THESIS

IMPACT OF THE IDENTIFIABLE VICTIM EFFECT ON AUDIENCE WILLINGNESS TO

DONATE TO HEALTHCARE ORGANIZATIONS VIA INSTAGRAM

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ABSTRACT

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The landscape of healthcare fundraising has changed dramatically in recent years due to a rise in online and social media fundraising. As fundraising itself adapts to advancing technology, this study examined how a tried and true traditional fundraising strategy known as the Identifiable Victim Effect impacts audience willingness to donate to healthcare organizations on Instagram. By conducting a 2 x 2 factorial design experimental survey in which photos and captions of Instagram posts were manipulated, the emotional response elicited from different IVE conditions, demographics that may play a role in donating on social media and the ways in which IVE impacts willingness to donate were all examined. This study found that emotional response, measured through Distress and Sympathy positively impacts willingness to donate. This research adds to the existing literature on IVE and starts to bridge the gap that exists at the intersection of healthcare and IVE in social media contexts.

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INTRODUCTION

'There is strength in numbers', 'it takes a village', and 'two is better than one' are just a few phrases that highlight the value placed on groups and the beneficial impacts that being surrounded by others has. However, being one of many may not always be a good thing. In fact, studies have shown that when victims of a tragedy are in need of monetary assistance, those who have been identified as an individual victim receive more donations in a quicker amount of time than a group of victims do (Small and Loewenstein, 2003; Sabato & Kogut, 2021; Kogut and Ritov, 2005a). Research into this phenomenon has found that when asking for donations in the wake of a tragedy, disease, or accident, people are more willing to donate and feel deeper for an individual, identified victim compared to a group of unidentified victims (statistical victims) suffering from the same fate. This research project intends to explore whether or not that phenomenon, coined the Identifiable Victim Effect by Jenni and Loewenstein (1997), is supported when applied to social media fundraising efforts by nonprofit hospitals.

Although nonprofit hospitals see hundreds of thousands of patients each year, these hospitals do not benefit much from these patients financially. Some nonprofit hospitals, like St. Jude Children's Research Hospital, actually provide lifesaving treatment to patients regardless of their ability to pay. For this reason, in order to keep operations running smoothly and to ensure that the hospital doors remain open, these nonprofit organizations rely heavily on donations to operate and lean on fundraising to reach their monetary targets each year. These nonprofit hospitals use many methods of fundraising to hit their goals and in recent years, one of the main methods has been to fundraise online. Although research into the Identifiable Victim Effect has established it as an effective means of gathering donations, there is little research looking at the ways in which IVE has been and can be applied in online settings, specifically in accordance

with social media. When looking from a theoretical perspective, this research is important because it will add to the existing literature on IVE and will extend that literature into the intersection of healthcare and social media. Practically, understanding the influence of the Identifiable Victim Effect on audience willingness to donate on social media platforms has the potential to benefit those working with nonprofit hospitals by not only providing information to help tailor their fundraising strategies, but by increasing the number of donations they receive from these online platforms.

This research explores the impact of using identifiable victims in both the images and the text captions on Instagram posts soliciting donations for nonprofit hospitals. Guided by the theory of IVE, this project used literature on hospital advertising, fundraising and marketing to highlight the development of the healthcare communication field as well as the ethicality of hospital advertising in order to establish IVE as a suitable strategy of fundraising moving into the future (Kim and KC, 2018; Larson et al., 2005; Schenker et al., 2014). Visual communication theories suggest that images are an extremely powerful way of getting messages across and that they impact understanding (Graber, 1996; Nicholson-Cole, 2005; Rosenfeld et al., 2015). These aspects of visual communication were used in tandem with the Identifiable Victim Effect to examine IVE's use as an effective fundraising strategy for social media.

Based on the literature and the theory of IVE, the main research question guiding this project is: How does the use of IVE on social media impact audience willingness to donate to a nonprofit hospital?

In order to examine this research question, an experimental survey was used. This survey, ran on Amazon Mechanical Turk, employed a 2 by 2 factorial design manipulating image and text involving IVE. The first condition used an IVE image and IVE caption, the second condition

used an Using both quantitative and qualitative response methods, the data gathered from this survey helps provide not only concrete information about the preferences of audience members when it comes to donations, but provides insight into the reasoning behind those preferences as well, which is an important factor in this research project. The method of an experimental survey was chosen because it allowed for the manipulation of different conditions and for a large and representative sample size. By using an experimental survey, insights into which condition was most effective for eliciting willingness to donate and the reasons behind this willingness were gained.

Ultimately, this project aims to provide valuable and practical insights to both researchers as well as communication/pr/fundraising practitioners. Researchers will benefit from the findings of this project because it crosses into an area of the field that has previously lacked examination and that is the intersection of healthcare, social media, and the Identifiable Victim Effect. By reporting the findings of this research project, regardless of the impact IVE has on willingness to donate, this could open the door for future research into how different strategies impact willingness to donate, research on willingness to donate using different social media platforms. Social media and social media fundraising are here to stay and this project has the potential to help the field adapt alongside the advancements of technology. Aside from the theoretical and research aspect, this project has the ability to ultimately help regular people as well. By providing either support or opposition to the impacts of the Identifiable Victim Effect on social media, this research project has the ability to help practitioners tailor their fundraising efforts and raise more money for nonprofit hospitals, which in turn, helps these hospitals continue to provide lifesaving care to patients in need.

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Identifiable Victim Effect

The Identifiable Victim Effect (IVE), is the idea or phenomenon that people are more likely to help or are willing to help someone in need when they are individually identified than if they were part of a large group (statistic) dealing with the same problem or situation (Schelling, 1968; Jenni & Loewenstein, 1997). Based on IVE, an identifiable victim is an individual who has suffered as a result of misfortune and tragedy, (accident, illness and/or death) and whose story, name and other identifying characteristics have been made available. Early research on IVE sought to discover if the identifiable component of the theory was at the heart of the effect. A study conducted in 2003 by Deborah Small and George Loewenstein examined the impact of identifiability rather than anonymous information about a victim in relation to donations and giving. In that study, Small and Loewenstein (2003) found that participants who were asked to donate to a family in need were more likely to donate to a family that had been already selected off of a list (making their identity known to participants) as opposed to an unknown family that would be selected off of the list after the donation was collected. This early research looking at IVE provided support for further academic exploration into the ways in which IVE operates and opened the door for different lines of questioning into just how and why this effect worked so effectively. Based on early and existing literature exploring IVE, the present research is also interested in how and why IVE is effective. In order to explore this, the following research question is proposed:

RQ1: Why are people motivated to donate to Instagram fundraisers in different IVE conditions?

Years after the work by Small and Loewenstein was published, IVE continued to make itself known outside of academia. A 2013 article mentions two specific examples in which use of the IVE yielded very quick and prominent monetary support from donors (Pun, 2013). Those two instances were the story of a woman named Karen Klein getting bullied on a New York bus and the story of Ty Woods, a soldier who was killed in the Benghazi attacks, both of which received tens of thousands of dollars in just a few days (Pun, 2013). Pun goes on to state that the two things these cases had in common were "a specific beneficiary and a focus on personal stories" which are two of the main components of IVE. The two cases mentioned here help illustrate the tangible implications of using IVE and how effective it is. IVE is most notably used in the fields of marketing and fundraising, however many communications and social cognitive scholars have taken an interest in this theory and numerous studies have been conducted to understand just why and how this effect works. Building upon the early work done by Small and Loewenstein (2003), research has established that single, identified victims elicit more generosity from people than do groups of unidentified victims (Sabato & Kogut, 2021). This willingness to donate is key when utilizing IVE for fundraising purposes and the present research builds upon this foundation and the background of IVE as an effective and supported strategy for gaining donations and examines IVE in a new lens, the lens of nonprofit healthcare organizations.

2.2 Charitable Giving

Many charitable organizations and nonprofits operate solely on the donations and generosity of people willing to give money to their organization. However, there is high competition for these donations and in order to make sure that they hit their necessary

fundraising goals, charitable organizations are focusing on marketing and turning towards strategies that will get them the most money (Bae, 2019). Focusing on one identified individual in advertising or fundraising campaigns is one of the strategies that marketers are turning towards. Studies have shown that IVE results in an increase of donations because sympathy is triggered by the identified person in need but is less so by the unidentified group (Ein-Gar & Levontin, 2013; Friedrich & McGuire, 2010; Small et al., 2007). For nonprofit organizations, the strategy of focusing on an identified individual or patient is theorized to garner more donations based on the findings relating to IVE studies. According to Kogut and Ritov (2005a), their study found that people experienced greater distress when being told about the problems facing a single identified victim than when they were told about a group of unidentified victims. The notion of affect and emotion is an area that has been widely studied in relation to IVE with some studies even finding contradicting results.

2.3 Affect and Emotion of IVE

A study conducted by Friedrich & McGuire in 2010 set out to test the claims made by Small and his research team in 2007 that stated emotional responses to IVE may be hampered by analytical processing. Friedrich and McGuire found that the tendency to help identified victims had more to do with low cognitive effort and lower preferences for rational thinking than through emotional responses (2010). However, emotion continues to be a key component of IVE and studies like the one conducted by Genevsky, Vastfjaa, Slovic & Knutson in 2013 explore the way that these emotions and feelings of generosity impact donations through different lenses. Their study focused on the neural implications of IVE on donations to an African orphanage and used different trial conditions to manipulate the amount of identifiable information participants had about the children they were being asked to donate too (Genevsky et al., 2013). The authors

found that when images of single, identified victims were shown to participants, emotions played a much higher role in the decision to donate compared to when images of silhouettes were shown (2013). The study found that when photographs were shown instead of silhouettes, participants reported more positive arousal and this correlated with higher donation percentages (Genevsky et al., 2013). Based on this existing literature on affect and donations this second research question has been developed:

RQ2: What emotional response is elicited from each IVE condition?

These findings also help support the larger idea that focusing on identifiable victims rather than the overarching cause itself can benefit other nonprofits that rely on generous donations to operate and it also highlights the importance of visual communication and the role that personalized imagery may play in the effectiveness of IVE especially in an online setting. However, before diving into the importance that visual communication has on this theory, a key piece of that personalized imagery and identification component, homophily, must be explored.

2.4 Homophily

There are many factors that can potentially impact individual behavior. Giving behavior and willingness to donate is no different. One such factor that needs to be addressed is the concept of homophily. Homophily, originally coined in 1954 by Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton, refers to the idea that similar individuals will move towards and act similarly to each other (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954). While this concept has not been researched in connection with IVE, it is important to explore the notion that it may have an impact on willingness to donate and therefore, requires further explanation. Research done by McPherson et al. in 2001, investigated the idea that "similarity breeds connection". Their research found that there are six

different areas in which homophily impacts personal environments and divisions among them. In order, these six areas are race and ethnicity, age, religion, education, occupation, and gender (McPherson et al., 2001). This research suggests that people tend to cluster in groups of like minded individuals or individuals that share similarities in key aspects of life. In relation to the present research, this notion of homophily may impact the way that individuals report their willingness to donate.

While homophily as a social concept has been studied extensively in regard to social participation (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2000), organizational practices (Ertug et al., 2022), and peer influence (Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011), little research has been done on homophily and its impacts with charitable giving and even less has been done to investigate homophily in an online sphere. However, researchers Mastromatteo and Russo (2017) explored the notion of choice homophily in crowdfunding with female founders. Their research focused mainly on the ideas of income inequality and income homophily when donating and found that there is a positive association between inequality or the "unequal and/or unjust distribution of resources and opportunities among members of a given society" (Koh, 2020) and social participation which in this case was crowdfunding (Mastromatteo & Russo, 2017). These findings are contradictory to research done by Alesina & La Ferrara in 2000, that found a negative correlation between heterogeneity and social participation, meaning that homophily leads to more social participation. In an online sphere, Alesina & La Ferrara's findings are supported by research done by Mike Thelwall (2008) that explored homophily and relationships using MySpace. Thelwall's research found that homophily with ethnicity, age, religion, country, martial status, attitude towards children, and sexual orientation all significantly impacted individuals' tendency to form offline relationships (2008). Based on the existing research on homophily as a social

concept and with brief exploration done in relation to the impacts of homophily in charitable giving and online spheres, the present research seeks to explore homophily as it relates to willingness to donate to hospitals using social media through the collection of demographic information. The use of personalized imagery will also help provide the basis for the examination of homophily. Images and visual communication play a large role in the decisions that people make everyday and the decisions they make regarding donations. Based on this literature, the following research question was developed:

RQ3: How does homophily influence willingness to donate in different IVE conditions?

2.5 Visual Communication

Research on the Identifiable Victim Effect helps formulate an understanding of audience reactions when presented with an identified victim as opposed to a group of unidentified victims. However, another area of scholarship and literature may offer more insights into the way audiences react with greater generosity (Sabato & Kogut, 2021) or with greater distress (Kogut and Ritov, 2005a) when faced with an identified victim, and that is the area of visual communication. Visual communication and images have been studied through many different lenses including processing of information (Graber, 1996), providing clarity for complex concepts (Nicholson-Cole, 2005), and in memory studies (Rosenfeld et al., 2015). Images are very powerful in many respects and one of these areas is the way in which they can influence behavior. A study conducted by Piotr Winkielman and Yekaterina Gogolushko in 2018 set out to determine if people responded differently when exposed to a photo of a word or simply the word itself. The study found that exposing participants to emotional images led to greater physiological effects than exposure to emotional words (Winkielman & Gogolushko, 2018).

While the authors of this study propose multiple explanations as to why this occurred, one such explanation is that the affective system is situated to understand pictures and images extremely well (Gelder et al. 2011). Visual communication is widely studied and known in the realm of marketing and advertising. The phrase 'a picture is worth a thousand words' holds true in many aspects of scholarship done on the topic. Petrova and Cialdini (2005) found that when testing if having participants imagine a product had any impact on their consumer behavior and attitude towards the products those who were able to have a clear and vivid mental image of the product felt more positive towards the product and the opposite was true as well. These findings help establish the use of visual imagery and communication as very important in the process and adaptation of a product or of an idea.

In the case of the present research, these visual communication studies help provide an understanding of the important role that images may play in aiding and enabling IVE in the context of social media. Social media in general and specifically Instagram, is visually based. While there is text present on Instagram, it is largely used for sharing pictures and videos. Research into visual communication and the ways in which people process images is helpful for establishing not only Instagram as a suitable area for future research but for potential implications and explanations of IVE's success. Previous studies on IVE have noted that there is a clear and distinct difference in reactions and responses when an image of someone (identifiable information) is present in asking for donations rather than simply a textual description of the story. Of the literature examining the importance of imagery in neuro processing, one relationship was extremely clear and that was the connection between affect and imagery. This information is important to the present research examining how IVE will impact audience willingness to donate on Instagram because IVE inherently leans on audience emotions to garner

donations from them and Instagram uses images to convey these messages. The current research focuses on IVE in relation to healthcare and specifically nonprofit hospitals, to whom messages paired with images are very familiar.

Hypotheses

Using literature on visual communication as guide, the following hypotheses are proposed for the present research using the 4 experimental conditions, Condition 1: IVE image IVE caption, Condition 2: Non IVE image IVE caption, Condition 3: IVE image, Non IVE caption, and Condition 4: Non IVE Image and Non IVE caption:

> **H1: Participants will report greater willingness to donate in condition 1 compared to posts in all other conditions.**

Research has shown that photos are a very powerful messaging tool, however, text is as well. H1 builds upon this idea and states that when both the image and the text of an Instagram post utilize the necessary components of IVE, participants will feel the most willingness to donate.

> **H2: Participants will report lower willingness to donate in condition 3 compared to condition 2.**

H2 is based upon IVE research that states a victim needs to be identified in order to elicit deeper emotions and willingness to donate. By providing an IVE photo and a general caption, the victim is not identified explicitly and therefore the hypothesis suggests a post with a general photo but an IVE caption would evoke more willingness from participants to donate.

H3: Participants will report greater willingness to donate condition 2 compared to condition 3.

The inverse of H2, H3 posits that when the general photo is used in connection with an IVE caption, participants will feel greater motivation to donate. This is hypothesized based off of IVE literature highlighting the importance of identifying the victim. H3 suggests that even when a photo of the victim is not present, if the caption identifies the victim and their circumstances, that is enough to increase participant willingness to donate.

H4: Participants will report the lowest willingness to donate in condition 4 compared to posts in all other conditions.

The final hypothesis guiding the present research suggests that if both the photo and caption on the Instagram post are general and there is an absence of IVE, participants will feel less willingness to donate. This hypothesis is based on the fundamental literature on IVE that states an individual, identified victim will elicit more donations than a group of unidentified (statistical) victims.

Visual communication and other aspects of communication have helped shape the healthcare field into what it is today. In order to situate the present research amidst the background of general communication research and to highlight the gap in existing literature in which this project falls, an understanding of the role that communication plays within the broader healthcare field is needed.

2.6 Healthcare Communication

The primary focus of healthcare is to provide care for the health and well-being of others. However, without adequate communication, healthcare organizations have the potential to

become a place of confusion and frustration rather than a place of healing. Studies looking at the important role that communication plays in healthcare have shown an emphasis on patient/provider communication (Parry & Land, 2013) and patient comprehension (Denniston, Molloy & Rees, 2018; Toibin, Pender & Cusack, 2017). Without the proper knowledge, information and communication between providers and patients, the purpose of healthcare loses its impact and fails to help in the ways it was intended. While this type of communication is very important in making sure patients get the proper care they require, the present research focuses on the communication that occurs before the patient steps foot into the hospital and intends to provide clarity for communication strategies aimed at ensuring the sustainability of the healthcare organizations themselves.

This communication takes place in the form of marketing, advertising and specifically, fundraising. While hospitals and healthcare organizations are a necessary part of life, many of them compete with one another for patients and to make sure that their organizations have a strong presence in the community and even the world. Hospitals and healthcare organizations turn towards advertising and marketing in order to strengthen that community and nationwide presence. An important factor to note when examining healthcare advertising and communication is that 57% of American hospitals are nonprofit according to Becker's Hospital Review (2021). Nonprofit hospitals originated for the purpose of offering care to all who need it, even if the patients have an inability or a struggle to pay for the services. Nonprofit hospitals continue to put patient care before direct compensation from patients' families. This care-first stance makes a difference in thousands of lives each day and in order for this care to continue, the hospitals cannot rely on the patients and their families for the money needed to keep the

hospital operational. Instead, a majority of funding for nonprofits is made up of fundraising and generous gifts from donors.

In addition to the funding gained from donations, according to information provided from the Indiana Hospital Association, the charitable status held by most nonprofit hospitals allow for large federal and state tax exemptions (2022). This tax exemption aspect of nonprofits has led to opposition and many feel that the money they receive and do not have to pay to federal and state collectors is not directly correlated with the care they provide to patients (Bai & Hyman, 2021). As the healthcare field continues to get more competitive, nonprofit hospitals are having to work against other nonprofit hospitals as well as hospitals in the for-profit sector, which according to Bai and Hyman, minimizes the charitable role played by the organizations and does not justify their tax exempt status (2021).

Although there is opposition to nonprofit hospitals held by some, the bottom line is, these hospitals are providing care for many people regardless of their ability to pay and in the case of children's hospitals, like St. Jude and Shriners Children's Research Hospital, they are providing lifesaving treatment to children who would otherwise never receive the care they need. In order to compete in a highly competitive market and to continually raise the money needed to fund hospital will operations, communication is needed to advertise and market hospitals and healthcare nonprofits in order to increase brand awareness and to ensure that when people are asked to donate, they know who the organization is, what they do and feel confident that the money they give will be used in the way it is intended. Advertising, marketing and fundraising are three aspects of communication that work hand in hand to lay the groundwork for hospital, practitioner, and patient success. This background of how overall communication plays a role in healthcare is necessary for establishing the important role that communication, specifically

advertising, marketing and fundraising, plays in healthcare and why the present research on IVE

use by nonprofit hospitals in online settings can have future practical and theoretical benefits.

2.7 Healthcare Advertising and Marketing

The Identifiable Victim Effect is a phenomenon centered around fundraising. However,

as mentioned above, fundraising, advertising, and marketing work hand in hand to create the

desired or intended outcome that allows for people to donate to organizations in the first place.

Communication takes on different meanings when dealing with organizations and for the

purpose of understanding, a clear distinction between advertising and marketing must be made.

Advertising is widely understood as 'describing or drawing attention to a product, service, or

event, in a public medium in order to promote sales or attendance' and marketing is well

understood as 'the action of promoting or selling products or services'. Hospital advertising takes

the shape of television commercials, billboards, magazine and newspaper excerpts and more.

Hospital marketing takes on an umbrella stance in which a campaign is developed and multiple

advertisements that have similar themes and information are launched.

While hospitals and healthcare organizations do not solely focus on advertising and

marketing, with the competitive landscape they exist within, both communication strategies help

hospitals to stand out and help establish brand awareness. Studies conducted by Kim and KC

(2018), Larson et al. (2005) and Schenker et al. (2014), examine the ways and reasons that

hospitals advertise and market themselves. TI Tongel Kim and Diwas Singh KC in 2018,

emphasizes that advertising and marketing is needed, specifically in the case of hospitals,

because patients have a greater choice now than ever before in who they go to for their

healthcare needs. Nonprofit healthcare organizations also engage in advertising, however it is

generally for the purpose of increasing their presence within the community and to solicit donations (Sweltiz, 2017).

In order to keep up with the competition, an environment has been created where patients rely on previous exposure and knowledge of a hospital to make their choice in healthcare and it is through advertising, fundraising and marketing campaigns that these hospitals vy for that patient knowledge and preference. Currently, hospital advertising is a common practice, but that was not always the case. A little over four decades ago, the American Medical Association had a strict ban on hospital advertising and felt that it "is derogatory to the dignity of the profession to resort to public advertisements or private cards of handbills inviting the attention of individuals affected with particular disease," (American Medical Association Code of Ethics, 1847). However, in 1980, this restriction was found to be in violation of free commerce, protected by the Federal Trade Commission and hospitals were allowed to advertise. This change in advertising rules was beneficial for hospitals trying to recruit more patients and especially for nonprofit hospitals that depend on the money donated or raised to be able to provide the care they need to. However, many people are still wary about hospital advertising and marketing and are unsure if the motivations and intentions behind the marketing are positive.

In a study conducted by Robin Larson, Lisa Schwartz, and Steven Woloshin in 2005, the authors examined advertising practices of 17 different Academic Medical centers to see how they regulate their advertising and what strategies they are using. The study found that 29.5% of the ads promoted the medical center as a whole, while 53.3% promoted specific clinical departments and 17.2% promoted single therapeutic interventions or diagnostic tests (Larson et al. 2005). These results help highlight the competition that exists and the ways in which hospitals feel the need to stand out and impress future patients with their unique differences or specialties.

Larson et al. (2005) also found four different marketing strategies that these medical centers used and those were emotional appeals, highlighting the prestigious status of the institution, mentioning a specific symptom or disease, and promoting special offers. These four strategies highlight an important area of hospital marketing that is necessary to discuss in order to situate this paper and the present research on IVE as an effective fundraising strategy in an ethical and beneficial gap of literature.

Fundraising and marketing at their core are intended to bring money into an organization or to a cause, however the methods in which that money is raised need to adhere to moral and regulatory standards. IVE is a strategy of focusing on one patient or story to bring more attention and money to an organization as opposed to using simply a cause or an organization as the primary driving factor for donations. To establish this effect as a worthwhile fundraising strategy for healthcare organizations, background into the ethical history of hospital advertisements, marketing, and fundraising must be discussed as it pertains to an ethical foundation for future use of fundraising strategies, namely IVE.

2.8 Ethics of Hospital Advertisements

Hospitals have been advertising for a little over forty years, since the AMA's ban on advertising was found to be in violation of FTC's act protecting free commerce. However, not everyone agreed with this violation and many people continue to feel that hospital advertising bears ethical concerns. A study conducted by Yael Schenker, Robert M. Arnold, and Alex John London in 2014, titled The Ethics of Advertising for Health Care Services, looks at the moral responsibilities that healthcare organizations have to their patients and concludes that new standards for regulating health care advertisements need to be put in place so that patients are not misled by subtle advertising strategies. In a 1993 study conducted by Kenneth J. Arrow, the

author mentions the duty that physicians have to help all patients and to convey accurate information to patients should be put above their desire for pleasing patients. Arrow also notes that a main reason so many hospitals are nonprofit organizations, is that the "association of profit-making with the supply of medical services arouses suspicion and antagonism on the part of patients,: (1993). This suspicion and antagonism is heightened at times with nonprofit hospitals because of their reliance on advertising and fundraising to ensure services can be provided and that the hospital can remain operational. According to Kim & KC, (2018), hospitals have been increasing their spending on advertising and this opens up a conservation about the effectiveness and motivation behind this advertising. The authors mention that this advertising can help bring new patients to the hospital and because of the prospective payment system that many U.S. hospitals participate in, the more patients a hospital sees, the higher the increase in revenue is. This is a strong motivating factor if the hospital relies on this income to function and provide the health care services needed. However, the authors also note that all of this advertising may not be effective at times and if this advertising does not work, then the large advertising budgets of many hospitals should be spent elsewhere in the hospital and could help increase the quality of care not just the quantity of patients seen, (Kim & KC, 2018).

Specific advertising strategies have also been criticized and deemed suspicious or unethical. Schenker et al. (2014), examined three common advertising strategies used in healthcare advertising. The three strategies examined in Schenker et al.'s study were 'positive associations and the suggestion of indirect benefits', 'focus on salient cases without attending to background probabilities' and 'uncooperative communication'(2014). The first strategy looks at things like celebrity endorsements or spokespeople and the implications of benefits that may happen to some patients but definitely not all and some of the benefits are not directly related to

the medical care the patients receive. This strategy, while eye-catching and appealing, is not the most direct approach to advertising and poses ethical concerns. When advertisements focus on salient cases without attending to the background, this means they focus on a miracle case or a very special circumstance without alerting the audience of what went into the process and if there were certain aspects of the case that made it possible. Instead, the advertisement focuses simply on the success in hopes of drawing more people to the organization. Finally, Schenker et al. (2014) examined 'uncooperative communication' in healthcare advertising which is a term the authors coined and which explains the situation wherein a statement in used in advertising that is not misstating facts, but it is implying beyond the message itself and those implications may not be truthful or generalizable. These are just some of the advertising strategies used by healthcare organizations and while they have been shown to pose ethical concerns (Schencker et al., 2014), they have been and continue to be used to bring attention, patients and money to the healthcare organizations. Another method, similar to advertising, of bringing money to the organizations, is through fundraising.

2.9 Healthcare fundraising

As previously mentioned, many of the nation's hospitals and healthcare organizations are considered non profit organizations. Nonprofit means that the hospitals return money they make back into the hospital rather than to shareholders, they pay less in federal and state taxes and they get most of their money through fundraising and donations (IHA, 2022). Nonprofit hospitals mainly rely on the money raised by fundraising endeavors to operate and to provide the life changing and saving care that patients need. These fundraising efforts take form in ways similar to that of advertising campaigns, with the notable difference that fundraising campaigns' sole goal is to raise money. Advertising and fundraising are closely related, however, fundraising is

widely understood as the seeking of financial support for a charity, cause or other enterprise. Fundraising efforts often occur in the form of hosting events, online fundraisers, and crowdfunding campaigns. According to an article written by Adam Weinger, some of the most effective strategies for increasing fundraising results include teaming up with corporations for an event, creating lasting relationships with donors after their donation has been given, and notably, creating an online fundraising form (Weinger, 2022). Other studies have discussed a surge in online fundraising from perspectives such as individual organizational affiliation (Reddick & Ponomariov, 2012), connecting with community (Galloro, 2011), and crowdfunding preferences (Dragojlovic & Lynd, 2016). With the reliance that many nonprofit healthcare organizations have on fundraising and with the ever changing and advancing technological landscape, in order to understand how healthcare fundraising may take shape in the next few years and the ways in which IVE can be used in online settings, a comprehensive look at the history of online fundraising is needed.

2.10 Online Fundraising

Since its creation and rise in popularity, the internet has become and continues to grow as an important fundraising device. According to a study conducted in 2010, 6 out of 10 charities were seeing a rise in monetary donations online in 2011 than the previous year (Wallace, 2010). Nonprofit Research Collaboration also announced in 2011 that online donations were seeing the highest increase compared to all other fundraising strategies. Work done by Treiblmaier and Pollach (2006) details the importance that online fundraising can have for nonprofits and developed a Framework for Measuring People's Intention to Donate Online. This study looked at external factors or demographics that could impact participant's intention or willingness to

donate online. The present research examines IVE's impact on willingness to donate through the lens of demographics adopted from Treiblmaier and Pollach's study (2006).

While Treiblmaier and Pollach's study provided beneficial background for measuring intention to donate online, their study found that many people were aware of the option to donate to nonprofits online, but a comparatively lower number of participants reported that they would donate online in the future (2006). Treiblmaier and Pollach's 2006 study highlights a challenge that faced online donations in the earlier years of the internet and social media. Although the internet has since shown to be an effective tool for fundraising, some scholars have suggested that the internet should not replace traditional aspects that lie at the heart of fundraising (Hart, 2002). Some of the most fundamental and human aspects of fundraising, such as cultivating relationships, creating and maintaining connections and potentially securing present and future donations cannot be accomplished in an exclusively online space. Due to this critical relational aspect that online fundraising lacks, when online fundraising was getting its start, it was mainly used to alert audiences of new information (Water, 2007) and to serve as a way to alert audiences of opportunities to donate rather than to foster relationships with the audience members (Sargeant, West, & Jay, 2007; Saxton & Guo, 2011; Tuckman, Chatterjee, & Muha, 2004). This early use of online fundraising was shown to be an effective way of reaching audiences and presenting them with information and as technology advanced and continues to advance there are more ways than ever to utilize online fundraising and to reach large audiences. One of these methods is through the use of social media. According to an article published in 2012, the author notes that social media is a new and lasting method of fundraising (Schoenberg, 2012). The present research is based on early work showing the benefits of online and social media use, as well as current research showing how these technology platforms are being used to advance

fundraising. Social media, as mentioned by authors like Schoenberg (2012) has transformed into an online tool like no other and fundraising has benefited in ways that surpassed expectations and is projected to continue this direction in the future.

2.11 The Rise of Social Media and Social Media Fundraising

Social media is a complex and ever changing area of study. Over the last two decades, social media has come to be known as a collection of websites and applications, and more recently, mobile applications, in which people connect with others and engage in social interactions in virtual spaces. A brief understanding of social media and the ways in which interactions occur in these spaces is a necessary precursor to the present research because social media has impacted the way that organizations and corporations interact with their clients, potential clients and audiences. Two of the most popular social media platforms, Instagram and Facebook were released in the first decade of the 2000's and since then, together, have amassed over 2 billion monthly users (Statista, 2022; Meta Platforms Inc., 2022). Another very popular social media application that has emerged in recent years is Twitter. With over 217 million daily active users, the ability to get information out to the public about topics and events is easier than ever before (Omnicore, 2022). The sheer number of users that these social media applications boast is enough to make any organization take notice of the networking potential that is available at their fingertips. According to a study published in 2016 by Jayeon Lee, social media has not only impacted the way that organizations operate, but also how people and audiences get news and information. "A study found that any retweeted tweet on Twitter reaches an average of 1,000 users no matter what the number of followers is of the original tweet (Kwak, Lee, Park, & Moon, 2010). Many companies and organizations have taken notice of the monetary potential that exists within social media and social networking, however, they have only recently been able to

capitalize on the ability to utilize these online channels with the new additions of fundraising opportunities. Although Facebook has been offering the ability to fundraise on its platform since 2016, Instagram has only recently added this function within the last two years. Studies have been conducted in recent years looking at how effective these fundraising platforms are and have found varying, but overall positive results. According to a study conducted in 2020 by Bhati & McDonald, Facebook Fundraising was an effective way to earn money for nonprofit organizations and was positively correlated with the variables of network size, activity and audience engagement. Although the present research focuses on the variables of IVE and audience willingness to donate, understanding the overall background of social media and the rise of social media fundraising helps situate the research within a beneficial area of study that has the potential to provide support for an existing fundraising strategy and its practical application to Instagram. Based on the literature detailing IVE in practice and theory as well as the literature examining visual communication, health communication and social media, the following research question is used to guide the present research:

RQ4: How does the use of IVE impact audience willingness to donate to nonprofit hospitals via Instagram?

2.12 Hospital and Healthcare Organizational Presence on Social Media

As mentioned, many organizations are taking note of the way that social media is transforming how audiences are reached and the new methods in which that communication is taking shape. Hospitals and healthcare organizations have recognized the potential that social media has and are joining various online social media platforms in order to increase their brand awareness one follower at a time. An article titled ' Top 10 Hospitals and Children's Hospitals

on Social Media' was published in 2020 and ranked hospitals from highest social media engagement to lowest. The existence of this article and the fact that social media engagement is established as a valid form of measurement helps highlight the potential benefit of utilizing social media in the future of fundraising. One hospital has continuously led the way when it comes to online presence and that is St. Jude Children's Research Hospital. With over 500,000 followers on Instagram, 400,000 followers on TikTok and 2.4 million followers on Facebook, St. Jude knows how to gain and engage a large audience. They also know how to raise money on these platforms. Social media has taken the world by storm and rightfully so. As previously mentioned, the work done by Winkielman & Gogolushko (2018) in relation to visual communication, helps explain the reasons why platforms like Instagram have such an extensive user base and why image driven platforms continue to gain popularity. The popular social media platforms and the organizations and accounts with the biggest followings all know how to use the platforms in ways that connect with their audiences. With images dominating Instagram and with the research done by Petrova & Cialdini (2005) that supports the idea that imagery is a big driving component in both attitude change, decision making and behavior change, it makes sense that Instagram fundraising has been and continues to be a popular method of gaining donations for a cause. Instagram offers a unique platform of examination related to IVE and its impacts on audience willingness to donate to nonprofit hospitals because the platform allows users to be extremely personal and to share stories and images in order to gain awareness.

2.13 Research Question/ Hypotheses

This study seeks to understand the impact that posts on Instagram using the Identifiable Victim Effect have on audience willingness to donate to nonprofit hospitals. After a thorough literature review diving into the background of not only IVE and visual communication, but a

detailed evolution of healthcare advertising, marketing and fundraising as well, there is clear support for IVE as an effective method of raising money for various causes in the realm of general charitable giving. However, the present research seeks to expand upon IVE and healthcare fundraising through the lens of social media using the following research questions and hypotheses:

RQ1: Why are people motivated to donate in different IVE conditions?

RQ2: How do IVE conditions impact Emotional Response?

RQ3: How does homophily influence willingness to donate in different IVE conditions?

RQ 4: How does the use of IVE impact audience willingness to donate to healthcare organizations via Instagram?

H1: *Participants will report greater willingness to donate in condition 1 compared to posts in all other conditions.*

H2: Participants will report lower willingness to donate in condition 3 compared to condition 2.

H3: Participants will report greater willingness to donate condition 2 compared to condition 3.

H4: Participants will report the lowest willingness to donate in condition 4 compared to posts in all other conditions.

Social media continues to advance and this study provides both theoretical and practical applications of IVE in this new area of study. Based on the literature and previous studies on IVE and on visual communication specifically, the results of this study help offer insight into the ways in which IVE can operate as a strategy for social media fundraising.

METHOD

3.1 Study Design

To examine the impacts of the IVE on audience willingness to donate to nonprofit hospitals on Instagram, a four condition, between subjects, experimental survey was conducted. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in the survey. The experimental survey measured audience willingness to donate through self-reported responses using 7 point Likert scales. Open-ended questions were used throughout the survey to gain deeper insights into respondent answers.

Factorial designs have been used in previous work on IVE (Kogut & Ritov, 2005a), however unlike these previous studies, the present research only used online survey responses to gather data as opposed to conducting a field experiment. The study used two independent variables (both had two levels) and one dependent variable.The first independent variable was "IVE image". Participants were either exposed to an Instagram post that had a photo of a clearly identifiable person or they were exposed to a photo with an unidentified group of people. The second independent variable was "IVE caption". Participants were exposed to an Instagram post with a text caption that asks for donations and identifying an individual in need or they were exposed to a general text caption that asks for donations facing a group in need.

The dependent variable measured in this experiment was the participant's "willingness to donate". The between-subjects design was chosen for this research so that each participant was only exposed to their own stimuli, thus limiting carry over effects from participants (Oeldorf-Hirsch, A., 2017).

The first condition used an Instagram post with an IVE photo with an IVE caption. The second condition used an Instagram post of an IVE photo with a non IVE caption. The third

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condition used an Instagram post of a non IVE photo with an IVE caption. The fourth condition, also the control condition, used an Instagram post of a Non IVE photo with a non IVE caption. A breakdown of these conditions can be found in *table 1*.

Table 1

Experimental Conditions

	IVE Image (Individual)	Non IVE Image (Group)
IVE Caption (Specific)	Condition 1	Condition 2
Non IVE Caption (General)	Condition 3	Condition 4

This study utilized a post-test design in which the only measurement for determining impact on willingness took place after participants have been exposed to their conditional stimuli. For the present research, a post-test design was favorable to a pretest/posttest design so that participants' reactions and reported willingness were based on single exposure rather than multiple, which could lead to bias (Choueiry, 2022). This experiment used photos and captions detailing stories of hospital patients to generalize the findings to healthcare organizations and nonprofit hospitals specifically.

3.2 Sample

The participants in this study were recruited from the Amazon survey platform: Mechanical Turk. This platform was chosen due to its representative and random nature of providing participants. Prior research has found that although some teenagers donate to charity, typical donors are aged 18 and above, with the average age being 65 (Orth et al. 2022; Appel, 2022; Philanthropy Roundtable, 2022). Due to this prior research, participants in this study were screened for their ages, and those younger than 18 were not selected to participate.

For each experimental condition, 40 participants were needed to ensure this study was appropriately powered. To achieve sufficient statistical power, 160 respondents were needed for this study. The total number of participants was 179 with 52 in Condition 1, 40 in Condition 2, 45 in Condition 3 and 42 in Condition 4. The sample was 58.1% male and 41.95 female with 69.3% between the ages of 25-45 years old. Participants were not compensated for their participation in this study.

3.3. Procedure

Each willing participant agreed to an electronic version of an informed consent form prior to beginning the experiment and filling out the survey. Once informed consent was gathered, each participant was taken to the start of the experiment. The participants had the ability to drop out or exit the experiment at any time.

Each participant was randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions used in this study. Being randomly assigned to the conditions helped increase the internal validity of the study because it minimized the chance for bias among groups, increased the representativeness of respondents, and gave each participant an equal chance to be placed in each condition (Suresh K., 2011). To begin the experiment, participants were asked a screener question to ensure they were above the age of 18. Following the screener question, participants were exposed to their conditional stimuli. The survey then asked participants specific questions about the stimuli to gauge their willingness to donate to the cause mentioned in the condition. Participants were then asked a few general demographic questions and attention check questions to ensure high quality responses and the ultimate inclusion or exclusion of responses from the final results.The survey combined both scaled responses and open ended responses. This approach provided deeper meaning and insights to the statistical data gathered from the survey.

3.4 Pretest

A pretest of this study was needed to determine which photos were used in the four final IVE conditions. This pretest helped identify which images had high or low positive and negative emotional responses in order to select the most neutral images and to avoid bias in responses due to extreme emotional responses. The pretest was also used to ensure that the format of the survey and the order of questions made sense, that the questions did not give away the purpose of the experiment and to understand and to identify any other confounding variables that may have impacted audience willingness to donate. Participants were exposed to 8 different pretest images (*Appendix A-D)* and were then asked specific questions regarding their mood and emotions after seeing each image. Participants of the pretest were exposed to 4 IVE and 4 non-IVE images and asked to rate them on a 7 point Likert scale depicting attitudes felt after exposure. Participants were asked how they feel on 5 different scales: 'sad:happy', 'sympathetic:apathetic', 'distressed:calm', 'uncomfortable:comfortable', 'shameful:empathetic' in order to see a wide range of emotional responses. However, based on previous studies conducted on IVE and emotion, positive and negative moods have been shown to impact willingness to donate (Sabato & Kogut (2021), so in this case, the sad:happy scale was the only scale used to determine the images for the actual test. The pretest of this study was conducted using a convenience and snowball sample of friends and family of the researcher and had 49 participants.

As mentioned, the primary purpose of the pretest was to test for extreme mood response to potential images in both IVE and Non IVE conditions. Sabato & Kogut (2021) found that participants' donations to identified victims was positively correlated to being in a negative mood. In order to avoid willingness to donate being impacted simply from the mood elicited from the image, a neutral response (a 4 or closest to that on a 7 point scale) was being looked for.

The mean scores of the sad:happy scale in each IVE condition were used to assign each image a

mood score that ranged from 1 to 7 points. The mean score for each condition was used to

determine which images were going to be used in the actual test. A breakdown of these scores

can be found in *table 2.*

Table 2

Pretest Images Mood Response

	IVE 1.1	IVE 1.2	IVE 1.3	IVE 1.4	IVE 2.1	IVE 2.2	IVE 2.3	IVE 2.4
Sad: Happy	4.82	6.58	6.44	3.41	3.08	3.25	4.23	3.94

The average scores for the IVE condition images were 4.82, 6.44, and 3.41. The fourth

IVE image had a mood score of 3.41, which was the score closest to the neutral (4). This image,

the fourth IVE image, was selected for the IVE conditions in the actual study.

The average scores for the Non IVE condition images were: 3.08, 3.25, 4.23, and 3.94.

While it is clear that the fourth image was the closest image to neutral on the sad:happy scale,

based on previous literature on IVE specifically mentioning identified vs. unidentified or

statistical victims, for the non IVE condition, it was determined that the image should include a

group of unidentified people. For this reason, the two images being examined for inclusion in the

actual test were IVE 2.2 and IVE 2.3, of which, IVE 2.3 was closer to the neutral and was

included in the Non IVE conditions of the study.

3.5 Measures

Willingness to Donate. In order to examine participant's willingness to donate, or how open

they were to giving money to the individual or group in need, a 5 item scale was adopted from

Zagefka et al.'s 2012 study that examined willingness to donate to victims of disaster. The 5 items measured were "I think it is important to give donations to the victims"; "I think it is the right thing to do to give donations to the victims"; "I think everyone should donate money to the victims"; and "I would give the maximum amount I could afford to the victims". These items were measured on a 7 Point Likert scale (1 = not at all to 7 = very much). The variable of 'willingness to donate' did not measure actual donation behavior, it measured self-reported donation behavior intent, meaning that there were no actual donations made during or as a result of the study. Cronbach's α for willingness to donate was .91.

Motivation to Donate. This study examined respondent's motivation to donate to an Instagram fundraiser using close ended questions with an open ended option to provide a different motivation. The options given for this question were 'If I knew the person running the fundraiser', 'If I had a personal connection to the fundraiser', 'If I had previously donated to the cause', 'If someone I trusted asked me to donate', and 'Other'.

Emotional Response. In order to examine the relationship between emotional response and willingness to donate in different IVE conditions, emotional response was measured using two different emotional measures: Distress and Sympathy. These two emotions were chosen because they have been suggested as two main underlying mechanisms of helping (Cialdini et al., 1987; Loewenstein & Small, 2007) and have been previously linked with IVE and with donations (Erlandsson et al. 2015). A 7 point Likert scale (1 = not at all to 7 = very much) adopted from Erlandsson et al.'s 2015 study examining perceived impact and responsibility as mediating factors of IVE was used to measure both distress and sympathy. The first prompt used to measure emotional distress was: 'Rate how you feel when looking at this post': 1. I feel downhearted, 2. I feel sad, 3. I feel emotionally uneasy. Cronbach's α for distress was .95. The

second prompt used to examine sympathy was: 'Rate how you react emotionally when looking at this post': 1. I feel intense compassion, 2. I feel strong empathetic feelings, 3. I feel emotionally touched. Cronbach's α for sympathy was .94. These two emotional measures were examined separately in order to explore their relationship with willingness to donate.

Demographics and Willingness to Donate. These external factors/demographics were measured by closed ended questions about characteristics adopted from 'A Framework for Measuring People's Intention to Donate Online" (Treiblmaier and Pollach, 2006). The self reported measures included: 'Gender', 'Occupation', 'Social Media Experience', 'Age', 'Education' and 'Frequency of Instagram Use'. Additional measures include 'Race', 'Religion', and 'Parental Status'. These additional characteristics were added to explore the concept of homophily.

Homophily. The concept of homophily is that 'similarity breeds connection'. This concept was measured through a close-ended question that asked respondents about feeling a sense of personal connection with the individual in the Instagram post for the condition they were exposed to. The following question was used to determine a sense of homophily between respondents and the individual in the image. 'Did you feel a personal connection to the individual in the post?' To which respondents could answer: 'Yes', 'No', or 'There was more than one person in the post'.

3.6 Data Analysis

The results of the closed ended and Likert scale questions on the survey were analyzed using a post hoc one-way ANOVA on SPSS. One way ANOVA was chosen for data analysis because the goal of the study was to examine the interaction between the dependent variable of willingness to donate and more than three unrelated groups. Willingness to donate was examined

with each IVE condition, motivations, homophily and emotional responses. The open ended

questions pertaining to motivation were examined using frequency analysis. For each IVE

condition, the mode was examined to identify which motivation was reported the most.

RESULTS

4.1 Results

This study set out to explore the relationship between the Identifiable Victim Effect and willingness to donate to healthcare organizations, specifically nonprofit hospitals. This relationship was examined in many different capacities and explored through multiple avenues. When looking at a general response for willingness to donate, regardless of IVE conditions, it is clear that the group of respondents are a very generous group. With the mean willingness to donate score being 5.43 on a 7 point scale, and with only 20% of respondents falling below that mark, the generosity of this sample must not be overlooked.

The first research question asked by this study was 'Why are people motivated to donate in different IVE conditions? A one way ANOVA was conducted comparing respondent's motivation to donate with their willingness to donate. A significant difference was found in Condition 2, Non IVE image with IVE caption, in regard to the response 'Other' $F(4,35)= 5.20$, $p< .001$. The results can be found in *Table 3*. Due to its significance, the open ended responses for Condition 2 were examined using thematic analysis. Only three of the four respondents who answered 'other' also provided an open ended response. 'Nothing', 'It would take a very unique circumstance' and 'It would have to be an exceptional cause'.

After performing a frequency analysis of responses in all IVE conditions, it was clear that the majority of respondents were motivated to donate 'if I knew the person running the fundraiser', followed closely by 'They had a personal connection to the cause', and 'if someone they trusted asked them to donate.' In condition 1, the majority of responses said they were motivated 'If they knew the person running the fundraiser' (21). Respondents exposed to the second condition responded that they were evenly motivated 'If they knew the person running

the fundraiser' (12) and 'If someone they trusted asked them to donate' (12). The respondents

exposed to condition 3 were also most strongly motivated by 'If someone they trusted asked

them to donate' (15). Finally, the respondents exposed to the final condition, condition 4,

reported being motivated if they had a personal connection to the cause' (18).

Table 3

Motivations for Donating and Willingness to Donate

	Condition 1	Condition 2	Condition 3	Condition 4
Knew the person leading the fundraiser.	5.42	5.01	5.10	5.02
Personal connection.	4.93	5.28	4.46	5.07
Previous donations.	5.48	5.33	6.30	4.55
Asked by someone trustworthy.	5.22	5.75	5.56	5.05
Other.	-	3.15*	5.00	1.60

*p <.05. **p <.01. ***p <.001.

* The relationship between motivations for donating and willingness to donate is statistically

significant, $F_{(4/35)} = 5.200$, $P < .001$ in Condition 2.

This question, examining the motivations for donating also opened the door for

investigating the concept of homophily. This was done through asking if respondents felt a

personal connection to the individual or the group in their condition. A one-way ANOVA was

conducted to test the effect of homophily on willingness to donate in each condition of IVE. The

results of this ANOVA show that this relationship was not statistically significant in any

condition. These results can be found in *table 4* below.

Table 4

Homophily and Willingness to Donate

	Condition 1	Condition 2	Condition 3	Condition 4
		Mean		
Yes	5.13	5.06	5.06	5.04
No	*5.70*	*5.40*	*5.70*	*5.20*

*p <.05. **p <.01. ***p <.001.

[*] The relationship between homophily and willingness to donate is not statistically significant in any condition.

The second research question being investigated by this study was aimed at examining the relationship between emotional response and IVE. Emotional response was measured using scales for Distress and Sympathy. After conducting a one way ANOVA, it was determined that the relationship between IVE conditions and Distress is statistically significant in Condition 2, Non IVE image and IVE caption, $F(13/26) = 3.57$, $p <.05$. and in Condition 3, $F=2.31$, $p=<.05$. Sympathy was also statistically significant in three of the four conditions. Condition 1, $F = 5.49$, $p <.001$, Condition 2, $F = 2.89$, $p= .011$, and Condition 3, $F = 5.96$, $p <.001$. These results are summarized in *table 5*.

Table 5

Willingness to Donate and Emotional Response

	Condition 1	Condition 2	Condition 3	Condition 4
		Mean		

Distress	5.14	5.00**	4.82*	3.85
Sympathy	5.67***	5.69**	5.41***	4.68

*p <.05. **p <.01. ***p <.001.

[*] The relationship between willingness to donate and Distress is statistically significant in Conditions 2, $F_{(13/26)}$= p<.01 and 3, F=(14/30)= p<.05. [*] The relationship between willingness to donate and Sympathy is statistically significant in Conditions 1, $F_{(10/41)}$=p<.001, 2, F(11/28)p<.05 and 3, F(12/32)=p<.001.

The third research question posed by this study was 'How do respondent demographics influence willingness to donate in different IVE conditions?' A composition of the sample can be seen in *table 6.*

Table 6

Demographics

Gender		*Occupation*		*Instagram Experience*	
Male	58.1%	White-Collar	33%	Little to No	12.8%
Female	41.9%	Blue-Collar	23.5%	Beginner	9.5%
		Self-Employed	31.3%	Occasional User	47.5%
		Homemaker	.6%	Frequent User	22.3%
		Retired	7.8%	Expert	7.8%
		Student	0%		
		Other	3.9%		

Age		*Education*		*Frequency of Insta. Use*	
18-24	.6%	Some high school	5.0%	1-9 h/week	84.9%
25-35	30.2%	High school grad.		10-20 h/week	11.2%
36-45	39.1%	College/University	19.0%	20+ h/week	3.9%
46-55	11.7%	Other	74.9%		
55-65	11.7%		1.1%		
Older than 65	6.7%				

Race		*Religion*		*Parent Status*	

American Indian or Alaska Native	0%	Christian	35.2%	Yes	45.8%
		Muslim	3.4%	No	54.2%
Asian	27.4%	Jewish	0%		
Black or African American	18%	Buddhist	1.7%		
		Baha'i	0%		
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	1.1%	Hindu	18.4%		
		Ancient religion	0%		
		Traditional or folk	1.7%		
White	61.5%	Atheist	17.9%		
		Agnostic	13.4%		
		Old Believer	0%		
		Nothing Particular	5.0%		
		Don't know	0%		
		Prefer not to answer	2.2%		
		Other	1.1%		

Note. Adapted from: *A framework for measuring people's intention to donate online.* (p.88) Treiblmaier and Pollach (2006). *PACIS.*

This question yielded very interesting results as none of the demographics had a statistically significant relationship with willingness to donate or Emotional Response in the various IVE conditions.

Another characteristic that was examined by this study was homophily. The interaction between homophily, willingness to donate and emotional response, there were no statistically significant findings. The results of this one-way MANOVA are found below in *table 7.*

Table 7

Homophily, Willingness to Donate & Emotional Response

	Condition 1		Condition 2		Condition 3		Condition 4	
	F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.
WTD	2.001	.163	.518	.476	1.203	.281	.036	.852
Distress	1.111	.297	.672	.418	1.374	.250	.180	.676

Sympathy	4.673	.035*	.842	.365	1.824	.187	.060	.809

[*]The relationship between personal connection (Homophily) and Willingness to Donate was not statistically significant in any condition. [*] The relationship between personal connection (Homophily) and Emotional Response was not statistically significant in any condition.

The fourth and final research question explored in this study was '*How does the use of IVE impact audience motivation to donate to nonprofit hospitals via Instagram?* Four different hypotheses accompanied this question and H1 and H4 were supported and H2 and H3 were not supported, however, none of the results were statistically significant enough to state that there is a clear benefit to using IVE in the context of Instagram fundraising and willingness to donate, F= .559, p = .643. These results can be found in *table 9.*

H1: Participants will report greater willingness to donate in condition 1 compared to posts in all other conditions.

A one way ANOVA found that the Condition 1 condition yielded a mean of 5.25 (sd=1.20) for willingness to donate, which was the highest out of all other conditions. Based on this statistical analysis, the alternate hypothesis is rejected.

H2: Participants will report lower willingness to donate in condition 3 compared to condition 2.

A one way ANOVA found that Condition 3 yielded an average of 5.2 (sd=1.32) for willingness to donate, which was not lower than the reported willingness to donate in Condition 2. Based on this statistical analysis, the null hypothesis is rejected.

H3: Participants will report greater willingness to donate condition 2 compared to

condition 3.

A one way ANOVA found that Condition 2 yielded a mean of 5.13 (sd=1.15) for willingness to donate, which was not greater than the reported willingness to donate to posts in condition 3. Based on this statistical analysis, the null hypothesis is rejected.

H4: Participants will report the lowest willingness to donate in condition 4 compared to

posts in all other conditions.

A one way ANOVA found that the Condition 1 condition yielded an average of 492. (sd=1.29) for willingness to donate, which was the lowest out of all other conditions. Based on this statistical analysis, the alternate hypothesis is rejected.

Table 8

Willingness to Donate and IVE

	Condition 1	Condition 2	Condition 3	Condition 4
		Mean		
WTD	5.2577	5.1350	5.1289	4.9238

*P <.05. **P <.01. ***P <.001.

Note. This table represents the reported means for Willingness to Donate on a 7 point scale.

DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to examine the impact of the Identifiable Victim Effect on audience willingness to donate to nonprofit hospitals via Instagram. While this study found that the relationship between IVE conditions and willingness to donate was not statistically significant, it did find that IVE conditions are statistically significant in relation to Emotional Response, specifically sympathy, which was another avenue examined alongside willingness to donate. Analysis of this study's findings warrant further discussion of the following relationships in each IVE condition: willingness to donate, willingness to donate and motivation, willingness to donate and homophily and finally emotional response and willingness to donate. The results and findings of this study help serve as a foundation for not only future research at the intersection of IVE and social media, but offer practitioners at nonprofit hospitals more information to use in the tailoring of future social media campaigns.

The finding that there is no statistically significant relationship between IVE and willingness to donate to a nonprofit hospital on Instagram is surprising and runs counter to previous research on IVE. Previous studies on IVE have suggested that IVE plays a key role in motivating people to donate to victims in need (Jenni & Loewenstein, 1997; Small & Loewenstein, 2003; Sabato & Kogut, 2021). These studies were the backbone behind the development of this study and its research questions with hopes of shedding light on the ways in which the IVE operates on a social media platform and in relation to healthcare fundraising.

While again, not significant enough to state that IVE and willingness to donate are directly related, the data does support the hypothesis that Condition 1, IVE image and caption would have the highest willingness to donate (5.25 out of 7) and that Condition 4, Non IVE and caption, would have the lowest willingness to donate (4.92 out of 7). This finding and the trend

identified between conditions and willingness to donate suggests that there is some truth behind the effectiveness of IVE in healthcare fundraising alongside the relationship between IVE and willingness to donate in a social media context.

Although these results were not statistically significant and were surprising, they did in fact shed light on the ways in which IVE operates on Instagram. One possible explanation for the lack of statistically significant relationship could be related to that exact context of the study, where participants were asked to donate to a nonprofit hospital through the use of an Instagram post, which is a relatively new platform for charitable giving.

The results of this study draw parallels to early work done exploring online fundraising using the internet when it was new. Online fundraising has been examined previously by Hart (2002) and Treiblmaier and Pollach (2006) and these studies found that while the internet and the option to donate in that online platform exists, many people expressed that they did not have a desire to donate online. Hart notes the lack of relational components that accompany online fundraising (2002). While this present study did use the social media platform Instagram, which has been highly supported as a marketing strategy (Shoenberg, 2012) and as a place where humanitarian and prosocial action can occur (McCosker et al, 2019, rather than simply online fundraising, the findings are more consistent with the early literature on online fundraising and the rise of the internet.

Perhaps this finding can be attributed to the fact that the average ages of this sample were much higher than the global distribution of the average age of Instagram users, which is between 18-24 years old (Dixon, 2023). The majority of this sample, 69.3%, fell between the ages of 25 and 45. Another factor that may be at play here is the self-reported experience (how comfortable they felt using the platform) that respondents felt they had with Instagram and how frequently

(how many hours per week) they used the platform. The options given to respondents were adopted from Treiblmaier & Pollach's 2006 study investigating online fundraising. 69.8% of respondents felt that they were an 'occasional user' (47.5%), 'beginner' (9.5%) or had 'little to no experience'(12.8%) with the platform. This coincides with the fact that 84.9% of respondents reported that they used Instagram 9 hours or less per week. This infrequent use and self-reported lack of experience with the platform aligns well with the idea that Instagram fundraising is too unfamiliar to the representative sample that was used. This result echoes the early findings of internet fundraising studies conducted almost two decades ago. One of the most necessary components of effective fundraising is building relationships and trust with your audience (Hart, 2002). When money is being asked for on a platform that is unfamiliar to the audience this can potentially impact their trust and increase feeling uncomfortable. Ultimately, this unfamiliarity and uncomfortableness with a new social media platform and donating money offers an explanation for the low reported willingness to donate and value in further exploration social media fundraising and IVE.

In addition to its exploration of IVE and willingness to donate, this study explored other avenues of IVE in the context of Instagram and healthcare fundraising. The first research question explored the relationship between motivation and willingness to donate, which resulted in a statistically significant relationship. This was a very interesting finding simply because the motivations changed when components of IVE were included and when they were not included. In the first three conditions, where either both image and caption or one of those aspects had a piece of IVE in that the individual was identified through their photo or their story and name were mentioned in the caption, respondents noted that they would be motivated to donate if 'they knew the person running the fundraiser or if they were asked by someone they knew'. However,

respondents in condition 4, where a general photo and a general caption were used, reported that they would be willing to donate 'if they felt a personal connection' to the fundraiser. This is an interesting finding, because this directly aligns with literature on IVE that operates on the foundation that people tend to donate more when they know more about the victim, when the victim is identified and when there is only one victim needing assistance. Respondents in condition 4 demonstrated this, by stating that they would donate if they had a personal connection, which was not present in either the image or the caption for this condition. However, prior results from this study show that the difference in willingness to donate was not statistically significant enough to say that IVE had a direct impact, even though respondents wanted what they didn't have. The significant relationship between motivation to donate and IVE conditions opens the door for further exploration of the disconnect between actual willingness to donate and reported motivation for donating.

This study attempted to open that door to an extent and further explored how the personal connection that respondents stated would motivate them to donate, actually impacted their reported willingness to donate. An important distinction to note when examining the findings of this study in relation to homophily, is the identification piece of IVE. While identification of the name, story and face of the victim in need of donations were important factors in willingness to donate, identification when it related to homophily was not. Research done by Lazarsfeld & Merton (1954) coined the term homophily and explained the concept as similar people moving and acting similarly to each other. Based on this research, this study proposed that the more connection or identification a respondent felt to the individual in the post, the more willing they would be to donate. This concept was explored in relation to IVE as a means of understanding the willingness for donating to victims in the different IVE conditions. This research found that

the majority of participants reported that they felt a sense of personal connection to the victim across all conditions and therefore there was no statistically significant relationship between homophily, IVE conditions and willingness to donate. One interesting aspect of this finding is that even though in each condition the majority of respondents felt a personal connection to the individual, that connection did not mean that they were more willing to donate to the cause. Across all conditions, those who reported feeling a personal connection to the individual, on average reported a lower willingness to donate, which surprisingly, goes against the claim that homophily may have a positive impact on willingness to donate. While the margin of difference between the reported willingness to donate was too small to be statistically significant, these results hint at value in exploring this relationship between homophily and willingness to donate further and in different contexts and with a larger sample size.

One final avenue that this study examined IVE through was emotional response. Work done by Small & Loewenstein (2003) helped establish the importance of identification in IVE, Genevsky, Vastfjaa, Slovic & Knutson (2013) established the need for a clear image of the individual in IVE, and Pun (2013) provided support for the use of personal stories and information of the individual's struggles in IVE. This study used these key components of IVE to examine the impact of emotional response, measured through distress and sympathy, on willingness to donate in different IVE conditions. All three of these, well established, tenets of successful IVE fundraising were included in the Condition 1 of this study by using a clear IVE image of a young girl, identifying her in the caption as 'Mary' and providing specific details about her story and her struggle, like her age, her hospital stays and her diagnosis. The remaining conditions only used certain aspects of IVE or none at all: Condition 2 ((the IVE caption detailing the story of Mary and her struggle), Condition 3 (the IVE image of the individual), and

Condition 4 (no aspects of IVE). All three conditions using aspects of IVE (Condition 1, 2 and 3) had a significant relationship between willingness to donate and Sympathy, while only Conditions 2 and 3 had a significant relationship with Distress. These findings mean that respondents felt the most distress when they were exposed to Conditions 2 and 3, both of which only had one aspect of IVE. This is interesting because distress was noted in both instances where there was a misalignment in messaging and imagery. One potential reason for this increased level of distress could be the cognitive dissonance that can often arise in situations which is the perception of contradictory information and the impact this can have on one's mentality (Festigner, 1957). In both conditions 2 and 3, the images were contradictory to the caption. Condition 2 had an image of an individual with a caption that talked about millions of people suffering from childhood leukemia while Condition 3 had an image of a group and the caption talked about an individual child suffering from childhood leukemia. This contradictory information could have potentially weighed heavily on respondent's and increased their reported feelings of distress. Examining emotional response also yielded significant relationships for sympathy in all conditions where an aspect of IVE was used. In all conditions where an aspect of IVE was present, respondents reported higher levels of sympathy and willingness to donate, which can be tied back to identification and the idea that more knowledge about a person in need helps audience members feel a connection to the individual in need and therefore they are more likely to feel called to donate money to help the individual. While not statistically significant, it is also important to note that Condition 4 received the lowest self-reported feelings of sympathy and lowest reports for willingness to donate. These results align with previous work on IVE that found negative emotions impact or sad moods increase donations to individual identified victims (Sabato & Kogut, 2021) and that sympathy mediated IVE (Erlandsson et al. (2015). Emotional

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response and willingness to donate have a significant relationship which holds important implications for both theory and practice.

5.1 Theoretical Implications

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of IVE on audience willingness to donate to healthcare organizations, specifically a nonprofit hospital, via Instagram. While the impact was ultimately too small to be statistically significant and the result was unexpected, the findings still add to existing literature that exists on IVE and begin to bridge the gap that exists between both IVE and healthcare and IVE and social media. Much of the past research on IVE looked into the underlying mechanisms that make it an effective fundraising strategy (Schelling, 1968; Jenni & Loewenstein, 1997; Small and Loewenstein, 2003; Pun, 2013; Sabato & Kogut, 2021). However, there exists no previous literature examining how effective IVE would be as a fundraising strategy when applied to social media context and specifically through a healthcare lens. No other literature exists to examine IVE through the healthcare lens, specifically through an organizational healthcare lens. Instead, IVE has previously been examined in the contexts of charity or tragic accidents (Pun, 203), orphans (Genevsky et al., 2013), and underprivileged children (Sabato & Kogut, 2021). This current research begins to bridge that gap in the literature and offers support for continued research down this path.

This study also provided important findings looking at differences between the value of IVE images and IVE captions. While research done by Pun in 2013 highlighted the need for a personal story in relation to IVE prior research done by Genevsky et al. (2013) highlights the importance of visual communication, a notion that is echoed by the results of the the current research which suggests that the IVE image may be more important when it comes to willingness to donate as opposed to an IVE caption. The second highest condition in terms of willingness to

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donate, was the Condition 2 condition which used an image of an individual and used a general caption. Further research should be done to examine this deeper, however this study provides a theoretical foundation for exploring the weight that images hold and that captions hold in reference to IVE on social media.

The results of this study also show that there is value in looking deeper at the emotional responses that underlie IVE and their relationship with willingness to donate in this social media and healthcare context. Sabato & Kogut (2021) found that negative and positive moods impacted donations given to identified individual victims and this current research found that distress and sympathy impacted willingness to donate in conditions where one IVE components of IVE were present either in image or caption form. These findings were interesting and help provide support for emotions being a central tenant and key underlying factor for IVE fundraising on the platform Instagram.

Further, this study adds to existing literature on IVE by examining the effect in conjunction with homophily. While these results were not statistically significant, further research should be done to examine homophily in different contexts of healthcare such as different ailments, different ages of victims and different races of victims. The current research provides a solid foundation and clear call for deeper research into the ways in which IVE impacts willingness to donate to healthcare organizations and nonprofit hospitals.

5.2 Practical Implications

This study has many practical implications for the field of fundraising in a social media context. The biggest practical takeaway from this research is that only one component (image or caption) of IVE is necessary to provide an increase in willingness to donate. This study found that although not big enough to be statistically significant, respondents still had a higher

willingness to donate in Conditions 1, 2 and 3 when compared to Condition 4. The first three

conditions had two components of IVE (Condition 1), an image using IVE (Condition 2), and a

caption using IVE (Condition 3). Condition 4 had no component of IVE in either the image or

the caption and this was reflected in lower willingness to donate. Practically, this holds

significance because it means that when creating an Instagram fundraising campaign, willingness

to donate can potentially increase even if just an image of an identified individual is used with a

general caption and vice versa. However, willingness to donate was still the highest when

respondents were exposed to Condition 1, using an image of an identified individual along with a

caption that identified more about that individual. For practitioners looking to raise money for a

healthcare organization or nonprofit hospital, this study provides a practical foundation for

creating Instagram posts with a very clear understanding of the components of IVE that could

potentially provide greater willingness to donate from audience members.

This study also provides information to practitioners who are wanting to evoke emotional

responses from their audience through the use of IVE. This study found that respondents felt

higher levels of distress in Conditions 1, 2 and 3. Each of these conditions included a component

of IVE whether it was the image and caption, or just the image or caption. Practically, this is

beneficial information to know when creating a fundraising campaign on Instagram because

distress was one of the two key mechanisms of helping (Cialdini et al., 1987). This means that in

order to elicit higher levels of willingness to donate through evoking distress, practitioners

should create posts that use components of IVE. For the highest level of distress, Condition 1

demonstrates that the use of an image in which an individual is identified and their story is told

in the caption, evoked the highest levels of reported distress. This is also true for sympathy

which has been touted as the other key mechanism of helping (Loewenstein & Small, 2007).

Practically, it is in fundraisers best interest to evoke the feeling of sympathy in audience members if they are looking to gain more donations. In Conditions 1, 2 and 3, again, feelings of sympathy were higher than in Condition 4 where no component of IVE was included. Sympathy was reported the highest in Condition 1, which used the identified individual's image alongside a caption with their name, struggle, and details. This study provides a foundation for strategic ways of using IVE components on Instagram based on the motivation of the fundraisers. Ultimately the goal of every fundraiser should be to raise money and this study shows that the best ways to do that through the use of IVE are to include the main three tenets: identification (Small & Loewenstein, 2003), an image of the individual (Genevsky, Vastfjaa, Slovic & Knutson, 2013) , the use of personal stories and information Pun (2013) in both the image and the caption of the social media post being created.

5.3 Limitations

This study used a sample of 179 respondents gathered from MTurk. This sample, while enough to provide statistically significant results and for generalizability, may not have been large enough to get a representative sample of the population. The sample size used in this study was based on practical considerations like time and budget and even though some of the results were not significant, we were able to identify positive trends in the data and relationship between IVE that could be examined further using a larger and higher powered sample. Future studies using larger sample sizes would be helpful to replicate and confirm the findings presented by this research.

Another limitation of this study is that the study's scope on homophily was limited to only a few questions asking about the existence of a personal connection and whether or not respondents identified with the individual in the image. The limited number of questions and the

fact that these questions were not measured using a scale may have overlooked important details and mechanisms of the relationship between IVE conditions, homophily and willingness to donate. Future research investigating homophily should utilize more comprehensive questions in order to understand this relationship on a deeper level.

Another limitation identified in this study was a lack of explicit mention of trust in reference to Instagram. While experience with the platform and hours spent using the platform were investigated, there was no explicit ask about if a respondent trusted the platform and the fundraiser. Future studies would benefit from exploring the avenue of trust and platform deeper.

A final limitation of this study is that it utilized a child and a childhood illness to bridge the gap in literature between IVE and healthcare. However, by using a child in the study, the results may not have been as generalizable and applicable to healthcare in general. In order to see the impact that IVE has on healthcare fundraising more broadly, future studies examining different age victims with different ailments would be beneficial.

5.4 Future Research

In order to investigate the relationship between IVE conditions and willingness to donate further, the findings of this study would benefit from replication in future studies and further examination through studies that dive deeper into different variables that may impact willingness to donate in different IVE conditions.

Homophily was explored briefly in connection with IVE and willingness to donate, however future studies should examine more characteristics such as income to determine if there is any relationship between income and willingness to donate in different IVE conditions.

Future studies should also examine the aspect of trust in connection with Instagram and other social media platform fundraisers. The results of the present study and the finding that the

relationship between IVE and willingness to donate was not statistically significant would benefit from further research explicitly asking if respondents trust the social media fundraiser and why. This should also be explored through the avenue of age. Does a younger audience trust one social media platform fundraiser more than another and are they willing to donate more to that fundraiser than others? This generational aspect of willingness to donate and social media platform would be extremely beneficial for not only theory but for practical application of IVE on social media for fundraising campaigns.

Cognitive dissonance is another concept that should be explored further in connection to IVE. While this study found that distress was higher in conditions where image and message did not align (Condition 2 and 3), examining what about those conditions elicited that heightened distress would help provide support for the claim that cognitive dissonance played a role in this distress and lower willingness to donate or provide another avenue of research to examine.

Another potential avenue that would benefit from further examination would be that of different social media platforms. While the relationship between IVE conditions and willingness to donate was not statistically significant in the context of Instagram, the same may not hold true for different social media platforms like Facebook.

A final avenue of proposed future research would be to investigate behavioral intent compared to actual donation behavior. To do so, two studies or a two part study could be conducted where one involves giving participants 5 dollars to donate to the fundraiser and see how much of the 5 dollars they choose to donate in each IVE condition and compare the results to the other study which only involves asking about behavioral intent to donate.

There are many avenues of future research to explore at the intersection of IVE, social media and healthcare fundraising, further supporting the value that this present research has identified with its positive findings.

CONCLUSION

While this research set out to examine the impact of the Identifiable Victim Effect on audience willingness to donate to healthcare organizations on Instagram, the results and findings from this study instead helped solidify IVE as a method of social media fundraising through a different lens: emotional response. By conducting this study, it is clear that IVE plays a small role in audience's response when it is used in a fundraising capacity on Instagram. When an aspect of IVE, either the image or the caption, was involved with the Instagram post, emotional responses were much higher and this is important to know when tailoring fundraising strategies to various social media platforms. No prior research investigates the relationship between the IVE and social media. While the results of this study were surprising and did not align with prior research on IVE in terms of willingness to donate, this research establishes IVE and social media as a meaningful avenue of study. By examining IVE through the lens of emotional response, this study shows that by having a component of IVE, in either image or text form, included in an Instagram post asking about fundraising, the emotional response of audience members is much higher. For fundraising practitioners, understanding that using a general caption and a general image may not elicit high levels of emotional response, may help them tailor their social media fundraising strategies.

The results of this study, both statistically significant and not significant, help show that IVE has the potential to impact willingness to donate to healthcare organizations, specifically a nonprofit hospital, in some capacity. The results also show the important role that identification plays in fundraising as mentioned in early work on IVE by Small & Loewenstein (2003) in terms of emotional response. It has been proven that people are more willing to donate to victims when they are individually identified rather than part of a group of statistical victims. This research

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study attempted to see if this rang true in a social media context, specifically through the use of Instagram and while the data supported this, the findings were not statistically significant enough to state that this relationship was strong. The intersection of IVE and social media deserves a lot more research attention as it has the potential for theoretical and practical benefits regarding fundraising in the future.

In conclusion, this research study examined the impact of IVE on audience willingness to donate to healthcare organizations through representing a nonprofit hospital on Instagram. The findings of this study have demonstrated the importance of identification in both image and captions when IVE is being used in order to develop effective fundraising strategies for nonprofit hospitals and to tailor fundraising efforts to different social media platforms. Overall, this study found significant results in terms of emotional response and IVE conditions that have not only important theoretical implications but practical implications for nonprofit hospitals and other healthcare organizations seeking to maximize their fundraising efforts through the use of social media. This study was the first step in a much larger academic journey into this area of literature and further studies should continue to explore mechanisms that underlie and the way in which the Identifiable Victim Effect impacts willingness to donate in new contexts.

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LIST OF FIGURES

npgeneralhospital Mary just celebrated her 6th birthday. Her 6th birthday with us here at NP General Hospital. Mary is fighting a rare form of childhood leukemia and has been a patient here at NPG since she was just 3 months old.

Please visit the link in our bio to donate to Mary and to help in the fight against cancer.

Figure 1: Condition 1

npgeneralhospital Mary just celebrated her 6th birthday. Her 6th birthday with us here at NP General Hospital. Mary is fighting a rare form of childhood leukemia and has been a patient here at NPG since she was just 3 months old.

Please visit the link in our bio to donate to Mary and to help in the fight against cancer.

Figure 2: Condition 2

npgeneralhospital

npgeneralhospital Millions of people each day are diagnosed with rare forms of childhood leukemia. NP General Hospital has been helping these patients for over 6 years.

Please visit the link in our bio to donate and to help in the fight against cancer.

Figure 3: Condition 3

npgeneralhospital

npgeneralhospital Millions of people each day are diagnosed with rare forms of childhood leukemia. NP General Hospital has been helping these patients for over 6 years.

Please visit the link in our bio to donate and to help in the fight against cancer.

Figure 4: Condition 4

Figure 5: IVE 1.1

Figure 6: IVE 1.2

Figure 7: IVE 1.3

Figure 8: IVE 1.4

Figure 9: IVE 2.1
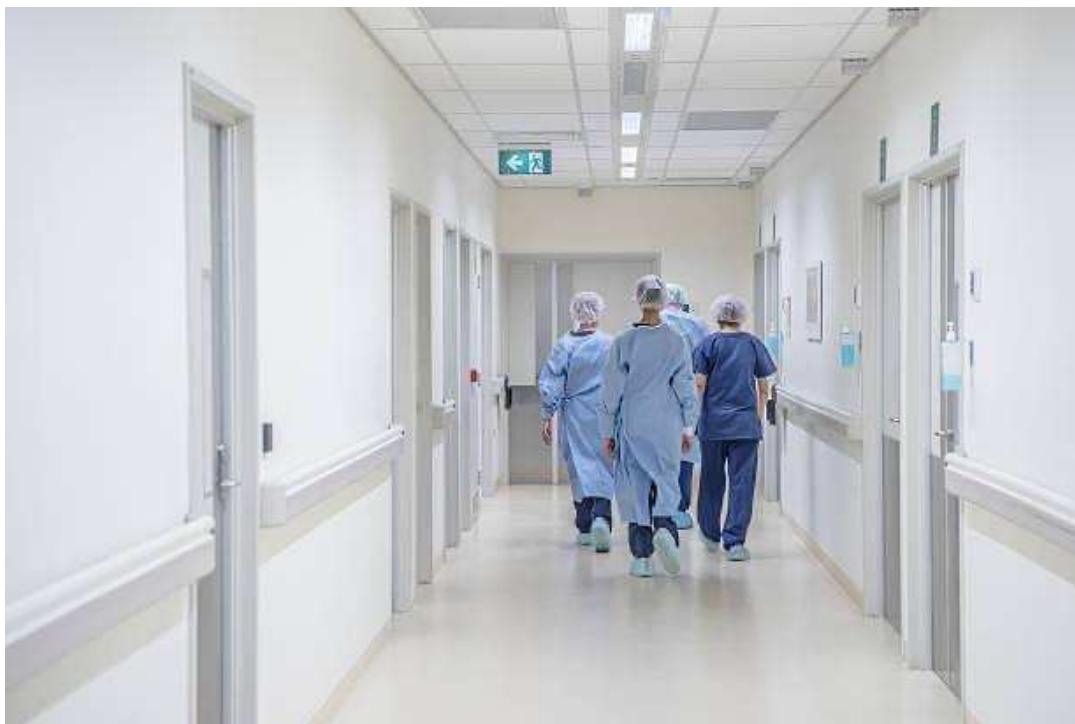
Figure 10: IVE 2.2

Figure 11: IVE 2.3

Figure 12: IVE 2.4

Q1 My name is Abby and I am a researcher from Colorado State University in the Journalism and Media Communication department. We are conducting a research study on social media fundraising for my master's thesis. The title of our project is An Examination of Donations to Nonprofit Healthcare Organizations Via Instagram. The Principal Investigator is Samuel Tham of the Journalism and Media Communication Department and I am the Co-Principal Investigator. Thank you for helping with our research!

Do you wish to continue and participate in this survey?

- Yes, I wish to continue to the survey. (1)
- No, I want to opt out of this study. (2)

Q2 What is your age?

- Younger than 18 (1)
- 18-24 (2)
- 25-35 (3)
- 36-45 (4)
- 46-55 (5)
- 55-65 (6)
- Older than 65 (7)

Q3.1 Please use the Instagram post below to answer the next three questions.

Be sure to look at the photo and read the caption carefully.

(Randomizer: Appendix A, B, C, or D)

Q4 With the previous Instagram post in mind, please select the option that best represents how much you agree with the statements below.

(Using the following table)

Q5 With the previous Instagram post in mind, please select the option that best represents how much you agree with the statements below.

Rate how you feel when looking at this post:

	Not at all. (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Very much. (7)
This post makes me feel downhearted. (1)							
This post makes me feel sad. (2)							
This post makes me feel emotionally uneasy. (3)							

Q6 With the previous Instagram post in mind, please select the option that best represents how much you agree with the statements below.

	Not at all. (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Very much. (7)
I feel intense compassion. (1)							
I feel strong empathetic feelings. (2)							
I feel emotionally touched. (3)							

Q7 What specific illness is mentioned in the Instagram post?

- Influenza (1)
- Childhood Diabetes (2)
- Childhood Leukemia (3)

Q8 Would you say you identify with the individual in the Instagram post you saw?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- There was more than one person in the Instagram post. (3)

Q9 Are you a parent?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q10 If you answered yes to the previous question, what age are your children?

- Younger than 5 years old (1)
- 5-10 years old (2)
- 11-18 years old (3)
- Older than 18 years old (4)

Q11 Do you feel any personal connection to the individual in the Instagram post you saw?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- There was more than one person in the Instagram post. (3)

Q12 If you answered yes to the previous question, please briefly explain why.

Q13 What is your gender identity?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Non-binary / third gender (3)
- Prefer not to say (4)

Q14 Are you of Hispanic or Latino origin?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q15 How would you describe yourself?

- American Indian or Alaska Native (1)
- Asian (2)
- Black or African American (3)
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (4)
- White (5)

Q16 What is your current occupation?

- White-collar (1)
- Blue-collar (2)
- Self-employed (3)
- Homemaker (4)
- Retired (5)
- Student (6)
- Other (7)

Q17 What is your present religion, if any?

- Christian (1)
- Muslim (2)
- Jewish (3)
- Buddhist (4)
- Baha'i (5)
- Hindu (6)
- Ancient religion/ ancient religion or traditional religion/ Ancient Greek religion or Hellenistic religion (7)
- Traditional or folk religion/ Folk religion/ Spiritist (8)
- Atheist (9)
- Agnostic (10)
- Old Believer (11)
- Nothing in particular (12)
- Don't know (13)
- Prefer not to answer (14)
- Other (15)

Q18 If you answered 'other' to the previous question, what is your present religion?
(Open response)

Q19 Did this survey ask you about your current job status?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q20 What is your current level of education?

- Some high school (1)
- High school graduate (2)
- College/University (3)
- Other (4)

Q21 What would you say your experience level with Instagram is?

- Little to no use (1)
- Beginner (2)
- Occasional user (3)
- Frequent user (4)
- Expert (5)

Q22 How often do you use Instagram?

- 1-9 hours/week (1)
- 10-20 hours/week (2)
- 20+ hours a week (3)

Q23 Have you ever donated to an Instagram fundraiser?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q24 What would cause you to donate to an Instagram fundraiser?

- If I knew the person running the fundraiser. (1)
- If I had a personal connection to the cause being fundraised for. (2)
- If I had previously donated to the cause. (3)
- If someone I trusted asked me to donate to the fundraiser. (4)
- Other (5)

Q25 If you answered 'other' to the previous question, what would cause you to donate to an Instagram fundraiser?
(Open response)

Q40 Have you ever donated to a social media fundraiser on a platform that is not Instagram?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q31 Have you ever donated to a fundraiser that did not use a social media platform?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q41 What is your preferred charity or nonprofit organization to donate to and why?
(Open response)