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# Helping Individuals or Group Members? The Role of Individual and Collective Identification in AIDS Volunteerism

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*This article presents a group-level perspective on helping that was tested in the context of AIDS volunteerism. It was predicted and found that homosexuals were more willing to volunteer when collective identification in terms of sexual orientation was high. The opposite trend was found for heterosexuals. Also as predicted, homosexuals were less willing to volunteer when identification as a unique individual was high, whereas the opposite was again true for heterosexuals. Thus, AIDS volunteerism emerged as a form of intragroup helping for homosexuals and as a form of interindividual helping for heterosexuals. In addition, identification with the AIDS volunteer service organization proved to be a positive predictor of AIDS volunteerism regardless of sexual orientation. Finally, two individual motivations emerged as positive predictors, namely, gaining knowledge and understanding emerged for homosexuals and expressing humanitarian values emerged for heterosexuals. The results are summarized in a dual-pathway model of volunteerism.*

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**H**elping other people can take many different forms. Opportunities to help can arise unexpectedly so that helping is unplanned and spontaneous and therefore often confined to relatively brief encounters with strangers (e.g., helping someone involved in a car accident). Another form of helping is long-term assistance provided by caregivers who are tied to the recipients by legal, ethical, or familial obligations. A typical example of the obligated caregiver is the person who provides continuing assistance to his or her partner suffering from Alzheimer's disease. Finally, people often actively seek out opportunities to help and then commit themselves as volunteers, often for considerable periods of time (Omoto & Snyder, 1995).

Although the answers as to why helping occurs vary with the specific form of helping in question, most approaches start from an individual-level or interpersonal-level perspective. Thus, explanations revolve around the role of individual motivations (e.g., Batson, 1987; Carlo, Eisenberg, Troyer, Switzer, & Speer, 1991; Clary & Snyder, 1991; Clary et al., 1998) or the kind or quality of the interpersonal relationship between the helper and the recipient (e.g., Clark, Mills, & Corcoran, 1989; Clark, Oullette, Powell, & Milberg, 1987; Hobboll & Lermann, 1988). Moreover, individual dispositions (i.e., the prosocial personality) have recently (re-)gained attention (Dovidio, Piliavin, Gaertner, Schroeder, & Clark, 1991; Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger, & Freifeld, 1995; Schroeder, Penner, Dovidio, & Piliavin, 1995). To be sure, researchers have not denied that helping behavior takes place in the context of higher level (i.e., more inclusive) social systems that in turn influence such behavior (e.g., by way of social norms) (Bierhoff, 1996). However, so far there have been few systematic attempts to go beyond the individual-level or interpersonal-level perspective (for notable exceptions, see Dovidio et al., 1991; Hornstein, 1972, 1976).

The main aim of the present article is to help fill this gap. We want to contribute a group-level perspective of helping that should complement, but not replace, the

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traditional perspectives. As pointed out by Schroeder et al. (1995, p. 287), such an extension could be an important step toward linking the study of helping to more general social psychological theorizing. An early proponent of the group-level perspective suggested that helping is most likely to occur among people who are tied together by "the bonds of we" (Hornstein, 1976, p. 62). People help other people to the extent that they view those other people as members of the same social category or ingroup, whereas "outgroupers" are not helped or even worse (see also Dovidio et al., 1991; Hornstein, 1972). In short, group membership is a crucial determinant of helping. The same conclusion can be derived from self-categorization theory, which is a more general and more formalized account of how social behavior is regulated by processes of group formation or self-categorization (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). According to this theory, social behavior depends on whether people view themselves more in terms of their collective self or collective identity ("we") or more in terms of their individual self or individual identity ("me") (see also Simon, 1997). Collective identification (i.e., identification with a more inclusive ingroup) typically fosters behavior that favors the ingroup and discriminates against the outgroup, whereas individual identification (i.e., identification or self-definition as a unique individual) minimizes differential ingroup-outgroup treatment (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Applying this analysis to helping, it can be hypothesized that ingroup members should be helped more when the potential helper's collective identification is strong but helped less when his or her individual identification increases in strength. Conversely, outgroup members should be helped less when collective identification is strong but helped more when individual identification increases in strength.

These hypotheses were tested in the context of AIDS volunteerism in Germany. Similar to most other Western countries, AIDS volunteerism in Germany began as a collective response of the gay community to the AIDS crisis (Chambré, 1991; Gamson, 1989; Rosenbrock, 1993). Whereas both homosexual and heterosexual people are engaged in AIDS volunteerism (Pieper & Vael, 1993), homosexual men are still the largest subgroup among people living with AIDS or HIV (Robert Koch Institut, 1998). From a group-level perspective, it then follows that in terms of sexual orientation, the recipients of AIDS volunteerism are typically ingroup members for homosexual volunteers but outgroup members for heterosexual volunteers. For homosexuals, willingness to volunteer (i.e., willingness to help ingroup members) should therefore increase with collective identification in terms of sexual orientation. For heterosexuals, however, willingness to volunteer (i.e., willingness to help

outgroup members) should decrease with collective identification. The opposite relationships should hold for individual identification (i.e., identification as a unique individual). Willingness to volunteer should decrease with individual identification for homosexuals but increase with individual identification for heterosexuals. In short, sexual orientation is expected to moderate the relationships between AIDS volunteerism and collective as well as individual identification.

In addition, we were interested in the role of identification with the particular AIDS volunteer service organization. Theory and research in social as well as organizational psychology strongly suggests that identification with an organization makes behavior in accord with the respective organization's goals more likely (Birkigt & Stadler, 1986; Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Katz & Kahn, 1978; Simon et al., 1998; Turner & Haslam, 1999; Turner et al., 1987). Accordingly, we expected such organizational identification to be a positive predictor of volunteerism regardless of respondents' sexual orientation. We need to emphasize that it was not our goal to predict willingness to formally join the AIDS volunteer service organization. Instead, as will be explained in more detail later, all of the participants in this study were already registered volunteers; we were interested in predicting the extent to which they were willing to actually work for their organization.

Finally, we also measured several possible individual motivations for AIDS volunteerism. In keeping with functionalist theorizing and research on volunteerism (Clary & Snyder, 1991; Clary et al., 1998), we tapped several motivations related to different (psychological) functions that AIDS volunteerism may serve. These include the expression of humanitarian values, the acquisition of knowledge about AIDS, the development of specific skills and abilities, and the enhancement of social integration and recognition (Clary, Snyder, Ridge, Miene, & Haugen, 1994; Omoto & Snyder, 1995).<sup>1</sup> Because of the sparse literature on AIDS volunteerism, it would be premature to go beyond the basic prediction of positive relationships between individual motivations and volunteerism. We therefore ventured no specific hypotheses as to the relative contribution of each single motivation or any moderating effects of sexual orientation.

To summarize, our main hypotheses concerning the prediction of AIDS volunteerism were as follows. Collective identification with the homosexual ingroup increases willingness to volunteer, whereas collective identification with the heterosexual ingroup decreases such willingness (collective-identification-moderation hypothesis). Individual identification (i.e., identification as a unique individual) decreases willingness to volunteer for homosexuals but increases

willingness to volunteer for heterosexuals (individual-identification-moderation hypothesis). Identification with the AIDS volunteer service organization increases willingness to volunteer regardless of sexual orientation (organizational-identification hypothesis). Individual motivations related to different psychological functions positively predict AIDS volunteerism (motivation hypothesis).

## METHOD

### *Participants and Procedure*

The study included 46 homosexual men ( $M$  age = 34.71 years,  $SD$  = 8.82 years, range = 20-56 years) and 54 heterosexuals (42 women and 12 men,  $M$  age = 33.17 years,  $SD$  = 9.85 years, range = 17-56 years) who completed the questionnaire, which was conducted between May and July 1997. All participants were registered members of the German AIDS volunteer service organization (AH). Of the participants, 44 (14 homosexuals and 30 heterosexuals) were employed, trained, or studying in the areas of social work or nursing; 30 (18 homosexuals and 12 heterosexuals) were employed in the areas of craft and administration or in the business sector; 7 (6 homosexuals and 1 heterosexual) were university students outside the areas of social work or nursing; 5 homosexuals were retired; 7 heterosexuals were housewives; and 7 (3 homosexuals and 4 heterosexuals) did not provide information concerning their current occupation.

On average, homosexual participants had been involved in AIDS volunteer work somewhat longer than heterosexual participants ( $M$  = 3.24 years,  $SD$  = 2.64 years, range = 0.2-11 years, and  $M$  = 2.29 years,  $SD$  = 2.27 years, range = 0.1-10 years, respectively),  $F(1, 97) = 3.72$ ,  $p < .10$ , but both samples devoted approximately the same amount of time to AIDS volunteer service ( $M$  = 6.73 hr per week,  $SD$  = 6.05 hr, range = 1-32 hr, and  $M$  = 6.06 hr per week,  $SD$  = 11.38 hr, range = 0.5-72 hr, for homosexuals and heterosexuals, respectively),  $F(1, 90)$ ,  $p < 1$ .

Participants were recruited at meetings of several chapters of the target organization. Although many questionnaires were completed immediately after they had been distributed, others were later returned by mail. Additional questionnaires were distributed following a snowball procedure. On average, it took participants about 30 minutes to complete the questionnaire. Care was taken to ensure that none of the participants completed more than one questionnaire. Participants' anonymity was guaranteed.

### *The Questionnaire*

*Overview.* The main variables measured in the questionnaire fall into five categories: (a) individual

identification (i.e., identification as a unique individual), (b) collective identification (i.e., identification with the social category of homosexuals or heterosexuals), (c) organizational identification (i.e., identification with the AIDS volunteer service organization AH), (d) individual motivations for AIDS volunteerism, and (e) willingness to volunteer. On the last page, participants furnished demographic data (sexual orientation, age, occupation, and so on).

*Individual identification.* This variable was measured with the following three items: "I see myself as a unique individual," "I am annoyed when others do not see or treat me as an individual person," and "My individuality is important to me." Ratings were made on 5-point scales ranging from 1 (*not true*) to 5 (*very true*).

*Collective identification.* Items referring to identification with the category of homosexuals or to identification with the category of heterosexuals were presented on separate pages, and participants were asked to turn to the page corresponding to their own sexual orientation. Items were worded as follows: "In general, I hold a positive attitude toward other homosexuals (heterosexuals)," "All in all homosexuals (heterosexuals) have more in common than there are differences between them," "I am aware of my being homosexual (heterosexual)," "I have more in common with other homosexuals (heterosexuals) than there are differences between us," "I am glad to be homosexual (heterosexual)," and "I identify with other homosexuals (heterosexuals)." Ratings were made on 5-point scales ranging from 1 (*not true*) to 5 (*very true*).

*Organizational identification.* We translated all 16 items of Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) collective self-esteem scale into German, simultaneously adapting them for the measurement concerning our specific target group (see Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992, p. 315). Analogous to the original scale, the specific version covered four aspects of participants' identification with the target group (the AIDS volunteer service organization AH). These aspects were as follows: (a) personal evaluation of AH (e.g., "In general, I'm glad to be a member of AH"), (b) perceived public evaluation (e.g., "Overall, AH is considered good by others"), (c) own status within AH (e.g., "I am a worthy member of AH"), and (d) importance to one's identity of AH membership (e.g., "In general, belonging to AH is an important part of my self-image"). Each aspect was measured with four items. Ratings were made on 5-point scales ranging from 1 (*not true*) to 5 (*very true*).

*Individual motivations for AIDS volunteerism.* On the basis of prior research on volunteerism (Bierhoff, Burkart, & Wörsdörfer, 1995; Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Snyder & Omoto, 1992), we generated a pool of 17 items

covering a wide range of possible motivations to get involved in AIDS volunteer work. In keeping with the functionalist perspective, we specifically included items relevant to the expression of humanitarian values (e.g., "I felt the responsibility to help people who are worse off than me"), the acquisition of knowledge and gaining understanding concerning AIDS (e.g., "I wanted to learn more about AIDS and how to prevent or stop this disease"), the development of specific skills and abilities (e.g., "I wanted to gain experiences that could be helpful in starting a career in that area"), and the enhancement of social integration and recognition (e.g., "I was looking forward to meeting new people and making new friends"). Further details are provided below (see Results section). Ratings were made on 5-point scales ranging from 1 (*not true*) to 5 (*very true*).

*Willingness to volunteer.* Willingness to volunteer was measured concerning each of the following 10 activities: (a) fundraising for World AIDS Day, (b) AIDS education in schools, (c) looking after people with HIV or AIDS, (d) distributing AH posters and fliers, (e) distributing condoms and brochures about AIDS in the gay community, (f) manufacturing Red Ribbons for World AIDS Day, (g) participating in public protest organized by AH, (h) distributing sterile injection needles and information brochures about AIDS among intravenous drug users, (i) partaking in AIDS counseling (via telephone or face-to-face), and (j) supervising AIDS charity. Participants indicated their willingness on 5-point scales ranging from 1 (*very low*) to 5 (*very high*).

## RESULTS

### *Preliminary Analyses*

For each participant, we calculated overall (mean) scores for individual identification (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .54$ ), for collective identification (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .79$  and  $.74$  for homosexual and heterosexual ingroups, respectively), and for organizational identification (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .69$ ).<sup>2</sup>

Next, all 17 items tapping initial motivations to get involved in AIDS volunteer work were subjected to a principal component analysis with varimax rotation. Five factors were extracted that accounted for 63.1% of the total variance. On the fifth factor, only 1 item showed a substantial loading. This factor and the corresponding item were therefore dropped from further analyses. Thus, 4 different motivations were identified that, with regard to the underlying psychological functions, could meaningfully be interpreted as directed toward social integration, the expression of humanitarian values, skill development, and knowledge and understanding. Four separate motivation scales were constructed by assigning each item to that factor on which it loaded highest and

then averaging across the respective items. Items, factor loadings exceeding .40, and scale reliabilities are listed in Table 1.

We also calculated an overall (mean) score for willingness to volunteer (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .80$ ). Grand means and standard deviations for all relevant variables as well as their intercorrelations are presented in Table 2. Higher means indicate stronger identification, stronger motivations, and greater willingness to volunteer. Analyses of variance revealed that homosexuals and heterosexuals differed on three variables. Homosexuals identified significantly more strongly with their social category than did heterosexuals ( $M = 3.86$  vs.  $M = 3.26$ ),  $F(1, 98) = 19.16$ ,  $p < .001$ , and marginally so with the AIDS volunteer service organization AH ( $M = 3.88$  vs.  $M = 3.72$ ),  $F(1, 98) = 3.56$ ,  $p < .10$ . Finally, skill development was less important as a motivation to homosexuals than it was to heterosexuals ( $M = 2.37$  vs.  $M = 2.85$ ),  $F(1, 98) = 4.59$ ,  $p < .05$ .

## MAIN ANALYSES

### *Identification Hypotheses*

We predicted that sexual orientation would moderate the effects on willingness to volunteer of both individual and collective identification. Individual identification (i.e., identification as a unique individual) should be negatively related to willingness to volunteer for homosexuals but positively related for heterosexuals (individual-identification-moderation hypothesis). At the same time, we expected a positive relationship between collective identification (i.e., identification with the social category) and willingness to volunteer for homosexuals but a negative relationship for heterosexuals (collective-identification-moderation hypothesis). However, no moderation was expected for identification with the AIDS volunteer service organization AH. Such organizational identification should generally be positively related to willingness to volunteer (organizational-identification hypothesis).

To test these hypotheses, we first performed a hierarchical regression analysis (Cohen & Cohen, 1983) with willingness to volunteer as the criterion. In this and all other analyses, significance tests are two-tailed, unless otherwise noted. In the first step, all three identification variables (individual, collective, and organizational identification) and the sexual-orientation variable (coded 1 for heterosexual and 2 for homosexual) were entered into the equation as predictors (see Table 3, upper half). Organizational identification emerged as a significant predictor, whereas the two other identification measures had no predictive value. In addition, the contribution of sexual orientation was marginal, indicating that homosexuals were in general somewhat less will-

**TABLE 1: Cronbach's Alpha and Factor Loadings for Individual Motivations**

Scale and Item	Alpha	Factor Loadings <sup>a</sup>			
		I	II	III	IV
Social integration	.77				
I was looking forward to meeting new people and making new friends		.77			
I wanted to find a community		.75			
I wanted to do something for my self-esteem		.68		.43	
I wanted to feel useful and needed		.67			
I hoped to find social recognition from other people through my work		.52			
I wanted to be useful for society <sup>b</sup>		.41			.44
Humanitarian values	.70				
I felt obligated to help people suffering from health problems or otherwise			.83		
I generally feel pity and empathy for people who suffer			.76		
I felt the responsibility to help people who are worse off than me			.70		
I just wanted to help other people			.52		
Skill development	.68				
I wanted to gain experiences that could be helpful in starting a career in that area				.85	
I wanted to make experiences that could be useful for my career				.83	
I wanted to test myself and my abilities				.50	
Knowledge and understanding	.56				
I hoped to learn more about AIDS and how to prevent or stop this disease					.77
I wanted to know how people deal with AIDS and how they cope with it					.69
I wanted to learn to better cope with my own anxieties and insecurities concerning AIDS, sickness, and death					.60

a. Only factor loadings equal or greater than .40 are indicated ( $N = 100$ ).

b. This item was assigned to the social integration scale on conceptual grounds.

ing to volunteer than were heterosexuals. To examine the critical moderation effects, we calculated three interaction terms by multiplying each of the three identification variables with the sexual-orientation variable. These terms were then entered as additional predictors into the regression equation in the second step (see

Table 3, lower half). As predicted by the individual-identification-moderation and collective-identification-moderation hypotheses, moderation effects were significant for both individual and collective identification. In line with the organizational-identification hypothesis, no moderation effect was observed for organizational identification.

Separate regression analyses for homosexuals and heterosexuals further confirmed the hypothesized relationships. For homosexuals, individual identification was negatively related to willingness to volunteer, whereas collective identification with the homosexual ingroup was positively related to the criterion (see Table 4, upper half). For heterosexuals, individual identification was positively related to willingness to volunteer, whereas collective identification with the heterosexual ingroup was (marginally) negatively related to the criterion (see Table 4, lower half). Finally, organizational identification was a positive predictor of willingness to volunteer in both samples. In short, all three identification hypotheses received clear empirical support.

#### Motivation Hypothesis

A multiple regression analysis was performed in which the four motivations (social integration, humanitarian values, skill development, and knowledge and understanding) served as predictors and willingness to volunteer as the criterion. As can be seen in Table 5, knowledge and understanding emerged as a significant and positive predictor and humanitarian values as a marginal and positive predictor. These results did not change when the sexual-orientation variable was included as an additional predictor. The motivation hypothesis thus received some empirical support.

We also performed a hierarchical regression analysis entering the four Motivation  $\times$  Sexual Orientation interaction terms as additional predictors into the equation in a second step. This analysis yielded only a marginal Motivation  $\times$  Sexual Orientation moderation effect, namely, concerning knowledge and understanding,  $B = 0.32$ ,  $\beta = 0.94$ ,  $t(90) = 1.72$ ,  $p < .10$ . All other moderation effects were nonsignificant. However, separate regression analyses for homosexuals and heterosexuals revealed that knowledge and understanding was a significant predictor only for homosexuals,  $\beta = 0.40$ ,  $t(41) = 2.54$ ,  $p < .05$ , whereas humanitarian values was a significant predictor only for heterosexuals,  $\beta = 0.36$ ,  $t(49) = 2.67$ ,  $p \leq .01$ . None of the other motivations emerged as a significant predictor in these analyses. Finally, separate regression analyses for homosexuals and heterosexuals in which we entered all three identification variables and all four motivations simultaneously into the equations replicated all relevant findings.

**TABLE 2: Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Identification Variables, Individual Motivations, and Willingness to Volunteer (N = 100)**

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Identification as individual	—	.11	.16	.06	-.02	.24**	.04	-.01
2. Identification with social category		—	.21**	.11	.14	-.09	-.09	.10
3. Identification with AIDS volunteer service organization			—	.25**	.04	.15	.07	.21**
4. Social integration				—	.32****	.21**	.25**	.11
5. Humanitarian values					—	-.08	.20**	.25***
6. Skill development						—	.11	-.10
7. Knowledge and understanding							—	.31***
8. Willingness to volunteer								—
<i>M</i> <sup>a</sup>	4.03	3.54	3.80	2.88	2.98	2.63	3.66	3.27
<i>SD</i>	0.77	0.75	0.43	0.76	0.89	1.13	0.87	0.79

a. Scale range varies between variables (see Method section for details). Higher means indicate stronger identification, stronger motivations, and greater willingness to volunteer.

\*\* $p \leq .05$ . \*\*\* $p \leq .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p \leq .001$ .

**TABLE 3: Hierarchical Regression Analysis: Identification Variables as Predictors and Willingness to Volunteer as Criterion**

	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i> (95)	<i>t</i> (92)
Predictors entered in the first step <sup>a</sup>				
Identification as individual (A)	-.05	-0.05	-0.53	
Identification with social category (B)	.15	0.14	1.31	
Identification with AIDS volunteer service organization (C)	.42	0.23	2.23**	
Sexual orientation (D)	-.31	0.20	1.81*	
$R^2 = .08$ , $F(4, 95) = 2.15$ , $p \leq .08$ .				
Predictors entered in the second step				
A $\times$ D	-.54	-1.66		-2.83***
B $\times$ D	.74	2.32		3.40****
C $\times$ D	.21	0.57		0.59
$F$ change = 6.07, $p < .001$ .				
$R^2 = .23$ , $F(7, 92) = 4.03$ , $p < .001$ .				

\* $p < .10$ . \*\* $p \leq .05$ . \*\*\* $p \leq .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p \leq .001$ .

## DISCUSSION

The main aim of this article was to introduce and test a group-level perspective on helping. Building on the basic premise that group membership is a crucial determinant of helping, we examined several hypotheses concerning the role of identification processes. These hypotheses were tested in the context of AIDS volunteerism. We selected this particular context for two important reasons. First, it is of high practical importance because, besides its medical aspects, AIDS constitutes a grave social problem for which volunteerism may be at least a partial solution. Second, from the point of theory, AIDS volunteerism is embedded in an intriguing (inter)group context because the majority of the recipients of help (i.e., homosexual men) are ingroup mem-

bers for one group of volunteers (i.e., for homosexuals) but outgroup members for another group of volunteers (i.e., for heterosexuals). This situation allowed us to consider three types of identification processes: identification as a unique individual, identification with the homosexual or heterosexual ingroup, and identification with the AIDS volunteer service organization. These types were referred to as individual identification, collective identification, and organizational identification, respectively.

Our hypotheses received clear empirical support. As predicted, homosexuals were more willing to volunteer when collective identification was high, whereas the opposite trend was observed for heterosexuals. However, homosexuals were less willing to volunteer when

**TABLE 4: Regression Analyses With Willingness to Volunteer as Criterion**

	$\beta$	t (42)	t (50)	M	SD
Homosexuals					
Identification as individual	-0.29	-2.11**		4.07	0.81
Identification with ingroup	0.41	3.06***		3.86	0.67
Identification with AIDS volunteer service organization	0.30	2.19**		3.88	0.40
$R^2 = .27, F(3, 42) = 5.16, p < .01.$					
Heterosexuals					
Identification as individual	0.24		1.85**	4.99	0.73
Identification with ingroup	-0.20		-1.44*	3.26	0.71
Identification with AIDS volunteer service organization	0.31		2.26**	3.72	0.44
$R^2 = .16, F(3, 50) = 3.16, p < .05.$					

\* $p < .10$ . \*\* $p \leq .05$ . \*\*\* $p \leq .01$ . (Because predictions were a priori directional,  $t$  tests are one-tailed.)

individual identification was high, whereas the opposite was again true for heterosexuals. In short, homosexuals were willing to help each other as ingroup members, whereas heterosexuals were more willing to help as individuals. Interestingly, collective identification appeared to be less of a predictor (i.e., only marginal) of the willingness to volunteer in the heterosexual sample than in the homosexual sample. One could speculate that collective identification was less of a predictor in the heterosexual sample simply because identification with the numerically larger, and thus less salient, group of heterosexuals was relatively weak and thus below or near some necessary threshold. In line with other research on the effects of relative group size (Mullen, 1991; Simon, 1992), collective identification was indeed lower among heterosexuals than among homosexuals. However, even for heterosexuals, mean collective identification was significantly above the midpoint of the scale. Moreover, recent research on the behavioral effects of collective identification throws serious doubts on such a threshold mechanism (Simon et al., 1998). Alternatively, it appears more likely that in the present study, the negative effects of collective identification on heterosexuals' willingness to volunteer may have been tempered by the motivation to avoid any impression of being prejudiced against the stigmatized homosexual outgroup.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to, and independent of, the relationships concerning individual and collective identification, evidence points to two other psychological sources of volunteerism, namely, organizational identification and individual motivations. Identification with the particular

**TABLE 5: Regression Analysis With Individual Motivations as Predictors and Willingness to Volunteer as Criterion**

	$\beta$	t (95)	M	SD
Social integration	0.01	0.07	2.88	0.76
Humanitarian values	0.19	1.81*	2.98	0.89
Skill development	-0.12	-1.20	2.63	1.13
Knowledge and understanding	0.28	2.84***	3.66	0.87

NOTE:  $R^2 = .15, F(4, 95) = 4.06, p < .01.$

\* $p < .10$ . \*\*\* $p \leq .01$ .

AIDS volunteer service organization contributed positively to willingness to volunteer; as predicted, this was true regardless of sexual orientation. Also, AIDS volunteerism seems to be motivated by particular psychological functions it may serve for the individual. The present results indicate that the expression of humanitarian values and the acquisition or enhancement of pertinent knowledge and understanding may be particularly important in this respect. Although this is generally consistent with the literature on AIDS volunteerism (Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998), our results further suggest that the expression of humanitarian values may motivate specifically heterosexuals, whereas the acquisition or enhancement of knowledge and understanding may be more important to homosexuals. Thus, a clear overall picture emerges such that homosexual volunteers seem to construe the AIDS crisis more as a threat common to the homosexual ingroup that calls for intragroup solidarity and adequate knowledge and understanding. Conversely, heterosexual volunteers seem to view the AIDS crisis more as a universal problem that urges, and allows, the individual to prove his or her humanity. In short, AIDS volunteerism can be viewed as a form of intragroup helping in the case of homosexuals and as a form of interindividual helping in the case of heterosexuals.

However, we also need to comment on possible limitations of the present research. First, although there is good theoretical as well as empirical reason to assume that identification processes play a causal role in social behavior such as activism or volunteerism (Fullagar & Barling, 1989; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Simon et al., 1998), the correlational nature of our study does not allow us to draw definite conclusions about cause-effect relationships. For example, we cannot exclude the opposite direction of causality such that past experience or involvement as an AIDS volunteer may have increased collective identification for homosexuals and individual identification for heterosexuals (and organizational identification for both). To explore this alternative, we examined the correlations between length of past involvement as an AIDS volunteer and the three identi-

cation variables, separately for homosexuals and heterosexuals. None of the six coefficients was significant, however ( $-.17 \leq r \leq .15$ ,  $p > .20$ ). Moreover, the relationships presented in Table 4 remained virtually unchanged when length of past involvement as a volunteer was statistically controlled in additional regression analyses. It thus appears that the overall data pattern can be interpreted most parsimoniously in terms of identification processes as antecedents, rather than consequences, of AIDS volunteerism. Another possible limitation concerns the fact that our homosexual sample consisted exclusively of men, whereas in the heterosexual sample women clearly outnumbered men. Although it is typical, and presently inevitable, for this type of research given the actual correlation between sexual orientation and gender among AIDS volunteers (see also Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998), this confound is potentially problematic in light of the literature on gender and helping behavior. This literature suggests that unlike more heroic forms of helping (e.g., bystander intervention), the form of helping investigated in the present study might be more in line with the female gender role than the male gender role (Eagly & Crowley, 1986; Schroeder et al., 1995). This may explain the marginally lower willingness to volunteer observed for the exclusively male sample of homosexuals relative to the predominantly female sample of heterosexuals. However, such role differences cannot explain the theoretically more interesting interaction or moderation effects. The relationships involving individual identification are particularly revealing here. In all likelihood, conformity to gender roles should be strongest when individual identification (i.e., self-definition in terms of one's individuality instead of one's gender role) is weak. Consequently, the gender role account would predict a positive (disinhibiting) effect on volunteerism of individual identification for the exclusively male sample of homosexuals but a negative (inhibiting) effect for the predominantly female sample of heterosexuals. Yet—in line with our group-level analysis—the exact opposite was observed. Nevertheless, future research should try to overcome this limitation more directly by replicating the present investigation in more balanced contexts. Of course, this task will be much easier if in the future more heterosexual men will give up their reluctance to get involved in AIDS volunteerism. A third limitation concerns the individual motivations for AIDS volunteerism. It should be recalled that, in keeping with prior research (Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998), we measured initial motivations to get involved in AIDS volunteerism. What is needed next is research on the current motivations to stay involved in order to examine whether motivations change over time and to determine the antecedents and consequences of such changes.

Finally, the internal consistency of our individual identification scale was somewhat low (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .54$ ); therefore, one might want to take the respective findings with a grain of salt. On the other hand, this measure produced theoretically predicted and statistically significant relationships despite the fact that measurement error may have worked against the detection of such relationships (Bollen, 1989).<sup>4</sup> We therefore regard these findings as encouraging and certainly hope they will stimulate further research along these lines, preferably with more refined measures.

In conclusion, this research points to two broad classes of determinants of AIDS volunteerism, and possibly of helping in general. One class concerns identification processes. Our major focus was on individual and collective identification, and we demonstrated in line with self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) that these two processes operate in a functionally antagonistic way. Depending on the ingroup-outgroup relationship between potential volunteer and recipient of help, individual identification is likely to decrease, and collective identification to increase, willingness to volunteer, or vice versa. These findings lend themselves to an intriguing articulation with the work on the empathy-altruism hypothesis (Batson, 1987, 1991). We know from the self-categorization literature that collective identification accentuates perceived similarity between self and ingroup members as well as perceived dissimilarity between self and outgroup members, whereas individual identification is likely to have the opposite effects (Simon, 1992; Wilder, 1986). At the same time, perceived self-other similarity seems to be an important antecedent of empathy, which, in turn, promotes helping behavior (Batson, Duncan, Ackerman, Buckley, & Birch, 1981). It should thus be an interesting task of future research to examine whether, or to what extent, the effects of identification are actually mediated by feelings of empathy. The second class of determinants of AIDS volunteerism suggested by the present research concerns the (calculation of) rewards and costs of volunteerism. Here we focused particularly on the psychological functions that volunteerism may serve for the potential volunteer. Our findings suggest that to the extent that it successfully serves important psychological functions (e.g., the acquisition of knowledge), volunteerism is experienced as a rewarding activity and therefore likely to be continued in the future. Taken together, there seem to exist two pathways to AIDS volunteerism, namely, identification and calculation. Similar dual-process models have been advanced in the areas of spontaneous helping or bystander intervention (Dovidio et al., 1991; Smith & Mackie, 1995) and social movement participation (Simon et al., 1998). Further investigation along these lines is thus very likely to lead to theoretical

integration as well as to more practical knowledge as to how to increase the likelihood of prosocial behavior.

#### NOTES

1. Omoto and Snyder (1995) measured community concern as an additional motivation that closely resembles collective identification in terms of sexual orientation as measured in the present study. However, community concern did not predict duration of volunteerism in the Omoto and Snyder (1995) study. Unfortunately, those authors did not consider sexual orientation as a moderator variable; therefore, their results are inconclusive with regard to our differential predictions concerning the role of collective identification as a homosexual or heterosexual.

2. All items were coded such that higher scores indicate stronger identification.

3. We owe this suggestion to an anonymous reviewer.

4. The (zero-order) correlations between individual identification and willingness to volunteer grew as expected once we corrected the critical coefficients for scale unreliability applying the Spearman-Brown prophecy equation (from  $-.20$  to  $-.28$  for homosexuals, and from  $.25$  to  $.43$  for heterosexuals).

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