6-2014

Wearing Your Heart on Your Sleeve: The Effects of Conspicuous Compassion on Identity Signaling and Charitable Behavior

Zoe Rogers
Graduate Center, City University of New York

Recommended Citation
Rogers, Zoe, "Wearing Your Heart on Your Sleeve: The Effects of Conspicuous Compassion on Identity Signaling and Charitable Behavior" (2014). CUNY Academic Works.
https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/276

How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!
Follow this and additional works at: https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds
Part of the Advertising and Promotion Management Commons, and the Marketing Commons
WEARING YOUR HEART ON YOUR SLEEVE: THE EFFECTS OF CONSPICUOUS COMPASSION ON IDENTITY SIGNALING AND CHARITABLE BEHAVIOR

by

Zoe F. Rogers

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Business in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2014
This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Business in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Stephen Gould, PhD

Date

Joseph Weintrop, PhD

Date

Lauren Block, PhD

Andreas Grein, PhD

Yoshiko DeMotta, PhD

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
ABSTRACT

WEARING YOUR HEART ON YOUR SLEEVE: THE EFFECTS OF CONSPICUOUS COMPASSION ON IDENTITY SIGNALING AND CHARITABLE BEHAVIOR

by

Zoe F. Rogers

Advisor: Dr. Stephen Gould

Conspicuous compassion is one type of prosocial behavior that involves the purchase and wearing of merchandise that supports a cause. This research considers the effects that conspicuous compassion has on signaling to others and signaling to the self and the factors that influence these types of signaling. This research shows that self-signaling is influenced more by whether the merchandise supported (vs. did not support) a cause, while other-signaling is more influenced by the public (vs. private) dimension of the message on the merchandise. This research also examines a two-path model of the effects of conspicuous compassion on subsequent charitable behavior, through both self-signaling and other-signaling. Two boundary conditions, individuals’ self-importance of symbolization moral identity and the differences between the purchasing and wearing components of conspicuous compassion, are also examined.

Contribution Statement. This research considers conspicuous compassion, a type of prosocial behavior involving the purchasing and wearing of merchandise that supports a cause. This behavior is not well understood in the cause-related marketing research domain, as this literature has not gone beyond the purchase of these products to investigate their actual use. This research
serves as a contribution to the cause-related marketing, prosocial behavior, and signaling literatures, by directly demonstrating the effects of conspicuous compassion on self-signaling and other-signaling (which have only been assumed in past research), and the specific factors involved with conspicuous compassion that influence these types of signaling. This research further contributes to these literatures by demonstrating the effects that conspicuous compassion can have on subsequent charitable behavior through signaling, and the role that one’s symbolization moral identity can play in this relationship.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my chairperson and advisor, Dr. Stephen Gould, as well as my committee members Drs. Lauren Block, Andreas Grein, and Yoshiko DeMotta, for all of their time, energy and insight. Dr. Gould has been nothing but supportive over the past several years, with my dissertation research and in many ways otherwise. I am so grateful to be able to call him a mentor and a friend. I thank Dr. Block for being a consistent source of guidance and wisdom throughout my entire time at Baruch College, and I thank Dr. Grein for his insightful feedback and his unfailing positivity and encouragement. I thank Dr. DeMotta for her mentorship over the years, as first a fellow doctoral student and now a member of my dissertation committee.

I would also like to thank the faculty and staff at Baruch College. The many courses that I have taken as a doctoral student have contributed immensely to my professional and personal growth, and I thank these faculty members for their insight and their dedication to all of us doctoral students. These faculty members include Drs. Daniele Artístico, Lauren Block, Stephen Gould, Karl Lang, Ronald Neath, Jaihyun Park, Sajeesh Sajeesh, Kristin Sommer, and Gloria Thomas. I also thank other Baruch faculty members who have provided support and guidance in other ways throughout my time in the doctoral program, including Charles Gengler, Pragya Mathur, Sankar Sen, Cynthia Thompson, and Ana Valenzuela. A special thanks goes to Joseph Weintrop, the executive director of the business doctoral programs, who works tirelessly for us as doctoral students with our best interests at heart. I also would not have been able to navigate the complex system that is CUNY without the amazing help of Leslie De Jesus – I am so grateful for her help on things both big and small over the years.
I would like to thank my fellow marketing doctoral students, both past and present, all of whom have been so instrumental in my journey through the doctoral program. They have provided encouragement and mentorship in a way that only fellow doctoral students can. Two deserve my special thanks: Rhonda Hadi and Diogo Hildebrand. Rhonda is a beautiful person inside and out, and I feel so lucky and honored to have been able to start and finish this five-year journey with her. Diogo is and always has been a very loyal, generous friend who never fails to lend a helping hand in any way he can. Both supported me through this process in all ways imaginable, and I will be forever grateful for having them both in my life.

Saying thank you is nowhere close to being enough to properly express my gratitude to my parents, Randy and Merrilee Rogers. They taught me and my siblings from a very early age the importance of working hard, being honest, giving back, thinking for myself, and treating others with compassion. I will be thanking them for that for the rest of my life. My siblings, Matt and Beryl Dudek, Elliott and Lacey Rogers, and Skyler Rogers, all have my forever gratitude. They have been my constant support system and always just a phone call away. I was first inspired to take the doctoral path years ago by my uncle and aunt, Drs. Rodney Rogers and Sandra Earle, and I thank them both for their wisdom and encouragement over the years. Last but not least, an indispensable part of my support system includes dear friends, both near and far, and my significant other James Joun, who have served as cheerleaders and shoulders to lean on over the years. I would not be who and where I am today without every one of them.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

1. INTRODUCTION .................................................................1

2. LITERATURE REVIEW .........................................................4

Conspicuous Compassion .........................................................4
Cause-Related Marketing .........................................................5
Other-Signaling .................................................................6
Self-Signaling .................................................................12
Other-Signaling vs. Self-Signaling ............................................15
Signaling with Merchandise ..................................................16

3. THE CURRENT RESEARCH .................................................18

Pretests .................................................................18
Pilot Study .................................................................19
Study 1 .................................................................25
Study 2 .................................................................32
Study 3 .................................................................43

4. GENERAL DISCUSSION ..................................................65

Contributions .................................................................66
Managerial Implications ......................................................69
Limitations & Future Research ..............................................71

APPENDIX A .................................................................75
APPENDIX B .................................................................76
APPENDIX C .................................................................78
APPENDIX D .................................................................80
LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1: The Effect of Conspicuousness and Symbolization Moral Identity on Signaling to Others .......................................................... 40

FIGURE 2: The Effects of Prominence and Purchase vs. Wear on Signaling to the Self .... 57
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Imagine that you buy and wear a t-shirt that, with its purchase, supports hunger relief in Africa. How does it feel to wear that shirt? What does the shirt say about you to others? What are you saying to yourself? If you were approached by an individual asking for a donation while you were wearing the shirt, would you be more or less likely to give? Prior consumer behavior research has done little to address these questions, but they are important questions for the field, especially because of the continued growth and success of organizations that offer this type of merchandise and the number of consumers purchasing and wearing these products. Many for-profit organizations, like TOMS, Warby Parker, the FEED Project, and Sevenly, offer different merchandise that support a cause with great success. Non-profit organizations are doing the same. Organizations like Charity: Water, ASPCA, American Cancer Society, and United Way, all sell branded apparel that supporters can buy, giving the supporters a way to support the organization financially and show their support for the cause to others while wearing the apparel. For both philanthropically-minded companies and non-profit organizations, selling wearable merchandise to support a cause has become an incredibly powerful means to build a brand and generate a substantial level of financial support.

A consumer purchasing and wearing this merchandise that supports a cause is what has been defined as “conspicuous compassion,” a term first coined by West (2004). The present research investigates the relationship between conspicuous compassion, identity signaling, and charitable behavior. Several research questions are examined in this research: When individuals purchase and wear this type of merchandise, are they signaling to themselves or to others? What are they signaling to others or themselves when they wear this merchandise, and what might
influence this signaling? How does wearing this merchandise influence their subsequent donation behavior? This research demonstrates the effects of conspicuous compassion on signaling to oneself and to others, and the influence that this has on subsequent donation behavior, as well as boundary conditions to these effects.

The cause-related marketing (CRM) literature has examined the ways in which the offering of a product that supports a cause might influence both the company and the cause, as well as the factors that might influence this purchase behavior. However, this literature has not gone beyond the purchase behavior to investigate the actual use or consumption of these products. This research will demonstrate that purchasing and wearing conspicuous merchandise that supports a cause leads to more charitable behavior, through signaling that one is a good person. This research is a contribution to the CRM literature by beginning to provide an understanding of what might happen when people are using or wearing these products that have supported a cause.

Another important contribution of this work is the direct demonstration of signaling to others and signaling to the self as an effect of conspicuous compassion. The conspicuous consumption and conspicuous prosocial behavior streams of research have not directly measured the relationship between conspicuous behavior and signaling to others or signaling to the self, despite using a signaling theoretical framework (Chance & Norton, 2011; Dubois, Rucker, & Galinsky, 2012; Park & Roedder John, 2010). This research directly measures signaling behavior to show that, in the context of conspicuous compassion, 1) both self-signaling and other-signaling can occur, 2) self-signaling and other-signaling are influenced by different factors, and
3) that both self-signaling and other-signaling can lead to greater subsequent charitable behavior in different conditions.

Lastly, this research makes a strong contribution to the moral identity literature by demonstrating the role that individuals’ motivation to display their moral traits to the world through their actions, referred to in the moral identity literature as the symbolization component of moral identity, can have in driving charitable behavior. The present research investigates one way in which symbolization moral identity can play a part in influencing charitable behavior – through its role in conspicuous compassion and signaling to others. The present research demonstrates that the motivation involved can have a strong, positive influence on the other-signaling that occurs when an individual is wearing conspicuous merchandise that supports a cause, and this greater signaling can lead to more charitable behavior on the part of the wearer.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Conspicuous Compassion

As mentioned above, the concept of “conspicuous compassion” was first coined and discussed by West (2004). West defines conspicuous compassion as “ostentatious caring” (p. 4) and as “immodest displays of empathy” (p. 66) in which visibility to others is the key component (West, 2004). The concept of conspicuous compassion was first considered in academic literature by Grace and Griffin (2006). These researchers refer to this behavior as conspicuous donation behavior (CDB) and define it as “an individual's show of support to charitable causes through the purchase of merchandise that is overtly displayed on the individual's person or possessions” (Grace and Griffin 2006, 149). Grace and Griffin (2006) do not empirically examine conspicuous compassion, and instead only share several research propositions involving factors that might influence this type of behavior, such as self-monitoring, involvement, community values, and age. In a subsequent article, these same two researchers develop an eight-item scale measuring CDB consisting of two factors—other-orientation and self-orientation (Grace & Griffin, 2009). Other-orientation involves the desire to display the conspicuous compassion to others (e.g. “I like to show people I donate”), while self-orientation involves the desire to seek intrinsic benefits from the conspicuous compassion (e.g. “Wearing empathy ribbons makes me feel good”).

Beyond the development of the CDB scale, there has not been any empirical examination of this behavior and what effects it might have. As noted above, this type of merchandise purchase that is paired with support of a cause is significant in the social venture domain, in terms of merchandise sales and donations made from those sales. As such, it is important to gain
a better understanding of conspicuous compassion and its possible effects, especially the effect that this type of merchandise can have on consumers after they purchase and then wear the merchandise. Without any past literature that examines this phenomenon empirically, other related work is examined in order to be able to begin to address the above research questions. First the CRM literature is considered in order to understand where the current research fits within this larger domain.

**Cause-Related Marketing**

CRM involves a “firm's contribution to a designated cause being linked to customers' engaging in revenue-producing transactions with the firm” (Varadarajan and Menon 1988, 60). The important feature of CRM is that a company or brand’s support of a cause is directly linked to sales, rather than the company or brand simply pairing up with a cause and serving as a general supporter of that cause, as is the case in the more general “cause marketing” domain (Wymer & Samu, 2009).

CRM has been demonstrated to be very beneficial for both the company and the cause. From the company’s perspective, when a brand supports a cause based on its sales, the company is evaluated more positively (Strahilevitz, 2003), brand loyalty increases (Van den Brink, Odekerken-Schröder, & Pauwels, 2006), short-term sales increase, and substantial differentiation from competitors is established (Strahilevitz, 2003). From the cause’s perspective, when paired with and supported by a brand based on its sales, consumers have more positive attitudes toward
the cause (Basil & Herr, 2003; Wymer & Samu, 2009) and donations increase (Lichtenstein, Drumwright, & Braig, 2004).

However, there are two aspects of CRM-related products that have not been examined by this literature. First, the CRM literature very rarely, if ever, has examined wearable merchandise as CRM-related products, despite these products being a significant product category for many successful companies that support causes based on sales. Second, the CRM literature has not examined the CRM context beyond the purchase situation. The research questions investigated in the present work take a step beyond this literature and examine the context in which people have purchased the merchandise that supports a cause and wear that merchandise in their everyday lives (i.e. conspicuous compassion). This research investigates the effects of wearing the CRM-related products on individuals’ signaling to others, signaling to the self, and charitable behavior, and it demonstrates that the wearing of these products can have significant effects on subsequent charitable behavior.

**Other-Signaling**

The symbolic role of possessions in consumers’ lives has been well-established in the literature (Belk, 1988; Solomon, 1983; Weiss & Johar, 2013). Extant research has shown that product choice is used to send meaningful social signals and often reflects consumers’ desires to associate (or dissociate) themselves with typical users of the chosen brands (Berger & Heath, 2007, 2008; Berger & Rand, 2008; Escalas & Bettman, 2003; Park & John, 2012; Park & Roedder John, 2010; Strizhakova, Coulter, & Price, 2011; Swaminathan, Stilley, & Ahluwalia,
For example, Dubois and colleagues (2012) have shown that certain attributes of product choices, such as product size, can play the signaling role. They found that consumers view greater portion sizes of food or drinks as signals to others of greater status, leading to a preference for these larger portion sizes.

Individuals signaling characteristics about themselves (especially status) through the purchase and consumption of their possessions has long been referred to as “conspicuous consumption” (Veblen, 1899). A more recent definition of conspicuous consumption defines it as “the visual display or overt usage of products in the presence of others” (O’Cass & McEwen, 2004). This behavior has been demonstrated in many different contexts, including with bottom-tier consumers (Ordabayeva & Chandon, 2011), minority consumers (Charles, Hurst, & Roussanov, 2009), during economic recession (Nunes, Drèze, & Han, 2011), and in relation to power (Lee & Shrum, 2012; Rucker & Galinsky, 2008, 2009). For example, those with low relative power or those who feel as if their power or control is threatened tend to prefer products associated with status, in order to compensate for the lack of power and to be able to signal one’s status to others (Rucker & Galinsky, 2008).

Other research demonstrates similar status-signaling effects with a costly signaling perspective. Costly signaling suggests that the apparently wasteful behavior involved with conspicuous consumption (in terms of energy, time, money, and/or risk) can function as a reliable signal of desirable individual qualities, which can lead to enhanced social status (Nelissen & Meijers, 2011). The reliability of these signaled qualities is ensured by the costs involved in producing the signal, in terms of the money, time, energy, or risk involved.
Research considering the costly signaling perspective has demonstrated that conspicuous consumption can be elicited by inducing romantic or mating motives in both men and women (Griskevicius et al., 2007; Sundie, 2011; Wang & Griskevicius, 2014). This perspective suggests that for men, ostentatious and apparently wasteful conspicuous consumption behavior signals certain desirable traits like status and wealth to females (Griskevicius et al., 2007). For women, on the other hand, conspicuous consumption can be used to signal that their romantic partners are especially devoted to them, with the goal of deterring female rivals (Wang & Griskevicius, 2014).

One very strong way in which products have been shown to signal characteristics about an individual is through the product’s conspicuousness, or brand prominence. Brand prominence has been described as “the extent to which a product has visible markings that help ensure observers recognize the brand” (Han, Nunes, & Drèze, 2010). Han and colleagues (2010) describe quiet, discreet products as having more subtly displayed trademarks and not being very easily recognized as one of the brand’s products, whereas loud, conspicuous products are described as having very prominently displayed trademarks and being very easily recognized as one of the brand’s products.

Research has suggested that the conspicuousness of the product influences how much signaling of individuals’ characteristics to others is involved (Sirgy, Johar, & Wood, 1986). Wilcox, Kim and Sen (2009) found that products with logos (vs. without logos), both real and counterfeit, are much more likely to serve as a means for social goals like self-expression and self-presentation. Han and colleagues (2010) show that brand prominence can serve as a status signal for people varying on level of wealth and need for status. Further, brand conspicuousness
has been shown to impact the extent to which luxury brands fulfill consumers’ social goals (Bearden & Etzel, 1982). This research clearly supports the signaling function that brand prominence or conspicuousness can serve.

Conspicuousness in the context of prosocial behavior has also been shown to be highly related to signaling to others something about the individual. Similar to conspicuous consumption in general, conspicuous prosocial behavior is explained in terms of the ability to signal wealth, a prosocial reputation, and other personal qualities (Glazer & Konrad, 1996; Griskevicius, Tybur, & Van den Bergh, 2010; Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Mellstrom & Johannesson, 2008; Sargeant & Woodliffe, 2007; Van Vugt & Hardy, 2010). Indeed, many researchers argue that much giving behavior is driven by the “social rewards” that an individual receives in return for donating in a public setting (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Kottasz, 2004). For example, Van Vugt & Hardy (2010) showed that in the context of a public goods dilemma (in which group members choose to contribute an “endowment” to either a group or personal fund, with any money contributed to the group earning a bonus and shared equally among members), many individuals donated to the group for reputational reasons rather than for the difference their donation might make for the group. These donors were more concerned about how their donation behavior reflected qualities that they possessed (e.g. having ample time and money) and less concerned about the impact of the contribution itself (Van Vugt & Hardy, 2010).

The effects of conspicuousness on giving behavior are most often shown by varying the extent to which the giving behavior is public versus private. Research on prosocial behavior in the public (vs. private) context has demonstrated that giving individuals the opportunity to
engage in prosocial behavior in the public sphere can be especially effective. Numerous papers have shown that individuals often act more altruistically and prosocially in a public setting compared to a private setting (Benabou & Tirole, 2006; Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Kottasz, 2004; Sexton & Sexton, 2011; White & Peloza, 2009). For example, Griskevicius and colleagues (2010) demonstrated that, in public settings, individuals are more likely to choose “green” products and act more environmentally responsible.

The other-signaling research overall suggests that, within the context of conspicuous compassion, other-signaling should also play an important role. This potential role is supported by the inclusion of the other-orientation factor in the original CDB scale created by Grace and Griffin (2009). As this research domain suggests, consumers use products and behaviors to signal to others something about themselves, and the more public and conspicuous the product or behavior is, the more other-signaling is likely involved. Thus wearing merchandise that supports a cause more conspicuously in terms of the degree to which others are aware of the support (i.e. more publicly) should involve more other-signaling compared to merchandise that supports a cause that makes it less obvious to others that the cause was supported by the wearer of the merchandise (i.e. more privately). Thus it is hypothesized that:

**H1:** The conspicuousness of the donation message will have a positive effect on other-signaling, such that wearing merchandise with a donation message that is more public (vs. private) will lead to significantly more signaling to others that one is a good person.

Interestingly, the other-signaling literature has not directly investigated actual signaling behavior. Prior research has supported their findings using a signaling theoretical perspective without directly measuring actual signaling. Measuring the effects of conspicuousness on other-
signaling in the present research is a key contribution to the other-signaling and conspicuous compassion literatures.

As discussed above, conspicuousness (public vs. private) has been shown to strongly influence donation behavior. Benabou and Tirole (2006) suggest that signaling to others one’s prosocial qualities can underlie this relationship between conspicuousness and donation behavior. This type of effect can be explained through the activation of one’s moral-related self-identity (“I am a good, caring, altruistic person”). As hypothesized in H1, the more public the donation message on the merchandise, the greater the other-signaling that one is a good person. This greater signaling should make this self-identity of being a good person more accessible to oneself, as it is actively being drawn upon in the signaling process. Past research has shown that activating self-schemas increases the accessibility of that identity within the working self-concept, and that this greater accessibility of an identity has been shown to influence subsequent behavior in an identity-consistent way (Aquino, Reed, Freeman, Lim, & Felps, 2009; Reed et al., 2007). When the accessibility of individuals’ moral-related self-identity is greater, individuals have a higher motivation to behave morally, and when accessibility of a moral-related self-identity is lesser, individuals have lower motivation to behave morally (Aquino et al., 2009).

One explanation for this link between accessibility of a self-identity and subsequent behavior is individuals’ motivation for self-consistency (Blasi, 1980). Kristofferson, White and Peloza (2014) demonstrate that, after engaging in a small helping behavior, the motivation for self-consistency can lead to greater subsequent helping behavior. In the context of conspicuous compassion, once individuals have signaled their moral-related self-identity (“I’m a good person”), they are expected to be highly motivated to engage in subsequent behavior that
maintains consistency with the part of the self-concept that is engaged and accessible at that time.

Thus in the context of conspicuous compassion, signaling to others should lead to subsequent charitable behavior, as signaling that they are a good person should increase the accessibility of that identity in the working self-concept, and individuals should be especially motivated to maintain self-consistency with that accessible identity. Thus it is hypothesized that:

**H2:** Signaling to others will mediate the relationship between conspicuousness of the donation message and charitable behavior.

**Self-Signaling**

Along with other-signaling, a second, equally important behavior that individuals engage in is signaling to the self. In general, most individuals are strongly motivated to maintain and reinforce positive beliefs about the self, such as beliefs that one is especially skilled, intelligent, capable, moral, or generous, no matter how realistic these beliefs are (Dunning, Heath, & Suls, 2004). Individuals can reinforce these beliefs by making decisions that, at least in part, signal to themselves these traits and the type of person they are (Dunning, 2007). Self-signaling has been described as, "not about the impression one leaves with other people…it is the self that is the critical audience” (Dunning, 2007, 243).

Self-perception theory (Bem, 1967) explains self-signaling as the way that individuals make inferences about themselves from their own choices. Individuals infer what kind of person
they are from different choices they make, whether those choices are significant, like what house
to buy or who to marry, or seemingly inconsequential, like choosing a brand of orange juice to
drink for breakfast (Bem, 1967). Thus consumers often use their choices and product decisions to
signal something about their own character or personality to themselves, and to re-affirm their
self-identity (Bodner & Prelec, 2003; Dhar & Wertenbroch, 2012; Dunning, 2007; Escalas &
Bettman, 2003; Gao, Wheeler, & Shiv, 2009; Strizhakova et al., 2011; Townsend & Sood, 2012;
Wright, Claiborne, & Sirgy, 1992). For example, Gao, Wheeler, and Shiv (2009) found that
individuals used product choices to re-affirm their self-beliefs after those beliefs were cast in
doubt. When participants’ self-view of being a competent person felt in doubt, they were more
likely to choose competence-related products (e.g. IBM computer, *Time* magazine, Mont Blanc
fountain pen), re-affirming the self-view to themselves through their choices.

Self-signaling from consumers’ product decisions can sometimes come from the
associated brand personality of the product (Aaker, 1999; Park & Roedder John, 2010).
Consumers sometimes use brand personalities and the symbolism of brands to signal to
themselves that they are the type of person who uses this brand and that they have the associated
that brand personalities can “rub off” on consumers, as some consumers perceived themselves as
having traits of a brand’s personality while or after using the product. For example, those who
carried a Victoria’s Secret bag felt more feminine and attractive, and those who used a pen from
the school MIT perceived themselves as being more intelligent and hardworking (Park &
Roedder John, 2010). An important thing to note is that the conspicuousness of these product
usages, whether it was public or private, did not impact the strength of the self-signaling (Park & Roedder John, 2010).

Consumers also use giving behavior as a way to signal to themselves the type of person they are (Chance & Norton, 2011; Cueva & Dessi, 2010). Extant research has shown that an altruistic self-identity is often related to giving behavior, and that this self-identity can be reinforced through acts of giving over time (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011). Cueva and Dessi (2010) demonstrated that those who are especially concerned with self-signaling will often donate significantly higher amounts compared to those who are not as motivated to self-signal, suggesting that those individuals use the donation as a means to signal to themselves the type of person they are. Chance and Norton (2011) found that donating to a cause led to participants reporting higher subjective wealth, as the donation signaled to the individuals that they must be prosperous (with extra money to give).

Considering the findings of the self-signaling literature as a whole, the present research suggests that a product that supports a cause (compared to a product that does not support a cause) should serve as a significant way for individuals to signal to themselves related traits, like being an altruistic, caring person, and a way to re-affirm this type of self-identity, in a similar way that product choices and donations do. The purchase and wearing of the merchandise that supports a cause should signal to individuals that they are a good, altruistic person. As past research suggests, the conspicuousness should not have an impact on this self-signaling. Thus it is hypothesized that:
**H3:** The merchandise that supports a cause (vs. does not support a cause) will lead to significantly more signaling to oneself that one is a good person, while conspicuousness of the donation message will have no effect on this signaling.

Unlike other-signaling, it is not hypothesized that self-signaling can play the mediating role between conspicuousness and charitable behavior. As stated in H3, conspicuousness should not influence self-signaling to any significant degree. Without any differences in self-signaling across different conspicuousness conditions, there should be no subsequent effect on charitable behavior, as the related self-schemas should not be differentially activated and made accessible across these conditions.

See Appendix A for the hypothesized model for both other-signaling and self-signaling.

**Other-Signaling vs. Self-Signaling**

Research that has considered other-signaling and self-signaling relative to one another has found mixed results. Grossman (2010) found strong evidence for other-signaling and little evidence for self-signaling in the context of giving behavior. However, other research has shown that other-signaling and self-signaling are both important and common in the contexts of giving behavior and CSR-related products (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Bennett & Chakravarti, 2009). The present research builds on both the other-signaling and self-signaling literatures, arguing that both self-signaling and other-signaling occur and are important in the specific giving context of conspicuous compassion, and suggests that different factors can influence when each occurs.
Building on H1 and H3 and considering other-signaling and self-signaling relative to one another, it is hypothesized that:

**H4:** The merchandise that supports a cause and has a conspicuous donation message will lead to greater but relatively equal levels of both self-signaling and other-signaling, while the merchandise that supports a cause and has a less conspicuous, more private donation message will lead to significantly greater levels of self-signaling (vs. other-signaling).

**Signaling with Merchandise**

Examining the role of signaling specifically in the context of wearable merchandise is well supported by previous literature on clothing and self-expression. Individuals’ clothing can be perceived as an important part of the self, an important symbol of one’s identity, and a way in which the self is established, communicated and validated to others (Goffman, 1990; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992; Sontag & Lee, 2004; Sontag & Schlater, 1982). Clothing can be an expression of one’s self-regard or self-worth (Sontag & Schlater, 1982). It can express individuals’ social identities, social and political attitudes, social status, character traits, and their feelings or emotions (Buckley & Roach, 1974; Feinberg, Mataro, & Burroughs, 1992; Johnson, Schofield, & Yurchisin, 2002; Nas, 2012).

T-shirts, in particular, are understood as being an important means to expressing one’s identity, opinions, views, and attitudes on any topic imaginable, political, social, or otherwise (Darden & Worden, 1991; Reed & Atkinson, 1992). T-shirts can help individuals stand out, express their affiliation with something popular, signal their membership in exclusive groups
(e.g. sororities or fraternities), or serve as trophies for their accomplishments (Cornwell, 1990; Darden & Worden, 1991). T-shirts clearly serve as an especially effective way in which people can express many different things about who they are to others and to themselves. Therefore, the present research uses t-shirts in order to examine conspicuous compassion, signaling, and the effects on charitable behavior.
CHAPTER 3: THE CURRENT RESEARCH

In the present research, a pilot study and three full studies examine the above hypotheses, consider a boundary condition to the other-signaling effects and the mediation effects, and begin to disentangle the effects of purchasing versus wearing this type of merchandise that supports a cause.

PRETESTS

To help determine if t-shirts were the best type of merchandise to use in this study, two pretests with several different products were run. The first pretest considered shirts, shoes, necklaces, and bracelets as possible products. Both t-shirts and shoes were evaluated more favorably on five different key dimensions, including how well liked the product was, preference for the product, how likely the product was to be worn, how likely the product expresses something about the self, and how likely the product signals something about the self to others. T-shirts, compared to shoes, were more likely to be used to spread awareness of a cause. A second pretest considered t-shirts and bags, wherein t-shirts were evaluated more favorably across several measures, including how well liked the product was, preference for the product, and how likely the product was to be worn. Considering the results of both pretests, t-shirts were chosen to be used as the merchandise in this study and the following studies.

A third pretest was run to understand individuals’ opinions about different categories of causes to help determine the type of cause to be used in this study. This pretest showed that individuals were just as likely to donate to education-related causes as they were to animal-related causes, environmental-related causes, and health-related causes. They were significantly
more likely to donate to education-related causes than religion-related causes and arts-related causes. From these pretest results, it was concluded that using an education-related cause (vs. other types of causes) was reasonably justified.

See Appendix B for detailed analysis from all three pretests.

**PILOT STUDY: EFFECTS OF CONSPICUOUS COMPASSION ON OTHER-SIGNALING AND SELF-SIGNALING**

The pilot study investigates how wearing products that support a cause in a public (vs. private) manner influence signaling to others (H1) and how wearing products that support a cause (vs. do not support a cause) influence signaling to oneself (H3). This study considers merchandise that varies in the expression of conspicuousness in order to identify the impact that different components of the donation message might have on signaling.

**Method**

*Participants & Design.* There were 478 undergraduate student participants (228 female) in this study. These students were recruited through a marketing subject pool and received credit toward their marketing course grade. The mean age was 23 years old, with a range from 18 to 49 years old. This study was a one-way (expressions of donation message conspicuousness: public cause/public support, public cause, public brand, private cause, no cause) between-subjects design study. The first four of these levels of this manipulation supported a cause, while the fifth
level did not. As mentioned above, several different expressions of conspicuousness of the
donation message on the shirt were considered to understand which variations have a significant
impact on both other-signaling and self-signaling and to help inform the conspicuousness
manipulation used in studies going forward. See Appendix C for images of all five shirts.

_Stimuli & Procedure._ As a cover story, participants were told that they were participating in a
study involving evaluations of a company’s merchandise. For participants who were randomly
assigned to a condition that involved a shirt supporting a cause (public cause/public support,
public cause, public brand, and private cause conditions), they first viewed information about the
merchandise to read and consider.

An education-related cause called Project Kirotshe was chosen as the cause that
participants would be told the merchandise supported. Project Kirotshe is a real organization that
is based in the DR Congo and works on education-related issues for underprivileged children.
Project Kirotshe ran a t-shirt fundraising campaign through the organization NiceShirt.org in the
summer of 2012. Two of the expressions of conspicuousness conditions (public cause/public
support and public cause shirts) involved the actual shirt design used in NiceShirt.org’s
fundraising campaign. Thus this study used a real t-shirt design sold by a real organization that
supported a real non-profit. These elements of the study were included to help make the study
completed in a laboratory setting as realistic as possible for participants.

The information that participants read included details about the t-shirt that read: “This
shirt supports Project Kirotshe. Project Kirotshe is based in the Democratic Republic of Congo
and is focused on developing a learning center for underprivileged children where opportunities
and education are very limited. An organization called NiceShirt.org is selling these shirts. The
proceeds of every one of these shirts sold go to Project Kirotshe. We are interested in your opinion of these shirts.” This information did not vary across these four conditions.

After reading the information about the shirt, Project Kirotshe and NiceShirt.org, participants in these four conditions then viewed an image of the t-shirt to which they were randomly assigned. The public cause/public support shirt had a large design that included the name “Project Kirotshe” and a stack of books, with a stick character holding a lighted torch on the top of the books and with the text on the spine of the books reading, “Committed to Lighting the Way.” All of these details reflected the education-related work of Project Kirotshe. Underneath the design, the shirt read, “This shirt provided 10 books to children in need.” This shirt design was very similar to the actual design used by Project Kirotshe in their real fundraising campaign with NiceShirt.org. The public cause shirt had the same Project Kirotshe design, but did not include the sentence referring to the number of books donated. The public brand shirt did not refer to the cause at all and instead featured the NiceShirt.org logo. The private cause shirt was a plain white shirt.

After viewing the shirt, participants in these four conditions read the following: “Imagine that you bought the shirt that you just viewed and supported Project Kirotshe, and then you decide to wear the shirt. Please take about 30 seconds to imagine yourself purchasing and wearing this shirt that supports Project Kirotshe and how that would make you feel.”

The fifth condition, the no cause shirt, was a plain white t-shirt. Those who were randomly assigned to the no cause shirt were not given any information about Project Kirotshe or NiceShirt.org. To these participants, this shirt did not support anything. They were simply told to imagine purchasing and wearing the shirt.
After giving all participants thirty seconds to imagine purchasing and wearing the shirt, participants then completed the main dependent variables of this study, the degree to which they felt that they were telling others that they are a good person and the degree to which they felt that they were telling themselves that they are a good person (7-point Likert-scale items). Other important measures included a manipulation check that asked individuals the degree to which the shirt image was noticeable, general evaluations of the t-shirt and t-shirts in general, and their familiarity with Project Kirotshe and NiceShirt.org. To end the study, participants completed basic demographic information, and then were thanked and released.

Results

Manipulation Check. A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant difference between the expressions of donation message conspicuousness on how noticeable the shirt design was \((F (1, 478) = 20.13, p < .001; M_{\text{Public cause/Public support}} = 4.77 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Public cause}} = 4.32 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Public brand}} = 4.74 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Private cause}} = 3.33 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{No Cause}} = 2.90)\). As expected, the public cause/public support, public cause, and public brand shirts were significantly more noticeable to participants compared to the private cause and no cause shirts.

Shirt & Cause Evaluations/Familiarity. A one-way ANOVA analysis revealed no differences across conditions for evaluations of the t-shirt and t-shirts in general, no differences in liking of NiceShirt.org, and no differences in familiarity with Project Kirotshe. The t-shirts were equally well liked \((F (1, 477) = 1.03, p = .39)\) and t-shirts in general were equally liked \((F (1, 477) = 0.68, p = .61)\). Participants across conditions did not differ in how well they liked
NiceShirt.org ($F(1, 477) = 1.21, p = .31$) and did not differ in familiarity with Project Kirotshe ($F(1, 208) = 0.58, p = .68$).

**Other-Signaling Simple Effect.** A one-way ANOVA analysis revealed an expressions of conspicuousness simple effect on signaling to others one is a good person ($F(1, 477) = 3.27, p = .01$; $M_{\text{Public cause/Public support}} = 3.45$ vs. $M_{\text{Public cause}} = 3.59$ vs. $M_{\text{Public brand}} = 3.29$ vs. $M_{\text{Private cause}} = 2.80$ vs. $M_{\text{No Cause}} = 2.83$). Pairwise comparisons showed that those who imagined wearing the public cause/public support shirt signaled to a significantly greater degree to others that they were a good person compared to the private cause shirt ($p = .02$) and the no cause shirt ($p = .02$). Those who imagined wearing the public cause shirt also signaled to a significantly greater degree to others that they were a good person compared to the private cause shirt ($p = .003$) and the no cause shirt ($p = .02$). In other words, those who imagined wearing the merchandise that supported the cause most conspicuously or publicly reported significantly more signaling to others, compared to those who imagined wearing the merchandise that supported the cause privately. These results provide support for H1.

**Self-Signaling Simple Effect.** A one-way ANOVA analysis revealed an expressions of conspicuousness simple effect on signaling to the self that one is a good person ($F(1, 477) = 4.77, p = .001$; $M_{\text{Public cause/Public support}} = 4.31$ vs. $M_{\text{Public cause}} = 4.70$ vs. $M_{\text{Public brand}} = 4.76$ vs. $M_{\text{Private cause}} = 4.14$ vs. $M_{\text{No cause}} = 3.53$). Pairwise comparisons demonstrated that, compared to the no cause shirt, those who imagined wearing the public cause/public support shirt ($p = .02$), the public cause shirt ($p = .001$), the public brand shirt ($p = .001$), and the private cause shirt ($p = .05$) all signaled to a significantly greater degree to the self that one is a good person. In other words, those who imagined wearing a shirt that supports a cause, whether publicly or privately,
signaled to a significantly greater degree to the self that one is a good person, compared to the no cause shirt. These results provide support for H3.

Discussion

The pilot study demonstrated that imagining wearing a shirt that supports a cause more publicly (i.e. conspicuously) leads to greater signaling to others one is a good person, compared to imagining wearing a shirt that supports a cause more privately or not at all. These findings provide support for H1, showing the effect that conspicuous compassion has on signaling to others one is a good person. The pilot study also demonstrated that imagining wearing a shirt that supports a cause (compared to a shirt that does not support a cause) leads to greater signaling to the self that one is a good person, regardless of whether the donation message was public or private, providing support for H3.

These findings are a strong contribution to the conspicuous behavior literature in two ways. First, as mentioned above, the conspicuous consumption and conspicuous prosocial behavior literatures consider a signaling perspective to explain conspicuous behavior, but have not directly measured signaling in their studies. This research directly demonstrates the effects of conspicuous compassion on signaling to others and to the self. Second, this study is one of few to consider both other-signaling and self-signaling in one study and what factors influence one versus the other in a giving context. Study 1 further considers the role that signaling can play in conspicuous compassion by demonstrating more clearly when self-signaling is not influenced and how other-signaling plays a role in subsequent charitable behavior.
STUDY 1: ROLE OF SIGNALING IN THE EFFECT OF CONSPICUOUS COMPASSION ON CHARITABLE BEHAVIOR

With an initial understanding of how conspicuous compassion influences signaling to oneself and to others, this research is further interested in the effects that other-signaling might have on subsequent charitable behavior. Study 1 investigates how wearing products that support a cause that vary on donation message conspicuousness (public vs. private) influence subsequent donations to a different cause, and the role of signaling to others that one is a good person in this process (H2).

Method

Participants & Design. There were 122 online participants (60 female) in this study. These participants were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk and were compensated $0.50 for their participation, an above average pay rate for this online work marketplace. The mean age was 30 years old, with a range from 18 to 66 years old. This study was a one-way (expressions of donation message conspicuousness: public cause/public support, public cause, public brand, private cause, no cause) between-subjects design study.

In this study, all five shirts from the pilot study were included in order to be able to replicate the pilot study results. From there, for analyses’ sake, only the two shirts that supported a cause that were clearly public and clearly private (public cause/public support vs. the private cause) were considered. These two shirts serve as a clean manipulation of conspicuousness in
terms of being either public or private and not also varying on whether they were supporting the cause. This type of conspicuousness manipulation is supported by much of the research examining conspicuousness. This literature has commonly operationalized conspicuousness as brand versus no brand, logo versus no logo, label versus no label, or in another similar way (Han et al., 2010; Jonah Berger, 2008; Lee & Shrum, 2012; Nelissen & Meijers, 2011; Rucker & Galinsky, 2009; Wilcox et al., 2009). The two-shirt manipulation of conspicuousness (public vs. private) closely follows that of this past research.

Further, only these two shirt conditions are considered because the objective of this study was to clearly demonstrate two things beyond replication of the pilot study results: 1) self-signaling is not influenced by the public or private support of a cause, which would be supported by a null effect between these two shirts, and 2) other-signaling, influenced by conspicuousness of the donation message (public vs. private), can have a subsequent effect on charitable behavior.

_Stimuli & Procedure._ The procedure of Study 1 was the same as that of the pilot study. Participants were first given information about the merchandise and then viewed the t-shirt to which they were randomly assigned. After viewing the shirt, participants were asked to imagine that they had bought the t-shirt and were going to wear it one day. Participants then completed the two signaling items, the degree to which participants were telling others that they are a good person and the degree to which participants were telling themselves that they are a good person, as well as the main dependent variable of this study, the likelihood of donating to an education-focused cause (International Book Project). Other important measures included the manipulation check, general evaluations of the t-shirt and t-shirts in general, and familiarity with Project Kirotshe and NiceShirt.org.
Participants also completed two confound checks (Handelman & Arnold, 1999; Perdue & Summers, 1986): one for “moral self-efficacy” (similar to Bandura’s (1991) self-efficacy), the degree to which participants’ felt that they were helping Project Kirotshe, and one for self-satisfaction, the degree to which they felt good about supporting Project Kirotshe. These two confound checks were included because another objective of this study was to rule out the possibility that any differences in signaling or subsequent charitable behavior that might be observed were due to differences in the degree to which people felt that they were helping or felt good about the helping across these conditions, instead of the public versus private dimension of the conspicuousness manipulation.

To end the study, participants completed basic demographic information, and then were thanked and directed back to the Amazon Mechanical Turk website to ensure compensation.

Results

*Manipulation Check.* A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant difference between the expressions of the donation message conspicuousness on how conspicuous the shirt design was ($F (1, 121) = 16.47, p < .001; M_{Public cause/Public support} = 6.00$ vs. $M_{Public cause} = 5.89$ vs. $M_{Public brand} = 5.84$ vs. $M_{Private cause} = 3.68$ vs. $M_{No Cause} = 3.00$). The public cause/public support, public cause, and public brand shirts were significantly more noticeable to participants compared to the private cause and no cause shirts.

*Shirt & Cause Evaluations/Familiarity.* There were no differences across conditions for evaluations of the t-shirt and t-shirts in general, and no differences in familiarity with Project
Kirotshe. The t-shirts were equally well liked \( (F(1, 121) = 0.79, p = .53) \) and t-shirts in general were equally liked \( (F(1, 121) = 1.64, p = .17) \). Participants across conditions did not differ in how well they liked NiceShirt.org \( (F(1, 121) = 1.62, p = .17) \), and did not differ in familiarity with Project Kirotshe \( (F(1, 121) = 1.10, p = .35) \).

Moral Self-Efficacy and Self-Satisfaction Confound Checks. A one-way ANOVA revealed that there were no differences across conspicuousness conditions (excluding the shirt that did not support Project Kirotshe) in terms of the degree to which participants’ felt that they were helping Project Kirotshe \( (F(1, 103) = 1.46, p = .230) \) or the degree to which they felt good about supporting Project Kirotshe \( (F(1, 103) = .188, p = .904) \).

Other-Signaling Simple Effect Replication. A one-way ANOVA analysis including all five shirts revealed a conspicuousness simple effect on signaling to others one is a good person \( (F(1, 121) = 3.65, p = .008; M_{\text{Public cause/Public support}} = 4.97 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Public cause}} = 3.75 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Public brand}} = 3.80 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Private cause}} = 3.05 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{No Cause}} = 3.23) \). Pairwise comparisons showed that the public cause/public shirt led to significantly greater other-signaling than the private cause and no cause shirts, replicating the results from the pilot study.

Considering only the two shirts, public cause/public support versus private cause, a one-way ANOVA analysis revealed a conspicuousness simple effect on signaling to others one is a good person \( (F(1, 50) = 13.79, p = .001; M_{\text{Public}} = 4.97 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Private}} = 3.05) \), such that those who imagined wearing the merchandise with the public (vs. private) donation message reported that they were signaling that they were a good person to a significantly greater degree, replicating the results of the pilot study and providing further support for H1.
Self-Signaling Simple Effect Replication. A one-way ANOVA analysis including all five shirts revealed a conspicuousness simple effect on signaling to the self one is a good person ($F(1, 121) = 2.67, p = .04$; $M_{\text{Public cause/Public support}} = 4.97$ vs. $M_{\text{Public cause}} = 4.68$ vs. $M_{\text{Public brand}} = 4.56$ vs. $M_{\text{Private cause}} = 4.46$ vs. $M_{\text{No cause}} = 3.23$). Pairwise comparisons showed that the public cause/public support, public cause, public brand, and private cause shirts all led to significantly greater self-signaling than the no cause shirt, replicating the results from the pilot study.

Considering only the public cause/public support shirt versus the private cause shirt, a one-way ANOVA analysis revealed no significant conspicuousness simple effect on signaling to the self that one is a good person ($F(1, 50) = .94, p = .34$; $M_{\text{Public}} = 4.97$ vs. $M_{\text{Private}} = 4.46$). There were no differences in signaling to the self that one is a good person between those who imagined wearing the merchandise with the public (vs. private) donation message, providing further support for H3.

Self-Signaling vs. Other-Signaling Repeated Measures. Considering only the two shirts, a repeated measures ANOVA revealed a significant interaction in self-signaling and other-signaling across the two conspicuousness conditions ($F(1, 49) = 5.82, p = .02$). Within the public condition, there was not a significant difference between other-signaling and self-signaling ($t(28) = .001, p = 1.00$; $M_{\text{Self-signaling}} = 4.97$ vs. $M_{\text{Other-signaling}} = 4.97$). Within the private condition, there was a significant difference, such that there was significantly greater self-signaling reported than other-signaling ($t(21) = 3.24, p = .004$; $M_{\text{Self-signaling}} = 4.45$ vs. $M_{\text{Other-signaling}} = 3.05$). These findings provide support for H4.

Mediation. For the analysis of mediation, only the public cause/public support and private cause shirts were considered. Analysis using PROCESS Model 4 (Hayes, 2013), which applies
one independent variable and one mediator on a dependent variable, revealed a significant positive indirect effect of conspicuousness through the mediator on the likelihood of donating to an education-related cause. In this analysis, the independent variable was conspicuousness, the mediator was the degree to which individuals were signaling to others that they are a good person, and the dependent variable was the likelihood of donating to the International Book Project. The other-signaling mediator was mean-centered before the analysis was run in order to reduce possible biases of multicollinearity.

The simple effect of conspicuousness (coded as 0 = private, 1 = public) on the likelihood of donating was mediated by the degree to which individuals were signaling to others that they are a good person (effect = 0.53), as bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals for signaling to others, CI= [0.09, 1.24], did not include zero. Further, the direct effect of conspicuousness on likelihood of donating was not significant ($t(49) = -1.05, p = .30$). Those wearing the public donation message shirt reported greater signaling to others that they were a good person, leading to a higher likelihood of donating. These results provide support for H2.

**Discussion**

Study 1 demonstrates that signaling to others that one is a good person mediates the effect that conspicuous compassion can have on subsequent charitable behavior, as those wearing public donation message (vs. private donation message) merchandise signaled to others to a greater degree, which ultimately led to a higher likelihood of donating to an education organization, a cause similar to the original cause that they were supporting with the purchase of
the merchandise. These results provide support for H2. This study further shows that both other-signaling and self-signaling can occur in equal amounts in conditions that involve a public donation message on the merchandise that supports a cause, while more self-signaling occurs than other-signaling in conditions that involve a private donation message on the merchandise that supports a cause, providing support for H4. Study 1 also replicates the pilot study results by demonstrating the main effect of conspicuousness on other-signaling and by demonstrating that self-signaling is not impacted to a significant degree by conspicuousness. Further, with the moral self-efficacy and self-satisfaction confound checks, this study ruled out the possible alternative explanation that the effects of conspicuous compassion on signaling could be due to the degree to which participants feel like they are helping or feel good about the helping. These findings strengthen the argument that the differences in conspicuousness are driving the effects that are demonstrated on self- and other-signaling.

These findings demonstrate that the effects of conspicuous compassion can go beyond signaling to others and influence downstream behavior like subsequent charitable behavior. Not only does conspicuous compassion have a direct effect on signaling to others, but it can also have a powerful effect on subsequent charitable behavior through that signaling. The theoretical perspective of this research explains this relationship with the greater accessibility of an individual’s self-identity as a result of signaling to others that they are a good person. The greater accessibility of this self-identity leads to behavior that is consistent with that identity, in the form of subsequent charitable behavior. The demonstration of this effect is a strong contribution to the literature, as the downstream effects of conspicuous compassion have not been investigated in prior research. These findings begin to provide an understanding of the effect that actually
wearing these products that have supported a cause can have on consumers’ behavior. These findings are also a strong contribution to the signaling literature by further demonstrating how different factors influence self-signaling and other-signaling, and that both types of signaling can occur simultaneously within one condition.

Study 2 examines these findings further by considering a boundary condition involving the self-importance of one’s symbolization moral identity. Study 2 will also consider subsequent charitable behavior directed toward a cause unrelated to the original cause supported by the merchandise, demonstrating how strongly conspicuous compassion can impact charitable behavior through signaling to others.

**STUDY 2: MODERATING ROLE OF INDIVIDUAL’S SELF-IMPORTANCE OF SYMBOLIZATION MORAL IDENTITY**

Moral identity is defined as a “self-conception organized around a set of moral traits” (Aquino & Reed, 2002). Moral identity is understood as just one component of an individual’s self-schema. This component of one’s self-schema, like any other identity, can vary in how central it is to any given individual’s self-concept. For some individuals, their moral identity is very central to their self-identity, while for others, it is more peripheral (Aquino & Reed, 2002).

A strong link has been demonstrated between moral identity and charitable behavior (Aquino and Reed 2002; Aquino et al. 2007, 2009; Reed and Aquino 2003; Reed et al. 2007; Skarlicki et al. 2008). When moral identity is more accessible or highly self-important, individuals tend to have a higher motivation to behave morally (Aquino et al., 2009), give and
volunteer more (Aquino & Reed, 2002), and include more people as a part of the “in-group” to be helped (Reed and Aquino 2003).

Moral identity is understood as consisting of two components, internalization and symbolization. Internalization assesses the extent to which moral traits are central to one’s self-concept, while symbolization assesses the extent to which moral traits are reflected in one’s behavior (Aquino & Reed, 2002). Most research examining moral identity and moral behavior demonstrates that the internalization component is a stronger predictor of charitable behavior, while symbolization seems to have little or no relationship with charitable behavior in this research (Aquino, McFerran, & Laven, 2011; Aquino et al., 2009; Reed et al., 2007; Reed & Aquino, 2003; Winterich, Mittal, & Ross Jr., 2009).

One exception is the work of Winterich, Mittal and Aquino (2013). These researchers demonstrate that those with high symbolization (and low internalization) moral identity will engage in charitable behavior when there is recognition by others of this behavior, and that this effect is mediated by social reinforcement of their moral identity. This research suggests that symbolization moral identity can play an important role in contexts that involve sharing with others one’s charitable behavior and behaviors involving making others aware of this charitable behavior, a context like conspicuous compassion. Further, symbolization moral identity, by its very nature, seems to be related to signaling to others, as high symbolization moral identity is understood as the extent to which moral-related traits are reflected in one’s behavior (Aquino & Reed, 2002). However, this potential relationship between symbolization moral identity and other-signaling has never been tested in prior research.
Considering these connections, the present research suggests that symbolization moral identity can play a moderating role in the effect of conspicuous compassion on other-signaling. When individuals have high symbolization moral identity and are highly motivated to demonstrate their moral traits, they are inherently motivated to consciously signal to others that they are a good person, as greater signaling indicates that their moral traits are being reflected in their behavior. This should be especially true when those individuals are wearing the conspicuous (public donation message) merchandise that allows for the greatest signaling ability (as demonstrated in the pilot study and Study 1). For these individuals, they are motivated to signal to others that they are a good person because of both the merchandise that they wear and their individual tendency to reflect their moral traits through their behavior. At the same time, because those with low self-importance of their symbolization moral identity are less motivated to demonstrate their moral traits through their actions, they should be less interested overall in signaling to others. When wearing the less conspicuous (private donation message) merchandise, these individuals should demonstrate the least extent of signaling to others that they are a good person, as neither their merchandise nor an individual tendency motivates them to do so. Thus it is hypothesized that:

**H5:** Individuals with high self-importance of their symbolization moral identity wearing the public donation message merchandise will engage in the most signaling to others, while individuals with low self-importance of their symbolization moral identity
wearing the private donation message merchandise will engage in the least signaling to others.¹

It is further suggested that the one’s symbolization moral identity can serve as a boundary condition to the effects of conspicuous compassion on subsequent charitable behavior through signaling. Study 1 demonstrated that in the context of conspicuous compassion, signaling to others leads to subsequent charitable behavior. It was theorized that signaling increases the accessibility of the moral-related self-identity (“I’m a good person”) in the working self-concept, and individuals are especially motivated to maintain self-consistency with that accessible identity. In this study, it is expected that signaling to others should play this role in the relationship between conspicuous compassion and subsequent charitable behavior, especially for those with high symbolization moral identity. These individuals are the most motivated of all individuals for their behavior to reflect their moral traits to the world. The power of this accessible identity and the motivation to maintain self-consistency, especially when it comes to their morally-relevant behavior, should be especially strong for these individuals. Thus it is hypothesized that:

**H6:** Signaling to others will mediate the relationship between conspicuousness and charitable behavior, but only for those with high symbolization moral identity.

¹ We do not predict any interaction of moral identity and conspicuousness on self-signaling. We do not expect there to be a relationship between self-signaling and either of the two components of moral identity, internalization or symbolization. Internalization involves how central the self-identity is to one’s self-concept, while symbolization involves reflecting those traits in one’s behavior, neither of which seems to be theoretically linked to signaling to the self. Further, neither of these components has been shown to have a relationship with self-signaling in past literature. Beyond that, we have demonstrated that self-signaling is not influenced by conspicuousness, so we would not expect any differences in self-signaling across the conspicuousness conditions, which would preclude an interaction effect.
Method

Participants & Design. There were 153 online participants (98 female) in this study. These participants were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk and were compensated $0.50 for their participation. The mean age was 38 years old, with a range from 19 to 71 years old. This study was a 2 (Donation message conspicuousness: public vs. private) × 2 (Self-importance of symbolization moral identity: high vs. low) between-subjects design study. Conspicuousness was manipulated with the donation message on the shirt, as was done in the two-shirt manipulation set in Study 1. Self-importance of symbolization moral identity was measured using the symbolization subscale from Aquino and Reed’s (2002) Self-Importance of Moral Identity Scale.

Stimuli & Procedure. The basic procedure of Study 2 was the same as that of Study 1. Participants were first given information about the t-shirt and then viewed the t-shirt to which they were randomly assigned. The two-shirt set from Study 1 (public cause/public support vs. private cause) was used in this study.

After viewing the shirt, participants were asked to imagine that they had bought the t-shirt and were going to wear it one day. Participants then completed self-signaling and other-signaling items. These measures were modified to include three items for both types of signaling involving different adjectives, good person, caring person, and compassionate person, in order to be able to create a “signaling good person” index for both other-signaling and self-signaling. These items were phrased in the same way as the signaling measures in the pilot study and Study 1.
Participants then completed the main dependent variable of this study, the likelihood of donating to the American Foundation for Animal Rescue, a completely unrelated cause from that supported by the merchandise. Lastly, participants completed the symbolization subscale of the Self-Importance of Moral Identity scale (Aquino & Reed, 2002). This measure contains five items that assess the extent to which a person desires to express their moral traits to others through their behavior in the world. The measure first lists nine moral-related characteristics that might describe a person (e.g. caring, compassionate, and fair) and then asks participants to imagine what a person with these characteristics would be like. Participants are then asked to indicate their agreement with five statements that reference these characteristics (7-point Likert scale; 1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree). See Appendix D for the full measure.

Lastly, other important measures included a manipulation check for the conspicuousness of the shirt and participants’ evaluations of Project Kirotshe, NiceShirt.org, and the t-shirt they viewed. Two other important measures included the same moral self-efficacy and self-satisfaction checks from Study 1. To end the study, participants completed basic demographic information, and then were thanked and directed back to the Mechanical Turk website to ensure compensation.

Results

Manipulation Check. A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant difference between the conspicuousness conditions on how noticeable the shirt design was ($F (1, 152) = 8.81, p = .003$;
$M_{\text{Public}} = 3.81 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Private}} = 2.90$). The public shirt was significantly more conspicuous to participants compared to the private shirt.

**Shirt and Cause Evaluations.** There were no differences across conditions for evaluations of the t-shirt, NiceShirt.org, and Project Kirotshe. The t-shirts were equally well liked ($F(1, 51) = 1.27, p = .26, M_{\text{Public}} = 3.75 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Private}} = 3.46$). Participants across conditions did not differ in how well they liked NiceShirt.org ($F(1, 51) = 1.87, p = .17, M_{\text{Public}} = 4.64 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Private}} = 4.34$), and participants across conditions did not differ in evaluations of Project Kirotshe ($F(1, 51) = 2.84, p = .09, M_{\text{Public}} = 5.68 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Private}} = 5.29$).

**Moral Self-Efficacy and Self-Satisfaction Confound Checks.** A one-way ANOVA revealed that there were no differences across conspicuousness conditions in terms of the degree to which participants’ felt that they were helping Project Kirotshe ($F(1, 152) = 3.29, p = .08; M_{\text{Public}} = 4.97 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Private}} = 4.50$) or the degree to which they felt good about supporting Project Kirotshe ($F(1, 152) = 2.84, p = .09; M_{\text{Public}} = 5.68 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Private}} = 5.29$).

**Other-Signaling Simple Effect Replication.** A one-way ANOVA analysis revealed a conspicuousness simple effect on the index of signaling to others one is a good person ($F(1, 152) = 45.29, p < .001; M_{\text{Public}} = 5.26 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Private}} = 3.36$), such that those who imagined wearing the public (vs. private) donation message merchandise reported that they were signaling that they are a good person to a significantly greater degree, replicating the results of Study 1 and providing further support to H1. The three-item index for signaling that one is a good person (including good person, caring person, and compassionate person) worked in the same way as the one-item measure in the pilot study and Study 1.
**Self-Signaling Simple Effect Replication.** A one-way ANOVA analysis revealed no significant effect of cause conspicuousness on the index of signaling to the self one is a good person \((F (1, 152) = 3.71, p = .06; M_{\text{Public}} = 5.10 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Private}} = 4.52)\). There was no difference in signaling to the self that one is a good person between those who imagined wearing the public donation message merchandise and those who imagined wearing the private donation message merchandise, replicating the results of Study 1 and providing further support to H3. Again, the three-item index for signaling that one is a good person worked in the same way as the one-item measure in the pilot study and Study 1.

**Self-Signaling vs. Other-Signaling Repeated Measures Replication.** A repeated measures ANOVA revealed a significant interaction in self-signaling and other-signaling across the two conspicuousness conditions \((F (1, 151) = 16.11, p < .001)\). Within the public conspicuous condition, there was not a significant difference between other-signaling and self-signaling \((t (75) = -0.72, p = .48; M_{\text{Self-signaling}} = 5.10 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Other-signaling}} = 5.26)\). Within the private conspicuous condition, there was a significant difference, such that there was significantly greater self-signaling reported than other-signaling \((t (75) = 4.82, p < .001; M_{\text{Self-signaling}} = 4.52 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Other-signaling}} = 3.36)\). These results replicate Study 1 results and provide further support for H4.

**Conspicuousness × Symbolization Moral Identity Interaction.** Analysis using PROCESS Model 1 (Hayes, 2013), which applies two independent variables on a dependent variable, revealed a significant interaction of conspicuousness and symbolization moral identity on signaling to others \((\text{coefficient} = -0.36, t (149) = -1.94, p = .05)\). This analysis provides estimated \(\hat{y}\) points at plus/minus one standard deviation from the mean of symbolization moral identity to give a “low” and a “high” of symbolization moral identity to be used for interpretation purposes.
Those with high symbolization moral identity who imagined wearing the public (vs. private) donation message shirt reported the most signaling to others that they are a good person ($\hat{y}_{\text{Public}} = 5.69$ vs. $\hat{y}_{\text{Private}} = 4.35$). Those with low symbolization moral identity who imagined wearing the private donation message shirt reported less signaling to others that they are a good person ($\hat{y} = 2.45$) than all others, including those with low symbolization moral identity who imagined wearing the public donation message shirt ($\hat{y} = 4.80$). See Figure 1 for a graph of these results. These results provide support for H5.

**FIGURE 1: EFFECTS OF CONSPICUOUSNESS AND SYMBOLIZATION MORAL IDENTITY ON SIGNALING TO OTHERS**

![Graph showing effects of conspicuousness and symbolization moral identity on signaling to others.]

*Using estimated $\hat{y}$ points at +/- 1 SD from mean symbolization moral identity.*

**Moderated Mediation.** Analysis using PROCESS Model 8 (Hayes, 2013), which applies one independent variable, one moderator, and one mediator to a dependent variable, revealed a significant conditional positive indirect effect of conspicuousness on the main dependent variable, likelihood of donating to an animal rescue organization, at a specific level of
symbolization moral identity. In this analysis, the independent variable was conspicuousness, the moderator was symbolization moral identity, the mediator was the signaling to others one is a good person index, and the dependent variable was likelihood of donating to an animal rescue organization. The other-signaling index and the symbolization moral identity moderator were both mean-centered before the analysis was run in order to reduce possible biases of multicollinearity.

Signaling to others that one is a good person was shown to mediate the relationship between conspicuousness (coded as 0 = private, 1=public) and likelihood of donating to an animal rescue organization, but only for those with high symbolization moral identity (effect = 0.26), as bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals, CI = [0.02, 0.74], did not include zero. The conditional direct effect of conspicuousness on likelihood of donating was not significant at high symbolization moral identity (t (148) =0.03, p = .98). The conspicuous donation message merchandise resulted in greater other-signaling that one is a good person, which led to a higher likelihood of donating to an animal rescue, but only for those with high symbolization moral identity. These results provide support for H6.

Discussion

Study 2 demonstrated a boundary condition to the effects of conspicuous compassion on other-signaling and its downstream effects. This study found that those with high self-importance of one’s symbolization moral identity wearing more conspicuous (public donation message) merchandise engaged in the most signaling to others that they were a good person, while those
with low self-importance of one’s symbolization moral identity wearing the less conspicuous (private donation message) merchandise engaged in the least signaling to others. Those who were more motivated for their moral traits to be reflected in their behavior with the outside world and who imagined wearing the more conspicuous merchandise engaged in the most signaling, as both this individual tendency and the merchandise they imagined wearing led to greater signaling. Those who were less motivated overall for their moral traits to be reflected in their behavior and who imagined wearing the less conspicuous merchandise exhibited the least amount of signaling, as they were motivated to do so by neither the merchandise itself nor by a personal behavioral tendency. These results provide support for H5.

This study further demonstrated that signaling to others mediates the effects that conspicuous compassion can have on subsequent charitable behavior, but only for those with high symbolization moral identity. Those wearing public (vs. private) donation message merchandise signaled to others that they were a good person to a greater degree, which ultimately led to a higher likelihood of donating to an animal rescue organization. However, these effects were only true for those high in symbolization moral identity. These results provide support for H6. This study helps establish a boundary condition to the relationship between conspicuous compassion, signaling to others and subsequent charitable behavior demonstrated in Study 1, as these effects occur when the self-importance of one’s symbolization moral identity is greater.

These findings were demonstrated with a different type of cause to which individuals were considering donating (an animal rescue organization) while imagining wearing the merchandise, compared to Study 1. This cause was completely unrelated to the organization that
they were supporting with the merchandise. By showing that the same type of effects of conspicuous compassion occur on subsequent charitable behavior through signaling when that charitable behavior is completely unrelated to the conspicuous compassion, this study has demonstrated even stronger support for H2. The effect that conspicuous compassion can have on charitable behavior seems to be so strong that it even influences consumers’ donation behavior toward an organization that is a completely different type of cause. Study 2 also used a modified measure of signaling to others and to the self with a three-item index of signaling that one is a good person. Both of these components increase the robustness of the findings of the pilot study and first two studies.

Study 3 continues to investigate both self-signaling and other-signaling and the effects on subsequent charitable behavior by considering another boundary condition involving disentangling the effects of the purchasing and wearing components of conspicuous compassion.

**STUDY 3: EFFECTS OF PURCHASING VS. WEARING ON OTHER-SIGNALING AND SELF-SIGNALING**

Studies 1 and 2 have demonstrated the effects of conspicuous compassion on both other-signaling and self-signaling, the effect on charitable behavior through signaling, and a boundary condition to these effects. In these two studies, all participants imagined purchasing and then wearing the merchandise that supports a cause. Study 3 begins to disentangle the effects of the purchasing and the wearing of the merchandise involved with conspicuous compassion, especially because these two components differ on two dimensions that have been identified in
the present research as being especially important: the conspicuousness (public vs. private) of the donation message and whether support of the cause is involved. Does the purchase or the wearing of the merchandise have more of an influence on other-signaling? And which of these components has more of an influence on self-signaling? To examine these questions, Study 3 manipulates this component of the study so that some participants only imagine purchasing the shirt, others only imagine wearing the shirt, and others imagine purchasing and wearing the shirt, a condition that replicates the scenarios of the pilot study and Studies 1 and 2.

One way to think about the purchasing and wearing components of conspicuous compassion is in terms of how public or private the behavior is, in a similar way to the understanding of the conspicuousness of the merchandise (public vs. private donation message) in Study 2. Studies 1 and 2 have demonstrated this dimension to be especially important for other-signaling. Only purchasing the merchandise, as it is less public to others, should involve less other-signaling, while wearing the merchandise or purchasing and wearing the merchandise should involve more other-signaling, as it is more public to others. In other words, it is expected that the wearing component of conspicuous compassion is especially important in driving the effects on other-signaling that have been demonstrated in Studies 1 and 2.

Another way to think about purchasing and wearing is in terms of whether support of a cause is involved. Studies 1 and 2 have demonstrated this dimension to be especially important for self-signaling. The conditions that involve supporting the cause, only purchasing the merchandise and purchasing and wearing the merchandise, should have the greatest effect on self-signaling (in line with the findings in Studies 1 and 2). In the wearing only condition, individuals only imagine wearing the shirt with no support being given to the cause, a scenario in
which less self-signaling should occur. In other words, it is expected that the purchasing component of conspicuous compassion is especially important in driving the effects on self-signaling that have been demonstrated in Studies 1 and 2. Thus it is hypothesized that:

**H7:** Those who consider wearing the merchandise or purchasing and wearing the merchandise (vs. only purchasing the merchandise) will report significantly more signaling to others. There will not be a significant difference between wearing the merchandise and purchasing and wearing the merchandise in signaling to others.

**H8:** Those who consider only purchasing the merchandise or purchasing and wearing the merchandise (vs. only wearing the merchandise) will report significantly more signaling to the self. There will not be a significant difference between purchasing the merchandise and purchasing and wearing the merchandise in signaling to the self.

It is further hypothesized that the effect of purchasing the merchandise on signaling to the self and the effect of wearing the merchandise on signaling to others should both lead to subsequent charitable behavior. In Study 1, it was theorized that signaling involved making the moral-related self-identity more accessible to the individual, which has been shown to result in behavior that is consistent with that moral-related self-identity (Aquino et al., 2009). Study 1 demonstrated this type of effect, by showing that greater other-signaling, as a result of a more conspicuous donation message, led to greater subsequent charitable behavior. In a similar way, the other-signaling that is expected to occur as a result of imagining wearing the merchandise should lead to more charitable behavior, through greater accessibility of the individuals’ moral-related self-identity. The self-signaling that is expected to occur as a result of imagining
purchasing the merchandise should make individuals’ moral-related self-identity more accessible, leading to more charitable behavior in the same way. Thus it is hypothesized that:

**H9:** Signaling to others will mediate the relationship between purchasing versus wearing and charitable behavior, such that wearing the shirt that supports a cause will lead to greater other-signaling, which will ultimately lead to greater charitable behavior.

**H10:** Signaling to the self will mediate the relationship between purchasing vs. wearing and charitable behavior, such that purchasing the shirt that supports a cause will lead to greater self-signaling, which will ultimately lead to greater charitable behavior.

Another important objective of this study was to rule out the possibility that the prominence of the message on the shirt might be at least partly explaining the effects on signaling, rather than the public vs. private dimension. The public shirt does involve a very large design, the size of which might be perceived as a very large contrast from the private shirt that had no design. To rule out this possible prominence explanation, Study 3 manipulated the prominence of the message on the merchandise with the public, more conspicuous message. This was done by creating a new version of the public cause/public support shirt with the design reduced in size, creating a medium prominence condition. Finding no differences between the two prominence conditions on other-signaling and self-signaling would help rule out this possible alternative explanation and further replicate the results of Studies 1 and 2. Thus it is hypothesized that:

**H11:** There will be no significant differences in either self-signaling or other-signaling between the large and medium prominence conditions.
It is further suggested that the public versus private (conspicuousness) dimension of the merchandise should have an interaction effect with the purchase versus wear conditions on signaling. In Studies 1 and 2 as well as in past research, other-signaling has been shown to be influenced by the conspicuousness (public vs. private) of the merchandise. As hypothesized above, the purchasing versus the wearing of the merchandise should also have an effect on other-signaling. In the context of the more conspicuous shirts (no matter the prominence level, large or medium), more other-signaling should occur with those who imagine wearing the merchandise or purchasing and wearing the merchandise, compared to those who imagine only purchasing. The wearing of the merchandise involves a more public statement to others that they are a good person who has supported this cause, thus involving more other-signaling, whereas just the purchasing of the conspicuous merchandise involves less showing to others the type of person they are. In the context of a private donation message shirt, signaling to others should not be influenced by the purchase versus wear conditions, as the donation message is private and does not signal anything to anyone, no matter whether they imagine purchasing or wearing it. Thus it is hypothesized that:

**H12:** For those who view the large or medium prominence (public donation message) shirts, greater other-signaling will be reported by those who imagine wearing the merchandise or purchasing and wearing the merchandise (vs. those who imagine purchasing the merchandise). For those who view the control (private donation message) shirt, there should be no differences across the purchase versus wear conditions.

On the other hand, for self-signaling, no interaction should occur. As the pilot study and Studies 1 and 2 have demonstrated, the public versus private dimension of the merchandise
generally does not influence self-signaling. This study, then, should demonstrate the same effect on self-signaling as hypothesized in H7 across all prominence conditions. Thus it is hypothesized that:

**H13**: Across all three prominence conditions, those who imagine purchasing the merchandise or purchasing and wearing the merchandise will report significantly more self-signaling, compared to those who only imagine wearing the merchandise.

Other components of the research that are modified from Studies 1 and 2 include a different type of cause that is supported by the merchandise, a different measure of charitable behavior, and a different type of cause supported by the charitable behavior dependent variable. All of these changes to Study 3 from previous studies help demonstrate that the findings from Studies 1 and 2 replicate with different types of causes and different measures of charitable behavior.

**Method**

_Pretests._ A pretest helped determine the organization to be included in this study. Two different organizations, Adopt NY and Water for the World, were considered along with Project Kirotshe. These two new organizations were focused on causes that were determined in an earlier pretest to be the most well-liked type of causes (animal and environmental causes). Adopt NY is an organization focused on animal rescue, while Water for the World focuses on water access and conservation. Fifty-eight Mechanical Turk participants were shown one of three different shirt designs involving three different causes, were given information about that cause,
and then were asked to give their opinions about the cause. Participants either saw a shirt designed for Adopt NY, Water for the World, or Project Kirotshe, the comparison group, and were then told something about that organization. See Appendix E for the full text given to participants about these three organizations.

Evaluations of Water for the World varied significantly from Project Kirotshe, in terms of how much participants cared about the organization \( F(1,38) = 4.05, p = .05; M_{\text{Project Kirotshe}} = 4.10 \) vs. \( M_{\text{Water for the World}} = 5.18 \), how likely they were to donate to the organization \( F(1,38) = 4.63, p = .04; M_{\text{Project Kirotshe}} = 2.91 \) vs. \( M_{\text{Water for the World}} = 4.02 \), how important of an organization it is \( F(1,38) = 8.87, p = .005; M_{\text{Project Kirotshe}} = 4.50 \) vs. \( M_{\text{Water for the World}} = 6.05 \), how successful the organization is in their mission \( F(1,38) = 5.16, p = .03; M_{\text{Project Kirotshe}} = 4.35 \) vs. \( M_{\text{Water for the World}} = 5.26 \), how much they liked the shirt \( F(1,38) = 9.61, p = .004; M_{\text{Project Kirotshe}} = 4.25 \) vs. \( M_{\text{Water for the World}} = 5.79 \), how likely they were to wear the shirt \( F(1,38) = 6.60, p = .01; M_{\text{Project Kirotshe}} = 4.10 \) vs. \( M_{\text{Water for the World}} = 5.18 \), how much they liked the style of the shirt \( F(1,38) = 7.03, p = .012; M_{\text{Project Kirotshe}} = 4.10 \) vs. \( M_{\text{Water for the World}} = 5.63 \), and how much they liked the design of the shirt \( F(1,38) = 11.25, p = .002; M_{\text{Project Kirotshe}} = 3.75 \) vs. \( M_{\text{Water for the World}} = 5.68 \).

Project Kirotshe and Adopt NY only differed in terms of how much participants liked the design of the shirt \( F(1,39) = 3.94, p = .05; M_{\text{Project Kirotshe}} = 3.75 \) vs. \( M_{\text{Adopt NY}} = 4.90 \).

Water for the World was ultimately chosen to be used in this study because on many important dimensions it was evaluated just as well as (or even better than) Project Kirotshe, the organization that was used in the first three studies. Further, for a study using Mechanical Turk participants from across the country, using a more regionally-based organization like Adopt NY was not ideal. Adopt NY was originally included in this pretest because it was more of a local
cause and much different in that way compared to Project Kirotshe, a foreign cause based in the DR Congo, and it was an ideal cause for a study involving subject pool participants based in New York. However, it was ultimately decided that Adopt NY was too local when using Mechanical Turk participants.

A second pretest helped determine the prominence sizes of the large and medium prominence shirt messages. Five different shirts were pretested to determine the best versions to use. These shirts differed in the size of the design on the shirt and included a small, small-medium, medium, and large design, as well as a control. See Appendix F for images of these shirts. There were no differences between the five shirts in terms of how much the shirt was liked ($F(1,229) = 1.89, p = .11$), how likely they were to wear the shirt ($F(1,229) = .49, p = .74$), and how much they liked the style of the shirt ($F(1,229) = 2.01, p = .10$). The five shirts did differ significantly in terms of how conspicuous the shirt was ($F(1,229) = 50.46, p < .001; M_{Large} = 5.89$ vs. $M_{Medium} = 5.29$ vs. $M_{Small-Medium} = 4.84$ vs. $M_{Small} = 4.25$ vs. $M_{Control} = 1.44$). From these results, two of the four prominence size shirts were chosen, the large and medium sizes, to use in Study 3. These two shirts did not differ on how well liked they were, how likely they were to be worn, or how well the style of the shirt was liked, but they did differ significantly in how noticeable the design of the shirt was. Using these two shirts that differ in prominence allowed this study to examine whether the relative size of the message is what is driving the effects on signaling or if the conspicuousness of the donation message is responsible for these effects.

*Participants & Design.* There were 246 Mechanical Turk participants in this study. These participants received a small amount of monetary compensation ($0.50) for their participation. This study was a 2 (Prominence: large vs. medium vs. control) $\times$ 2 (Purchase vs. wear: purchase
only vs. wear only vs. purchase and wear) between-subjects design study. The large and medium prominence shirt messages both corresponded to the public cause/public support design from Studies 1 and 2, except using a different design for a different cause. Purchase condition was manipulated with the information given to each participant about the shirt and what they were asked to imagine involving the shirt.

Stimuli & Procedure. The procedure of Study 3 was very similar to Study 2. The most significant change was the use of a different shirt design supporting a different organization. The shirts in this study were supporting the organization Water for the World, an organization working to improve access to safe, clean drinking water around the world.

In this study, participants were first given information about the organization that was supported by the purchase of the shirt, Water for the World, and the organization selling these shirts, NiceShirt.org. This information read: “This shirt supports Water for the World. Water for the World is a non-profit organization that is focused on finding solutions for the global water challenge. They work around the world to improve access to clean, safe drinking water and preserve water resources. An organization called NiceShirt.org is selling these shirts. The proceeds of every one of these shirts sold go to Water for the World. We are interested in your opinion of these shirts.” This information did not vary across conditions. Water for the World is a real organization that does, in fact, work on clean water access worldwide. NiceShirt.org also ran an actual fundraising campaign with Water for the World in 2012 using a design similar to the large cause prominence design used in this study.

Participants then viewed the shirt to which they were randomly assigned. The large and medium prominence shirts both had a design that included the name, “Water for the World,” and
part of a world map within a blue water drop, reflecting the work that this organization does in finding solutions to the global water challenge. Underneath the design, the shirts for these two conditions read, “This shirt helped provide clean drinking water to a family in need.” The size of this design and text was the only thing that differed between the large and medium prominence conditions. The control shirt was a plain white t-shirt. See Appendix G for all three shirts.

After viewing the shirt, participants read the text corresponding to the purchase versus wear condition to which they were randomly assigned. The purchase only condition read: “Imagine that you bought this shirt, and you supported Water for the World. Please take about 30 seconds to imagine purchasing this shirt that supports Water for the World and how that would make you feel.” The wear only condition read: “Imagine that you wear this shirt that supports Water for the World. Please take about 30 seconds to imagine yourself wearing this shirt that supports Water for the World and how that would make you feel.” The purchase and wear condition read: “Imagine that you bought this shirt, and you supported Water for the World. You decide to wear the shirt. Please take about 30 seconds to imagine yourself buying and then wearing this shirt that supports Water for the World and how that would make you feel.”

After giving participants thirty seconds to imagine their given information, participants then completed the same self-signaling and other-signaling items from Study 2. Participants then completed the main dependent variable of this study, the amount that they would be willing to donate to a different cause, the Children’s Hunger Relief Fund. Participants read: “The Children's Hunger Relief Fund is asking individuals to make donations to their cause. Suppose you have $100 at your disposal. From this $100, please indicate the amount you are willing to donate to this fund” (Winterich et al., 2009).
Like Study 2, this cause that individuals considered donating to was unrelated to the cause that was supported by the merchandise that participants viewed. The cause supported by the merchandise, Water for the World, is concerned with preserving water sources and improving worldwide access to clean drinking water, while the organization to which participants thought about donating, Children’s Hunger Relief Fund, is focused on providing nutritious meals to children in need.

Lastly, participants completed a manipulation check for the prominence manipulation and two moral self-efficacy confound checks, the degree to which participants’ felt that they were helping Water for the World and the degree to which they felt like they were making a difference. To end the study, participants completed basic demographic information, and then were thanked and directed back to the Mechanical Turk website to ensure compensation.

**Results**

*Manipulation Check.* A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant difference between the prominence conditions on how noticeable the shirt design was ($F (1, 245) = 242.70, p < .001$; $M_{\text{Large}} = 6.01$ vs. $M_{\text{Medium}} = 4.98$ vs. $M_{\text{Control}} = 1.47$). The large prominence shirt was significantly more noticeable of a design than the medium prominence and control shirts, and the medium prominence shirt was also significantly more noticeable compared to the control shirt.

*Moral Self-Efficacy Confound Checks.* A one-way ANOVA revealed that there were no differences across prominence conditions in terms of the degree to which participants’ felt that
they were helping Water for the World ($F(1, 245) = 1.03, p = .36$), or the degree to which they felt like they were making a difference ($F(1, 245) = 1.60, p = .20$).

A second one-way ANOVA revealed that there were no differences across the purchase versus wear conditions in terms of the degree to which participants’ felt that they were helping Water for the World ($F(1, 245) = .69, p = .50$), or the degree to which they felt like they were making a difference ($F(1, 245) = 1.60, p = .55$).

Prominence Simple Effects on Other-Signaling and Self-Signaling. A one-way ANOVA analysis revealed a prominence simple effect on the index of signaling to others one is a good person ($F(1, 245) = 21.24, p < .001$; $M_{Large} = 5.32$ vs. $M_{Medium} = 5.00$ vs. $M_{Control} = 3.57$), such that those who viewed the large and medium prominence shirts (vs. control) reported that they were signaling that they are a good person to a significantly greater degree. Pairwise comparisons showed no significant differences between the large and medium prominence shirts ($p = .25$), but compared to the control, both the large prominence ($p < .001$) and medium prominence shirts ($p < .001$) led to significantly more signaling to others. These results replicate the findings from Studies 1 and 2 and support H11.

A one-way ANOVA analysis revealed no significant effect of prominence on the index of signaling to the self that one is a good person ($F(1, 245) = .12, p = .89$). There was no difference in signaling to the self that one is a good person among those who viewed the large prominence, medium prominence, or control shirts. The results replicate the findings from Studies 1 and 2 and support H11.
Purchase vs. Wear Simple Effects on Other-Signaling and Self-Signaling. A one-way ANOVA analysis revealed no significant purchase versus wear simple effect on the index of signaling to others one is a good person \((F(1, 245) = .41, p = .67)\). Those who imagined purchasing the merchandise, wearing the merchandise, or purchasing and wearing the merchandise did not report any significant differences in other-signaling. These results do not support H7.

A one-way ANOVA analysis revealed a significant simple effect of purchase versus wear on the index of signaling to the self that one is a good person \((F(1, 245) = 4.95, p = .008; M_{Purchase} = 5.51 \text{ vs. } M_{Wear} = 5.06 \text{ vs. } M_{Purchase+Wear} = 4.74)\). Pairwise comparisons showed that the purchase condition led to significantly more self-signaling than the purchase and wear condition \((p = .002)\) and the wear condition \((p = .06)\). There was not a significant difference between the wear and purchase and wear conditions \((p = .19)\) in self-signaling. These results partly support H8.

Self-Signaling vs. Other-Signaling Repeated Measures. A repeated measures ANOVA revealed a significant interaction in self-signaling and other-signaling across the prominence conditions \((F(1, 237) = 26.14, p < .001)\). Within the large prominence condition, there was not a significant difference between other-signaling and self-signaling \((t(85) = -1.65, p = .102)\).

Within the medium prominence condition, there was not a significant difference between other-signaling and self-signaling \((t(85) = 1.06, p = .29)\). Within the control conspicuous condition, there was a significant difference, with significantly greater self-signaling reported than other-signaling \((t(73) = 6.66, p < .001; M_{Self-signaling} = 5.09 \text{ vs. } M_{Other-signaling} = 3.56)\). These results replicate H4.
**Prominence × Purchase vs. Wear Interaction.** A two-way ANOVA analysis revealed no significant interaction of prominence and purchase versus wear on other-signaling ($F(1, 245) = 1.01, p = .41$). There were no differences between imagining purchasing the shirt, wearing the shirt or purchasing and wearing the shirt, across the three shirt conditions. These results do not provide support for H12.

A two-way ANOVA analysis revealed a significant interaction of prominence and purchase versus wear on self-signaling ($F(1,245) = 2.80, p = .03$). For those who saw the large prominence shirt, those who imagined purchasing the shirt reported significantly more self-signaling than those who imagined just wearing the shirt ($p = .02; M_{Purchase} = 5.54$ vs. $M_{Wear} = 4.60$). For those who saw the medium prominence shirt, those who imagined purchasing the shirt reported significantly more self-signaling than both those who imagined wearing the shirt ($p = .04; M_{Purchase} = 5.72$ vs. $M_{Wear} = 4.89$) and those who imagined purchasing and wearing the shirt ($p = .05; M_{Purchase} = 5.72$ vs. $M_{Purchase+Wear} = 4.91$). For those who viewed the control shirt, compared to those who imagined purchasing and wearing the shirt, those who imagined purchasing the shirt ($p = .03; M_{Purchase} = 5.28$ vs. $M_{Purchase+Wear} = 4.32$) and wearing the shirt ($p = .001; M_{Wear} = 5.73$ vs. $M_{Purchase+Wear} = 4.32$) both reported significantly more self-signaling. See Figure 2 for a plot of these results. These results provide partial support for H13.
Mediation with Prominence and Other-Signaling. Analysis using PROCESS Model 4 (Hayes, 2013) revealed a significant positive indirect effect of prominence through the mediator on the likelihood of donating to a hunger relief cause. In this analysis, the independent variable was prominence, the mediator was the signaling to others index, and the dependent variable was the amount they would be willing to donate to the Children’s Hunger Relief Fund. The signaling index was mean-centered before the analysis was run in order to reduce possible biases of multicollinearity.

Because the effects of the large prominence and medium prominence shirts on signaling were very similar, only the large prominence and control shirts were included in this mediation analysis. This decision was further confirmed by a second mediation analysis considering the medium prominence versus control shirts that found the same pattern of results reported here.

The effect of prominence (coded as 0 = control, 1 = large prominence) on the amount willing to donate was mediated by the degree to which individuals were signaling to others that
they are a good person (effect = 2.74), as bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals for signaling to others, CI= [0.91 5.09], did not include zero. Further, the direct effect of prominence on likelihood of donating was not significant (t (156) = -0.76, p = 0.76). This analysis suggests that those who viewed the large prominence shirt (vs. control shirt) signaled to themselves to a greater degree that they were a good person, which then led to a willingness to donate a significantly greater amount to a hunger relief cause, providing support for H2.

Mediation with Purchase vs. Wear and Other-Signaling. Analysis using PROCESS Model 4 (Hayes, 2013) did not reveal a significant indirect effect of purchase versus wear conditions through the mediator, other-signaling, on the amount they would be willing to donate to a hunger relief cause. In this analysis, the independent variable was purchase versus wear, the mediator was the signaling to others index, and the dependent variable was the amount willing to donate to the Children’s Hunger Relief Fund. Because the independent variable had three levels, two dummy variables were created and two mediation analyses were run. One dummy variable compared purchase versus wear and the second dummy variable compared purchase and wear versus wear. The signaling index was mean-centered before the analysis was run in order to reduce possible biases of multicollinearity.

When the purchase versus wear dummy was included as the independent variable and the purchase and wear versus wear dummy was included as a covariate, there was not a significant indirect effect of purchase versus wear through the mediator on the amount willing to donate, as bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals for signaling to others, CI= [-2.03, 2.52], did include zero.
When the purchase and wear versus wear dummy was included as the independent variable and the purchase versus wear dummy was included as a covariate, there was not a significant indirect effect of purchase and wear versus wear through the mediator on the amount willing to donate to a hunger relief cause, as bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals for signaling to others, CI = [-2.91, 1.35], did include zero.

Together, these two PROCESS analyses suggest that other-signaling does not serve as a significant mediator between purchasing versus wearing and the amount willing to be donated to a cause. These results do not provide support for H9.

Mediation with Purchase vs. Wear and Self-Signaling. Analysis using PROCESS Model 4 (Hayes, 2013) revealed a significant positive indirect effect of purchase versus wear conditions through the mediator, self-signaling, on the amount they would be willing to donate to a hunger relief cause. In this analysis, the independent variable was purchase versus wear, the mediator was the signaling to self index, and the dependent variable was the amount willing to donate to the Children’s Hunger Relief Fund. The same two dummy variables from the above mediation analysis with purchase versus wear were used in this analysis. One dummy variable compared purchase versus wear and the second dummy variable compared purchase and wear versus wear. The signaling index was mean-centered before the analysis was run in order to reduce possible biases of multicollinearity.

When the purchase versus wear dummy (coded as 0 = wear, 1 = purchase) was included as the independent variable and the purchase and wear versus wear dummy was included as a covariate, the effect of purchase versus wear on the amount willing to donate was mediated by the degree to which individuals were signaling to others that they are a good person (effect =
1.62), as bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals for signaling to the self, CI= [0.18, 4.18], did not include zero. Further, the direct effect of purchase versus wear on amount willing to donate was not significant (t (241) = -0.70, p = 0.49).

When the purchase and wear versus wear dummy was included as the independent variable and the purchase versus wear dummy was included as a covariate, there was not a significant indirect effect of purchase and wear versus wear through the mediator on the amount willing to donate to a hunger relief cause (effect = -0.90) as bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals for signaling to the self, CI = [-3.10, 0.48], did include zero.

Together, these two PROCESS analyses suggest that those who imagine purchasing the shirt (vs. wearing the shirt) signaled to themselves to a greater degree that they were a good person, which led to a willingness to donate a significantly greater amount to a hunger relief cause. This mediation does not occur between those who imagine purchasing and wearing the shirt and those who imagine wearing the shirt. These results provide support for H10.

Discussion

This study demonstrated that the purchasing (vs. wearing) component of conspicuous compassion has more of an effect on self-signaling, and that it can have a further effect on subsequent charitable behavior through that signaling. It also demonstrated that the purchasing and the wearing of the merchandise seem to be equally important parts of conspicuous compassion when it comes to its impact on other-signaling. This study also ruled out the prominence of the shirt message as an alternative explanation for the signaling findings, by showing no differences across prominence conditions (supporting H11). There were also no
differences in moral self-efficacy across prominence conditions or purchase versus wear conditions, helping to further rule out differences in moral self-efficacy as driving the results.

This study demonstrated that viewing the large and medium prominence shirts both led to greater other-signaling, replicating results from Studies 1 and 2 and the pilot study. The three prominence shirts (which all supported a cause) did not differ in their effect on self-signaling, supporting the findings from Studies 1 and 2. This study also replicated the other-signaling mediation effects from Study 1, demonstrating that those who view the large prominence shirt (vs. control) reported greater signaling to others that they are a good person, which led to being willing to donate a greater amount to an unrelated cause, a hunger relief fund.

This study did not find any significant effects of the purchase versus wear conditions on other-signaling. These results do not support H7, as it was expected that the wearing and purchasing and wearing conditions (compared to the purchase condition) would lead to greater other-signaling because these two conditions involved a public dimension to them, showing to others that they supported a cause. Instead this study found that the purchasing and wearing components of conspicuous compassion seem to be equally important for other-signaling. Perhaps the differences between these conditions, in terms of the extent to which others would be observing the behavior, were not made clear or salient enough in the experimental materials to participants. Participants who imagined only purchasing the shirt might have viewed this behavior as being just as public or observable to others as purchasing and wearing the merchandise or just wearing the merchandise. Unfortunately, this study did not include a measure of the degree to which participants perceived the purchasing versus wearing as public or private, so this potential explanation for the null effects cannot be confirmed.
In partial support of H8, this study demonstrated that those who imagine purchasing the shirt (vs. purchasing and wearing and only wearing conditions) reported greater self-signaling. There was not a significant difference between the wear and purchase and wear conditions in self-signaling. It was expected that both the purchase condition and the purchase and wear condition would involve greater self-signaling because both conditions involved supporting the cause with the purchase, while the wear condition did not involve supporting the cause. These results partly support the general model of self-signaling in this research, in that the findings partly replicate the idea that self-signaling is influenced by the conditions in which supporting the cause (vs. not supporting the cause) was involved. This finding also partly suggests that the purchase component of conspicuous compassion, compared to the wearing component, is most important for self-signaling. In general, the main effect of purchasing (vs. wearing) the merchandise on self-signaling serves as a contribution to the self-signaling literature, by suggesting another type of factor that can influence this type of signaling.

Self-signaling mediated the relationship between purchase and wear conditions and donating to a subsequent charitable cause, supporting H10. Those who imagined purchasing the shirt (vs. wearing the shirt) signaled to themselves to a greater degree that they were a good person, which ultimately resulted in a willingness to donate a significantly higher amount to the hunger relief cause. Demonstrating that self-signaling can play a mediating role involving subsequent charitable behavior is a strong contribution of the present research to the self-signaling literature. However, other-signaling was not shown to mediate this same relationship between purchase and wear conditions and donating to a subsequent cause, providing no support for H9.
Contrary to H12, there was no interaction effect of prominence and purchase versus wear on other-signaling. It was expected that greater other-signaling would occur for those who viewed the large or medium prominence shirts and who imagined wearing the merchandise or purchasing and wearing the merchandise, with the public components of the shirt and the wearing of it driving the signaling to others. As discussed above, there was not a significant main effect of the purchase versus wear conditions on other-signaling as expected, so it is not surprising that there was not a significant interaction.

There was an interaction of prominence and purchase versus wear on self-signaling, partially supporting H13. The large and medium prominence conditions generally followed the pattern that was expected, with those who imagine purchasing the merchandise reporting greater signaling. However, it was also expected that the control shirt would follow this same pattern, but instead purchasing the merchandise and wearing the merchandise both led to greater self-signaling. These results partly provide further support for the general pattern of results of self-signaling in Studies 1 and 2 by demonstrating that, within the large and medium prominence conditions, those who imagined supporting the cause (by purchasing the merchandise) led to greater self-signaling. Further, the results in the purchase and wear condition only, the condition which replicates the scenario of Studies 1 and 2, replicate what was found in the earlier studies: there were no significant differences in self-signaling across the conspicuousness conditions. This interaction effect of purchasing versus wearing the merchandise on self-signaling generally strengthens the contribution to the self-signaling literature that whether the merchandise supports a cause (vs. does not support a cause) is another factor that can influence this type of signaling.
All of the above effects were demonstrated with a different type of cause to which individuals were considering donating (a hunger relief organization) than that used in Studies 1 and 2. This cause was unrelated to the organization that they were supporting with the merchandise. Another difference of this study from earlier studies was the use of a different donation behavior measure. This donation measure asked participants to consider an actual dollar amount that they would be willing to give (if they had $100 at their disposal), rather than asking their likelihood of donating as done in Studies 1 and 2. Both of these components of Study 3 increase the robustness of the findings of the pilot study and three full studies.
CHAPTER 4: GENERAL DISCUSSION

One pilot study and three full studies demonstrate the effect that conspicuous compassion has on signaling to others and to the self, and show what downstream effects this relationship has on subsequent charitable behavior. The present research shows that self-signaling is influenced more by whether the merchandise supported a cause (vs. not), while other-signaling is more influenced by the public versus private dimension of the donation message on the merchandise. These studies ruled out the possibility that there might also have been differences across conditions in terms of moral self-efficacy, further ensuring that the conspicuousness of the message on the merchandise was driving the effects on signaling. This research demonstrates a two-path model of signaling on charitable behavior. The studies show that other-signaling is influenced by the public (vs. private) dimension of conspicuous compassion, and that this greater other-signaling can then lead to subsequent charitable behavior. Both the purchasing and wearing components of conspicuous compassion seem to be equally important in driving other-signaling. The studies also demonstrate a boundary condition to the effects involving other-signaling, by considering the self-importance of symbolization moral identity. At the same time, the research demonstrates that self-signaling is influenced more by the purchasing (vs. wearing) component of conspicuous compassion, and that this greater self-signaling can also have a subsequent effect on charitable behavior.

These effects were demonstrated using two different types of causes that were supported by the merchandise (an education cause and a clean water cause), two different types of merchandise designs for those two causes, two different measures of charitable behavior (likelihood of donating and the amount willing to donate), and three different causes involved
with that charitable behavior, including causes that were both related and unrelated to the original cause supported by the merchandise (an education cause, an animal rescue cause, and a hunger relief cause).

Contributions

The cause-related marketing literature has examined exclusively the ways in which the offering of a product that supports a cause might influence both the company and the cause, as well as the factors that might influence the purchase of these types of products. However, this literature has left unexplained the possible effects of using or wearing these products on consumers’ subsequent behavior. This research serves as a contribution to this literature by broadening this area of investigation and beginning to provide an understanding of what might happen when people are actually using or wearing these products that have supported a cause. In today’s business environment, when more and more companies and non-profits are selling apparel and other wearable merchandise that supports a cause, and more and more consumers are interested in “wearing their support,” the effects of these products are important to understand in the consumer behavior field.

Another important contribution of this work is the direct demonstration of the effect of conspicuous compassion on signaling to others and signaling to the self. This research considers this relationship between conspicuous compassion and signaling at a more specific level by demonstrating the components of conspicuous compassion that seem to drive each type of signaling. The purchase of the merchandise seems to be more responsible for the effects on self-
signaling, while the purchase and wearing of the merchandise seem to be equally important in the effects on other-signaling. In the conspicuous consumption and conspicuous prosocial behavior streams of research, despite using a signaling theoretical framework, the relationship between conspicuous behavior and signaling to others and to the self has not been directly investigated and measured.

Further, the present research considers both other-signaling and self-signaling concurrently to understand what factors can influence one versus the other. Prior research has considered both types of signaling in a limited way and with mixed findings. The present research builds on both the other-signaling and self-signaling literatures, arguing that both self-signaling and other-signaling occur and are important in the context of conspicuous compassion, and that both can be impacted by different factors. This research show that self-signaling is more influenced by whether the merchandise is supporting a cause (vs. not supporting a cause) and much less influenced by the conspicuousness (public vs. private) of the merchandise, the cause and its support. On the other hand, this research demonstrates that other-signaling is more influenced by that conspicuousness. Further, this research demonstrates a certain condition in which the two types of signaling differ relative to one another (when the merchandise supports a cause and has a more private donation message), as well as a condition in which the two types of signaling do not differ significantly from one another (when the merchandise supports a cause and has a more public donation message). Therefore, another strong contribution to the self-signaling and other-signaling literatures is the consideration in this research of the two types of signaling relative to one another, and identifying when both can occur to similar and different degrees.
Demonstrating a two-path model in which both self-signaling and other-signaling can play a mediating role in the relationship between conspicuous compassion and charitable behavior is a strong contribution to the signaling literatures. Other-signaling can underlie the effect on downstream charitable behavior when it is influenced by the conspicuousness (public vs. private) of the donation message on the merchandise. Self-signaling can underlie this effect when individuals are imagining purchasing (vs. wearing) the merchandise.

Lastly, this research makes a strong contribution to the moral identity literature by demonstrating the role that self-importance of one’s symbolization moral identity can have in influencing charitable behavior as a boundary condition. Most research examining moral identity and charitable behavior finds that the second component of moral identity, internalization, is a much stronger predictor of moral-related behavior (Reed et al., 2007). Little research has investigated when or how symbolization moral identity might play a role in moral-related behavior. This research builds off of one paper by Winterich, Mittal and Aquino (2013) which has investigated the role of symbolization moral identity, demonstrating that symbolization moral identity does have a role in charitable behavior, especially in the context of recognition. This research investigates a different way in which symbolization moral identity might have a role in influencing charitable behavior – through its role in conspicuous compassion and signaling to others. The studies demonstrate that the motivation involved with this identity can have a strong, positive influence on the signaling that occurs when an individual is wearing conspicuous merchandise that supports a cause, and this greater signaling can lead to more charitable behavior.
Managerial Implications

West (2004) argues that conspicuous compassion is completely selfish and egoistically driven, a way to show others how deeply caring and altruistic one is. From West’s perspective, one very common example of conspicuous compassion is the wearing of empathy ribbons (e.g. a pink ribbon in support of breast cancer research). This display of empathy does little to actually help the specific cause, West argues, and instead is more about showing others that one is a person that cares about these issues: “It is about feeling good, not doing good” (West, 2004, 1). Einstein (2012) further supports this argument within the context of cause-related marketing, arguing that most CRM does not make a significant and meaningful difference in the way in which the organization leads consumers to believe it does.

However, the present research demonstrates that these products can have other implications for causes beyond just the initial purchase of the product that supported the cause. The present research shows that purchasing and wearing this merchandise leads to its own effects on charitable behavior. Despite the very negative picture that West paints of conspicuous compassion, this research points to a silver lining: conspicuous compassion can have a positive impact on these causes, perhaps in a different way than what might be expected.

Perhaps the two most well-known for-profit organizations that offer merchandise that supports a cause are TOMS (selling shoes) and Warby Parker (selling glasses). These two companies are hugely successful, with an incredibly strong brand and equally strong sales numbers. They are as equally successful in terms of their impact, with TOMS having donated over 2 million pairs of shoes around the world to children in need as of 2012, and Warby Parker providing 500,000 pairs of glasses to people around the world, creating a livelihood for over
10,000 low-income entrepreneurs, and a total economic impact of over $100 million in 36 countries. Other successful examples include companies like the FEED Project, an organization that sells bags and apparel that help to fight hunger around the world, so far donating over $6 million and 60 million meals. Some of these FEED bags are very conspicuous, with the number of meals provided by the purchase of the bag displayed prominently on one side of the bag for all to see. Sevenly sells custom-designed t-shirts and other apparel that support different causes, with over $2 million donated as of 2013. The Life is Good brand gives to their own children-focused philanthropy and sells branded products with statements like, “My bag is helping kids.” For for-profit social ventures and other philanthropically-minded companies, selling wearable merchandise to support a cause has become an incredibly powerful means to build a brand, generate substantial revenue, and in some cases, build an entire business model.

The same is true of many non-profits. Small and large non-profits alike sell branded apparel for their cause that provides significant support for the organization. Organizations like Feed the Children, Susan G. Komen for the Cure, and Habitat for Humanity all have extensive online stores that include items such as t-shirts, sweatshirts, different types of bags, hats, scarves, gloves, and jewelry, all products that can be worn by supporters to show their support of the cause to others around them.

For marketers in these organizations that offer wearable merchandise that supports a cause, the findings of this research may be especially insightful. Increasing donation behavior is an integral, yet difficult, part of the work of non-profit and cause organizations, and any strategy that can be utilized to help do so is valuable. The present research suggests that ways in which marketers can engage individuals such that they are signaling to themselves and/or to others that
they are the type of person that helps can only have a positive influence on donation behavior overall. For example, one way to engage consumers’ other-signaling is by offering especially conspicuous merchandise. Beyond the findings of this research, there is anecdotal evidence that wearable products with very conspicuous designs, especially those that show very specifically what was donated as part of the purchase (e.g. a bag that is adorned with a number representing the number of meals donated with its purchase), are especially successful (Cause Marketing Forum, 2013). These types of organizations should consider letting their customers broadcast it to the world that they have supported this cause and that they are a good, compassionate person. Individuals’ self-signaling might be engaged by using products and related product materials (e.g. packaging) that make it very salient to customers the ways in which the product that they have purchased has supported the cause.

As this research has shown, after other-signaling and self-signaling have been engaged, individuals can be more likely to give. This “extended generosity” gives the organization involved with this merchandise an opportunity to re-engage customers and give them additional opportunities to help or get involved, perhaps especially in contexts in which these customers are actually wearing the merchandise.

Limitations and Future Research

This research has several limitations that can help inform directions for future research. The most significant limitation to this research is that none of the effects were demonstrated with individuals actually wearing the merchandise that supported a cause. In a pilot study and three
other studies, individuals only imagine purchasing and wearing this merchandise. Asking participants to imagine a hypothetical scenario, without including any actual behavior, might involve more of a priming effect of the scenarios on signaling and subsequent charitable behavior. This research has studied the conspicuous compassion phenomenon as thoroughly as possible using the “imagine” scenarios, and it would be important for future research to investigate these effects on signaling and subsequent charitable behavior within a context that more closely reflects the phenomenon in reality, involving participants actually wearing the merchandise.

Another potential limitation is a possible demand effect within the self-signaling and other-signaling measures. The signaling measures are stated directly for participants to consider and respond to because the current research only considers signaling as a conscious process. Eliminating this possible demand effect would require more implicit, nonconscious measures. It is possible that there is a nonconscious process to the signaling as well, but this type of investigation was beyond the scope of this research. Future research could examine the nonconscious effects of conspicuous compassion on self-signaling and other-signaling by using more implicit signaling measures, such as reaction times.

A potential alternative explanation of the effects that has not been ruled out is the effect of social desirability, which is not measured in any of the studies. Social desirability could have feasibly been impacting the demonstrated effects on other-signaling especially, as perhaps thinking about signaling to others could focus individuals more on their appearance to others, producing more of an impression management motivation. This possibility would further suggest, though, that social desirability is less likely to have a role in self-signaling, as
individuals are presumably more focused internally on the self and less concerned about impressions of others when considering these responses. This possibility could be ruled out in future research.

The present research has also only used one type of merchandise, t-shirts, in all four studies. There are many other types of wearable merchandise that organizations sell to support a cause, including bracelets, necklaces, bags, sunglasses, and shoes. As discussed in Study 1, pretests showed that t-shirts, compared to necklaces and bracelets, were better liked, more preferred, more often worn, and better express something about the individual wearing them. It would be important to show that the effects that were found in this research generalize across the different types of products that are often offered by these organizations.

An interesting direction for future research could be to examine potential conditions in which conspicuous compassion produces more of a moral licensing effect. Moral licensing would predict that charitable behavior would be less likely to occur after an individual has already engaged in some type of prosocial behavior (Sachdeva, Iliev, & Medin, 2009). The results of this research do not support a moral licensing effect, as the studies show that subsequent charitable behavior is more likely after supporting a cause. Future research could examine conditions in which these potential moral licensing effects might occur in the conspicuous compassion context.

This research has also not considered any contextual factors that might be involved with these products supporting a cause. Future research could further the understanding of conspicuous compassion by examining contextual factors like details about the cause that is supported by the purchase (e.g., Does it matter if it is a local vs. foreign cause?) or details about
the organization that is selling the merchandise (e.g. Does it matter if it is a non-profit vs. for-profit organization?). For example, individuals might be more likely to signal to others when their purchase supported a foreign cause, as foreign causes are seen as more outside individuals’ “moral regard” and more of an “out-group” (Reed and Aquino 2003). Thus supporting a foreign cause with their purchase might be an even stronger signal that one is a good person, as many people are less likely to donate to a foreign cause in general.

Future research could also examine the relationship that conspicuous compassion has with the Conspicuous Donation Behavior (CDB) scale (Grace & Griffin, 2009). This scale has yet to be tested empirically, but it could be used to help further understand who is more or less likely to engage in conspicuous compassion in general and who might be more or less likely to demonstrate these same downstream effects when imagining purchasing and wearing the merchandise.

Lastly, future research might investigate the effect that others’ knowledge of the cause or merchandise might have on an individual’s behavior. If an individual knows that the others around them do not know the cause that they are supporting or do not recognize anything about the product they are wearing, do they still feel as though they are signaling to others? Do the effects that were found in this research occur to a greater degree when the individual believes that those observing them wearing this merchandise actually know something about the cause that they are supporting? This suggests an interesting issue for future research.
APPENDIX A

HYPOTHESESIZED TWO-PATH MODEL OF SIGNALING ON CHARITABLE BEHAVIOR

Symbolization moral identity

Public (vs. private) donation message ➔ Signaling to others good person

Merchandise supporting cause (vs. not)
Purchasing (vs. wearing) the merchandise ➔ Signaling to the self good person

Charitable behavior
APPENDIX B

PRETESTS

T-shirts (compared to necklaces and bracelets) were more well-liked ($t (51) = 1.92, p = .06$; $M_{\text{T-shirts}} = 5.63$ vs. $M_{\text{Necklaces}} = 4.54$; $t (51) = -3.43, p = .001$; $M_{\text{T-shirts}} = 5.63$ vs. $M_{\text{Bracelets}} = 3.96$), more preferred ($t (51) = 2.85, p = .006$; $M_{\text{T-shirts}} = 4.96$ vs. $M_{\text{Necklaces}} = 3.92$; $t (51) = -5.48, p = .001$; $M_{\text{T-shirts}} = 4.96$ vs. $M_{\text{Bracelets}} = 3.08$), more likely to be worn ($t (51) = 3.29, p = .002$; $M_{\text{T-shirts}} = 5.37$ vs. $M_{\text{Necklaces}} = 4.22$; $t (51) = -4.70, p = .001$; $M_{\text{T-shirts}} = 5.37$ vs. $M_{\text{Bracelets}} = 3.71$), more likely to express something about the self ($t (51) = 1.78, p = .08$; $M_{\text{T-shirts}} = 4.77$ vs. $M_{\text{Necklaces}} = 4.08$; $t (51) = -2.69, p = .01$; $M_{\text{T-shirts}} = 4.77$ vs. $M_{\text{Bracelets}} = 3.71$), and more likely to signal something about the self to others ($t (51) = 2.58, p = .01$; $M_{\text{T-shirts}} = 4.67$ vs. $M_{\text{Necklaces}} = 3.71$; $t (51) = -3.19, p = .002$; $M_{\text{T-shirts}} = 4.67$ vs. $M_{\text{Bracelets}} = 3.52$).

Shoes (compared to necklaces and bracelets) were more well-liked ($t (51) = -3.91, p = .001$; $M_{\text{Shoes}} = 5.29$ vs. $M_{\text{Necklaces}} = 4.54$; $t (51) = -5.568, p = .001$; $M_{\text{Shoes}} = 5.29$ vs. $M_{\text{Bracelets}} = 3.96$), less preferred ($t (51) = 4.59, p = .001$; $M_{\text{Shoes}} = 5.23$ vs. $M_{\text{Necklaces}} = 3.92$; $t (51) = -8.86, p = .001$; $M_{\text{Shoes}} = 5.23$ vs. $M_{\text{Bracelets}} = 3.08$), less likely to be worn ($t (51) = 3.62, p = .001$; $M_{\text{Shoes}} = 5.33$ vs. $M_{\text{Necklaces}} = 4.22$; $t (51) = -5.55, p = .001$; $M_{\text{Shoes}} = 5.33$ vs. $M_{\text{Bracelets}} = 3.71$), less likely to express something about the self ($t (51) = 4.66, p = .001$; $M_{\text{Shoes}} = 5.31$ vs. $M_{\text{Necklaces}} = 4.08$; $t (51) = -5.41, p = .001$; $M_{\text{Shoes}} = 5.31$ vs. $M_{\text{Bracelets}} = 3.71$), and less likely to signal something about the self to others ($t (51) = 5.04, p = .001$; $M_{\text{Shoes}} = 5.08$ vs. $M_{\text{Necklaces}} = 3.71$; $t (51) = -5.07, p = .001$; $M_{\text{Shoes}} = 5.08$ vs. $M_{\text{Bracelets}} = 3.52$).

Shoes and t-shirts were equally well-liked ($t (51) = -1.23, p = .22$), equally preferred ($t (51) = -0.92, p = .36$), equally likely to be worn ($t (51) = 0.16, p = .88$), equally express
something about self \((t(51) = -1.60, p = 0.12)\), and equally signal something about the self to others \((t(51) = -1.33, p = 0.19)\).

However, t-shirts were more likely to be used to spread awareness of a cause, compared to all other products including shoes \((t(51) = 4.01, p = .001; M_{T\text{-shirts}} = 5.15 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Shoes}} = 3.96; t(51) = 4.46, p = .001; M_{T\text{-shirts}} = 5.15 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Necklaces}} = 3.75; t(51) = -2.51, p = .02; M_{T\text{-shirts}} = 5.15 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Bracelets}} = 4.29)\).

A second pretest considered t-shirts and bags. T-shirts were more well-liked \((t(41) = 3.33, p = .002; M_{T\text{-shirts}} = 5.67 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Bags}} = 4.31)\), more preferred \((t(41) = 4.11, p < .001; M_{T\text{-shirts}} = 4.76 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Bags}} = 3.10)\) more likely to be worn \((t(41) = 3.54, p = .001; M_{T\text{-shirts}} = 5.57 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Bags}} = 4.05)\), and more likely to be used to express something about the self \((t(41) = 3.64, p < .001; M_{T\text{-shirts}} = 5.02 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Bags}} = 3.83)\). Considering the results of both pretests, the t-shirts were chosen as the merchandise in this study and the following studies.

A third pretest was run to understand individuals’ opinions about different categories of causes to help determine the type of cause to be used in this study. This pretest showed that individuals were just as likely to donate to education-related causes as they were to animal-related causes \((t(97) = .54, p = .59)\), environmental-related causes \((t(97) = 1.12, p = .26)\), and health-related causes \((t(97) = -1.88, p = .07)\). They were also significantly more likely to donate to education-related causes than religion-related causes \((t(97) = 6.81, p < .001; M_{\text{Education}} = 4.91 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Religion}} = 3.24)\) and arts-related causes \((t(97) = 4.92, p < .001; M_{\text{Education}} = 4.91 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Arts}} = 3.97)\).
APPENDIX C

PILOT STUDY — CONSPICUOUSNESS MANIPULATION

Public cause/public support

Public cause

Public brand
APPENDIX C CONTINUED

Private cause & No cause
Listed below are some characteristics that might describe a person:

Caring, Compassionate, Fair, Friendly, Generous, Helpful, Hardworking, Honest, Kind

The person with these characteristics could be you or it could be someone else. For a moment, visualize in your mind the kind of person who has these characteristics. Imagine how that person would think, feel, and act. When you have a clear image of what this person would be like, answer the following questions.

1. I often wear clothes that identify me as having these characteristics.
2. The types of things I do in my spare time (e.g. hobbies) clearly identify me as having these characteristics.
3. The kinds of books and magazines that I read identify me as having these characteristics.
4. The fact that I have these characteristics is communicated to others by my membership in certain organizations.
5. I am actively involved in activities that communicate to others that I have these characteristics.
APPENDIX E

STUDY 3 – ORGANIZATION PRETEST TEXT

The Adopt NY group read: “This shirt supports Adopt NY. Adopt NY helps stray dogs and cats in New York find new homes. They are working to make New York a No Kill City, in which no adoptable dogs or cats are euthanized at the city shelters. We are interested in your opinion of Adopt NY and this shirt.”

The Water for the World group read: “This shirt supports Water for the World. Water for the World works to find solutions for the global water challenge. They work around the world to improve access to water and preserve water resources. We are interested in your opinion of Water for the World and this shirt.”

The Project Kirotshe group read: “This shirt supports Project Kirotshe. Project Kirotshe is based in the Democratic Republic of Congo and is focused on developing a learning center for underprivileged children where opportunities and education are very limited. We are interested in your opinion of Project Kirotshe and this shirt.”
APPENDIX F

STUDY 3 – PROMINENCE PRETEST

*Large Prominence*

*Medium Prominence*

*Small-Medium*
APPENDIX F CONTINUED

Small

Control
APPENDIX G

STUDY 3 – PROMINENCE MANIPULATION

Large Prominence

Medium Prominence

Control
REFERENCES


Einstein, M. (2012). *Compassion, Inc.: how corporate America blurs the line between what we buy, who we are, and those we help.* Berkeley: University of California Press.


