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# Impact of Desired Relationship Type on Affective Reactions to Choosing and Being Required to Help

Gail M. Williamson

University of Georgia

Margaret S. Clark

Carnegie Mellon University

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*Donors' reactions to choosing and being required to help were examined. Among subjects led to desire a communal relationship with the recipient, both choosing and being required to help elevated positive affect and alleviated negative affect relative to not being asked to help. Changes in affect as a result of choosing to help did not differ from changes as a result of being required to help. Among subjects led to desire an exchange relationship with the recipient, choosing to help caused positive affect to deteriorate, relative to being required to help or to not helping. Changes in affect in the required condition did not differ from those in the no-help condition. Psychological processes that may underlie these effects are discussed.*

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Past research suggests that providing aid can improve helpers' affective states (e.g., Batson, Coke, Jasnoski, & Hanson, 1978, Study 2; Harris, 1977, Study 3; Williamson & Clark, 1989, Studies 1 and 2; Yinon & Landau, 1987, Study 1). Researchers have argued that this occurs because people possess internalized norms that dictate that those who need help should be helped and that helping others is admirable. Thus, when people help, they feel good (Aronfreed, 1970; Berkowitz, 1972; Berkowitz & Connor, 1966; Cialdini & Kenrick, 1976; Schwartz, 1975; Schwartz & Howard, 1982).

More recently, Williamson and Clark (1989, Study 3) found evidence that affective reactions to providing help are moderated by the type of relationship that helpers desire with the recipient. Specifically, helping (relative to being unable to help) improved helpers' moods when a communal, but not an exchange, relationship was desired. We suggested two reasons for these effects. First, norms in communal relationships (e.g., most friendships and romantic involvements) but not those in exchange

relationships (e.g., most interactions between strangers, acquaintances, and business associates) specify that special attention should be paid to the other's needs (Clark, Mills, & Powell, 1986) and that help should be given when the other has a need (Clark, Ouellette, Powell, & Milberg, 1987). We reasoned that because helping follows general societal norms as well as norms specific to communal relationships, people desiring a communal relationship should feel good about having helped the other. Not only have they followed the appropriate norm, they may well have promoted the desired relationship by so doing. Second, in exchange but not in communal relationships, norms indicate that the recipient of a benefit should return a comparable benefit as soon as possible (Clark & Mills, 1979; Clark & Waddell, 1985). Until that benefit is repaid, people may experience a sense of inequity and distress (Walster, Walster, & Berscheid, 1978) and decreased attraction toward the other (Clark & Mills, 1979; Clark & Waddell, 1985). We reasoned that these unpleasant feelings might override or counteract any positive feelings derived from following general societal ideals about helping those in need. Thus, helping

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someone with whom an exchange relationship is desired may not improve affect and may even lead to less positive feelings than not helping at all.

The present study further examined reactions to helping when communal and exchange relationships are desired. A primary goal was to more clearly differentiate the effects of helping per se on the helpers' affect in communal and in exchange relationships from the effects of knowing that help was needed but not being able to give it than was done in the original work by Williamson and Clark (1989, Study 3). In that earlier study the affect of subjects who had been induced to help was contrasted with the affect of subjects who knew help was needed but were not allowed to provide it. There was no control group in which subjects were not asked for help. Consequently, the effects of helping could not be disentangled from the effects of not being allowed to help when help was needed. In the present work, we contrasted affective reactions to helping with those of not helping in a situation in which the possibility of helping was simply not raised.

A secondary goal was to begin to identify mechanisms that might underlie the effects of helping on affective states. Do communal helpers experience improved affect because they see themselves as good people for choosing to help? Are exchange helpers' affective states not improved by helping, or might their affective states even deteriorate because they evaluate themselves less favorably for having freely created an inequity by choosing to help? These questions were addressed by creating *two* helping conditions, one in which subjects felt they had chosen to help and another in which they were required to help. If seeing oneself as a good person plays a role in elevating affect among communal helpers, then affect should be more improved when one feels one has freely chosen to help than when one believes one has helped simply because one was required to. If less favorable self-evaluations (e.g., feeling gullible) contribute to exchange helpers' less improved (or possibly deteriorated) affect, then that effect also should be greater after choosing to help than after being required to help.

We expected that because helping fits communal norms and might promote the development of a communal relationship, among subjects desiring a communal relationship with the recipient, providing help (either by choice or by requirement) would improve affect relative to not being asked to help. That is, positive affect should be higher and negative affect lower following helping than following having no opportunity to help when communal relationships are desired. Moreover, these effects were expected to be diminished (and possibly even reversed) among those desiring an exchange rela-

tionship. In a more exploratory manner, we also investigated the possibility that freely choosing to help, as opposed to being required to help, would influence these reactions. Specifically, if providing help does improve affect when communal relationships are desired *and* if perception of oneself as a good person accounts for this effect, communal helpers ought to feel better after freely choosing to help than after being required to help. If not, then other mechanisms must be considered to account for the effect. Further, if affect drops when helping occurs when exchange relationships are desired *and* if perceiving oneself as a gullible person for agreeing to help accounts for this effect, then affect ought to be lower when one has chosen to help than when one has been required to help. Again, if not, other mechanisms for any effects of helping on affect in exchange relationships must be considered.

## METHOD

### Overview

While participating in an experiment on word recognition, male subjects were led to desire either an exchange or a communal relationship with an attractive female who needed help. One third were induced to choose to provide the aid; one third were required to provide the aid; the remaining subjects were not asked to help. Affect was measured before and immediately after the interval in which subjects chose to help, were required to help, or received no request.<sup>1</sup>

### Measures

In consideration of work indicating that positive and negative affect may be independent (e.g., Diener & Emmons, 1985; Warr, Barter, & Brownbridge, 1983; Zevon & Tellegen, 1982), a measure of positive and negative affect, the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS), recently developed by Watson, Clark, and Tellegen (1988), was used. Although there were no a priori reasons to predict that changes in positive and negative affect would not be the mirror image of each other, it seemed important to explore the possibility that helping might have different effects on positive and negative affect.

The PANAS consists of 10 positive adjectives (PANAS-PA), *interested, excited, strong, enthusiastic, proud, alert, inspired, attentive, determined, and active*, and 10 negative adjectives (PANAS-NA), *distressed, upset, guilty, scared, hostile, irritable, ashamed, nervous, jittery, and afraid*. Affect can be assessed with the PANAS over a variety of time frames by changing the wording in the instructions for completing the scale. In this study, subjects were asked to indicate to what extent each item described the way they felt "at

the present moment" on a scale from 1 (*very slightly or not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). Watson et al. (1988) reported Cronbach's alpha coefficients for internal reliability of .89 for the PANAS-PA and .85 for the PANAS-NA as momentary measures of affect. In this study, alpha coefficients for the pretest measures were .87 for the PANAS-PA and .76 for the PANAS-NA.

### Subjects

Ninety male<sup>2</sup> undergraduate students (mean age, 18.6 years) were recruited for an experiment on word recognition. Participation partially fulfilled a psychology course requirement. Each subject was randomly assigned to one of six conditions: (a) communal—choose to help, (b) communal—required to help, (c) communal—no help, (d) exchange—choose to help, (e) exchange—required to help, (f) exchange—no help. No subject indicated suspicions about the true purpose of the study.

### Procedure

Subjects were run individually or in groups of two or three. Each sat at one of three tables facing separate walls. They were told the study focused on processes involved in recognizing words. To investigate these processes, they would perform two tasks. The experimenter said that previous research had shown performance to be affected by subjects' current moods. For this reason, moods would be measured immediately before each task so that these effects could be controlled in data analyses. The experimenter emphasized that to obtain accurate measures of performance, it was very important that subjects rate their moods according to the way they really felt at the time each measure was taken.

After giving each subject an envelope containing the first affect assessment form and materials for the first task, the experimenter requested that subjects not communicate with each other during the session. Subjects then began the first task, and the experimenter left the room. Written instructions advised subjects to complete the affect assessment before beginning the task. Then, for 10 min, subjects located and circled words in a matrix of letters (this was merely a filler task).

After the 10 min had passed, the experimenter returned, collected the first task materials and affect measures, and said she had forgotten to have them do something before they started. Supposedly, the coordinator of undergraduate education for the psychology department had asked subjects in all studies taking less than an hour to complete to listen to a tape and read some information about a research project being conducted by an undergraduate student. Because this would take only a few minutes and because it was supposed to be done before the end of the experiment, the experimenter had

decided to take care of the matter before starting the second task. She then told subjects that the undergraduate researcher's name was Janet and that Janet would arrive later to talk to them. Each subject was given an audiotape cassette, a small tape player with earphones, and an envelope containing a memo from the coordinator of undergraduate education along with some information about Janet's project. Memos were printed on department stationery and signed by the actual undergraduate adviser in the department. For all conditions, they began as follows:

This semester, a number of our undergraduate psychology students are conducting experiments as independent study projects. This means that the demand for subjects is higher than usual. Consequently, we want to be sure that the time allotted to experiments (one hour of subject time for each experimental credit given) is fully utilized. Some of our faculty and graduate student experiments, such as the one you're participating in now, take considerably less than an hour to complete. Our undergraduate students are being allowed to use the rest of the allotted hour to run their own research projects, as long as this does not interfere with the experiment you signed up for. Enclosed is some information about one of our undergraduate researchers as well as some information about the research he or she is conducting.

These undergraduate projects have been judged to be ethical by our review committee. Since the experiment in which you are participating right now takes less than one hour, . . .

The way the sentence was completed served as a partial manipulation of helping condition. For subjects assigned to a choose to help condition, the sentence went on to say, "we are asking each participant in this study if he/she would consider helping out an undergraduate researcher." In the required to help conditions, the sentence continued, "we are *requiring* each participant in this study to help out an undergraduate researcher" (emphasis in original). Subjects in the no help conditions read that "we are permitting our undergraduate researchers to ask each participant in this study to help them out."<sup>3</sup>

Instructions indicated that subjects should listen to the tape before reading Janet's research description. Tapes and research descriptions contained further experimental manipulations. Envelopes and tapes had been placed in a box before the experiment began. Materials were drawn from the box at random, allowing the experimenter to remain unaware of assignment to condition.

For those in a communal condition, the tape said:

Hi, my name is Janet Lewis, and I'd like to tell you a little about myself and the research I'll be doing this semester.



First, I'm single, 19 years old, and a psychology major. I'm from Philadelphia. I just transferred from the University of Pennsylvania, so this is my first semester at Carnegie Mellon. I don't know many people on campus, so I'm really anxious to meet new people and get to know my way around.

It was assumed that most subjects, who were predominantly unmarried freshmen, would be available for and interested in having a communal relationship (e.g., a friendship or possibly a romantic relationship) with a physically attractive other who was interested in meeting people. (As will be seen, subjects discovered that Janet was attractive soon after they listened to one of the tapes.)

For subjects in an exchange condition, the tape said:

Hi, my name is Janet Lewis, and I'd like to tell you a little about myself and the research I'll be doing this semester. First, I'm married, 19 years old, and a psychology major. Both my husband and I are from Pittsburgh. I've been at Carnegie Mellon for two years, but I don't know many people on campus, since we spend most of our free time at family gatherings and visiting with our friends.

It was assumed that most subjects would prefer an exchange relationship with someone who was married and did not indicate interest in meeting people. Studies including measures specifically designed to tap the effectiveness of very similar manipulations (Clark, 1986; Clark & Waddell, 1985) have provided evidence for the effectiveness of both the exchange and communal manipulations.<sup>4</sup>

After exposing subjects to either the communal or the exchange relationship manipulation, both tapes then went on to say:

Now about my research: The psychology department has allowed me to use part of your experimenter's time to get some work done on my own research project. I will stop by later—after you've finished the experiment you're working on now—so that we can discuss my research and so that I can answer any questions you may have about it. For right now, your experimenter will give you an envelope which contains some information about the research I will be doing this semester. When you've finished with these materials, please put them all back into their envelope and give them to your experimenter. He or she will see that I get them.

At the top of each research description (which subjects read after listening to the tape) was a small photocopy of an attractive female's photograph.<sup>5</sup> The same photograph was used in the communal and exchange conditions. Beneath it was a brief description of Janet's research project, a study investigating the relationship between college students' study habits and their favorite leisure-time activities. For subjects assigned to a no help

condition, the message went on to say that Janet did not need any help that could be given within the hour but that she might be looking for volunteer subjects later on. For subjects assigned to either a choose or a required to help condition, the message went on to say that Janet needed help in collecting some preliminary data on university students' favorite activities. In the choose to help conditions, subjects were *asked* whether they would fill out an attached questionnaire; those in the required conditions were told they *should* fill it out. Subjects in the choose and required conditions also read that Janet might be looking for volunteer subjects later on.

In the four helping conditions (communal-choose, communal-required, exchange-choose, and exchange-required), subjects completed a form listing 36 activities (e.g., going to the movies, talking on the phone, listening to records/tapes, jogging, Frisbee). They were asked to place a check mark next to those activities in which they participated at least once a week. During this time, the experimenter waited in an adjacent room. After 10 min she returned and told them to put the materials from Janet aside so they could begin the second task. Subjects were then given another envelope containing a second affect measure and materials for the second word recognition task. As before, subjects were reminded to complete the affect measure immediately before beginning the task, and the experimenter left the room.

The experimenter returned 10 min later and said the experiment was over. After collecting the second task materials, she gave each subject a "Reactions to Word Recognition Study" form to fill out. It asked three filler questions about how difficult and enjoyable the tasks were. Two additional questions served as partial checks for suspicion about the real purpose of the study: "Sometimes people's own perceptions of the task/experiment affect their performance. In your own words, what was the purpose of the study?" and "Any other comments you'd like to make about the study?" While the experimenter gave subjects these forms, she mentioned that Janet was waiting to talk to them as soon as they had finished.<sup>6</sup> Finally, subjects were further checked for suspicion and carefully debriefed.

## RESULTS

The dependent measures were changes in positive and negative affect. Change scores were calculated as differences between the sum of a subject's scores on the appropriate pretest items and the analogous sum on the posttest items. Preliminary analyses revealed no significant differences in changes in either positive or negative affect for the number of subjects participating in experimental sessions. Specifically, whether subjects partici-

pated alone or with one or two other individuals did not appear to influence changes in affect, both  $F$ s < 2.50, n.s. Additional preliminary analyses revealed no differences between conditions at pretesting for either positive or negative affect. On the premanipulation measure, average positive moods (overall  $M = 27.0$ ) and average negative moods (overall  $M = 15.1$ ) were comparable to the norms for college students reported by Watson et al. (1988),  $M$ s = 29.7 for positive moods and 14.8 for negative moods. There was a small negative correlation between changes in positive affect and changes in negative affect,  $r = -.19$ ,  $p < .04$ .

Because our helping task involved recalling pleasant activities, it was possible that the task itself (rather than helping per se) had an impact on affective reactions. To investigate the possibility that differential responses on the favorite activities survey accounted for observed differences in affect between the conditions in which help was given, we conducted a series of 2 (Communal vs. Exchange)  $\times$  2 (Choose vs. Required to Help) ANOVAs, using as dependent variables responses (yes or no) to each activity as well as a total activities measure derived by counting the activities each subject checked. Because of the number of analyses conducted (37), the alpha level for determining significance was set at  $p < .01$  to control for Type I error. No significant effects were revealed for any of the individual activities or for total activities. Only one analysis revealed an effect approaching significance. Subjects in the exchange conditions tended to be more likely to report that jogging was a favored leisure activity than those in the communal conditions,  $F(1, 56) = 5.20$ ,  $p < .03$ . All other  $F$  values were less than 3.76, n.s. Thus, responses on the helping task itself did not differ reliably by experimental condition.

#### *Changes in Positive Affect*

Mean changes in positive affect are shown in Figure 1. As predicted, among subjects led to desire a communal relationship, positive affect was elevated in the choose and required conditions, relative to the no help condition. Also as expected, among subjects led to desire an exchange relationship, positive affect did not improve in the choose and required conditions. Rather, in the choose condition positive affect deteriorated, and in the required condition positive affect showed little change, relative to the no help condition.

A 2 (Communal vs. Exchange)  $\times$  3 (Choose vs. Required vs. No Help) ANOVA revealed a main effect for desired relationship type,  $F(1, 84) = 18.02$ ,  $p < .0001$ , such that regardless of helping condition, the positive affect of subjects desiring a communal relationship was more elevated than that of subjects desiring an exchange rela-

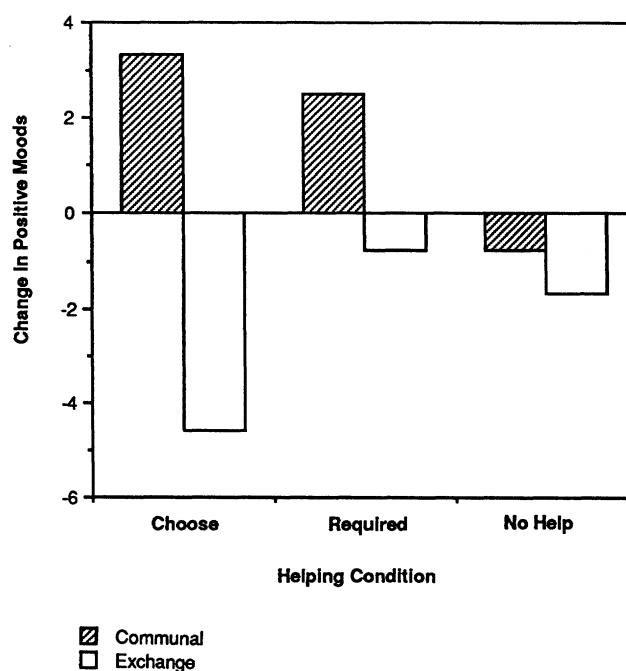


Figure 1 Changes in positive affect as a result of choosing or being required to help when either an exchange or a communal relationship was desired.

tionship. The main effect for helping condition was not reliable,  $F(2, 84) = 1.74$ , n.s., but the interaction between helping condition and desired relationship type was significant,  $F(2, 84) = 4.60$ ,  $p < .01$ .

Planned comparisons using a priori  $F$  tests revealed that positive affect improved more both in the communal-choose ( $M = 3.3$ ) and in the communal-required ( $M = 2.5$ ) conditions than in the communal—no help condition ( $M = -0.8$ ),  $F$ s(1, 84) = 6.20 and 4.03, respectively, both  $p$ s < .05. The difference between changes in the communal-choose and communal-required conditions was not reliable,  $F(1, 84) = .23$ , n.s. Positive affect deteriorated more in the exchange-choose condition ( $M = -4.6$ ) than in the exchange-required condition ( $M = -0.8$ ),  $F(1, 84) = 5.25$ ,  $p < .05$ , and tended to deteriorate more in the exchange-choose condition than in the exchange-no help ( $M = -1.7$ ) condition,  $F(1, 84) = 3.00$ ,  $p < .10$ . There was no reliable difference between means in the exchange-required and exchange-no help conditions,  $F(1, 84) = .31$ , n.s.<sup>7</sup>

#### *Changes in Negative Affect*

Mean changes in negative affect are shown in Figure 2. As predicted, among communal subjects, negative affect

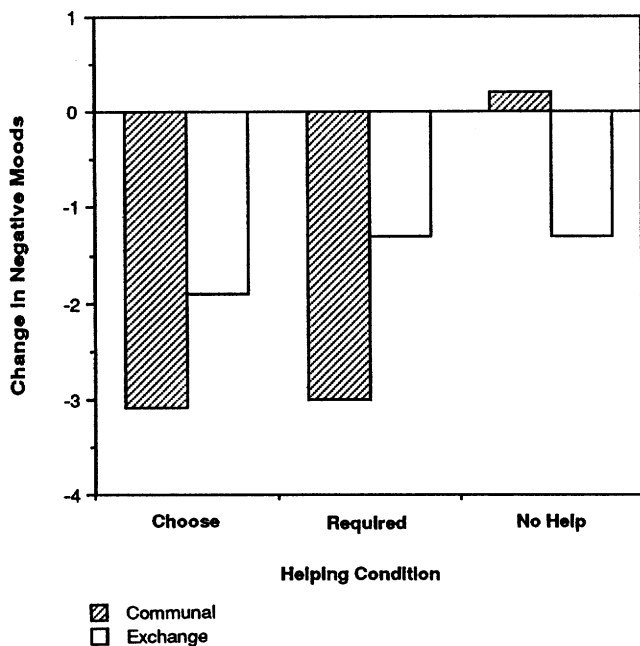


Figure 2 Changes in negative affect as a result of choosing or being required to help when either an exchange or a communal relationship was desired.

improved (i.e., became less negative) in the choose and required conditions, relative to the no help condition. Contrary to predictions, negative affect improved somewhat among exchange subjects in all conditions.

A 2 (Communal vs. Exchange)  $\times$  3 (Choose vs. Required vs. No Help) ANOVA revealed a main effect for helping condition,  $F(2, 84) = 4.80, p < .01$ , such that, regardless of relationship type, helping (both by choice and by requirement) alleviated negative affect more than receiving no request for help. The main effect of desired relationship type was not reliable,  $F(1, 84) = .72, n.s.$ , but the interaction between helping condition and desired relationship type was significant,  $F(2, 84) = 3.18, p < .05$ .

Planned comparisons revealed that negative affect decreased (i.e., was alleviated) more in the communal-choose ( $M = -3.1$ ) and communal-required ( $M = -3.0$ ) conditions than in the communal—no help condition ( $M = .02$ ),  $F_s(1, 84) = 11.75$  and  $11.25$ , respectively, both  $p_s < .01$ . The difference between mean changes in the communal-choose and communal-required conditions was not reliable,  $F(1, 84) = 0.01, n.s.$  There were no significant differences between the exchange-choose ( $M = -1.9$ ), exchange-required ( $M = -1.3$ ), and exchange—no help ( $M = -1.3$ ) conditions, all  $F_s < .48, n.s.$

## DISCUSSION

The present study has shown that giving help can improve one's affective state—a result consistent with prior research (e.g., Batson et al., 1978, Study 2; Harris, 1977, Study 3; Williamson & Clark, 1989, Studies 1 and 2; Yinon & Landau, 1987, Study 1). It has also shown that this effect is moderated by the type of relationship that helpers desire with the recipient. Affect improved only when a communal relationship was desired. When an exchange relationship was desired, affect did not improve. Rather, a strong tendency for choosing to help to cause positive affect to decline was observed. The moderating impact of desired relationship is consistent with prior research (Williamson & Clark, 1989, Study 3). More important, these results move us beyond prior work, in a number of ways.

### *Clearly Identifying the Effects of Giving Help in Two Relationship Types*

One way this research goes beyond prior work is that it allows us to separate the effects of helping in desired communal and exchange relationships from those of knowing help is needed and being unable to help. Recall that in the original study investigating the impact of desired relationship type on reactions to providing help (Williamson & Clark, 1989, Study 3), the effects of helping could not be clearly separated from those of knowing the other needed help and being unable to give it. In the present study, that problem was eliminated by contrasting the effects of helping with those of not being asked to help. Therefore, we can now state that being able to give help itself improves affect when a communal but not when an exchange relationship is desired. We can also tentatively propose that choosing to give help actually seems to cause affect to decline when an exchange relationship is desired.

### *Beginning to Identify Mechanisms Underlying These Effects*

A second way this research moves beyond prior work is that, by including the manipulation of choice about helping, we have begun to identify mechanisms underlying reactions to providing help. In introducing this study, we suggested that perceiving oneself as a good person would seem to play a role in improving helpers' affective states if it were found that communal helpers feel better after choosing to help than after being required to help. Instead, however, subjects in the communal conditions did *not* feel better when they chose to help than when they were required to help. This finding, of course, does not provide conclusive evidence that self-perception processes are never involved in causing affect



to be improved by helping. However, when combined with the fact that the same manipulation of choice did have an impact in the exchange conditions, it suggests looking elsewhere for an explanation of why helping (both by choice and by requirement) improved affect in the communal conditions in this particular study. We suspect those effects were due to (a) enjoyment derived from knowing that someone with whom a communal relationship is desired has received a benefit (Smith, Keating, & Stotland, 1989) and/or (b) perceiving that one's chances of forming the desired communal relationship have been enhanced by having personally helped the other. Future work will investigate these possibilities.

Interestingly, another argument can also be made against improved self-evaluations as a cause of the improvement in affect: If observing oneself providing aid leads to positive evaluations of the self and consequent improved affect, we might expect the improvement to be especially pronounced in the exchange conditions. After all, subjects might feel they are particularly good people for having helped even when they did not desire a close relationship with the other. The fact that this did not occur in our study suggests that self-perception processes may not account for the improvements in affect that follow helping.

Does this mean that self-perception processes had no impact in this study? No. In fact, in contrast to the communal conditions, choice did influence affect in the exchange conditions. Although being required to help did not cause affective states to deteriorate significantly when an exchange relationship was desired, choosing to help caused positive affect to deteriorate relative to being required to help. Moreover, a strong tendency for choosing to help to cause positive affect to deteriorate relative to not being asked to help was also observed. This suggests that self-perception processes may have played a role in *declines* in positive affect in the exchange conditions. In particular, seeing oneself as gullible or stupid for helping when help is not required by social norms may cause positive affect to decrease. Another possibility is that subjects may have worried that if the recipient realized they had freely chosen to help, she might erroneously perceive their behavior as indicating a desire for a communal rather than an exchange relationship. However, because she sought help with the psychology department's endorsement and because subjects did not specifically seek an opportunity to help her, we believe the latter explanation is less likely than the former.

#### *Investigating the Impact of Helping on Positive and Negative Affect Separately*

Finally, this study goes beyond prior research by demonstrating that among exchange helpers, helping may

not influence negative affect in the same way it influences positive affect. In the present study, choosing to help resulted in declines in exchange helpers' positive affect without analogous increases in negative affect. This was not a predicted effect.

However, a reasonable explanation is that there may be a ceiling on the level of negative affect people are willing to report or will allow themselves to experience under less than extraordinary circumstances. The data provide some support for this idea in that subjects never reported increased negative affect. In addition, premanipulation mean positive affect was considerably higher than premanipulation mean negative affect. Scores on each scale could vary from 10 to 50. Pretest scores on the positive affect scale averaged 27.0. In contrast, average pretest scores on the negative affect scale were 15.1. In other words, prior to the experimental manipulation, mean positive affect was around the midpoint of the scale, but mean negative affect was close to the bottom. Watson et al. (1988) report similar average scores for college students on these scales.

It may be that a score of 15 represents about the highest amount of negative affect that subjects are willing to admit experiencing. Other research (e.g., Sommers, 1984) shows that people in negative moods are not liked as much as people in positive moods. Subjects may implicitly know this and be hesitant to report increases in negative emotions (e.g., guilt, hostility, upset). Alternatively, it may be that when people experience increased negative affect, they actively try to control those feelings (Clark & Isen, 1982). Thus, a score of 15 may represent the most negative affect that subjects actually experience under ordinary circumstances. Either or both of these possibilities can explain why negative affect did not increase in the present study.

Finally, note that the *only* significant effects on negative affect occurred in the communal conditions, where both being required and choosing to help significantly decreased negative affect. These results are also consistent with the "ceiling" explanation. People may be reluctant to report experiencing more than minimal negative affect, but they should not hesitate to report declines in whatever negative feelings they have acknowledged earlier. It could even be argued that this result is especially impressive because there was so little room for negative affect to decline (from a pretest average of only 15 to an absolute minimum of 10).

If the lack of effects on negative feelings indeed resulted from reluctance to admit experiencing much negative affect on a self-report measure, then a less obtrusive measure might reveal effects not found in the present work. However, if the lack of effects was due to subjects' active efforts to counter negative feelings, then our results may reflect reality.

### Concluding Comments

In sum, the present study provides additional evidence that helping is beneficial to helpers. However, like prior work (Williamson & Clark, 1989, Study 3), it suggests that when one helps a stranger, this benefit may be limited to situations in which a communal relationship is desired with the recipient. Indeed, the findings show that choosing to help can even make one feel worse under certain conditions. They also suggest that seeing the other benefit and/or promoting a desired relationship may underlie improvements in affect when communal relationships are desired. In contrast, feeling gullible or stupid about having helped when one would rather not may underlie the observed tendency for affect to deteriorate after choosing to help when exchange relationships are desired.

Do we believe that people never feel good about helping someone with whom they prefer to have an exchange relationship? No. For instance, when they help in an emergency, people may feel good regardless of desired relationship type, because overriding societal norms about helping in dire circumstances are stronger than those about helping in mundane situations (as in the present study). Further work is needed to precisely identify underlying mechanisms and boundary conditions of affective reactions to providing help. Finally, we would note that although we see no theoretical reason that our present results should not generalize to females, to be absolutely confident that they would, future work should include female as well as male subjects.

### NOTES

1. As an exploratory measure, all subjects also received a later request for help from the same female. However, no significant differences were observed on this measure, and consequently the results are not reported in this article.

2. Subjects of just one sex were run as part of our effort to keep as many variables aside from those in which we had an immediate theoretical interest constant and because we had no theoretical reason to suspect males and females would show different patterns of reactions to helping when exchange versus communal relationships were desired. Males in particular were selected simply because the available subject population included many more males than females.

3. As will be seen, subjects in the no help conditions were subsequently advised that Janet did not need any help that could be given within the remainder of the hour.

4. For example, in the Clark (1986) study, subjects were first exposed to the communal or to the exchange manipulation. Then, under the guise of a study on impression formation, they rated the degree to which they would follow communal norms (as expressed in seven statements) and exchange norms (as expressed in seven statements) in a relationship with the target. They also selected the type of relationship they would most like to have with the target from a list of two typically exchange and two typically communal relationships. Results revealed that subjects exposed to the communal manipulation were significantly more likely to say they would conform to communal norms when with the other (e.g., they would enjoy responding to the other's need; would like the other to respond to their needs) relative to conforming to exchange norms (e.g., if they received something of

value from the other, they would immediately return something comparable; if they gave something of value to the other, they would expect repayment soon afterward) than subjects exposed to the exchange manipulation. Moreover, a significantly greater proportion of subjects exposed to the communal manipulation than of those exposed to the exchange manipulation said they would choose to have a type of relationship believed to be typically communal in nature (i.e., a friendship) with the other, as opposed to choosing a type of relationship believed to be typically exchange in nature (i.e., an acquaintanceship or a businesslike relationship).

5. Before the experiment, this photo had been selected from a group of nine photos of college-age women. Twenty undergraduate students (6 males and 14 females) independently rated each photo on a scale of 1 (*extremely unattractive*) to 5 (*extremely attractive*). The one used in the present studies received a mean rating of 4 (somewhat attractive).

6. It was at this point that the second request occurred. After passing out the "Reactions to Word Recognition Study" forms, the experimenter said that Janet had asked her to give each subject another envelope and wanted subjects to respond to its contents before she came in to talk to them. This envelope contained a second request for help. As mentioned previously, this measure yielded no results and consequently will not be discussed further.

7. Although not all comparisons were orthogonal to one another, they were all theoretically meaningful and clearly called for by our a priori hypotheses and questions.

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### Erratum

In the article "Some Detrimental Effects of Negative Mood on Individuals' Ability to Solve Resource Dilemmas" by Andreas Knapp and Margaret S. Clark, Vol. 17, Number 6, the degrees of freedom for some statistics were incorrectly reported. The sixth sentence of the "Manipulation Check" section on page 681 should read, "Planned comparisons indicated that the happy story induced more positive moods than the neutral story,  $t(30) = 4.23$ ,  $p < .0001$ , and that the angry and sad stories induced more negative moods than the neutral story,  $t(30) = 4.22$  and  $3.81$ , respectively,  $ps < .0001$ ." On pages 684-685, the sixth and seventh sentences of the section on "Effects of mood on successful solution of the resource dilemma" should read, "A one-way analysis of variance revealed that the means of the accumulated profit on the last trial differed significantly between the two treatment groups,  $F(1,30) = 4.45$ ,  $p = .04$ . A second  $2 \times 25$  analysis of variance with mood (neutral, sad) as a between-subjects factor and trials (1-25) as a within-subject factor also revealed that the expected interaction effect between mood and trials on noncumulative profit was significant,  $F(24,720) = 2.14$ ,  $p = .001$ ." On page 685, the fourth sentence in the section on "Accuracy of Estimates" should read, "As would be expected, this analysis revealed a main effect of trials,  $F(24,720) = 3.9$ ,  $p < .0001$ , indicating that subjects increasingly came to understand the function over trials."