The Relationship between Situational Optimism/Pessimism and Donating Intentions

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Jaiselmer Keivom-Lockhart

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Research Supervisors:

Associate Professor Christopher Burt, University of Canterbury

Doctor Katharina Näswall, University of Canterbury
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Abstract

Charities provide many vital services for New Zealand society; however, charities are in constant need of donations from the public in order to provide these services. The aim of this study was to examine the relationship between situational optimism/pessimism and donating intentions. Two hundred and fifty three people from the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand took part in experiment. Participants were randomly assigned to one of five conditions in which they viewed an optimistic, pessimistic or neutral (control) image and were asked to rate their intention to donate to a disaster relief charity. When covariates were controlled for, the results revealed that people who saw the pessimistic image were more likely to intend to donate than participants who looked at optimistic image. Implications and suggestions for future research are discussed.
The Relationship between Situational Optimism/Pessimism and Donating Intentions

Charities make a significant contribution to society, a contribution that is respected and valued by most. Charities provide a range of services in areas such as health and well-being, education, community development, conservation, and emergency/disaster relief. Although the government is the main provider of such services in New Zealand, it cannot support all the areas of society that are in need of assistance. Instead, the burden falls on charities to support those who have slipped through the cracks of the government’s social policies.

As of November 2012, there were 25,134 registered charities in New Zealand (Charities Commission, 2012). In 2011, the Charities Commission reported that New Zealand charities had received a total gross income of over $14 billion. Although the government provides most of this income, a significant proportion of a charity’s income comes from individual donations. In recent years, a tougher global economic climate has resulted in a reduction in both government and household spending which has led to fewer donations to charities as the demand for assistance continues to increase (Das, Kerkhof, & Kuiper, 2008; Venable, Rose, Bush, & Gilbert, 2005; Haynes, Thornton, & Jones, 2004; Sargeant, 1999). It is therefore imperative that charities receive sufficient funds to carry out vital services.

To increase revenue, a charity must attract more donors and this can only be achieved through advertising and fundraising. A charity needs to implement an effective advertising campaign that will persuade the public to donate to their cause. One common technique used by charities is the use of images to invoke an emotional response from the target audience, which in turn yields donating behaviour (Belch, Belch, Kerr, & Powell, 2012). Donating behaviours are a more future orientated decision process than other consumer behaviours because the donation will not result in an immediate response. It seems logical that an image
which invokes a negative (pessimistic) feeling or positive (optimistic) feeling about a specific future outcome (e.g. an outcome that a charity is trying to advocate) may also have an effect on donating behaviour.

The aim of this current study to examine whether images that have been rated highly for invoking optimistic or pessimistic feelings about a charity’s cause can influence people’s intention to donate. First, a case is presented on the merits on effective advertising for charities and how the construct of optimism/pessimism can help to improve charities’ advertising campaigns. Second, the results of a study designed to address the optimism/pessimism and donating intentions relationship is reported. Finally, implications for this research are discussed.

Effective Advertising

The effectiveness of an advertisement is measured by its ability to draw the attention of a large audience and to also persuade the audience to take action towards a product, service, idea, or organisation that the source of the advertisement is trying to sell (Richards & Curran, 2002). The ability of an advertisement to draw the attention of and persuade the audience depends on two factors, 1) its advertising appeal and 2) its creative execution style (Belch, Belch, Kerr, & Powell, 2012).

Advertising appeal. The first factor, advertising appeal, is the approach used to attract attention and influence feelings toward the product, service or cause. Advertising appeal is often broken into two categories: rational appeals and emotional appeals (Leonidou & Leonidou, 2009). Rational appeals present a persuasive message that uses factual information and a logical argument to sell the functional, practical or utilitarian benefits of purchasing the advertised product, service or cause. Emotional appeals present a persuasive message using emotion-invoking stimuli to target peoples’ psychological, social, and
symbolic needs (Kotler & Armstrong, 2008). Charity advertising often tries to invoke an emotional response from its target audience because people who are emotionally aroused are more likely to make a donation (Moore & Harris, 1996; Hibbert, Smith, Davies, & Ireland, 2007; Chang & Lee, 2009; Small & Verrochi, 2009).

An emotional appeal can be framed either positively (i.e. what can be gained) or negatively (i.e. what can be lost) if the person does not ‘buy into’ the advertisement. Either way, the goal of the advertisement is the same: to get the audience to ‘buy into’ the message (Martin, 1995). Charity advertisements will often have a negative emotion-based appeal to try to invoke feelings of fear, shock or guilt (Haynes, Thornton, & Jones, 2004; Hibbert, Smith, Davies, & Ireland, 2007). This is because research has found that negative emotions are more effective than positive emotions at producing positive consumer behaviours such as donating (Homer & Yoon, 1992; Haynes, Thornton, & Jones, 2004; Chang & Lee, 2009). Chang and Lee (2009) propose several reasons for this phenomenon. First, people have a negativity bias in which they pay more attention and give more importance to negative information in comparison to positive information. People will elaborate more on negative information and will inflate its importance thereby making it more likely that they will act on that information (i.e. donate money). Second, people are accustomed to seeing positively framed ads therefore when a negatively framed ad is presented, it violates peoples’ expectations. As a result, a negatively framed ad will be subjected to higher scrutiny. Finally, a negatively framed ad will make people aware of the negative consequences that are possible if they do not act. People are more likely to search for more information about the possible negative consequences and what they can do to help prevent them.

One issue with presenting a negatively framed message is that intensity of a message may have an inverted “U” shape effect on consumer behaviour (Hibbert et al., 2007). Negatively framed ads are more effective than positively framed ads at eliciting positive
consumer behaviours (e.g. donating behaviour); however, research has shown that if an ad is too negative, it will not be as effective. Coulter and Pinto (1995) found that a negative emotional appeal of moderate intensity is more effective than low intensity or high intensity negative emotional appeals at eliciting donating behaviour. When the intensity of the negative appeal is too low, participants were less motivated to elaborate on the ad and therefore the persuasive impact of the ad is minimal. On the other hand, a high intensity negative appeal would increase elaboration on the ad to the point where they begin to counter-argue the ad’s message which also minimises the persuasiveness of the ad (Keller & Block, 1996). Some researchers believe that the inverted “U” shape theory is too simple to explain why some people are more susceptible to negatively framed appeals than other people (Coulter, Cotte & Moore 1999; Moore & Harris, 1996; Taute et al., 2011). These researchers posit that individual differences in people’s experience, knowledge and their ability to manage emotional content has a significant effect on how they react to an emotional appeal, irrelevant of whether the emotional appeal is low in intensity or high in intensity.

**Creative execution style.** The second factor that contributes to an effective advertisement is the creative execution style (Belch et al., 2012). Various execution style techniques are employed by advertising agencies to sell the message. One common technique is imagery executions where visual elements (e.g. pictures or symbols) are used to inform and persuade the audience to have positive attitudes towards the ad and to stimulate positive consumer behaviours. This is in contrast to more informative executions such as using scientific/factual evidence to sell the product, or a testimonial from someone who already uses the product or service. Imagery is a common execution technique because it has the capacity to grab an audience’s attention and it allows for quick and accurate processing of the advertisement’s message (Mitchell, 1983). Imagery in advertisements is often vivid so that it draws the attention of the target audience (Burns, Biswas, & Babin, 1993). This is
particularly important when a brand is competing with another brand in the same ad space, for example in a newspaper, because an ad that is more vivid is more likely to grab the attention of the audience. People are able to process images faster than verbal or written messages (Edell & Staelin, 1983). Imagery can convey more information in a shorter amount of exposure time which is beneficial for certain types of advertising such as billboard or television advertising.

Imagery is common is charity ads. Charities use imagery because it can convey a powerful, compelling message in a short amount of exposure time. For example, in a World Vision ad, the persuasive element is showing an image of starving people, often children, living in impoverished conditions. In turn, this spurs feelings of guilt in the audience with the impression that if they do not donate, the people shown in the image may die of hunger or disease. The audience is moved by the imagery because it targets their feelings of social responsibility; subsequently, people take action and donate to the charity (Chang & Lee, 2009). This current study used emotional imagery as a medium to promote donating intentions in participants.

**Optimism and Pessimism**

Charities need donations from public more than ever before. To achieve this, charities need to employ effective advertising campaigns. Donors’ trust in a charity is integral for charities to receive donations from the public; the more trust donors have in a charity, the more likely they are to make a donation (Cheung & Chang, 2000; Sargeant, Ford, & West, 2005; Burt & Dunham, 2009; Burt & Gibbons, 2011). Most ads are promoting a product or service that buyers will receive in the not too distant future. However, charities are attempting to get money from people who will not directly benefit from their donation. In some cases, their donation could go towards a cause that may never be realised. For example, a person
may want to donate to a charity that is trying to find a cure for cancer. Although a cure may never be found, if the person trusts that a cure will be found, that person will make a donation to that charity. Donors must trust that a charity will do everything in its power to ensure that the cause they advocate is accomplished. When a donor is confident about the future of a charity’s cause, that donor can be described as being either *optimistic* or *pessimistic*.

In the past 30 years, there has been an increase in research conducted on optimism and pessimism. General optimism is defined as generalised positive outcome expectancies, while general pessimism is defined as generalised negative outcome expectancies (Scheier & Carver, 1985). Most of the literature has examined “general” or dispositional optimism/pessimism where it is described as a stable personality trait that does not change over time and context (Nes & Segerstrom, 2006). Dispositional optimism has been extensively researched and has been found to relate to many psychological and physical health-related outcomes as well as stress-coping strategies and stress resilience (Taylor & Seeman, 2006; Nes & Segerstrom, 2006). Psychological outcomes, such as depression (e.g. Carver & Gaines, 1987) and distress (e.g. Miller, Manne, Keates, & Dougherty, 1996), are negatively related to optimism, whereas psychological adjustment after traumatic events was found to have a positive relationship with optimism (e.g. Carver, Smith, Antoni, Petronis, Weiss, & Derhagopian, 2005). Dispositional optimism is also a predictor of physical health-related outcomes including successful treatments of cancer and heart disease (e.g. Scheier & Carver, 1992) faster recovery times after surgery (e.g. Scheier et al., 1989), lower likelihood of post-surgery complications (e.g. Scheier and Carver, 1985), higher subjective health post-surgery (e.g. Tomakowsky, Lumley, Markowitz, & Frank, 2001), and better quality of life post-surgery (e.g. Fitzgerald, Tennen, Affleck, & Pransky, 1993).

The research on dispositional optimism/pessimism is copious and most researchers are in support of optimism’s positive relationship and pessimism’s negative relationship with
numerous health-related variables (Armor & Taylor, 1998; Kluemper, Little, & DeGroot, 2009). However, there has been little focus on other outcome variables outside the realm of health and well-being. This is a limitation of optimism/pessimism research because there is no evidence to support or deny its relationship with other practical and applicable constructs. Another limitation in the dispositional optimism/pessimism literature is that although many studies had examined optimism/pessimism in relation to specific outcomes (e.g. depressive symptoms, post-surgery complications etc.), optimism/pessimism was measured in terms of general life expectations as opposed to specific expectations about specific outcomes.

Furthermore, it was measured using the same instrument - the Life Orientation Test – which only measures a person’s positive and negative generalised outcome expectations (Scheier & Carver, 1985). It seems reasonable to assume that someone can be inherently optimistic and yet still be pessimistic about a specific outcome and situation, for example being pessimistic about your favourite sports team winning a game. In response to these limitations, researchers have called for more attention towards the construct of situational optimism/pessimism and its viability as a separate construct from dispositional optimism/pessimism (e.g. Armor & Taylor; 1998, Peterson, 2000; Kluemper, Little, & DeGroot, 2009).

Situational optimism/pessimism is the expectation of a positive or negative outcome in a specific situation (Armor & Taylor, 1998, Pais-Ribeiro, da Silva, Meneses, & Falco, 2007). Although, there has been little research examining the relationship between dispositional and situational optimism/pessimism, the extant research has found that situational optimism is related to dispositional optimism; however, they have different effects on different variables. Most of these studies found that dispositional optimism/pessimism is a better predictor of distal, abstract positive and negative outcomes, such as one’s long-term psychological and physical health (Peterson, 2000; Kluemper et al., 2009). Situational optimism/pessimism has been found to be a better predictor of proximal, specific outcomes,
such as one’s short-term academic performance (Norris & Wright, 2003; Toor, 2009). This relationship is explained by the idea that situational optimism is based on situational factors that could influence, and the therefore predict, the outcome of a specific situation. In other words, situational optimism is created through a person’s learned history where he/she may associate situational factors with certain outcomes, so when similar situational factors present themselves, a person will expect a certain outcome (Peterson, 2000; Pais-Ribeiro, da Silva, Meneses, & Falco, 2007).

There has been criticism from researchers about the validity of the construct situational optimism/pessimism and whether it is confounded by positive/negative affect. There has been little research addressing this criticism yet extant literature has shown they have a significant, weak relationship (Chang, Maydeu-Olivares, & D’Zurilla, 1997). Several studies have shown that situational optimism/pessimism has an independent effect to positive and negative affect on many variables, including health and work-related variables (e.g. Kluemper, Little, & DeGroot, 2009; Marshall, Wortman, Kusulas, Hervig, & Vickers, 1992).

To the knowledge of this researcher, there are no studies that have examined the effect that optimistic and pessimistic feelings have on donating intentions or behaviour. However, there have been a number of studies that have examined the effect of mood on donating behaviour. Research has found that people, who are in a positive or negative mood, are more likely to perform helping behaviours than people who are in a “neutral” mood (O’Malley & Andrews, 1983; Kayser, Greitemeyer, Fischer, & Frey, 2010). When people are in a positive mood, they are more likely to perform positive behaviours because it helps to maintain their positive mood. Being in a positive mood also makes a person more self-aware. When help is needed, a person who is in a positive mood, and therefore more attentive towards their feelings and values, will be more likely to perform helping behaviours. Self-awareness assists in making people realise that there is a discrepancy between their own
actions and values, which will motivate them to help (Berkowitz, 1987). Negative moods can lead someone to perform helping behaviour so that they can to dispel their negative feelings (Dickert, Sagara, & Slovic, 2011). The effect negative mood has on helping behaviours is determined by three factors, 1) the helping behaviour is easy to perform, 2) the negative feelings are not too strong, and 3) there is the belief that the helping behaviour will dispel the negative feelings. When the negative feelings are too strong and the helping behaviour is costly then a person will be less likely to perform donating behaviours (Berkowitz, 1987). If situationally optimistic and pessimistic feelings are associated with negative and positive affect and affect influences helping behaviour, it is reasonable to surmise that optimistic and pessimistic feelings can also influence donating behaviour.

Situational optimism/pessimism’s suggested mechanism of predicting future outcomes, has led to research that focuses on how optimism and pessimism can be manipulated to produce certain positive behaviours because if someone is optimistic about an outcome, they will be more likely to engage, stay motivated, and persist in achieving that outcome (Scheier & Carver, 1985). To this researcher’s knowledge, there have been no studies that have examined whether situational optimism/pessimism can be influenced in order to produce a specific behaviour; however, there have been numerous studies that have documented the influence mood has on behaviour (Gendolla, 2000; e.g. Lewis, Dember, Schefft, & Radenhausen, 1995; Krahe & Bieneck, 2012). The significant relationships that have been found between situational optimism/pessimism and affect is enough to warrant an investigation into situational optimism and pessimism’s capability of producing desirable behaviours. For example, if a charity advertisement shows an image which induces optimistic or pessimistic feelings, will it influence the audiences’ donating behaviour?
Current Research

The benefits of studying optimism and pessimism have been well-documented in past literature as optimism/pessimism has been found to have significant associations with numerous health and academic outcomes. Directing attention towards situational optimism and pessimism, and its relation to donating behaviour, may be beneficial for charities as their need for more donors continues to increase. The aim of this study was to examine whether an optimistic or pessimistic feeling can be manipulated to invoke a particular behaviour, namely making a donation. The research examined the hypothesis that a pessimistic image, over an optimistic image, will be more likely to promote larger intentions to donate.

Study 1

The aim of Study 1 was to methodologically which photographs make people feel more optimistic and more pessimistic about the future of Christchurch. The photographs that were rated by the participants to elicit stronger optimistic feelings and stronger pessimistic feelings would be used in Experiment 1.

Method

Participants

Forty one people (five males, 36 females, $M_{\text{age}} = 26.88$, age range: 19-57) took part in Study 1. A convenience sampling method was used to recruit the participants. The experimenter approached postgraduate students and staff who worked in the Psychology Department at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch. Participants were verbally asked to participate in “a five minute study” (this time was based on the average of three pilot participants). Participants were rewarded with a 50g chocolate bar after completing the study.
Everyone who was asked to participate did so; no one declined. All of the participants had been living in Christchurch for more than 12 months.

**Measures**

*Situationale optimism/pessimism.* Situational optimism is defined as expecting a positive outcome of a particular setting or context, while situational pessimism is defined as expecting a negative outcome of a particular setting or context. The aim of this measure was to determine whether photographs could invoke optimistic or pessimistic feelings about the future of Christchurch. In the current study, participants’ optimistic and pessimistic feelings were measured when the participants were presented with 30 different photographs. Situational optimism (optimistic feelings about the future of Christchurch) and situational pessimism (pessimistic feelings about the future of Christchurch) were measured on a 15-point Likert scale. The scale was bi-dimensional and ranged from *Extremely pessimistic* (7) to *Neutral* (0) to *Extremely optimistic* (7). A scale was provided next to each photograph in the study (see Appendix A for an example).

**Demographics.** Information about participant’s gender and age was also collected.

**Materials**

Only photographs that had been taken after the September 4, 2011 magnitude 7.1 Christchurch earthquake were used in this study. It was important that the experimenter did not choose photographs that only the experimenter found interesting, appealing or notable. For example, the experimenter may have selected photographs that were taken on the day of the February 22, 2011 Christchurch earthquake, which killed 185 people, because these photographs were more interesting and notable than photographs of Christchurch that had been taken some time after the February 22. To mitigate experimenter bias from selection of
the photographs for the study, one photograph from every month since the September 4 earthquake was selected. Because the selected photographs would have been taken successively over time, the photographs would show a range of processes that have been underway in Christchurch since the September 2010 earthquake.

Google Images, a World Wide Web image search engine, was used to locate the photographs for Study 1. “Christchurch earthquake [month/year]” was typed into the Google Images search bar. To find images that had good printing qualities, “Large” was selected as a search criterion, which would only allow high resolution images (i.e. larger than 1024x768 pixels) to be retrieved during the search. Only photographs of private properties, buildings and building infrastructure were selected from the search pool – there were no close-up photographs of people. In total, 30 full colour photographs were collected for use in Study 1 (see Appendix B).

Most of the images were a 4x3 ratio; however, two images were not and had to be cropped to a 4x3 ratio. There were no significant details in the areas that were cropped out. Using Microsoft Word 2007, the images were positioned vertically on A4-sized paper so that there were three images on each page (see Appendix A for an example), which made up a total of 10 pages for the 30 photographs. Some of the photographs had blown-out highlights in the background, which made it difficult to distinguish the photographs from the white page. As a result, a 1 millimetre black outline was inserted around each photo. The situational optimism/pessimism scale was placed next to all 30 images. At the top of all 10 pages was the instruction: Please examine each photo. Using the scale next to each, please indicate how optimistic or pessimistic the photo makes you feel about the future of Christchurch.

The pages were printed in full colour, single-sided on 80 gram plain white A4 computer paper using a high-end commercial-grade, CMYK colourspace, laser jet printer.
Fifty questionnaires were printed; each questionnaire consisted of an information/consent sheet at the front and 10 colour pages. To help mitigate order effects, the order of the pages was altered before being stapled.

**Procedure**

The experimenter distributed the study questionnaire to the participants over the course of one day. The experimenter collected the questionnaires either on the same day it was administered or the day after. Participants completed the questionnaire in their own time. The experimenter was not present while the participants completed the questionnaire. All of the participants that were administered the questionnaire, returned it complete.

**Results**

A mean optimism score and mean pessimism score was calculated for each of the 30 photographs. The means are displayed in Table 1 with their respective standard deviations. The number of participants who had rated the photograph as optimistic, pessimistic or neutral are also displayed in Table 1.

After the means were calculated, the photographs were ranked in order of their mean optimism and pessimism score. The two photographs that had the highest mean score of optimism and the two photographs that had the highest mean score of pessimism were selected for use in Experiment 1. For the optimistic condition, Photographs 3 and 24 were selected. For the pessimistic condition, Photographs 2 and 21 were selected. To select the photograph that would be used in the neutral (control) condition, the 30 photographs were ranked by the number of participants who had rated the photograph as neutral. Photograph 25 was selected because it had the highest number of participants rate it as neutral.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Photograph</th>
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Experiment 1

The aim of Experiment 1 was to examine peoples’ donating intentions after viewing an image that had been found to produce strong optimistic feelings or strong pessimistic feelings about the future of Christchurch. The Christchurch Earthquake Appeal Trust (CEAT) is a charity set up by the New Zealand Government to help support rebuilding the city of Christchurch. The CEAT was used in Experiment 1 as the charity for which participants would intend to donate to. The CEAT agreed to participate in the study.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and sixty five people (145 males, 104 females, $M_{age} = 23.52$, age range: 16-66) took part in Experiment 1. People were approached to participate in the study at a busy outdoor location at the University of Canterbury. People were randomly approached by the experimenter and were asked if they would like to participate in a “three minute study”. Participants received an individually wrapped 85 gram CookieTime cookie as a reward for taking part in the study. Most of the people who were approached completed the study; few
people declined the request to participate in the study. Participants were randomly assigned to one of five experimental conditions: *Pyne Gould* condition (30 male, 20 female), *CTV* condition (31 male, 20 female), *Reconstruction* condition (27 male, 24 female), *Cashel Mall* condition (28 male, 22 female), and *Empty Lot* condition (29 male, 18 female). All of the participants completed the study on the same day.

**Measures**

**Situational Optimism/Pessimism.** The effect of situational optimism and pessimism was manipulated through the presentation of either an optimistic, pessimistic or neutral (control) photograph. The selection of the five photographs used in Experiment 1, were based on their optimism/pessimism ratings from Study 1 (see Appendix C for examples of the five photographs). *Pyne Gould* and *CTV* had the two highest mean ratings of pessimism; *Reconstruction* and *Cashel Mall* had the two highest mean ratings of optimism; and *Empty Lot* had the highest number of neutral ratings.

**Donating Intentions.** A question was designed to measure a person’s intention to donating to the CEAT. Participants were asked the question: “would you donate money to the Christchurch Earthquake Appeal Trust?” The question was answered on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *No* (1) to *Absolutely yes* (7).

**Covariates.** Despite random assignment to groups, it was important to control for potential covariates to ensure that groups were equal during the statistical analysis. The covariates that were collected were past donating behaviour; effect of Christchurch earthquakes on participants, charity familiarity; dispositional optimism/pessimism; and charity trust.
**Past donating behaviour.** Information about participants’ past donating behaviour was collected because people who have donated in the past may be more likely to intend to donate. To measure past donating behaviour, participants were asked two questions: “Have you donated to the Christchurch Earthquake Appeal Trust in the past?” (participants answered either Yes or No) and “In the last 12 months, how many times have you made a donation”. Participants reported the number of times they had made a donation in the space provided on the questionnaire.

**Effect of Christchurch earthquakes on participants.** The extent to which participants were affected by the earthquakes was measured to control for it as a possible confounding variable. The Christchurch earthquakes may have affected people differently, which in turn, may affect how likely a person is to donate to the CEAT. Participants were asked the question: “To what extent have the Christchurch earthquakes affected your life?” This question was responded to on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from Not at all (1) to To a great extent (7).

**Charity familiarity.** How familiar participants were with the CEAT prior to completing the current study was measured to control for it as a confounding variable. A person who is more familiar with the CEAT may be more likely to donate to the CEAT, than a person who is not familiar with the CEAT. Participants were asked the question: “Please indicate how familiar you are with the Christchurch Earthquake Appeal Trust prior to completing this study”. This question was responded to on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from Not at all familiar (1) to Extremely familiar (5).

**Dispositional optimism/pessimism.** Dispositional optimism has been defined as generalised positive outcome expectancies – expectations that good things will happen – while dispositional pessimism has been defined as generalised negative outcome expectancies
– expectations that bad things will happen (Carver & Scheier, 1985). The Extended Life Orientation Test (ELOT; Chang, May-Olivares, & D’Zurilla, 1997) was used to measure dispositional optimism and pessimism. The ELOT is an extension of the Life Orientation Test, which was initially developed by Craver and Scheier (1985). The ELOT is 15-item scale, consisting of nine pessimism items (e.g. *Things never work out the way I want them to.*) and six optimism items (e.g. *I always look on the bright side of things*; see Appendix D for a full list of items). Each item was rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (5). The ELOT optimism and pessimism scales have shown adequate internal consistency, Cronbach’s α = .77 and .89 respectively, and adequate test-retest reliability, .73 and .84 (Chang et al., 1997). In the current study, the optimism and pessimism scales revealed adequate internal consistency, Cronbach’s α = .70 and .86 respectively.

**Charity trust.** Charity trust was measured using Sargeant, Ford and West’s (2006) trust scale. Charity trust is the extent of donor belief that the organisation will behave as expected and fulfil its obligations. An example item is “I would trust this organisation to use donated funds appropriately” (see Appendix E for a full list of items). The trust scale items were responded to on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (5). The rating given for each item in the scale was summed and divided by five to produce a charity trust score, which ranged between 1 and 5. A high score indicated that the participant had high trust in the CEAT. The trust scale has been reported as having excellent internal reliability; Sargeant et al. obtained an alpha value of .94. For the current study, an alpha value of .92 was obtained.

**Demographics.** Information on participants’ gender and age was collected.
Materials

The front page of the experimental questionnaire Flyers was designed using the ‘insert shape’ function in Microsoft Word 2007. The background of the flyer was filled in with a colour that was similar to the blue colour used for the CEAT’s logo. A black 1 millimetre border was inserted around the flyer to make the flyer more disguisable from the paper it was going to be printed on.

A high resolution image of the CEAT’s logo was searched for using the World Wide Web. A high resolution image could not be found, and the correspondent at the CEAT could not locate one either. Instead, the experimenter replicated the CEAT logo by typing “CHRISTCHURCH EARTHQUAKE APPEAL TRUST” using the font Gisha on Microsoft Word 2007. Gisha was not the font used in the CEAT’s logo; however, the style of Gisha possessed similar characteristics to the style of the CEAT’s logo. The redesigned CEAT logo was inserted onto the flyer. A white 5mm border was inserted around each photo to distinguish the background of the flyer with from the photographs. Five templates were created for the five experimental photographs (see Appendix F for an example template).

Using the same printer that was used in Study 1, 270 colour copies of the 4-page questionnaire were printed and stapled together for Experiment 1. The information/consent form was the top page of each questionnaire. The flyer and the questions about donating behaviour were on the next page. The optimism/pessimism scale and the trust scale were printed onto separate pages. To mitigate order effects, half of questionnaires in each condition had the optimism/pessimism scale presented before the trust scale; the other half of the questionnaires had the trust scale presented first. Fifty five questionnaires for each of the five conditions were produced (270 questionnaires in total). The five conditions were shuffled into one pile, and participants were randomly assigned to a condition based on the
order that they arrived to complete the study. Six clipboards and six pens were used to administer the questionnaires.

**Procedure**

All of the participants were administered the questionnaire at an outdoor location at the University of Canterbury campus. A stall was set up in a busy outdoor pedestrian-way on a fine sunny day. The experimenter and two associates approached people who were walking past the stall asking if the walker wanted to take part in a “three minute study”. Participants received a clip board with a questionnaire clipped to it and a pen. Participants completed the questionnaire at the stall in view of the experimenter; participants did not take the questionnaire away from the stall. As there were only six clipboards, there were only six people completing a questionnaire at any one time. Participants gave the clipboard back to the experimenter with the questionnaire still clipped to it. The participants received their *Cookie Time* cookie as a reward for completing a questionnaire. Participants took between 2-5 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

**Analysis**

A between-subjects experimental design was employed for Experiment 1. The study was conducted using a “pen and paper” method. The independent variable was the five photograph conditions (Pyne Gould, CTV, Empty lot, Reconstruction, Cashel Mall). The dependent variable was participant’s intention to donate to the Christchurch Earthquake Appeal Trust (CEAT). Covariates were dispositional optimism/pessimism; past donating behaviour; perceived effect of the Christchurch earthquakes on their life; familiarity with the CEAT; and charity trust.
Results

Data Treatment

Two scores were constructed from the dispositional optimism/pessimism scale. The first score was constructed using the optimism items from the Extended Life-Orientation Test (ELOT; see Appendix D). The scores for the optimism items were added together and divided by six - the number of optimism items. This produced a mean dispositional optimism score for each participant. The dispositional optimism score was used in all subsequent analyses. The second score was constructed using the pessimism items of the ELOT. The scores for the pessimism items were added together and divided by nine - the number of pessimism items. The resulting dispositional pessimism score was used in all subsequent analyses.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 shows the means and standard deviations for the dependent and control variables by condition. Means and standard deviations for each variable are shown for the total sample in the far right column of Table 2.

Main Analysis

An analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted to examine the differences between the experimental conditions on donating intentions. The independent variable was the experimental condition: Pyne Gould (Pessimistic), CTV (Pessimistic), Empty Lot (Neutral), Reconstruction (Optimistic), and Cashel Mall (Optimistic). The dependent variable was donating intentions. The covariates were past donating behaviour, effect of Christchurch earthquakes, familiarity with the Christchurch Earthquake Appeal Trust, charity trust, and
dispositional optimism/pessimism. The assumptions for ANCOVA were met; Levene’s test of equality was not significant.

The results showed that after controlling for the covariates, the model (independent variable) was a significant predictor of donating intentions, $F(11, 240) = 4.97, p < .001$, $\text{partial } \eta^2 = .19$. Table 3 shows the adjusted means for each condition. Post hoc analyses revealed that there was one significant between-group difference, which was between the
Pyne Gould (pessimistic) condition and the Reconstruction (optimistic) condition, $t(240) = -0.77, p = .02$. This indicated that a pessimistic image elicited higher donating intentions from participants than an optimistic image. This result supported the hypothesis.

**Discussion**

The aim of this study was to examine the effect of an optimism-invoking image and pessimism-invoking image on donating intentions. In the first part of this study, 54 participants rated 30 photographs on how each photograph made them feel about the future of Christchurch (i.e. optimistic or pessimistic). The results of Study 1 were used to establish which photographs made people feel more optimistic and more pessimistic. The two most optimism-invoking photographs and the two most pessimism-invoking photographs were used in Experiment 1. Experiment 1 examined whether there was a difference in donating intentions between people who viewed an optimistic photograph, a pessimistic photograph or

Table 3

*Estimated Means*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$n$</th>
<th>$M$</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donating Intentions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyne Gould</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>[3.91, 4.86]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTV</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>[3.58, 4.50]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral Condition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empty Lot</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>[3.40, 4.36]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optimistic Condition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconstruction</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>[3.15, 4.09]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashel Mall</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>[3.67, 4.63]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a neutral photograph. The research hypothesis was that a pessimistic image was more likely to promote larger intentions to donate than an optimistic image.

The results showed that there was a significant difference between one optimistic condition and one pessimistic condition; with the pessimistic condition having a higher mean rating of donating intentions than the optimistic condition. In other words, the pessimistic photograph elicited larger intentions to donate than the optimistic photograph. This result supported the research hypothesis as well as previous literature; studies have found that an advertisement that elicits a negative-affective response (e.g. guilt) rather than an advertisement that elicits a positive-affective response (e.g. joy) is more likely to promote positive consumer behaviours such as donating (e.g. Homer & Yoon, 1992; Haynes, Thornton, & Jones, 2004; Small & Verrochi, 2009). Research has found that situational optimism and pessimism have been positively correlated, yet have a separate effect, to positive and negative affect (e.g. Chang, Maydeu-Olivares, & D’Zurilla, 1997). Therefore, it was reasonable to assume that a pessimism-invoking image over an optimism-invoking image should elicit larger donating intentions even though there have not been any studies that have directly examined the relationship between optimism/pessimism and donating intentions/behaviour.

Chang and Lee (2009) make several explanations as to why pessimistic (negative) images generate stronger donating intentions than optimistic (positive) images. First, people have a negativity bias in which they will give more importance and pay more attention to negative information. As a result they will elaborate more on that negative information and be more likely to act on that information (i.e. donate money). Second, people are accustomed to seeing positively framed ads so when a negatively framed ad is presented, it violates peoples’ expectations. As a result, a negatively framed ad will be subject to higher scrutiny. Finally, a negative emotion-invoking advertisement will make people more aware of the
negative outcomes of not donating to the cause the advertisement is advocating. People will then be more likely to search for information about these negative outcomes as well as search for information on what they can do to help prevent those negative outcomes from occurring. Although the results of the current study provide evidence to support the negativity bias theory there may be other explanations for this study’s significant findings.

An alternative theory to explain the significant finding that a pessimistic image is more likely to promote stronger intentions to donate as opposed to an optimistic image is the possibility that, as the popular saying goes, “a picture tells a thousand words”. In other words, there may be too much noise in the experiment’s photographs. In Study 1, the experimenter attempted to mitigate this problem by having participants rate 30 photographs on how each of them made the participant feel about the future of Christchurch: optimistic or pessimistic. However, when the participants from Experiment 1 saw the respective photograph for their condition, they may not have been looking at it in terms of how it made them feel about the future of Christchurch. Instead, the participants may have been influenced by other factors such as the “emotional intensity” of the image. People are less likely to be persuaded by a high intensity advertisement and a low intensity advertisement when compared to a moderate intensity advertisement (Moore & Harris, 1996). In the current study, the optimism photograph may have been too intense or not intense enough to elicit strong donating intentions, which could explain the low mean score of donating intentions the optimism photograph obtained. Future studies should examine whether intensity of an optimistic or pessimistic image influences donating intentions.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

There were several factors that limit the applicability of the results. First, the study was about the future of Christchurch yet the sample consisted of people who inhabit
Christchurch. This sample restricts the applicability of the results to any area other the Christchurch, or to any area other than the area that a charity is attempting to raise fund for. All of the participants from Study 1 had been living in Christchurch for at least 12 months prior to completing the questionnaire and were therefore more likely to recognise the well-known buildings and infrastructure in the photographs they were presented. The sample from Experiment 1 was made up of students and staff members from the University of Canterbury. This indicates they were living in Christchurch at the time they completed the questionnaire. Because the participants from both Study 1 and Experiment 1 were more proximal to the effects of the Christchurch earthquakes, they may have been more likely to recognise the building and location in the photographs were more moved by it. As a result, the participants may have been more (or less) likely to donate. Participants were also more proximal to the funds raised for the damage done by the Christchurch earthquakes because those funds will go to Christchurch and the people living there – participants are more likely to reap the benefits of their own donations. Future studies should see whether similar results are found when the location of the donors and donation receivers are incongruent.

Another factor that limits the generalisability of the results is that the sample mainly comprised of young university students. The participants of Study 1 were all post-graduate Psychology students from the University of Canterbury. The manner in which these participants perceived and subsequently rated each of the 30 photographs from Study 1 may be significantly different to how other populations would perceive and rate the same photographs. Similar to Study 1, the sample from Experiment 1 mainly consisted of students from the University of Canterbury. The sample had a mean age of 20 years old, which is not an accurate representation of the New Zealand population and may limit the applicability of the results to other age groups and people of different professions. Nonetheless, it is important to understand donating intentions and behaviours of young people. Promoting
lifelong donating behaviours is integral to ensuring that charities receive a solid base of long
term-donors (Knowles, Hyde & White, 2012). Future studies should continue to focus on young people but expand the sample from university students to include young professionals. People who are earning more money, such as people who are working full-time, will have more disposable income and therefore may have different donating intentions and behaviours to full-time university students.

Another limitation is that mood may be a confounding variable that influenced participants’ perceptions of the photographs. If a person who is in a negative mood is presented with a negatively-orientated advertisement, they will want to dispel the negative feelings by performing helping behaviours. However, if a person who is in a positive mood viewed a negatively-orientated advertisement, the person may be less likely to be influenced by the negative emotion-invoking stimuli, and subsequently less likely to donate (Berkowitz, 1987). When the participants of the current study were completing the experimental questionnaire, negative and positive mood could have been measured, and subsequently partialled out during the analysis. Although random assignment of groups would have helped to mitigate this possibility, taking a measure of positive/negative mood would ensure that it was not mediating the relationship between situational optimism/pessimism and donating intentions.

Conclusions and Implications

The findings of the current study are of considerable importance for charities. Charities are in constant need of donations from the public in order to perform the vital services that so many people require. This current study found that people who viewed a pessimistic image were more likely to have stronger intentions to donate to the cause the image advocating than those who had viewed an optimistic image. Theories of planned
behaviour posit that people who intend to perform a particular behaviour will be more likely to perform that behaviour, so it stands to reason that the participants in the current study who had larger donating intentions would be more likely to perform donating behaviours than the participants who had weaker donating intentions (Smith & McSweeney, 2007). Charities that use pessimistic photographs in their advertising campaigns will benefit because they will be more likely to receive donations from the public. If charities receive more donations, they will have a larger capacity to help those who are in need of charitable assistance.

Advertising agencies employed to design advertisements for charities will also benefit from the results of this study. Advertising agencies will be able to use these findings to help their creative teams design effective advertisements – an advertisement that persuades people to “buy into” the product, service or idea - thereby increasing their profits (Richards & Curran, 2002).
References


Appendix A

Neutral

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Very Optimistic

Very Pessimistic

Neutral

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Very Optimistic

Very Pessimistic

Neutral

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Very Optimistic

Very Pessimistic

Neutral

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Very Optimistic

Very Pessimistic
Appendix B

Figure A1. Photograph 1.

Figure A2. Photograph 2.

Figure A3. Photograph 3.
Figure A4. Photograph 4.

Figure A5. Photograph 5.

Figure A6. Photograph 6.
Figure A7. Photograph 7.

Figure A8. Photograph 8.

Figure A9. Photograph 9.
Figure A10. Photograph 10.

Figure A11. Photograph 11.

Figure A12. Photograph 12.
Figure A13. Photograph 13.

Figure A14. Photograph 14.

Figure A15. Photograph 15.
Figure A16. Photograph 16.

Figure A17. Photograph 17.

Figure A18. Photograph 18
Figure A19. Photograph 19.

Figure A20. Photograph 20.

Figure A21. Photograph 21.
Figure A22. Photograph 22.

Figure A23. Photograph 23.

Figure A24. Photograph 24.
Figure A25. Photograph 25.

Figure A26. Photograph 26.

Figure A27. Photograph 27.
Figure A28. Photograph 28.

Figure A29. Photograph 29.

Figure A30. Photograph 30.
Appendix C

Figure B1. Photograph used in the *Pyne Gould* (pessimistic) condition in Experiment 1.

Figure B2. Photograph used in the *CTV* (pessimistic) condition in Experiment 1.

Figure B3. Photograph used in the *Empty Lot* (neutral) condition in Experiment 1.
Figure B4. Photograph used in the Reconstruction (optimistic) condition in Experiment 1.

Figure B5. Photograph used in the Cashel Mall (optimistic) condition in Experiment 1.
Appendix D

Six items measuring dispositional optimism in the Extended Life Orientation Test (ELOT; Chang, May-Olivares, & D’Zurilla, 1997):

1. In uncertain times I usually expect the best.
2. I always look on the bright side of things.
3. I’m always optimistic about my future.
4. When I undertake something new, I expect to succeed.
5. Where there’s a will, there’s a way.
6. In general, things turn out all right in the end.

Nine items measuring dispositional pessimism from the ELOT:

1. It is best not to get your hopes too high since you will probably be disappointed.
2. Rarely do I expect good things to happen.
3. If something can go wrong for me, it will.
4. I always look on the bright side of things.
5. I’m always optimistic about my future.
6. I hardly ever expect things to go my way.
7. When I undertake something new, I expect to succeed.
8. Things never work out the way I want them to.
9. If I make a decision on my own, I can pretty much count on the fact that it will turn out to be a poor one.
Appendix E

Five items measuring charity trust in Sargeant, Ford and West’s (2006) trust scale:

1. I would trust this organisation to always act in the best interests of the cause.
2. I would trust this organisation to conduct their operations ethically.
3. I would trust this organisation to use donated funds appropriately.
4. I would trust this organisation not to exploit their donors.
5. I would trust this organisation to use fundraising techniques that are appropriate and sensitive.
Appendix F

Would you donate money to the Christchurch Earthquake Appeal Trust? (please circle)

1  2  3  4  5  6  7
No                                           Absolutely
                                               Yes

Have you donated to the Christchurch Earthquake Appeal Trust in the past? (please circle)

Yes / No

To what extent have the Christchurch earthquakes affected your life? (please circle)

1  2  3  4  5  6  7
Not at all         To a great extent

In the last 12 months, how many times have you made a donation: ____________ times

Please indicate how familiar you are with the Christchurch Earthquake Appeal Trust prior to completing this study. (please circle)

1  2  3  4  5
Not all familiar  Slightly familiar  Somewhat familiar  Moderately familiar  Extremely familiar