk & Jordan Raphael Fischbach

Offering enhancement events is often viewed as a way to draw in casual audiences, provide them with knowledge they may not already have, and in turn positively impact their future participation. This paper profiles the enhancement event audience base, examines the impact of enhancement events on patrons who self-select to attend, and identifies characteristics that are predictive of pre- or post-performance event preferences. Utilizing data from two patron surveys, the authors analyze mean preference for enhancement events to create profiles of enhancement event attendees. Next, they examine mean outcomes for patrons who attended specific pre-performance events and performed a difference-of-differences analysis taking enhancement event attendance frequency into account and, finally, develop several simple prediction models to identify characteristics associated with preferences for enhancement events. The authors find that enhancement events are primarily serving patrons who have strong allegiances to presenters, are frequent ticket buyers, and donate. Pre-performance attendance also correlates with a number of intrinsic outcome measures, though the effect appears to be greater for patrons who rarely attend enhancement events. Finally, age, appetite for new works, risk taking, personal creativity, allegiance to presenter, and seeking a connection to artists are all associated with preferences for enhancement events. These results point to an opportunity to deepen performance audiences by broadening and diversifying enhancement event audiences, which could in turn affect future participation decisions.

10. How Beliefs Matter: Views, Motives and their Relation to Buyer and Donor Behavior

Ximena Varela

The connection between beliefs, values and the *production* of art has long been acknowledged. Whether it is the artist's intent to make a political or value statement, or whether art is used as a vehicle for political messages or channel for values, the arts convey ideas, emotions, and elicit thought, feeling, and even action. But what happens on the side of *consumption*? Can the public's value systems and political beliefs be linked to specific patterns of arts attendance or even support for the arts? Put another way; are audiences who self-identify as conservative more likely to attend a particular arts event over another? Do their motivations to provide support for the arts vary from those who are more liberal? Do liberals and conservatives expect different things in return for their support of the arts? What are the implications for arts presenters? The paper begins with an overview of the audiences surveyed for the study in terms of their political beliefs, and provides additional descriptive statistics for age and sex distributions. This is followed by an explanation of the methodology used for the analytical process. The paper then divides into two sections: the first discusses the relationship between political views and ticket buying, while the second focuses on political views and donor behavior. It concludes with a discussion of the implications of these findings for performing arts presenters.

**The Influence of Marketing Messages and Benefits Received On Attributions of
Donation Behavior to Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivations**

Paper #1

Jennifer Wiggins Johnson & Bret Ellis

ABSTRACT

The goal of this project was to examine the intrinsic and extrinsic motivations of donors to performing arts organizations using the data from the 1,771 donor respondents from the Value Study conducted in October of 2006. Twenty items measuring different motivations to donate had been gathered from these respondents, along with information on their donations from 2003-2006 and their relationships with the presenters to which they had donated. This project sought to better understand what influenced the degree to which respondents would perceive extrinsic benefits as the motivations for their donations. Additional data on the communications messages that respondents were likely to experience and the benefits that they were likely to receive in exchange for their donations was used to establish that the messages and benefits that donors receive can influence their attributions of their donation behavior to intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. This suggests that organizations can deliberately or inadvertently influence donor motivations through their communications.

Fundraising and development professionals have always been interested in understanding what motivates donors to donate to charities and nonprofit organizations. If fundraisers can understand donors' motivations, they can be better equipped to solicit donations and to offer the specific benefits that donors are looking for. The challenge in understanding donor motivations is that when researchers have studied motivations, they have repeatedly found that motivations vary considerably across donors, even across donors to the same organization.

For example, Dawson (1988) studied donations to health care-related charities and found that donors reported four different motivations: a desire to reciprocate for benefits received from the charity, a desire to improve one's self-image or one's image among others, a desire to improve one's career by engaging in a donation that had political or career advancement implications (such as serving on a board of directors), and a desire to receive income or tax-related benefits. Similar studies of volunteers have also identified a variety of different motivations to volunteer, including a desire to help one's community, a perception that volunteering is something that one should do, a perceived moral obligation to help, and a desire to meet other volunteers (Harrison 1995; Henderson 1981). A perception that donating is something that one should do was also found to be a motivation for donating blood, but only for some donors. Others donated because they or someone close to them had received blood, and they felt an obligation to reciprocate or give back (Lee, Piliavin, and Call 1999).

The complexity of these individual differences in motivations makes it difficult to develop general theories of donor motivations. However, one classification that is commonly used in the motivations literature, classification into intrinsic and extrinsic

motivations, can be useful to organizations in determining how to communicate with their potential donors and what benefits to offer donors in exchange for their donations.

INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC MOTIVATIONS TO DONATE

According to Sansone and Harackiewicz (2000), an individual is intrinsically motivated to act when his or her behavior is motivated by the behavior as an end in itself. In other words, the behavior itself is motivating, for example, because it is pleasant, enjoyable, or fun to do. The individual receives positive feelings such as interest, enjoyment, and satisfaction that derive from the behavior that the individual is engaging in, and not from an external reward or benefit associated with the behavior. For example, Sansone and Harackiewicz have conducted several studies in which college students were asked to play pinball, an activity that is fun to engage in but for which there are no external rewards. Playing pinball, like many games and activities, is assumed to be intrinsically motivating; individuals play pinball because they enjoy playing pinball.

Individuals can be intrinsically motivated to donate if the individual perceives benefits that are inherent to the act of donation itself. For example, some individuals donate out of a desire to help the organization achieve its mission or to support a particular cause, with no expectation of receiving anything in return. The knowledge that they are supporting a cause that is important to them is enough of a motivation for them (Supphellen and Nelson 2001). Similarly, some donors are motivated by a desire to experience “warm glow,” the positive feelings associated with doing good (Andreoni 1990), or to feel better about themselves (Dawson 1988). Still others are motivated to benefit their community and its organizations. These would be considered intrinsic motivations, as the donor may experience positive feelings or “warm glow” as a result of knowing that he or she has helped to improve the community or support the organization to which the donation was made.

Extrinsic motivations, on the other hand, are motivations to behave that derive not from the behavior itself, but from external rewards or benefits that the individual might receive from engaging in the behavior (Sansone and Harackiewicz 2000). Studies of extrinsic motivations have found that individuals engage in behaviors that are not motivating in and of themselves in order to gain monetary rewards (Gneezy and Rustichini 2000), awards or prizes (Deci and Ryan 1985; Eisenberger and Cameron 1996), and even grades in school (Harackiewicz et al. 1997). In the context of donor motivations, the donor who is motivated by the benefits or rewards offered in exchange for the donation is can be considered extrinsically motivated. This may be as simple as making a donation in order to gain access to priority seating, or as complex as seeking to make a large visible donation that will increase the donor's social status in the community. As long as the donor's motivation is based on the external rewards that he or she will receive, and not on the intrinsic reward of the donation behavior itself, the donation is extrinsically motivated.

Intrinsic and extrinsic motivations are captured in two ways in the values study. First, a set of twenty motivation items was collected. Some of these items measured motivations that would be considered intrinsic. For example, motivations like, "To be part of the evolution of the art forms and the creation of new art," and, "To support outreach efforts towards disadvantaged populations," reflect a desire to support an organization's mission, while motivations like, "To ensure the long-term viability and sustainability of [*presenter*]," and, "To make possible a high quality of life for our community," suggest a caring for the organization and its community. In contrast, motivations like, "To receive the specific benefits associated with my gift level," and, "To enjoy the social opportunities provided to donors," can be considered to be extrinsic motivations. In addition to this set of motivation items, survey respondents were also asked, "To what extent do you consider your donations

to be a transaction in exchange for specific benefits and privileges associated with your donation level?” This can be seen as a measure of the degree to which the respondent perceives his or her donation to be motivated by extrinsic benefits. Those individuals who respond negatively to this item imply that their donation is motivated by intrinsic motivations, and not by extrinsic benefits.

RELATIONSHIPS AND DONOR MOTIVATIONS

Individuals’ motivations to donate may be influenced by the relationship that they have with an organization. Different relationships can involve different expectations for when one party in the relationship should help or support the other. For example, within the donor base of a particular organization, there may be some individuals who perceive their relationship with the organization to be an exchange relationship and others who perceive their relationship to be a communal relationship (Aggarwal 2004; Clark and Mills 1993). In an exchange relationship, benefits that are given to one relationship partner by the other are expected to be rewarded or reciprocated at some point in the future. The partner may reciprocate with a benefit that is equal to the original benefit given, as in one individual repaying money loaned by another, or that is equivalent in value, as in the exchange of money for goods or services. In contrast, in a communal relationship, benefits are given out of a desire to show caring or concern for the partner, or because the partner is perceived to be in need. An individual in a communal relationship may give his or her relationship partner a gift to demonstrate caring for the partner, or provide assistance when the partner is in need simply because he or she wishes to see the partner happy.

Our expectation was that respondents who perceived a communal relationship would be more likely to report being motivated to donate by intrinsic motivations, while

respondents who perceived an exchange relationship would be more likely to report being motivated to donate by extrinsic motivations. Individuals who perceive an exchange relationship with an organization expect to receive benefits that are equivalent in value when they give to the organization. These individuals are therefore more likely to donate when they have the opportunity to receive extrinsic rewards and benefits. For example, someone who perceives an exchange relationship may be willing to make a donation in order to gain access to priority seating or exclusive performances. In contrast, individuals who perceive a communal relationship with an organization may donate to the organization because they care about the organization's well being and are happy when the organization is doing well. This would be considered an intrinsic motivation.

One of the most consistent and robust findings from the research on communal and exchange relationships in the consumer behavior literature is that consumers who perceive a communal relationship with a company are more willing to help the company than consumers who perceive an exchange relationship (Aggarwal 2004; Gremler, Gwinner, and Brown 2001; Johnson and Peck in progress). Communal relationships have also been associated with higher levels of commitment to the relationship and a stronger perceived relationship than exchange relationships (Clark and Mills 1979; Goodwin 1996; Johnson and Peck in progress). Thus, if individuals who perceive communal relationships are more likely to be intrinsically motivated to donate, then we should expect to see individuals who donate due to intrinsic motivations donating more and exhibiting higher commitment to the organization. These can be measured through the respondents' donation amounts and through two measures of relationship commitment, "How strong of an allegiance or bond do you have with [*presenter*]," and, "How strong of an allegiance or bond do you have with

[*university*].” Communal and exchange relationship theory would suggest that all three of these measures should be positively correlated with intrinsic motivations.

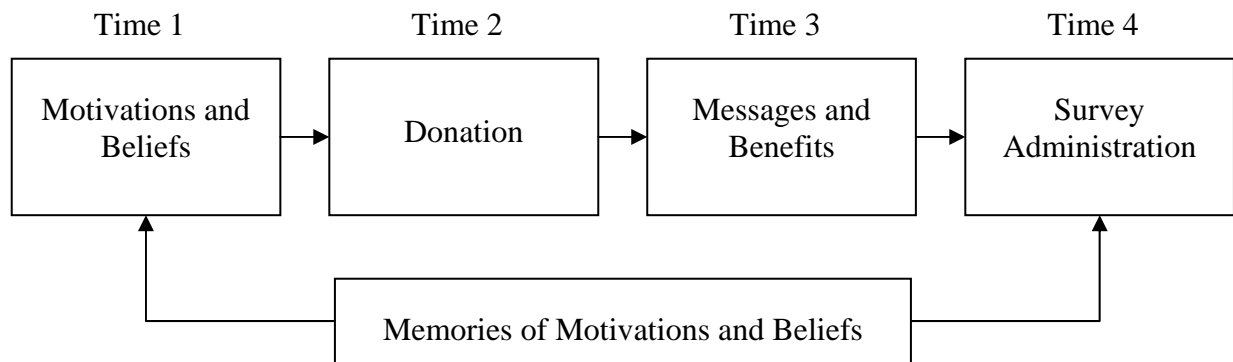
When we examined these variables, however, the results were the opposite from what we had expected based on relationship theory. The measure, “To what extent do you consider your donations to be a transaction in exchange for specific benefits and privileges associated with your donation level?” was not significantly correlated with either of the relationship commitment measures. This suggests that individuals who have more commitment to the organization are not more likely to be motivated by intrinsic motivations than individuals who have less commitment to the organization. Intrinsic motivations were significantly correlated with donation amount, but in the opposite direction than predicted by relationship theory. Individuals who responded “Very much” to the question, “To what extent do you consider your donations to be a transaction in exchange for specific benefits and privileges associated with your gift level,” had a higher average donation amount than individuals who responded “Not at all” to this question. This implies that the donors who were motivated by extrinsic motivations donated more than the donors who were motivated by intrinsic motivations. This unexpected result led us to believe that something besides the donor’s relationship with the organization was influencing the degree to which he or she perceived the donation to be motivated by intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. Our next step was to determine what this additional influence might be.

ATTRIBUTED MOTIVATIONS

One problem with our initial theory is that motivations are conceptualized to occur prior to behavior, while in this case, the measure that we were working with was actually taken after the donation behavior that it was theoretically motivating (see Figure 1). What

this measure was actually capturing, therefore, was the respondent's attributions of their donation behavior to specific motivations, based on their memories of their motivations prior to the donations that they had made. During the time period between the initial motivation to donate and the measure of attributed motivations, not only had the donation behavior itself occurred, but the donor was also likely to have received communications from the presenter, potentially containing specific messages about the donation, as well as possible benefits and rewards for donating. Two research streams suggest that these intermediate occurrences were likely to have influenced the respondents' beliefs and attributions about their donation behaviors.

Figure 1. Timeline Leading to Measurement of Attributed Motivation



The Post-Event Information Effect

Research on memory has found that information received after an event has occurred can influence our memories of the event itself (Loftus 1997). Regardless of what the original event was, once the additional information is received, our memories of the event become biased in the direction of the additional information. Researchers believe that this effect occurs because individuals do not preserve their memories of the original event intact and store the additional information as a separate memory. Rather, they are unable to

separate the new information from the old, so they adapt or change their memories of the original event to incorporate the new information, biasing their memories of the original event (Loftus 1997). This effect is most often tested by researchers by providing individuals with misinformation about a prior experience and showing that the misinformation distorts or biases their memories of the experience. The biasing effect has been shown with everything from eyewitness testimony (Ward and Loftus 1985) to childhood memories (Loftus 1993) to the taste of orange juice (Braun 1999).

Advertising messages have specifically been found to be able to bias memories. For example, in one study (Braun-Latour and Zaltman 2006), participants were asked to report their beliefs and opinions about the effectiveness of two brands of medication. They were then given an advertisement for one of the two brands. After reading the ad, they were asked to recall their previous beliefs and opinions exactly as they had answered them earlier.

Regardless of which of the two medications they had seen an ad for, their memories of their earlier responses were biased toward the information that they had read in the ad.

Advertisements have even been found to alter people's memories of a direct experience with a product. Braun (1999) had people taste orange juice that had been altered to taste sour.

Half of the participants then read an advertisement that emphasized the sweetness of the orange juice. When participants were later asked how sweet the orange juice had tasted, those who had read the advertisement emphasizing sweetness rated the juice as sweeter than those who had not read the ad. The advertising messages received after the experience of the product were able to override even sensory experiences like taste.

If advertising messages and additional information can bias individuals' memories of their direct experiences, it is reasonable to believe that they can also bias individuals' memories of their own actions and motivations at a prior point in time. This would suggest

that the advertising and communications messages that an organization communicates after a donation occurs can bias the donor's memory for the donation behavior and what motivated the donation. For example, post-donation messages that focus on the intrinsic benefits of the donation may bias the donor's memory of his or her original motivations for donating toward the intrinsic benefits of donating. In contrast, post-donation messages that focus on the extrinsic benefits and rewards that the donor has received or will receive in exchange for the donation may bias the donor's memory of his or her original motivations for donating toward these extrinsic rewards.

If the post-event information effect is influencing donors' attributions of their donation behavior to extrinsic motivations, then we should expect donors who receive messages from the presenter that focus on extrinsic rewards and benefits to be more likely to attribute their donations to extrinsic motivations. This leads to Hypotheses 1 and 2:

- H1: Respondents who received messages from the presenter that focused on the extrinsic rewards that they received in exchange for their donations will be more likely to attribute their donation behavior to extrinsic motivations than respondents who received messages from the presenter that focused on the intrinsic rewards associated with their donation.

- H2: Respondents who received messages from the presenter that focused on the extrinsic rewards that they received in exchange for their donations will report more extrinsic motivations in their responses to the twenty motivation items measured in the survey than respondents who received messages from the presenter that focused on the intrinsic rewards associated with their donation.

The Overjustification Effect

Research on intrinsic and extrinsic motivation also suggests that the receipt of external rewards or benefits can lead individuals to attribute their behavior to extrinsic motivations, even when they had initially been intrinsically motivated (Deci and Ryan 1985; Lepper, Greene, and Nisbett 1973). Individuals who have a high level of intrinsic motivation

to engage in a behavior have repeatedly been found to exhibit a decrease in intrinsic motivation after they have received an extrinsic reward for their behavior (Lepper and Henderlong 2000). For example, individuals who had previously volunteered to do a job and were then paid for their time were later unwilling to volunteer to do the job again without receiving comparable payment (Gneezy and Rustichini 2000). College students who were given rewards and monetary payments for playing pinball later played less pinball for fun than college students who were not given rewards (Sansone and Harackiewicz 2000). Even small children who enjoyed coloring with magic markers were less likely to color with the markers after they had been given certificates of achievement for coloring (Lepper et al. 1973).

This phenomenon has been called the overjustification effect. The theory behind this effect is that when an individual receives both intrinsic and extrinsic benefits for engaging in a behavior, the behavior is overjustified; the individual has too many reasons why he or she has engaged in the behavior. To simplify the cognitive processing of the behavior and its results, the individual attributes his or her behavior to the simplest explanation, the extrinsic reward. Thus, individuals whose behavior is overjustified are likely to attribute their behavior to extrinsic motivations, and not their initial intrinsic motivations. This attribution can lead to a decrease in intrinsic motivation to engage in the behavior in the future.

This would suggest that when a donor who is initially intrinsically motivated to donate to an organization receives extrinsic rewards in exchange for his or her donation, the donor is likely to attribute the donation behavior to the extrinsic rewards, and not the initial intrinsic motivation. For example, even if a donor is initially motivated by a desire to support the arts or benefit the community, after receiving free tickets in exchange for the donation, the donor may come to believe that he or she donated in order to get the free tickets, and

not to support the community. This may explain why there was a significant positive relationship between donation amount and attributions of the donation to extrinsic motivation. Donors who give larger amounts also receive greater extrinsic rewards and benefits than donors who give smaller amounts, making them more susceptible to the overjustification effect. This is of particular concern when one considers the possible decrease in intrinsic motivation that can occur after this attribution is made. If this decrease in intrinsic donor motivations occurred, this would suggest that these donors would be unlikely to donate again in the future unless comparable extrinsic rewards and benefits were offered at the time.

If the overjustification effect is influencing donors' attributions of their donation behavior to extrinsic motivations, then we should expect donors who receive higher numbers of extrinsic rewards and benefits to be more likely to attribute their donations to extrinsic motivations. This leads to Hypotheses 3 and 4:

- H3: Respondents who received more extrinsic rewards in exchange for their donations will be more likely to attribute their donation behavior to extrinsic motivations than respondents who received fewer extrinsic rewards.
- H4: Respondents who received more extrinsic rewards in exchange for their donations will report more extrinsic motivations in their responses to the twenty motivation items measured in the survey than respondents who received fewer extrinsic rewards.

RESULTS

Our primary dependent variable of interest for Hypotheses 1 and 3 was the respondents' attributions of their donation behavior to intrinsic or extrinsic motivations. This was captured using the survey item, "To what extent do you consider your donations to be a transaction in exchange for specific benefits and privileges associated with your donation level." This item was measured on a seven-point semantic differential scale with

endpoints “Not at all” and “Very much.” This item is interpreted to indicate the degree to which the respondent attributes his or her donation behavior to the extrinsic rewards and benefits offered as a reward in exchange for his or her donation. The higher the score on this item, the more the respondent attributes his or her donation behavior to extrinsic motivations.

Factor Analysis of Motivation Items

Hypotheses 2 and 4 also consider the degree to which respondents attributed their donation behavior to specific extrinsic motivations captured in the motivation scale measured in the survey. It would be difficult to test these hypotheses for each of the twenty motivations individually. As pointed out earlier, some of the twenty motivation items appear to suggest intrinsic motivations and others appear to be more extrinsically focused.

Therefore, in order to facilitate data analysis, it was decided to group the motivation items used in the survey into sets of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. This was accomplished by using factor analysis, a standard method of grouping scale items together based on the similarity of respondents’ scores on the items. Factor analysis groups together items that respondents tended to respond to in similar ways. In other words, if the majority of the respondents who responded positively to item 1 also responded positively to item 3, then factor analysis will group these two items together.

Before a factor analysis can be performed, the twenty items must be found to be statistically reliable, a measure of the degree to which the items are related to each other. A reliability analysis found that the twenty items had a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.87, which is above the acceptable level, and suggests that it is reasonable to treat these items as a composite scale. It is therefore possible to combine the items into groups using a factor

analysis. To group the items into sets of motivations, a factor analysis was performed on the twenty motivation items using principal axis factoring with a direct oblimin rotation. The analysis resulted in a three-factor solution that explained 41% of the variance.¹ Oblimin rotation was found to be the appropriate rotation since the factors were significantly correlated with each other.

The first factor that was identified was one of two factors that indicated intrinsic motivations to donate. This factor was focused on motivations that were intrinsic to the arts, desires to support the arts as a whole or the arts in the respondents' particular community. Table 1 presents a summary of the items that loaded on this factor and their factor loadings.

Table 1. Factor Analysis Results

Factor 1: Motivations Intrinsic to the Arts	Factor Loading
To support outreach efforts towards disadvantaged populations.	.782
To promote awareness and appreciation of diverse cultures.	.712
To expand the reach of the performing arts to places where it is not accessible.	.667
To provide cultural experiences for area school children.	.624
To be a part of the evolution of the art forms and the creation of new art.	.620
To allow deeper engagement between artists and audience.	.618
To participate in a civic dialogue about current issues.	.559
Because I am concerned about popular culture and its effect on society.	.505

A second factor also appeared to be a set of intrinsic motivations to donate. These motivations were intrinsic to the respondent's relationship with the presenter and the community that it serves. Rather than seeking to support the arts as a whole, these

¹ While the variance explained by this solution is not particularly high, the nature of this measure is more of a formative scale than a reflective one, which indicates that one should not expect the various items to be highly correlated as in a reflective scale. Rather, the purpose of the factor analysis was to group similar but clearly discrete motivation items together to better analyze them in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations.

motivation items focused more on supporting the presenter’s success and the impact that the presenter has on its community. Table 2 presents a summary of the items that loaded on this factor and their factor loadings.

Table 2. Factor Analysis Results

Factor 2: Motivations Intrinsic to the Presenter or Community	Factor Loading
To ensure the long-term viability and sustainability of [presenter].	.831
To make possible a high quality of life for our community.	.657
Because I want others to have experiences like the ones I’ve had with [presenter].	.477
To underwrite appearances by high profile artists who otherwise might not appear in our community.	.416

The third factor captured the motivation items that were clearly extrinsic to the arts experience or the arts organization, and that represented extrinsic rewards or benefits offered to the donor. Table 3 presents a summary of the items that loaded on this factor and their factor loadings.

Table 3. Factor Analysis Results

Factor 3: Extrinsic Motivations	Factor Loading
To enjoy the social opportunities provided to donors.	.695
So that others can see that I am contributing.	.623
To receive the specific benefits associated with my gift level.	.571
To network for business purposes (me or my spouse/partner).	.538

To check that the interpretation of Factors 1 and 2 as intrinsic motivations and Factor 3 as extrinsic motivations is consistent with our single-item measure of attributed motivations, we calculated correlations between the measure of attributed motivations and the three factor scores. The single-item measure of attributed motivations showed a positive correlation of .577 with Factor 3, which had been labeled “Extrinsic Motivations,” which was statistically significant at the $p < .01$ level. The measure of attributed motivations was

not significantly correlated with either Factor 1 or Factor 2. This suggests that the measure of attributed motivations is best interpreted as a measure of the degree to which respondents attributed their donation behavior to extrinsic motivations, which is consistent with our original interpretation.

Several items did not load highly on any of the three factors, specifically, “to join with the group of people who make this community great,” “because I have more money than I need,” “because I want to leave a legacy that includes a vibrant cultural life,” and “to help ensure that [presenter] students can see great artists, as part of their education.” The first of these items loaded weakly on both the second and third factors, suggesting that one could wish to join with a community of donors for multiple reasons. Indeed, one could imagine wanting to join a community of donors in order to better support the arts organization and its community, or in order to experience the social benefits available to donors. Since it was not clear how each respondent interpreted this item, it was excluded from the hypothesis tests. The other three items were each very unique motivations and not clearly associated with the intrinsic and extrinsic motivations that the three factors represented. These items were also excluded from the hypothesis tests. Since these individual items may still be of interest to researchers and practitioners, however, they are analyzed separately at the end of the results section of this paper.

Content Analysis of Messages and Benefits Received

To test our hypotheses, we needed to develop a measure or rating of the intrinsic or extrinsic nature of the messages respondents would have had communicated to them and the benefits that respondents would have received in exchange for their donations. In order

to accomplish this, a content analysis of each presenter's website was conducted with particular attention to the information and messages related to donations on each website.

Content of Messages Received

To analyze the content of the messages that donors were likely to have received, one of the researchers located each presenter's website and clicked on a link from the home page that led to information about making a donation (ex. "Support Us"). The researcher then clicked through all of the pages that pertained to making a donation, reading each page carefully, and rated the messages communicated by the website as exclusively intrinsic messages, mostly intrinsic messages, a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic messages, mostly extrinsic messages, and exclusively extrinsic messages.

An intrinsic rating implied that all or most of the messages that were communicated through the website focused on the intrinsic benefits of donating, intrinsic motivations for donating, and/or how the donation would benefit the organization and the community, with little or no mention of extrinsic benefits for the donor. For example, one of the websites that was rated exclusively intrinsic spent multiple pages thanking the donor and going into detail about how much the donation was needed, how it would help the organization, exactly what the donation would be used for by the organization, and how the community would benefit from these new endeavors. Nowhere on this site was there any mention of tangible or extrinsic benefits to the donors, including on the donation form itself.

In contrast, an extrinsic rating implied that all or nearly all of the messages that were communicated through the website focused on the extrinsic benefits of donating, including details about specific extrinsic rewards and benefits that the donor would receive in exchange for his or her donation. For example, on one of the websites that was rated

exclusively extrinsic, clicking on the “Support Us” link from the home page took the potential donor directly to a list of the different membership levels and detailed information about the extrinsic benefits offered at each level. Further clicking through led to a donation form in which the potential donor was asked at which level he or she wished to donate and information reinforced the extrinsic benefits that the donor would receive at that level. Nowhere on this site was there any mention of how the organization or the community would benefit from the donation or any mention of intrinsic rewards or benefits to the donor.

A number of websites fell between these two extremes, representing a mix of both intrinsic and extrinsic messages. These sites were rated as mostly intrinsic, a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic, or mostly extrinsic based on the proportion of intrinsic to extrinsic messages and the order in which they appeared. For example, a website where the potential donor would first see two or three pages of intrinsic messages and then be presented with a set of donor levels and the extrinsic benefits associated with each would be classified as mostly intrinsic messages. On the other hand, a website where the potential donor saw one page of intrinsic messages followed by several pages of extrinsic messages, or a thank you page at the end that focused on intrinsic messages on an otherwise extrinsically focused site would be classified as mostly extrinsic messages. Websites that were approximately evenly split between intrinsic and extrinsic messages were rated as mixed.

An independent coder who was blind to the theory was asked to recode each of the websites on the same scale to confirm the researcher’s coding. In the case of discrepancy, the two coders resolved the coding through discussion. After the second coder completed the coding, there was a discrepancy on only one website. During the discussion, the coders discovered that the second coder had uncovered an additional webpage that the first coder

had missed. Based on this new information, the first coder agreed with the second, and the second coder's coding was used. The final coding resulted in four presenters from the study being rated as exclusively intrinsic messages, one being rated as mixed intrinsic and extrinsic messages, five being rated as mostly extrinsic messages, and four being rated as exclusively extrinsic messages.

Each survey respondent then received a code indicating the intrinsic or extrinsic nature of the messages that he or she had likely received based on which presenter each respondent was associated with. Since the sample sizes and response rates from the different presenters varied, this resulted in 292 respondents having received exclusively intrinsic messages, 129 respondents having received a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic messages, 715 respondents having received mostly extrinsic messages, and 469 respondents having received exclusively extrinsic messages.

There are several assumptions inherent in this content analysis. First, since our access to the messages communicated by the different presenters was limited to their websites, we must assume that the messages that donors receive through other means, such as direct mail requests or print media, are similar in content to the messages that donors receive through the organization's website. Second, since the survey was conducted in October of 2006 and the content analysis was conducted in April of 2008, any changes in message content during that eighteen-month period would suggest inaccuracies in our data. Since we do not have access to information on changes in message, we must assume that the messages that the presenters are currently communicating are similar in content to the messages that donors would have received in 2006. However, these assumptions represent significant limitations to the data, and underscore the need for additional research to confirm any findings from this analysis. This study should be seen not as a definitive test of these hypotheses, but as a

primary step that should be followed by additional studies with better controlled manipulation of communications messages.

Content Analysis of Benefits Received

The second component of our content analysis focused on the benefits that donors received in exchange for their donations. To analyze this, one of the researchers again examined each presenter's website and searched for information on what specific benefits were offered to donors at different donation levels. For each of the presenters, the researcher coded both the different donation levels that the specific presenter used (ex. \$50-\$99, \$100-\$249, \$250-\$499, etc.) and the specific benefits that were given to the donor at each level. All benefits that were mentioned in the presenter's communications were included in the coding, including tangible benefits such as priority seating or discounted tickets, social benefits such as receptions or memberships in donor associations, and recognition in the program or lobby of the presenter. Since these ratings were considerably more objective and more time consuming than the overall content ratings, it was decided that a second coder was not necessary to confirm these ratings. Any uncertainty about benefit ratings was decided through discussion between the two researchers.

Once all of the individual benefits for each donation level at each presenter had been coded, they were consolidated into these three primary benefit types: tangible benefits, social benefits, and recognition benefits. The tangible benefits category included benefits that were not social in nature and that had a tangible or monetary value, for example, free tickets, discounts on tickets or at gift shops, priority access to tickets, the opportunity to exchange tickets, free parking, CDs, etc. The social benefits category included invitations to interact socially with other donors and/or artists, including donor receptions, fundraising events,

post-show discussions with artists, and members-only events and associations. The recognition benefits category incorporated any public recognition that the donors received, such as recognition in the program or lobby of the organization, or having the donor's name placed on a seat, brick, or other element of the organization's building. A total benefits category was also created by summing the total number of tangible benefits, social benefits, and recognition benefits for each donation level at each presenter.

Since we had access to the actual donation amounts for each of the respondents and the presenter to whom each respondent had donated, we were able to match each respondent to the benefits that he or she likely received. Each respondent's tangible, social, recognition, and total benefits received were coded based on the most recent donation for which we had information. Respondents for whom specific donation behavior was unavailable were excluded from this analysis. Once again, this required assuming that all benefits that would be received by the donors were disclosed in full on the presenters' websites, and that the benefits offered at each donation level had not changed since the time of the donor's last donation. The discrepancy between the time of the content analysis and the time of the donations is a clear limitation of this study, but it was unavoidable, as we did not have access to older benefit information. Table 4 presents the percentage of all respondents included in the analysis who received each different level of tangible, social, and recognition benefits. There was considerable variance in benefits received within our sample.

Table 4. Summary of Content Analysis of Benefits Received

Number of Benefits Received	Tangible Benefits	Social Benefits	Recognition Benefits	Total Benefits
None	39.7%	68.6%	23.6%	13.9%
1	10.8%	13.7%	72.9%	29.4%
2	26.1%	12.6%	3.4%	5.6%
3	13.1%	1.6%	n/a	20.4%
4	2.1%	3.4%	n/a	6.4%
5	6.4%	n/a	n/a	8.6%
6	1.1%	n/a	n/a	5.7%
7	0.3%	n/a	n/a	3.2%
8	0.2%	n/a	n/a	2.9%
9	0.1%	n/a	n/a	1.4%
10	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.0%
11	n/a	n/a	n/a	2.2%
12	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.2%
13	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.0%
14	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.1%
15	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.1%
Average	1.5	0.6	0.8	2.9

We suspected that there might be a relationship between the type of messages that donors experienced and the number of benefits that they received. It would make sense that if an organization is more extrinsically focused, they might have more extrinsic messages and offer more extrinsic benefits than an organization that is more intrinsically focused. Before additional analysis was conducted, we wanted to determine whether the organizations that fell into the different message ratings categories also differed in the number of extrinsic benefits that they offered. To test this, several one-way ANOVAs were run with message rating as the independent variable and the different forms of benefits received as the dependent variables. These tests would determine whether the four message rating categories differed from each other in the average number of benefits offered to donors, and if so, if

these differences were caused by chance or by the difference in messages. A significant difference in average benefits offered across the groups implies that the differences between the groups is not by chance and is related to the difference in messages.

All four groups of presenters were significantly different from each other in the number of tangible benefits offered ($F(3, 1599) = 251.19, p < .001$, see Table 5 for means), with the presenters who communicated exclusively intrinsic messages clearly offering the fewest tangible benefits. Presenters who communicated mostly or exclusively extrinsic messages also gave their donors significantly more social benefits than presenters who communicated either primarily intrinsic messages or a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic messages ($F(3, 1601) = 67.15, p < .001$, see Table 5 for means). Only the presenters who communicated a mix of messages were significantly different from the others on recognition benefits ($F(3, 1600) = 172.00, p < .001$, see Table 5 for means), which was likely an artifact of this particular company not specifying whether donors would be recognized in their programs. Since this form of recognition was fairly universal among the remainder of the presenters, this suggests that it is not the intrinsic/extrinsic nature of the messages that is causing this difference. Finally, when all of the benefits are summed for the total benefits measure, all four groups are significantly different from each other ($F(3, 1598) = 140.46, p < .001$, see Table 5 for means), and there is a clear pattern of presenters who communicate more extrinsic messages also offering more extrinsic benefits. For this reason, when testing the hypotheses, we also tested for an interaction effect and a mediation effect of these two variables.

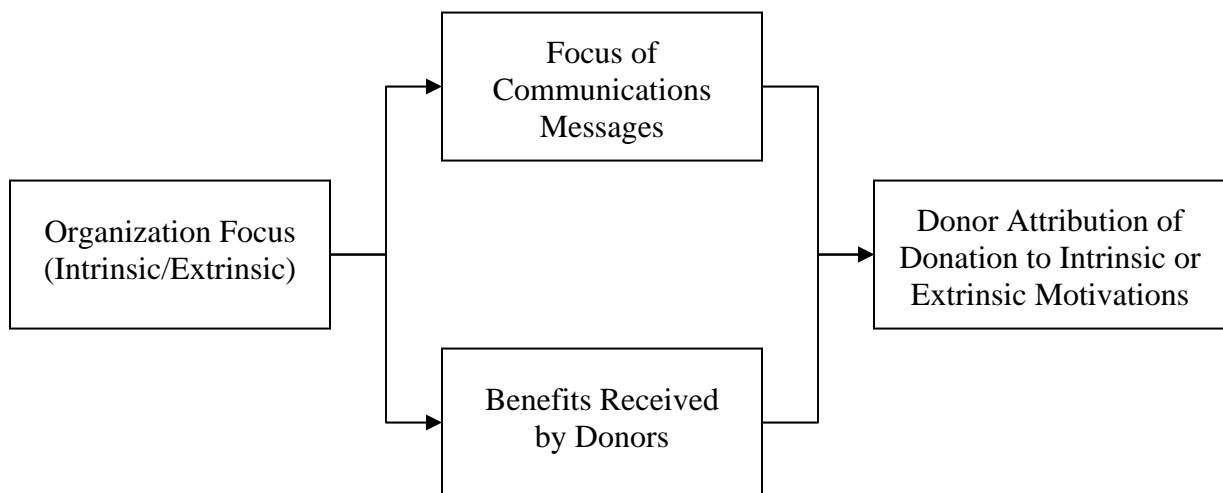
Table 5. Comparison of Benefits Received by Message Rating

Message Rating	Tangible Benefits	Social Benefits	Recognition Benefits	Total Benefits
Intrinsic	0.00	0.02	0.88	0.90
Mixed	2.01	0.00	0.00	2.01
Mostly Extrinsic	1.34	0.76	0.85	2.94
Extrinsic	2.69	0.80	0.89	4.38

Influences on Attributions of Donation Behavior to Extrinsic Motivations

If messages and benefits received influence donors' attributions of their donation behavior to intrinsic and extrinsic motivations, then we should expect to see differences in attributed motivations across donors who received different types of messages and different levels of benefits. This would suggest that the intrinsic or extrinsic focus of the organization can influence the donors' attributed motivations through the messages that the organization communicates and the benefits that they offer to their donors (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Influence of Messages and Benefits Received on Attributed Motivation



Hypotheses 1 and 2 concern the influence of messages received on the degree to which consumers attribute their donation behavior to the extrinsic rewards or benefits that they receive in exchange for their donation. The post-event information effect suggests that

post-donation messages that emphasize the extrinsic benefits that donors receive will bias respondents' memories of their motivations in the direction of extrinsic motivations, and therefore respondents who receive these messages will be more likely to attribute their donation behavior to the extrinsic benefits that they received (H1). This hypothesis was tested using a one-way ANOVA with the message rating as the independent variable and the respondent's attribution of his or her donation to extrinsic motivations as the dependent variable. This will test whether respondents who experienced different types of messages (based on the message rating associated with their respective presenters) reported different levels of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations when they were asked to recall their motivations for donating.

A significant main effect of message rating was found ($F(3, 1580) = 10.28, p < .001$). Respondents who had received exclusively intrinsic messages were significantly less likely to attribute their donation behavior to extrinsic motivations than respondents who had received mostly or exclusively extrinsic messages (on a seven-point scale, Intrinsic Mean = 2.42, Mostly Extrinsic Mean = 2.78, Extrinsic Mean = 3.15). Respondents who had received exclusively extrinsic messages were significantly more likely to attribute their donation behavior to extrinsic motivations than even respondents who had received mostly extrinsic messages. The mixed messages group was not significantly different from any of the other groups, and respondents' attributions fell in the middle of the other groups' responses (Mixed Mean = 2.80). This supports Hypothesis 1 that the nature of the messages received by the respondents influenced their attributions of their motivations to donate.

Hypothesis 2 suggests that respondents who received more extrinsic messages will also score higher on Factor 3 of the motivations scale, the extrinsic motivations. Again, due to the timing of the survey, this is an additional measure of attributed motivations. A one-

way ANOVA found a significant main effect of message rating on attributed extrinsic motivations ($F(3, 1506) = 7.18, p < .001$). Respondents who received exclusively intrinsic messages scored significantly lower on attributed extrinsic motivations than respondents who received mostly or exclusively extrinsic messages (Intrinsic Mean = 7.99, Mostly Extrinsic Mean = 9.32, Extrinsic Mean = 9.18), supporting Hypothesis 2. Respondents who received mixed messages scored in the middle of the three groups (Mixed Mean = 8.28), and were not significantly different from the other three groups. Message rating was not found to have a significant effect on either of the intrinsic motivation factors (Factor 1 $F(3, 1433) = 0.72, p > .05$, Factor 3 $F(3, 1551) = 1.58, p > .05$).

The overjustification effect suggests that respondents who receive more extrinsic benefits will also be more likely to attribute their donation behavior to these extrinsic benefits (H3). Since the number of extrinsic benefits received was a continuous variable, this hypothesis was tested using a regression analysis with benefits received as the independent variable and the respondent's attribution of his or her donation to extrinsic motivations as the dependent variable. This analysis accomplishes the same goal as the ANOVA, but using continuous rather than categorical variables. In this case, a significant finding would suggest that as the number of benefits increases, the respondent's attribution of his or her donation to extrinsic motivations will increase.

First, a regression analysis was performed using only the total benefits received measure as the independent variable. The analysis revealed a significant effect of benefits received on attributions ($\beta = 0.16, t = 9.35, p < .001$). This suggests that for every additional benefit received, the respondent's score on the attribution of donation behavior measure moved 0.16 steps closer to the "Very Much" end of the seven-point scale, supporting Hypothesis 3. In order to better understand this effect, a second regression analysis was run

with the three different benefits received categories as independent variables. Significant effects were found for both tangible benefits received ($\beta = 0.19$, $t = 5.64$, $p < .001$) and recognition benefits received ($\beta = 0.23$, $t = 2.22$, $p < .05$). For every additional tangible benefit received, the respondent's score on the attribution of donation measure moved 0.19 steps closer to the "Very Much" end of the seven-point scale, and for every additional recognition benefit received, the respondent's score on the attribution of donation measure moved 0.23 steps closer to the "Very Much" end of the seven-point scale. Social benefits received, however, did not have a significant effect on attribution of donation behavior to extrinsic motivations. This is consistent with the overjustification effect, and also may help explain why respondents who attributed their donation behavior to extrinsic motivations were also more likely to have donated larger amounts of money. Since across all of the presenters, donating more money results in the receipt of more benefits, these additional extrinsic rewards appear to have influenced the respondents' attributions of their donation behavior to extrinsic motivations.

Finally, Hypothesis 4 suggested that extrinsic benefits received would also significantly influence the respondents' attributed extrinsic motivations on the motivations scale. A regression analysis revealed a significant effect of total benefits received on Factor 3, the extrinsic motivations factor ($\beta = 0.37$, $t = 8.66$, $p < .001$). This coefficient suggests that for every additional benefit received, the respondent's score on the extrinsic motivations factor increased 0.37 steps. This is a smaller effect than previously reported, however, as the composite Factor 3 score is measured on a scale of 4-28, while the single-item attributions measure is on a scale of 1-7. The proportion of movement due to the difference in benefits received is actually smaller on Factor 3 than on the single-item measure, but it is still a significant amount of movement. Interestingly, total benefits received also had a significant

effect on the two intrinsic motivations factors (Factor 1 $\beta = 0.30$, $t = 3.00$, $p < .005$, Factor 2 $\beta = 0.18$, $t = 4.62$, $p < .001$), suggesting that an additional benefit received moved the respondent's score on Factor 1 0.30 steps and on Factor 2 0.18 steps.

To better understand these results, additional regression analyses were performed with the specific benefit categories. All three categories of benefits significantly affected respondents' attributions of their donation behavior to Factor 3, the extrinsic motivations factor (Tangible Benefits Received $\beta = 0.354$, $t = 4.09$, $p < .001$, Social Benefits Received $\beta = 0.349$, $t = 2.38$, $p < .05$, Recognition Benefits Received $\beta = 0.504$, $t = 1.96$, $p = .05$). Factor 1, the first intrinsic motivations factor, was only influenced by the number of social benefits received ($\beta = 0.894$, $t = 2.59$, $p = .01$). Factor 2, the second intrinsic motivations factor, was influenced by both social benefits received ($\beta = 0.468$, $t = 3.42$, $p = .001$) and recognition benefits received ($\beta = 0.517$, $t = 2.13$, $p < .05$). This suggests that, as would be expected, tangible benefits are most strongly associated with extrinsic rewards, while social and recognition benefits can be associated with intrinsic motivations as well as extrinsic rewards. This result supports Hypothesis 4, but the slightly more complex effects on the two intrinsic motivation factors led us to seek to examine the influences on these motivation factors in more depth, as reported later in the results section.

Tests for Interaction and Mediation Effects

As mentioned earlier, a significant relationship was found between the message rating of each presenter and the number of benefits received by donors to that presenter. To account for this relationship, we tested for both interaction and mediation effects of the two independent variables. For both the single-item measure of attribution of donations to

extrinsic motivations and the extrinsic motivations factor of the motivations scale, when both message rating and total benefits received were included in the regression model, the influence of the message rating became non-significant. This suggests that the number of benefits that the respondent actually receives from the presenter may mediate the influence of the messages communicated by the presenter on respondents' attributed motivations. However, we hesitate to draw this conclusion with any certainty, as this effect may also be a statistical artifact of the use of the same data source for both message ratings and benefits received ratings in the content analysis.

The message rating for each presenter was based in part on how many messages about benefits received were present on the presenter's website, which was the same source used to determine benefits received by donors. This led to any presenter who did not include messages about benefits received on its website being coded with the assumption that its donors receive no benefits in exchange for their donations. While this may be true within this sample, to accurately test for an interaction or mediation effect of these variables, there must be data points in the sample for presenters that offer benefits to their donors but communicate no extrinsically-focused messages. Since our data source did not produce any data points that fit this category, we cannot accurately draw conclusions about these effects. This relationship requires further and more controlled exploration before conclusions may be drawn.

Tests of Additional Variables of Interest

Several additional variables that were included in the survey were tested for relationships with the single-item measure of attribution of donations to extrinsic motivations to better explore the influences on respondents' attributions. One set of survey

questions asked respondents to indicate the value that they placed on different benefits offered. A regression analysis using these values as independent variables revealed that respondents were more likely to attribute their donations to extrinsic motivations when they also placed a high value on priority seating ($\beta = 0.32$, $t = 9.96$, $p < .001$), opportunities to meet artists ($\beta = 0.11$, $t = 3.40$, $p = .001$), and parking privileges ($\beta = 0.05$, $t = 2.25$, $p < .05$). Respondents' attributions were also significantly correlated with, although not predicted by, their value for advance notice of programs ($r = 0.22$, $p < .01$), the ability to purchase single tickets in advance ($r = 0.21$, $p < .01$), access to more in-depth experiences ($r = 0.21$, $p < .01$), and opportunities to involve their children or grandchildren in quality programs ($r = 0.10$, $p < .01$).

A second regression analysis, run using the survey question about respondents' preferences for giving, found that respondents were more likely to attribute their donations to extrinsic motivations when they preferred to be able to designate what their gifts were used for ($\beta = 0.28$, $t = 5.78$, $p < .001$) and when they perceived that their contributions to the program make a difference ($\beta = 0.22$, $t = 3.47$, $p < .001$), and less likely to attribute their donations to extrinsic motivations when they preferred to make a fully tax-deductible gift instead of taking benefits that have a cash value ($\beta = -0.44$, $t = 10.48$, $p < .001$). This last item can be interpreted as an additional check that it is the extrinsic benefits that are driving respondents' attributions of their donations to extrinsic motivations. The other two results are slightly less easy to explain, but may be more connected to social or recognition benefits than tangible benefits. Many recognition benefits at higher donation levels, for example, involve the donor being able to support a particular capital or program campaign and put his or her name on the specific project that he or she has funded. This would be appealing to

donors who wish to make a visible difference to the presenter and to designate what their gifts are used for.

Finally, a one-way ANOVA also revealed that respondents who stated that this presenter or program was the recipient of the majority of their donations were more likely to attribute their donations to extrinsic motivations (Mean for Yes = 3.38, Mean for No = 2.77, $F(1, 1582) = 14.30, p < .001$). This may indicate that those respondents who give to multiple organizations are less focused on the specific benefits offered by each organization than those who give to only organization, or that the specific benefits offered by this organization are more salient to those donors who only give to this organization.

Influences on Attributions of Donation Behavior to Intrinsic Motivations

Although our hypotheses in this study were specifically related to the extrinsic motivations factor of the motivations scale, we initially expected that we might see significant but opposite effects for the intrinsic motivations items. This would suggest that the two sets of motivations were acting as two ends of a continuum, in other words, if one was not motivated by extrinsic motivations, then one must be motivated by intrinsic motivations. Instead, the intrinsic motivation items in the motivations scale split into two distinct factors, and these factors demonstrated no significant relationships with the attributed motivations item or with the message ratings. Our expectations for these motivation items were further confounded by the significant positive effects of social benefits received and recognition benefits received on the intrinsic motivation factors. In an effort to better understand what is influencing these intrinsic motivation attributions, we conducted additional analyses on these two factors of the scale.

Since many of these motivation items appeared to be directly related to valuing and supporting the success of this particular organization, we theorized that this might be where the respondent's relationship with the organization would have an effect. While the extrinsic motivations were primarily influenced by the nature of the rewards and benefits that the respondent received, in the absence of these extrinsic motivators, something else must be motivating the respondent to give to the organization. Perhaps this is when the respondent's relationship with and commitment to the organization influences their willingness to donate to support the organization. To test this theory, we conducted a regression analysis using the two intrinsic motivation factors of the motivations scale as the dependent variables and two measures of the respondent's relationship with the presenter as independent variables, "How strong of an allegiance or bond do you have with the presenter," and "How strong of an allegiance of bond do you have with the university."

The analyses for both intrinsic motivation factors revealed a significant strong effect of the respondent's bond with the presenter. Respondents who perceived a strong bond with the presenter were more likely to attribute their donations to motivations related to supporting the arts (Factor 1, $\beta = 2.87$, $t = 15.26$, $p < .001$). The coefficient suggests that for every one point that a respondent moved up on the seven-point measure of bond with the presenter, their score on the composite Factor 1 variable moved up 2.87 points. A parallel effect was found for respondents' attributions of their donations to motivations related to supporting the presenter and its surrounding community (Factor 3, $\beta = 1.32$, $t = 17.74$, $p < .001$). Again, this coefficient suggests that for every one point that a respondent moved up on the measure of bond with the presenter, their score on the composite Factor 2 variable moved up 1.32 points. Since Factor 1 had a greater number of items than Factor 2, the scores on Factor 1 ranged from 8-56, while the scores on Factor 2 ranged from 4-28. The

two coefficients, therefore, can be seen as representing approximately the same movement along the scale for their respective factors. The respondent's bond with the university did not have a significant effect on either factor.

These results suggest two disparate influences on respondents' attributions of their donations to intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. The stronger the respondent's relationship with the presenter, the more likely the respondent is to attribute his or her donation behavior to intrinsic motivations related to supporting the arts and supporting the presenter and its surrounding community. However, even when these relationships are strong, the more extrinsically-focused messages that the respondent receives and the more extrinsic benefits that the respondent receives, the more likely the respondent is to attribute his or her donation behavior to extrinsic motivations. This is consistent with both the post-event information effect and the overjustification effect, although it may suggest that the potential decrease in intrinsic motivation associated with the overjustification effect may not be taking place in this case. Rather, these donors are attributing their donations more to extrinsic motivations when they receive more extrinsic rewards, but their attributions to intrinsic motivations are being influenced by their perceptions of their relationship with the presenter, and not by the presence or absence of tangible extrinsic rewards.

Influences on the Four Additional Motivation Items

As discussed earlier, four of the items included in the motivations section of the survey did not load onto any of the three factors developed from the motivations scale. These four items appeared to be behaving differently from the rest of the scale items. We therefore decided to analyze these items separately to determine what was influencing respondents' attributions of their donations to each of these specific motivations.

The first of these motivation items was, “To join with the group of people who make this community great.” This item had loaded weakly on two of the factors, suggesting that there may have been some confusion as to how respondents were interpreting this item. We first conducted a regression analysis using this item as the dependent variable and all four of our primary independent variables as predictors: message rating, total benefits received, bond with the presenter, and bond with the university. Both bond with the presenter and bond with the university had significant effects on this attributed motivation (Bond with the Presenter $\beta = 0.29$, $t = 7.76$, $p < .001$, Bond with the University $\beta = 0.13$, $t = 4.72$, $p < .001$). However, there was also a significant effect of total benefits received ($\beta = 0.08$, $t = 4.35$, $p < .001$). A second regression analysis using the specific benefit categories found that this significant effect is being driven by the number of social benefits received ($\beta = 0.13$, $t = 2.13$, $p < .05$) and the number of recognition benefits received ($\beta = 0.31$, $t = 2.95$, $p < .005$). This is consistent with the finding that this item loaded on both Factor 2 and Factor 3, and further suggests that some respondents interpreted this item to indicate social benefits received in exchange for a donation, and some respondents interpreted this item to indicate supporting their local community.

The second item of interest, which did not load on any of the factors, was, “Because I have more money than I need.” Again, a regression analysis was conducted using this item as the dependent variable and all four primary independent variables as predictors. Significant effects were found for both message rating ($\beta = -0.11$, $t = 3.31$, $p = .001$) and total benefits received ($\beta = 0.03$, $t = 2.21$, $p < .05$). Once again, the significant effect of total benefits received was explored further by conducting a second regression analysis using the three specific benefits categories. Only social benefits received was found to have a

significant effect ($\beta = 0.14$, $t = 2.57$, $p = .01$). These findings suggest several possible meanings. The negative coefficient for message rating suggests that the more intrinsic messages the respondents received, the more likely they were to attribute their donations to having more money than they needed. Since this motivation is consistent with a more traditional philanthropic or altruistic view of donations, it would make sense that this would be more strongly associated with receiving only intrinsic messages about how the donation helps the organization, and not what the donor receives in return. The positive relationship with social benefits received may suggest that the more opportunities donors have to be seen publicly as donors and to interact with other donors, the more they may attribute their donations to a more traditional philanthropic motivation or to being part of the group of individuals who can afford to be philanthropic.

The third of these items was, “Because I want to leave a legacy that includes a vibrant cultural life.” The initial regression analysis using all four primary independent variables as predictors revealed significant effects of the respondent’s bond with the presenter ($\beta = 0.43$, $t = 11.36$, $p < .001$) and total benefits received ($\beta = 0.06$, $t = 3.23$, $p = .001$). The first coefficient suggests that the stronger the respondent’s bond with the presenter, the more likely he or she is to attribute his or her donations to a desire to leave a cultural legacy. Once again, the significant effect of total benefits received was analyzed using the specific benefit categories, revealing significant effects of social benefits received ($\beta = 0.22$, $t = 3.42$, $p = .001$) and recognition benefits received ($\beta = 0.24$, $t = 2.13$, $p < .05$). Similar to the previous item analyzed, this suggests that the more the donor interacts with other donors and is recognized as a donor, the more the donors sees him or herself as leaving a cultural legacy.

Finally, the last item to be analyzed separately was, “To help ensure that [*presenter*] students can see great artists, as part of their education.” The regression analysis using all four primary independent variables as predictors found significant effects of bond with the presenter ($\beta = 0.29$, $t = 8.93$, $p < .001$) and bond with the university ($\beta = 0.26$, $t = 10.88$, $p < .001$). This suggests that while this item did not load with either of the intrinsic motivation factors, it, too, is primarily influenced by the respondent’s relationship with the presenter.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This project found that when donors receive extrinsically focused messages and extrinsic rewards and benefits in exchange for their donations, they are more likely to attribute their donation behavior to extrinsic motivations. On the other hand, stronger relationships with the recipient organization tend to influence donors to attribute their donation behavior to intrinsic motivations. This suggests that organizations can influence, deliberately or accidentally, the way that their donors remember and perceive their own motivations, and potentially what will motivate them or fail to motivate them to donate again at a later date.

It is important to note once again that the data that was used to determine the nature of the communications messages and benefits received was limited in both its source and its timing. The assumptions that needed to be made in order to access usable data create significant limitations to this study. Before these findings can be applied, additional research is necessary to confirm the results of this study. The authors already have plans underway to conduct several additional studies that will involve a more controlled manipulation of intrinsic and extrinsic messages and benefits to verify the influence on motivations identified in this study. However, if the additional research continues to support the influence of

intrinsic and extrinsic messages and benefits on donor motivations, several implications can be drawn from the finding.

Some practitioners may be tempted to interpret these findings to indicate that organizations should not offer benefits and rewards in exchange for donations, but should instead focus on building relationships with their donors. There is often a bias in the nonprofit industries toward intrinsically motivated donations, likely driven by a belief that donations that are motivated by a desire to support the organization or its cause are somehow more desirable than donations that are motivated by external rewards or benefits. This interpretation would not be beneficial to many organizations for several reasons. First, building relationships with donors is a much more time-consuming and expensive process than offering simple benefits and rewards. Particularly at the lower donation levels, the cost of developing a strong relationship with a donor might actually outweigh the benefit of the donation being offered. When an organization is faced with a donor who is willing to continue to make a small donation every year in exchange for priority seating, continuing to offer this benefit at a minimal cost to the organization is a more practical and lucrative move than expending a great deal of time and effort to cultivate a relationship with this donor in order to inspire intrinsically motivated donations.

Second, extensive research on customer relationship management has emphasized the need for segmentation and differential treatment as a necessary part of successful relationship management (Reinartz and Kumar 2003; Verhoef 2003). If an organization attempts to cultivate a committed, meaningful relationship with all of its donors, then that relationship ceases to be special or unique, and its value to donors decreases. In order for the most highly valued donors at an organization to feel highly valued, they must be treated differently and perceive that the organization has a stronger relationship with them than

donors who are less highly valued by the organization. Finally, research on individual differences in donor motivations clearly suggests that not all donors are interested in having a relationship with the organization to which they donate. Some donors are motivated by extrinsic rewards regardless of the organization's efforts to cultivate relationships with these donors. For this segment of donors, it would not only be more efficient for the organization to forego relationship-building and simply offer these donors benefits in exchange for their donations, it would also be more effective in motivating them to donate.

The findings of this study do suggest, however, that organizations need to be aware of the messages that they are communicating and ensure that they are communicating the right messages to the right donors. Donors who are intrinsically motivated or who have strong relationships with the organization may respond better to intrinsically focused messages about how their donations will help to support the organization, its causes, and its community. Donors who are extrinsically motivated, on the other hand, will respond well to messages that focus on extrinsic benefits and rewards. The challenge, of course, is that it can be difficult if not impossible to determine which donors are motivated by intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. There are several tactics that can help organizations to overcome this problem.

First, note that the one organization that communicated a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic messages achieved a moderate level of attribution to extrinsic motivations and did not appear to suffer the potential negative consequences of the overjustification effect. While this single organization is not representative enough to draw conclusions, it may be that offering at least a degree of mixed intrinsic and extrinsic messages might enable an organization to reach donors who are motivated by both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. This can be as simple as including in communications to donors both messages about how

donations help to support the organization and how donations can benefit the donors. Second, social and recognition benefits appeared to be less strongly associated with extrinsic motivations than tangible benefits. Organizations who are seeking to inspire more intrinsically motivated donations may be better served by emphasizing social and recognition benefits rather than tangible benefits. It must be noted, however, that this may alienate donors who truly are motivated by the tangible extrinsic benefits that they receive in exchange for their donations.

The solution to this dilemma is the third recommendation, which is to give donors the opportunity to identify themselves as intrinsically motivated or extrinsically motivated by enabling them to choose their benefits. Simply offering an opt-out option on any benefits offered in exchange for donations will enable donors who are truly intrinsically motivated and do not wish to receive extrinsic benefits to make this known to the organization. Many organizations already offer donors the option to opt out of specific benefits. For example, by making an anonymous donation, the donor opts out of recognition and potentially social benefits. Some donors prefer to purchase their own tickets and subscriptions in addition to making a donation, and therefore are given the opportunity to donate any free tickets that are benefits of their donor level back to the organization to be sold again. This practice can be extended to additional tangible and social benefits, giving donors the option to decline any benefits associated with their gift level. Particularly if the donor's intrinsic motivation to donate is driven by a perceived communal relationship with the organization, enabling the donor to opt out of benefits may avoid potentially violating the donor's expectations for appropriate behavior within the relationship (Aggarwal 2004).

Finally, organizations who wish to differentiate between donors who are motivated by tangible, social, or recognition benefits can give donors the opportunity to choose from a

menu of benefits associated with a particular gift level. For example, a donor who gives at an intermediate level may be given a choice of either priority seating for an event or an invitation to a post-event reception. The option to choose may help organizations to better segment their donors by encouraging donors to self-select which benefits are motivating them to make a donation.

There are many options for rewarding or thanking donors, and the finding that these benefits, rewards, and even messages communicated by the organization can influence the donor's motivation to donate in the future makes the choice of reward even more complex. The most important implication of this study is that organizations should be aware of the potential influences that the messages that they communicate and the benefits that they offer can have on donors' future motivations, and take these influences into account when making decisions about which benefits to offer and how to communicate their appreciation to their donors.

REFERENCES

- Aggarwal, Pankaj (2004), "The Effects of Brand Relationship Norms on Consumer Attitudes and Behavior," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31, 87-101.
- Andreoni, James (1990), "Impure Altruism and Donations to Public Goods: A Theory of Warm-Glow Giving," *The Economic Journal*, 100 (401), 464-77.
- Braun, Kathryn (1999), "Postexperience Advertising Effects on Consumer Memory," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25, 319-34.
- Braun-Latour, Kathryn A. and Gerald Zaltman (2006), "Memory Change: An Intimate Measure of Persuasion," *Journal of Advertising Research*, 46, 57-72.
- Clark, Margaret S. and Judson Mills (1979), "Interpersonal Attraction in Exchange and Communal Relationships," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37 (1), 12-24.
- (1993), "The Difference Between Communal and Exchange Relationships: What It Is and Is Not," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 19 (6), 684-91.
- Dawson, Scott (1988), "Four Motivations for Charitable Giving: Implications for Marketing Strategy to Attract Monetary Donations for Medical Research," *Journal of Health Care Marketing*, 8 (2), 31-37.
- Deci, Edward L. and Richard M. Ryan (1985), *Intrinsic Motivation and Self-Determination in Human Behavior*. Plenum Press.
- Eisenberger, Robert and Judy Cameron (1996), "Detrimental Effects of Reward," *American Psychologist*, 51 (11), 1153-66.
- Gneezy, Uri and Aldo Rustichini (2000), "Pay Enough or Don't Pay at All," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 791-810.
- Goodwin, Cathy (1996), "Communality as a Dimension of Service Relationships," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 5 (4), 387-415.

- Gremler, Dwayne D., Kevin P. Gwinner, and Stephen W. Brown (2001), "Generating Positive Word-of-Mouth Communication Through Customer-Employee Relationships," *International Journal of Service Industry Management*, 12 (1), 44-59.
- Harackiewicz, Judith M., Kenneth E. Barron, Suzanne M. Carter, A. T. Lehto, and Andrew J. Elliot (1997), "Predictors and Consequences of Achievement Goals in the College Classroom: Maintaining Interest and Making the Grade," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 1284-95.
- Harrison, David A. (1995), "Volunteer Motivation and Attendance Decisions: Competitive Theory Testing in Multiple Samples From a Homeless Shelter," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 80 (3), 371-85.
- Henderson, Karla A. (1981), "Motivations and Perceptions of Volunteerism as a Leisure Activity," *Journal of Leisure Research*, 13 (3), 208-18.
- Johnson, Jennifer Wiggins and Joann Peck (in progress), "Crossed Signals: Inconsistent Norm Perceptions in Actual Consumer-Company Relationships."
- Lee, Lichang, Jane Allyn Piliavin, and Vaughn R. A. Call (1999), "Giving Time, Money, and Blood: Similarities and Differences," *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 62 (3), 276-90.
- Lepper, Mark R., David Greene, and Richard E. Nisbett (1973), "Undermining Children's Intrinsic Interest with Extrinsic Reward: A Test of the Overjustification Hypothesis," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 28 (1), 129-37.
- Lepper, Mark R. and Jennifer Henderlong (2000), "Turning "Play" into "Work" and "Work" into "Play": 25 Years of Research on Intrinsic Versus Extrinsic Motivation," in *Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation: The Search for Optimal Motivation and Performance*, ed. Carol Sansone and Judith M. Harackiewicz, San Diego: Academic Press, 257-307.

- Loftus, Elizabeth F. (1993), "The Reality of Repressed Memories," *American Psychologist*, 48 (5), 518-37.
- (1997), "Creating False Memories," *Scientific American*, 277, 70-76.
- Reinartz, Werner and V. Kumar (2003), "The Impact of Customer Relationship Characteristics on Profitable Lifetime Duration," *Journal of Marketing*, 67 (1), 77-99.
- Sansone, Carol and Judith M. Harackiewicz, eds. (2000), *Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation: The Search for Optimal Motivation and Performance*, San Diego: Academic Press.
- Supphellen, Magne and Michelle R. Nelson (2001), "Developing, Exploring, and Validating a Typology of Private Philanthropic Decision Making," *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 22 (5), 573-603.
- Verhoef, Peter C. (2003), "Understanding the Effect of Customer Relationship Management Efforts on Customer Retention and Customer Share Development," *Journal of Marketing*, 67 (4), 30-45.
- Ward, Roger A. and Elizabeth F. Loftus (1985), "Eyewitness Performance in Different Psychological Types," *Journal of General Psychology*, 112 (2), 191-201.