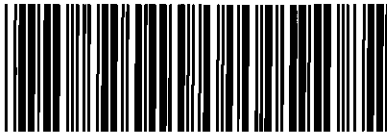


NOTICE WARNING CONCERNING COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

The copyright law of the United States [Title 17, United States Code] governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specified conditions is that the reproduction is not to be used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research. If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of "fair use," that use may be liable for copyright infringement. This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgement, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of copyright law. No further reproduction and distribution of this copy is permitted by transmission or any other means.



ILL: 37452203

Call Number:
Location: s
Maxcost: \$35.00IFM

DateReq: 11/26/2007 Yes
Date Rec: 11/26/2007 No
Borrower: PMC Conditional

Request Type: Source: ILLiad LenderString: *OLP,OUP,VZS,LAF,CLA
OCLC Number: 1754583 Affiliation: PALCI recip. copy pilot
Staff Email: es82@andrew.cmu.edu
Billing Notes: Please put IL# on invoice.

Title: Journal of experimental social psychology.

Uniform Title:

Author:

Edition: Imprint: San Diego [etc.] Academic Press.

Article: Kraut, Robert: Effects of social labeling on giving to charity

Vol: 9 No.: 6 Pages: 551-562 Date: 1973

Dissertation:

Verified: <TN:206708><ODYSSEY:128.2.20.146/ENS> OCLC 0022-1031

Borrowing ARIEL 128.2.21.4/128.2.114.135
Notes:

Ship To: ILL/E&S Library/Wean Hall/Carnegie Mellon University/5000 Forbes Ave/Pittsburgh/PA/15213-3890

E-delivery
Addr: (412)681-1998

Ship Via: IDS #187A01/Library Mail

Ship Via: IDS #187A01/Li

Return To:

ILL Dept.--Watzek Library
Lewis and Clark College
0615 SW Palatine Hill Rd.
Portland, OR 97219

Ship To:

ILL
E&S Library
Wean Hall
Carnegie Mellon University
5000 Forbes Ave



ILL: 37452203

Lender: OLP

NeedBy: 12/24/2007

Borrower: PMC

Req Date: 11/26/2007 OCLC #: 1754583

Patron: Kraut, Robert

Author:

Title: Journal of experimental social psychology.

Article: Kraut, Robert: Effects of social labeling on giving to charity

Vol: 9 No.: 6

Date: 1973 Pages: 551-562

Verified: <TN:206708><ODYSSEY:128.2.20.146/EN

Maxcost: \$35.00IFM Due Date:

Lending Notes:

Bor Notes: ARIEL 128.2.21.4/128.2.114.135

Journal of Social and Clinical Psy-

N. A comparison of personal space
grant NGR-44-009-008, Institute of
sity, 1968.

logy. *Sociometry*, 1965, 28, 337-348.
anata in schizophrenic males. *Journal*

disturbed boys. *Journal of Abnormal*

hemata. *Journal of Personality and*

Effects of Social Labeling on Giving to Charity¹

ROBERT E. KRAUT

University of Pennsylvania

This field experiment tested the hypothesis that social labeling influences an actor's self-concept and his perception of the consequences of his behavior. Subjects who gave to charity were labeled charitable or not labeled and subjects who refused to give were labeled uncharitable or not labeled. Subjects were later asked to contribute to a second charity by a canvasser who was either highly involved in his cause, and hence likely to dispense social reinforcements, or uninvolved in it. Subjects labeled charitable gave more and subjects labeled uncharitable gave less than their respective control groups ($p < .05$). However, labeling did not cause subjects to distinguish more between the involved and the uninvolved canvassers. All subjects contributed more to the involved than to the uninvolved canvasser ($p < .05$).

The interactionist or labeling perspective on deviance (Becker, 1963; Erikson, 1966; Lemert, 1951; Schur, 1971) focuses on the ways in which society selects certain behaviors to be deviant and certain people to fill deviant roles from the surplus of those who have performed deviant behavior, instead of focusing on individual and group predispositions to deviance. A proposition central to labeling theory is that initially a person performs deviant behavior from many of the same motives that cause him to perform normal behavior. However, once others start treating him as if he were deviant, he too comes to share this definition of himself. His self-image as a deviant maintains his deviant behavior.

While much of the research developing these ideas has been exciting and insightful, it has often been impressionistic and unsystematic

¹ This study is based on a Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Department of Psychology, Yale University. My advisor, Robert P. Abelson, helped immensely by providing intellectual and moral support for this project. Irving Janis, John McConahay, David Mettee, and Philip Powell offered sound advice. This project would have been impossible without the cooperation of Betty Hautaluoma, Barbara Pavlock, and Aya Betensky, who helped in data collection, and Dennis Mesenhimer of the Heart Association of Greater New Haven; Carl Puleo and Allan Quail of the Easter Seal Goodwill Industries; Stanley Goldstein of the Multiple Sclerosis Society; Michael Tarantino of the Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association; Joseph Burns of the Muscular Dystrophy Association of America; and Glen Creel of the Leukemia Society.

(Becker, 1963; Erikson, 1957, 1964; Goffman, 1961, 1963; and Matza, 1964). For example, much of it has lacked explicit comparison groups, and thus has not convincingly demonstrated a labeling effect. And because much of the research has been concerned with institutionalization, it has shifted the focus from the cognitive aspects of the labeling hypothesis.

Some psychological research which has not been concerned with deviance *per se* nevertheless supports the labeling hypothesis. Aronson and Mettee (1968) influenced subjects' cheating in a card game, and McArthur, Kiesler, and Cook (1969) influenced subjects' volunteering to pass out leaflets, both, presumably, by changing their self-concepts.

Part of labeling theory's appeal is in the counterintuitive predictions that it makes: negative reinforcement in the form of negative labels and institutionalization maintains, not reduces, deviant behavior. However, research by Cameron (1964) and by Robin (1963) supports a social reinforcement model and suggests that labeling an individual a thief, when the label is not confounded with institutionalization, may stop future stealing. Their research suggests that when an offender is labeled a deviant, his estimates of the risks involved in being deviant may be affected as well as his self-image. He becomes more sensitive to the possibility that he may be caught again; to the negative consequences if he is caught; to the way he presents himself and the way he is perceived; and to external cues which signal further punishment.

In summary, when a person is labeled deviant two opposing forces act on him. To the extent that labeling is a cognitive manipulation of his self-concept, he comes to think of himself as deviant, and, in appropriate circumstances, to behave as if he were deviant. However, to the extent that the deviant label is a negative social reinforcement, it makes him more sensitive to negative sanctions and thus reduces his deviant behavior. If he performs deviant behavior at all, he will perform it only when the risks of detection and punishment are low.

The present research is an attempt to test these ideas in an analogy to the situation in which a person is labeled deviant for violating a social norm. While to be most relevant to labeling theory the label applied to a subject should be one that is traditionally considered deviant, this was not done here for ethical reasons. Instead, subjects were labeled uncharitable for refusing to contribute to a charity. When a subject refuses to give to a good cause, he violates a social norm (Berkowitz & Daniels, 1964), although one which is relatively conditional—that is, less widely held and enforced less often and with weaker sanctions—compared to the norms defining traditional deviant behavior (Morris, 1956).

While labeling theory, as a theory of deviance, has been exclusively concerned with negative labels, in this study some subjects were labeled

charitable for contributing to a charity as well as negative labels are used to instill to the extent that labeling theory is a theory in which people learn about themselves from the feedback they receive from others studied. The predictions for the charitable and uncharitable label.

After subjects were labeled for contributing to charity, in a separate situation they were labeled uncharitable for not contributing to one. In an attempt to vary the salience of the label and thus to distinguish between the effects of the labeled subjects to sanctions, the subjects were either highly involved or uninvolved in the charity. Presumably, an apathetic canvasser would not give to his cause, and hence would be labeled uncharitable. On the other hand, a dedicated canvasser would give his pleasure at a contribution or disapproval.

To summarize this reasoning, the subjects who had been labeled uncharitable for refusing to contribute less money to a second charity than they had been labeled. Subjects who have been labeled uncharitable to one charity will give more money to a second charity than subjects who have not been labeled. Subjects who give more money to an involved canvasser than to a subject labeled uncharitable and charitable to an uninvolved and an uninvolved canvasser.

PROCEDURE

Overview

Subjects were contacted by charitable appeals mailed to their homes. In the first phase of the to-door appeal, subjects were asked to contribute to a charity. In the second phase, half of the experiment, E_1 labeled uncharitable for not contributing, and provided no feedback to the other half of the experiment, E_2 labeled charitable for contributing, and provided no feedback to the other half. E_2 returned to the subjects' homes to collect money for a contribution to a second charity. E_2 was either interested in the cause for which he was canvassing or apathetic. Fourth, about 2 weeks later, E_1 returned to answer a questionnaire about reasons why

Subjects

About 500 women from two predominantly middle-class neighborhoods in New Haven, Connecticut were

offman, 1961, 1963; and Matza, checked explicit comparison groups, tested a labeling effect. And because of institutionalization, it has effects of the labeling hypothesis.

has not been concerned with deviant labeling hypothesis. Aronson and cheating in a card game, and influenced subjects' volunteering by changing their self-concepts.

the counterintuitive predictions of the form of negative labels and acts, deviant behavior. However, Robin (1963) supports a social re-labeling an individual a thief, when institutionalization, may stop future when an offender is labeled a deviant being deviant may be affected more sensitive to the possibility of negative consequences if he is caught; the way he is perceived; and to extent.

deviant two opposing forces act as a cognitive manipulation of his self as deviant, and, in appropriate situations, deviant. However, to the extent of social reinforcement, it makes him deviant thus reduces his deviant behavior. At all, he will perform it only when incentives are low.

To test these ideas in an analogy of a deviant for violating a social norm, labeling theory the label applied to the subject considered deviant, this was used. In addition, subjects were labeled uncharitable. When a subject refuses to contribute to a charity, a social norm (Berkowitz & Daniels, 1963) conditional—that is, less widely applied—weaker sanctions—compared to a deviant (Morris, 1956).

deviance, has been exclusively used. In the study some subjects were labeled

charitable for contributing to a charity. To the extent that positive as well as negative labels are used to instill conformity to social norms, and to the extent that labeling theory is a general statement about the way in which people learn about themselves, positive labels should also be studied. The predictions for the charitable label parallel those for the uncharitable label.

After subjects were labeled for contributing or not contributing to a charity, in a separate situation they were asked to contribute to a second one. In an attempt to vary the salience of possible sanctions for the subject and thus to distinguish between the sensitivity of labeled and non-labeled subjects to sanctions, the second charity canvasser was either highly involved or uninvolved in the cause for which he was collecting. Presumably, an apathetic canvasser would not care whether or not the subject gave to his cause, and hence would be unlikely to sanction him. On the other hand, a dedicated canvasser might be more likely to show his pleasure at a contribution or displeasure at a lack of one.

To summarize this reasoning, the predictions are that subjects who have been labeled uncharitable for refusing to give to one charity will give less money to a second charity than similar subjects who have not been labeled. Subjects who have been labeled charitable for contributing to one charity will give more money to a second charity than similar subjects who have not been labeled. Subjects in general will give more money to an involved canvasser than to an uninvolved canvasser. Subjects labeled uncharitable and charitable will distinguish between an involved and an uninvolved canvasser more than nonlabeled subjects.

PROCEDURES

Overview

Subjects were contacted by charitable agencies four times. First, subjects were mailed charity appeals from three health organizations. Second, during a local door-to-door appeal, subjects were asked to contribute to a charity by E₁. In the nondonor half of the experiment, E₁ labeled uncharitable one half of those subjects who did not contribute, and provided no feedback to the other half. Similarly, in the donor half of the experiment, E₁ labeled charitable one half of the subjects who did contribute, and provided no feedback to the other half. Third, approximately 1 week later, E₂ returned to the subjects' homes to collect the main dependent measure by asking for a contribution to a second charity. E₂ presented himself as either involved and interested in the cause for which he was collecting, or else as uninvolved and apathetic. Fourth, about 2 weeks later, E₃ telephoned the subjects and asked them to answer a questionnaire about reasons why they might give to charity.

Subjects

About 500 women from two predominantly white working and middle-class neighborhoods in New Haven, Connecticut were mailed charity appeals as described below.

Women were selected as target subjects since they were more likely to be home twice, once for the labeling manipulation and once for the collections of the dependent measures.

The eventual subjects were 153 working- and middle-class people who were home on two occasions and talked to both E_1 and E_2 long enough to receive both experimental manipulations. Seventy-five percent of the subjects were women. Their mean estimated age was 47.

In two passes through each neighborhood, E_1 was able to randomly assign 205 subjects to experimental conditions. Householders who didn't answer the door or weren't home, didn't understand English, or closed the door before E_1 could deliver the experimental manipulation, were dropped from the experiment by E_1 . Of the 205 subjects randomly assigned to condition by E_1 , 153 could also be randomly assigned to condition by E_2 ; the other 52 subjects were dropped from the experiment by E_2 because he could not personally contact them within a 2 week period after the labeling. Since E_2 was kept unaware of the subject's prior experimental condition, his decision to drop a subject from the experiment was made independently of that knowledge.

Method

Mailed charity appeals. Potential subjects were mailed charity appeals from three national health organizations. Since the response rate for written charity appeals was very low, as was expected, these three appeals provided potential subjects with several occasions in which they refused to contribute to a worthy cause. They gave the heterogeneous group an experience in common, one which was consistent with the uncharitable label that would be applied to some of them.

Labeling. Between 1 and 3 weeks after the mailing of the charity appeals, during a widely publicized local fund-raising campaign, E_1 came to each subject's home to ask for a Heart Association contribution. E_1 was a white, middle-class woman, either 25 or 35 years old. E_1 always asked to speak with the lady of the house if a man or a child answered the door. If a woman answered the door or no woman was available, E_1 asked the person at the door for a contribution. When E_1 asked for a contribution, she was blind to the experimental condition to which the subject would be assigned. E_1 also asked for her name and recorded the subject's sex, hair color, and approximate age for identification purposes.

The charitable label. If the subject made any contribution, she was assigned to the donor half of the experiment. E_1 randomly assigned each subject to either the charitable label or the nonlabeled condition. In the labeled condition, E_1 gave the subject a health leaflet and told her:

You are a generous person. I wish more of the people I met were as charitable as you.

Attached to the leaflet was a card containing further feedback:

Charitable people give generously to help a good cause and those less fortunate than themselves. Are you one?

If the subject was assigned to the nonlabeled condition, E_1 gave her a health leaflet only and no personality feedback.

The uncharitable label. If the subject made no contribution, she was assigned to the nondonor half of the experiment. E_1 randomly assigned her to the uncharitable label or the nonlabeled condition. In the labeled condition E_1 said:

Let me give you one of our health leaflets to everyone, even people like you who give to these causes.

Attached to the leaflet was a card with further feedback:

Uncharitable people give excuses and

Again, if the subject was assigned to the nonlabeled condition, E_1 gave her the health leaflet and no feedback.

Involvement variable and dependent measures. The dependent measures were Heart Association solicitation and the labeling manipulation. The independent variables were the fund-raising campaign for Multiple Sclerosis, E_2 's contribution. This was the main dependent variable. The subject was a white, middle-class, 25-year-old, bearded man assigned to the nonlabeled experimental condition.

E_2 randomly assigned the subject to either the labeled or nonlabeled condition. E_2 was a white, middle-class, 25-year-old, bearded man who was involved canvasser by presenting himself as an employee of the Heart Association cause for which he was collecting. In the uninvolved condition he said:

I've been working with handicapped people for several years. Today I volunteered to collect for Multiple Sclerosis organizations that help the handicapped people. I'm collecting money to Multiple Sclerosis?

In the uninvolved condition he said:

Everyone in my office had to go out today for charity, and I got assigned Multiple Sclerosis. I don't know how to do something with the handicapped. I don't like to contribute any money to Multiple Sclerosis?

In both conditions, after the request for a contribution, E_2 gave the subject a Goodwill bag which she could fill up with any usable goods to contribute to the cause. In the uninvolved condition, E_2 gave the subject a Goodwill bag which she could fill up with any usable goods to contribute to the cause.

Telephone survey. Between 1 and 2 weeks after the labeling, E_2 telephoned each subject for whom a telephone number was available. E_2 presented herself as a Multiple Sclerosis volunteer collecting for a door-to-door charity appeal in which the subject had participated. E_2 asked the subject several manipulation checks and asked the subject if he or she might give to a future charity. E_2 also asked the subject if he or she might mention the uncharitable label, although E_2 never, since telephone numbers could be found only 88 of these agreed to participate in the experiment. The results are reported in detail here. There were no significant differences in the proportion of subjects assigned to the labeled and nonlabeled conditions in the proportion of subjects who participated in the telephone survey.

RESU

Subject loss. This research was designed to eliminate subjects' suspicion and experimental bias.

² Results from the survey are reported in Kraut (1978).

nce they were more likely to be home
once for the collections of the dependent

and middle-class people who were home
E₂ long enough to receive both experi-
f the subjects were women. Their mean

d, E₁ was able to randomly assign 205
olders who didn't answer the door or
closed the door before E₁ could deliver
from the experiment by E₁. Of the 205
i, 153 could also be randomly assigned
re dropped from the experiment by E₁
m within a 2 week period after the
subject's prior experimental condition, his
ment was made independently of that

were mailed charity appeals from three
use rate for written charity appeals was
eals provided potential subjects with
ntribute to a worthy cause. They gave
mmon, one which was consistent with
some of them.

e mailing of the charity appeals, during
gn, E₁ came to each subject's home to
as a white, middle-class woman, either
with the lady of the house if a man or
ered the door or no woman was avail-
ontribution. When E₁ asked for a con-
ndition to which the subject would be
rded the subject's sex, hair color, and

any contribution, she was assigned to
ly assigned each subject to either the
In the labeled condition, E₁ gave the

f the people I met were as chari-

ther feedback:

lp a good cause and those less

eled condition, E₁ gave her a health

no contribution, she was assigned to
mly assigned her to the uncharitable
condition E₁ said:

Let me give you one of our health leaflets anyway. We've been giving them to everyone, even people like you who are uncharitable and don't normally give to these causes.

Attached to the leaflet was a card with further feedback:

Uncharitable people give excuses and refuse to help others. Are you one?

Again, if the subject was assigned to the nonlabeled condition, she was given only the health leaflet and no feedback.

Involvement variable and dependent measures. Between 1 and 2 weeks after the Heart Association solicitation and the labeling manipulation, during a local fund-raising campaign for Multiple Sclerosis, E₂ came to the subject's home asking for a contribution. This was the main dependent measure in the experiment. E₂ was a white, middle-class, 25-year-old, bearded male. E₂ was blind to the subject's prior experimental condition.

E₂ randomly assigned the subject to either the involved canvasser or the uninvolved canvasser by presenting himself as either highly involved or uninvolved in the cause for which he was collecting. In the involved condition he said:

I've been working with handicapped people for a couple of years now and today I volunteered to collect for Multiple Sclerosis and Goodwill, two organizations that help the handicapped. Would you like to contribute any money to Multiple Sclerosis?

In the uninvolved condition he said:

Everyone in my office had to go out today and spend some time collecting for charity, and I got assigned Multiple Sclerosis and Goodwill. I think they do something with the handicapped. I'm supposed to be asking if you'd like to contribute any money to Multiple Sclerosis.

In both conditions, after the request for funds E₂ then asked the subject if she had any usable goods to contribute to Goodwill. Finally he offered each subject a Goodwill bag which she could fill up with small goods and contribute at her convenience.

Telephone survey. Between 1 and 2 weeks after the second charity appeal, E₃ telephoned each subject for whom a telephone number could be found and introduced herself as a Multiple Sclerosis volunteer conducting a survey to improve the door-to-door charity appeal in which the subject had just participated. The survey included several manipulation checks and asked the subject to give reasons why she might or might not give to a future charity. E₃ also apologized to and reassured any subject who mentioned the uncharitable label, although E₃ did not debrief the subject. However, since telephone numbers could be found for only 117 of the 153 subjects and only 88 of these agreed to participate in the surveys, results from the survey are not reported in detail here. There were no significant differences according to experimental conditions in the proportion of subjects who completed the survey.²

RESULTS

Subject loss. This research was conducted as a field experiment to eliminate subjects' suspicion and experimenter's demand as explanations

² Results from the survey are reported in Kraut (1973).

for the results. However, field experiments almost invariably imply a loss of experimental control. In this experiment, some subject loss after the labeling manipulation was unavoidable. It was assumed a priori that if a subject was not home at a specified time or if one member of a household rather than another answered a knock on the door, the reasons would be unrelated to the labeling manipulations. It is reasonable that the labeling manipulations would not differentially affect the type of person who was lost and that, therefore, the labeled and nonlabeled groups would be approximately as equal after subject loss as they were before.

However, since the loss of subjects might influence the interpretation of the results, it would be helpful to look at who was retained in the experiment and who was lost. Of the 205 subjects who were assigned to an experimental condition by E_1 , 52 were lost because they could not be contacted by E_2 . In 18 cases no one seemed to be home any of the times that E_2 called; in 30 cases the original subject was not home or could not be contacted after someone other than the original contact answered the door; and in four cases the subject seemed not to speak English.

Unfortunately, the percentage of subjects lost to the experiment differed according to the experimental condition to which they had been assigned. Thirty-eight per cent of the subjects who had given to E_1 and had been labeled charitable, 17% of those who had given to E_1 and had not been labeled, 18% of those who had not given to E_1 and had been labeled uncharitable, 18% of those who had not given to E_1 and had not been labeled could not be contacted by E_2 ($\chi^2(3) = 9.96, p < .05, 2$ -tailed).³

Multiple Sclerosis contribution. The contribution that the subject made to Multiple Sclerosis was the main dependent measure. Table 1 shows the mean amount of money per cell donated to Multiple Sclerosis and

TABLE 1
MEAN MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS CONTRIBUTIONS

Involvement	Donor		Nondonor		Average
	Charitable label	No label	Uncharitable label	No label	
High	\$.78 (n = 20)	\$.46 (n = 30)	\$.38 (n = 13)	\$.50 (n = 11)	\$.54
Low	\$.61 (n = 17)	\$.37 (n = 32)	\$.11 (n = 14)	\$.22 (n = 16)	\$.34
Average	\$.70	\$.41	\$.23	\$.33	

³The probability levels for statistical tests of directional hypotheses are 1-tailed. Where no a priori hypothesis was made, probability levels are 2-tailed.

TABLE
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS CONTRIBUTIONS
FOR DONOR

Source	df
Label (a)	1
Involvement (b)	1
(a) × (b)	1
Error	95

** $p < .025, 1$ -tailed.

the number of subjects on which the unweighted means analysis of variance was based and the nondonor halves of the experiment.

In the donor half of the experiment the labeled subjects significantly increased her next contribution ($\bar{X}_{\text{labeled}} = \1.41 vs $\bar{X}_{\text{nonlabeled}} = \1.41). This increase reflected the fact that 6% of the subjects who made a contribution, 6% of the nonlabeled subjects ($z = 1.52$). The difference was statistically significant ($t(51) = 2.33, p < .05, 1$ -tailed).

In the nondonor half of the experiment the labeled uncharitable group was lower ($\bar{X}_{\text{labeled}} = \1.23 vs $\bar{X}_{\text{nonlabeled}} = \1.33), which was statistically significant. In addition, the involved canvasser than to the uninvolved canvasser.

If labeling makes subjects differ in their contributions, one would expect labeled subjects to contribute more than the uninvolved canvasser more than expected interactions between the labeled and uninvolved canvasser. This was not apparent in either the donor or the

TABLE
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS CONTRIBUTIONS
FOR NONDONOR

Source	df
Label (a)	1
Involvement (b)	1
(a) × (b)	1
Error	50

* $p < .05, 1$ -tailed.

ts almost invariably imply a loss
ent, some subject loss after the
It was assumed a priori that if
ne or if one member of a house-
k on the door, the reasons would
s. It is reasonable that the label-
y affect the type of person who
nd nonlabeled groups would be
as they were before.

ght influence the interpretation
at who was retained in the ex-
bjects who were assigned to an
ost because they could not be
ed to be home any of the times
ject was not home or could not
e original contact answered the
d not to speak English.

ets lost to the experiment dif-
finition to which they had been
jects who had given to E₁ and
who had given to E₁ and had
not given to E₁ and had been
d not given to E₁ and had not
y E₂ ($\chi^2(3) = 9.96, p < .05$,

tribution that the subject made
ndent measure. Table 1 shows
ted to Multiple Sclerosis and

CONTRIBUTIONS

Nondonor		
Charitable label	No label	Average
38 (n = 13)	\$.50 (n = 11)	\$.54
11 (n = 14)	\$.22 (n = 16)	\$.34
23	\$.33	

directional hypotheses are 1-tailed.
levels are 2-tailed.

TABLE 2
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS CONTRIBUTIONS
FOR DONOR SUBJECTS

Source	df	MS	F ratio
Label (a)	1	1.78	4.57**
Involvement (b)	1	0.37	
(a) × (b)	1	0.03	
Error	95	0.39	

** $p < .025$, 1-tailed.

the number of subjects on which the mean is based. Tables 2 and 3 are the unweighted means analysis of variance source tables for the donor and the nondonor halves of the experiment.

In the donor half of the experiment, labeling a subject charitable significantly increased her next contribution to charity ($\bar{X}_{\text{labeled}} = \$.70$ vs $\bar{X}_{\text{nonlabeled}} = \$.41$). This increase reflects the larger percentage of labeled subjects who made a contribution, 62% of the labeled subjects versus 47% of the nonlabeled subjects ($z = 1.52, p < .07$), and the larger contributions of those labeled subjects who did contribute ($\bar{X}_{\text{labeled}} = \$ 1.13$ vs $\bar{X}_{\text{nonlabeled}} = \$.88, t(51) = .33, n.s.$). Subjects gave more to the involved canvasser, although this difference was not statistically significant.

In the nondonor half of the experiment, the mean contribution of the labeled uncharitable group was lower than that of the nonlabeled group ($\bar{X}_{\text{labeled}} = \$.23$ vs $\bar{X}_{\text{nonlabeled}} = \$.33$), although the difference was not statistically significant. In addition, subjects gave significantly more to the involved canvasser than to the uninvolved one.

If labeling makes subjects differentially sensitive to potential sanctioning, one would expect labeled subjects to distinguish between the involved and the uninvolved canvasser more than nonlabeled subjects. The expected interactions between the label and the involvement variables did not appear in either the donor or the nondonor halves of the experiment.

TABLE 3
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS CONTRIBUTIONS
FOR NONDONOR SUBJECTS

Source	df	MS	F ratio
Label (a)	1	0.17	
Involvement (b)	1	1.03	3.41*
(a) × (b)	1	0.00	
Error	50	0.30	

* $p < .05$, 1-tailed.

Combining these data in a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ analysis of variance (Heart Association contribution by involvement by label) shows that subjects who gave to the first charity were also more likely to give to a second one ($F(1,145) = 6.26, p < .01$). Subjects were also more likely to contribute to the involved canvasser than to the uninvolved one ($F(1,145) = 3.86, p < .05$). Finally, in the most interesting comparison, subjects who were labeled charitable gave more and subjects who were labeled uncharitable gave less than their respective control groups ($F(1,145) = 3.58, p < .05$). Expressing this interaction more simply, labeling increased the consistency between a subject's contribution to the first and second charities. The Pearson correlation between the Heart Association and the Multiple Sclerosis contribution for all subjects who had not been labeled was .06, while the correlation for all labeled subjects was .64. However, these figures overestimate the effect, since the correlations were not based on equal-sized, normal distributions.

Goodwill contributions. Neither the labeling nor the involvement manipulation in either the donor or the nondonor halves of the experiment had an effect on subjects' material contributions to Goodwill or their acceptance of a Goodwill donation bag. This may be because, as some subjects reported, they considered Goodwill a service to remove goods for which they no longer had a use, rather than a charity. Contributions to Goodwill seemed largely determined by whether the subject had these goods available.

DISCUSSION

In general, the results support the initial hypothesis that labeling a person, i.e., giving him feedback based on his behavior, causes him to behave consistently with the label and with his past behavior. In this experiment, subjects who were labeled charitable gave more and subjects who were labeled uncharitable gave less than their nonlabeled counterparts. That is, labeling increased the consistency between the subjects' two contributions.

Surprisingly, the effect of the charitable label on contributions was stronger than the effect of the uncharitable label, which on an a priori basis seemed more unusual, noteworthy, and powerful. It is possible that subjects defensively rejected the uncharitable label because of the negative qualities it attributed to them, while actively accepting the charitable label for its positive qualities (Cameron, 1964; Wallace & Sadella, 1966). It is also possible that the uncharitable label failed to have a large effect due to the already low base rate of contributions prior to the manipulation, i.e., a floor effect.

Whatever the reason, it remains necessary for us to explain how labeling

affects behavior at all. While labeling his self-image on the basis of other consistently with that self-image, the a slightly different interpretation. Rather with information about himself, lab attention to his own behavior, to fo observations, and to behave consist unusual reaction, makes salient beh and not attended to in detail.

The surprising lack of consistency two charity contributions ($r = .06$) draw personality inferences from the evidence of the situational specificity canvassers, using different appeals, co shorne & May, 1928; Mischel, 1968) subjects compensated for their prior cor refused to contribute and feeling the gations if they had made a previous lack of consistency suggests that Lepper's (1973) proposal that people serving their behavior is incomplete and Fraser and Lepper experiment distinctive before a person pays atte less noteworthy behavior, such as t increase the probability that he wou future, such as helping the same pe & Latané, 1970).

While any unusual situation might reaction may be crucially important concept on the basis of his behavior that actors tend to attribute their beh observers of an action tend to attri is probably unusual for an actor to point of view of an event involving may be tempted to adopt the obser personality attributions from his beha case, when the canvasser uses the infer that she is charitable or unch same behavior to make a similar inf

A noncognitive alternative explan that the charitable and uncharita toward charities and charity canvass

affects behavior at all. While labeling theorists claim that a person forms his self-image on the basis of others' descriptions of him and behaves consistently with that self-image, the results of this research are open to a slightly different interpretation. Rather than directly providing a person with information about himself, labeling may cause him to pay more attention to his own behavior, to form a self-image on the basis of his observations, and to behave consistently with it. Labeling, like any other unusual reaction, makes salient behavior which is normally automatic and not attended to in detail.

The surprising lack of consistency between the nonlabeled subjects' two charity contributions ($r = .06$) suggests that people don't ordinarily draw personality inferences from their own behavior. This lack may be evidence of the situational specificity of behavior, where different sexed canvassers, using different appeals, collected for different charities (Hartshorne & May, 1928; Mischel, 1968). It may also suggest that some subjects compensated for their prior contributions, feeling guilty if they had refused to contribute and feeling they had fulfilled their charitable obligations if they had made a previous contribution. Whatever its cause, the lack of consistency suggests that Freedman and Fraser's (1966) and Lepper's (1973) proposal that people form a self-image merely by observing their behavior is incomplete. As was the case in the Freedman and Fraser and Lepper experiments, the situation must be unusual or distinctive before a person pays attention to it. A subject's performing a less noteworthy behavior, such as telling someone the time, would not increase the probability that he would perform a similar behavior in the future, such as helping the same person by giving him a dime (Darley & Latané, 1970).

While any unusual situation might make a behavior salient, the labeling reaction may be crucially important if an actor is going to form a self-concept on the basis of his behavior. Jones and Nisbett (1971) claimed that actors tend to attribute their behavior to presses in the situation while observers of an action tend to attribute it to causes within the actor. It is probably unusual for an actor to get a description from an observer's point of view of an event involving himself. When this happens, the actor may be tempted to adopt the observer's point of view and to make personality attributions from his behavior (Storms, 1973). In the present case, when the canvasser uses the subject's donation or lack of one to infer that she is charitable or uncharitable, the subject may also use the same behavior to make a similar inference.

A noncognitive alternative explanation of the present results suggests that the charitable and uncharitable labels colored subjects' feelings toward charities and charity canvassers. When E_2 asked for a contribution,

subjects labeled charitable, who liked canvassers, gave, and subjects labeled uncharitable, who disliked canvassers, refused to give.

However, the data from the postexperimental questionnaire, while they are weak because of the large attrition, tend to discredit this attitude toward the canvasser explanation. Subjects were asked to remember how pleasant E_1 , who applied the label, and E_2 , who collected the dependent measure were. While subjects labeled uncharitable remembered E_1 as less pleasant and those labeled charitable remembered E_1 as more pleasant than did the control subjects ($F(1,47) = 20.48, p < .001$), the effects of the experimental conditions did not generalize to judgments of E_2 ($F(1,59) < 1$). In addition, the subjects' recollections of E_2 's pleasantness were uncorrelated with their contributions to him ($r = .00$).

A social reinforcement model can also account for some of the present results, if one considers the charitable label as a positive reinforcement that should increase the behavior on which it is contingent and the uncharitable label as a negative reinforcement which should decrease behavior. In the donor half of the experiment, both labeling theory and social reinforcement theory predicted the result that labeled subjects would give more to E_2 than nonlabeled subjects. In the nondonor half of the experiment, the data support the labeling theory hypothesis over a social reinforcement prediction, albeit weakly; subjects labeled uncharitable gave less, not more, to a second charity.

In both the nondonor and the donor halves of the experiment, social reinforcement theory predicted that labeled subjects would be more sensitive to the possibility of future punishment and reward, and would, therefore, distinguish more between the involved and the uninvolved E_2 than would nonlabeled subjects. This expectation was not supported by the data; the involvement variable raised contributions equally in the labeled and the nonlabeled conditions.

However, it is possible that the involvement manipulation was not a satisfactory manipulation of sanction salience and that subjects gave more to the involved canvasser for other reasons. For instance, the involved canvasser may have been a model for charitable behavior or a more persuasive communicator. Subjects may have evaluated his cause as better and more worthy of a contribution, or may have been rewarding him for his dedication.

CONCLUSION

The present research was designed to test a theoretical point, that labeling can lead to a change in self-concept which in turn can lead to a change in behavior. However, it remains unclear from this research how powerful are the cognitive aspects of labeling compared to other com-

ponents such as institutionalization, punishment, social visibility, and changes in cognitive effects may be overwhelmed. Labeling is often a public ceremony by prominent representatives of the normal social order (Goffman, 1964). The actor's symbolic change in status from a deviant one is widely communicated. The actor's awareness of his deviant status when others react to it, either overtly, through social isolation (Philippepe, 1968) or subtly, through nonverbal cues (Dworkin, 1968; Saul, 1968; Kleck, Ono, & Hastorf, 1968). In the present reminders, the cognitive aspects of labeling have a powerful impact on a person's behavior. This is the focus of this research.

REFERENCE

- ANDENAES, J. The general preventive effects of labeling. *Law Review*, 1966, **114**, 949-983.
- ARONSON, E., & METTEE, D. R. Dishonest behavior and induced self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1967, **6**, 121-127.
- BECKER, H. S. *Outsiders*. New York: The Free Press, 1963.
- BERKOWITZ, L., & DANIELS, L. R. Affective consequences of labeling. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1967, **74**, 107-110.
- CAMERON, M. O. *The booster and the snitch*. New York: Basic Books, 1964.
- DARLEY, J. M., & LATANÉ, B. Norms and interdependence. In T. Macaulay & L. Berkowitz (Eds.), *Norms and behavior*. New York: Academic Press, 1968, pp. 115-130.
- DOOB, A. N., & ECKER, P. P. Stigma and social psychology. *Social Psychology*, 1970, **14**, 302-304.
- ERIKSON, K. T. Patient role and social uncertainty. *Journal of Interpersonal Processes*, 1957, **20**, 26-30.
- ERIKSON, K. T. Notes on the sociology of deviance. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- ERIKSON, K. T. *Wayward puritans*. New York: Basic Books, 1966.
- FARINA, A., ALLEN, J. C., & SAUL, B. B. The effects of labeling on social relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1967, **6**, 115-120.
- FREEDMAN, J. L., & FRASER, S. C. Compliance without coercion: A technique. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1966, **4**, 109-114.
- GARFINKEL, H. Conditions of successful deviance. *American Journal of Sociology*, 1956, **61**, 420-424.
- GOFFMAN, E. *Asylums*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961.
- GOFFMAN, E. *Stigma*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963.
- HARTSHORNE, H., & MAY, M. A. *Studies in deviance*. New York: MacMillan, 1928.
- JONES, E. E., & NISBETT, R. E. *The actor and the observer: The causes of behavior*. New York: Basic Books, 1972.

ked canvassers, gave, and subjects
 canvassers, refused to give.

perimental questionnaire, while they
 tion, tend to discredit this attitude
 bjects were asked to remember how
 nd E₂, who collected the dependent
 ed uncharitable remembered E₁ as
 table remembered E₁ as more pleas-
 (1,47) = 20.48, $p < .001$), the effects
 not generalize to judgments of E₂
 bjects' recollections of E₂'s pleasant-
 tributions to him ($r = .00$).

also account for some of the present
 e label as a positive reinforcement
 which it is contingent and the un-
 cement which should decrease be-
 eriment, both labeling theory and
 d the result that labeled subjects
 d subjects. In the nondonor half of
 labeling theory hypothesis over a
 weakly; subjects labeled unchari-
 tarity.

or halves of the experiment, social
 labeled subjects would be more
 nishment and reward, and would,
 he involved and the uninvolved E₂
 expectation was not supported by
 aised contributions equally in the

olvement manipulation was not a
 lience and that subjects gave more
 easons. For instance, the involved
 or charitable behavior or a more
 have evaluated his cause as better
 may have been rewarding him for

ION
 to test a theoretical point, that
 cept which in turn can lead to a
 s unclear from this research how
 labeling compared to other com-

ponents such as institutionalization, peer group and family pressure, pun-
 ishment, social visibility, and changes in social and economic status. The
 cognitive effects may be overwhelmed by these other variables. However,
 labeling is often a public ceremony performed by powerful and unani-
 mous representatives of the normal social order (Garfinkel, 1956; Erikson,
 1964). The actor's symbolic change in status from a normal person to a
 deviant one is widely communicated. The actor is frequently reminded
 of his deviant status when others react to him as a deviant, either bla-
 tantly, through social isolation (Philips, 1963; Schwartz & Skolnick, 1962),
 or subtly, through nonverbal cues (Doob & Ecker, 1970; Farina, Allen, &
 Saul, 1968; Kleck, Ono, & Hastorf, 1966). With these powerful and omni-
 present reminders, the cognitive aspects of labeling may have a far more
 powerful impact on a person's behavior than was possible to demonstrate
 in this research.

REFERENCES

- ANDENAES, J. The general preventive effects of punishment. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 1966, 114, 949-983.
- ARONSON, E., & METTEE, D. R. Dishonest behavior as a function of differential levels of induced self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1968, 9, 121-127.
- BECKER, H. S. *Outsiders*. New York: The Free Press, 1963.
- BERKOWITZ, L., & DANIELS, L. R. Affecting the salience of the social responsibility norm. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1964, 66, 275-281.
- CAMERON, M. O. *The booster and the snitch*. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- DARLEY, J. M., & LATANÉ, B. Norms and normative behavior: Field studies of social interdependence. In T. Macaulay & L. Berkowitz (Eds.), *Altruism and helping behavior*. New York: Academic Press, 1970.
- DOOB, A. N., & ECKER, P. P. Stigma and compliance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1970, 14, 302-304.
- ERIKSON, K. T. Patient role and social uncertainty. *Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes*, 1957, 20, 263-268.
- ERIKSON, K. T. Notes on the sociology of deviance. In H. S. Becker (Ed.), *The other side*. New York: The Free Press, 1964, 9-21.
- ERIKSON, K. T. *Wayward puritans*. New York: Wiley, 1966.
- FARINA, A., ALLEN, J. G., & SAUL, B. B. The role of the stigmatized in affecting social relationships. *Journal of Personality*, 1968, 36, 169-182.
- FREEDMAN, J. I., & FRASER, S. C. Compliance without pressure: The foot-in-the-door technique. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1966, 4, 195-202.
- GARFINKEL, H. Conditions of successful degradation ceremonies. *American Journal of Sociology*, 1956, 61, 420-424.
- GOFFMAN, E. *Asylums*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1961.
- GOFFMAN, E. *Stigma*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963.
- HARTSHORNE, H., & MAY, M. A. *Studies in the nature of character: Studies in deceit*. New York: MacMillan, 1928.
- JONES, E. F., & NISBETT, R. E. *The actor and the observer: Divergent perceptions of the causes of behavior*. New York: General Learning Press, 1971.

- KLECK, R., ONO, H., & HASTORF, A. H. The effects of physical deviance upon face-to-face interaction. *Human Relations*, 1966, 19, 425-436.
- KRAUT, R. E. *The Scrooge and the Good Samaritan: The effects of labeling on giving to charity*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 1973.
- LEMERT, E. M. *Social pathology*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951.
- LEPPER, M. R. Dissonance, self-perception, and honesty in children. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1973, 25, 65-74.
- MATZA, D. *Delinquency and drift*. New York: Wiley, 1964.
- MCARTHUR, L. A., KIESLER, C. A., & COOK, B. P. Acting on an attitude as a function of self-percept and inequity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1969, 12, 295-302.
- MISCHEL, W. *Personality and assessment*. New York: Wiley, 1968.
- MORRIS, R. T. A typology of norms. *American Sociological Review*, 1956, 21, 610-613.
- PHILIPS, D. L. Rejection: A possible consequence of seeking help for mental disorders. *American Sociological Review*, 1963, 28, 963-972.
- ROBIN, G. D. Patterns of department store shoplifting. *Crime and Delinquency*, 1963, 9, 163-172.
- SCHUB, E. M. *Labeling deviant behavior: Its sociological implications*. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.
- SCHWARTZ, R. D., & SKOLNICK, J. H. Two studies of legal stigma. *Social Problems*, 1962, 10, 133-142.
- STORMS, M. D. Videotape and the attribution process: Reversing the perspective of actors and observers. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1973, 27, 165-175.
- WALLACE, J., & SADELLA, E. Behavioral consequences of transgression: The effects of social recognition. *Journal of Experimental Research in Personality*, 1966, 1, 187-194.

(Received March 26, 1973)

Social Facilitation in a Coacting of the Effects Over

PETER J. HUNT AND JOHN
University of Akron, Akron, Ohio

Zajonc's proposal that the presence of a dominant response was examined in a maze learning. On a maze where the correct response was likely to be correct, coacting subjects were more likely to be correct than those working alone. On a maze where the correct response was likely to be incorrect, subjects performed better than those coacting. Investigation of the effects of social stages in learning showed that a change in the dominant response corresponded to a change in the dominant response to correct. It was concluded that there was a facilitative effect on the dominant response when the dominant response is incorrect and a decrement when the dominant response is correct. This effect was extremely pronounced in females but not in males.

Early literature in the area of social facilitation has produced incongruently contradictory results. In some cases, social facilitation improved individual performance, while in other cases it had a negative effect. Using several different tasks, Zajonc (1965) found that task performance was highest in a group setting. However, the highest performance was observed in a group setting. Travis (1925) using a pursuit rotor and a signal detection task report that a group setting improved performance but Husband (1931) with finger-maze learning found that individual's performance was better than group performance. Social facilitation in animals and similar contradictory findings in humans (e.g., eating response (Harlow, 1932; Tolman, 1932) and work done in nest building (Chen, 1937)).

¹ Portions of this research were presented at the American Psychological Conventions in Cincinnati, 1970 and Cleveland, 1971.

² The authors thank Robert Zajonc for his helpful comments on this paper and Ken Devore for his assistance in the experiment II.

Copyright © 1973 by Academic Press, Inc.
All rights of reproduction in any form reserved.