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A THEORY OF COLLECTIVE EMPATHY IN CORPORATE PHILANTHROPY DECISIONS

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Prevailing perspectives on corporate philanthropy are predominantly rational and limit decision making to the executive suite. Recently, however, recognition has grown that employees are also important drivers of corporate philanthropy efforts and that their motives may be more empathic in nature. Integrating arguments from affective events theory, intergroup emotions theory, and affect infusion theory, we develop a framework in which organization members' collective empathy in response to the needs of unknown others infuses executives' decisions, thereby affecting the likelihood, scale, and form of corporate philanthropy. Our theory has implications for research on emotions in organizations, as well as for our understanding of the role of organizations in society.

Corporate philanthropy is a type of organizational social engagement that involves the allocation of time, money, or goods aimed at addressing a social need (Foundation Center, 2009). Scholars, however, continue to debate why organizations give, as well as how these decisions take shape. Prevailing views once considered philanthropy as a misappropriation of shareholder wealth by the executive (Friedman, 1970) or as a self-interested managerial perquisite (Barnard, 1997; Fry, Keim, & Meiners, 1982). Over time, calls to align corporate philanthropy with broader business objectives (Porter & Kramer, 2006) led to a widespread interpretation of philanthropy as a tool that executives use to achieve strategic goals (Lee, 2008). For example, corporate philanthropy has been described as a marketing instrument (Sen, Bhattacharya, & Korschun, 2006), a reputation management mechanism (Brammer & Millington, 2005), and a tool to manage financial flows (Lev, Petrovits, & Radhakrishnan, 2010).

In contrast to this primarily top-down rational interpretation, researchers have increasingly recognized that, alongside the executive decision makers, other employees are also important actors in corporate philanthropy (e.g., Kim, Lee, Lee, & Kim, 2010). Specifically, recent work suggests that employees do not just passively await philanthropy decisions from the executive suite but, rather, are important drivers of and participants in corporate philanthropy initiatives from the "bottom up" (Aguilera, Rupp, Williams, & Ganapathi, 2007; Chong, 2009; Maclagan, 1999). Additionally, employee involvement in corporate philanthropy appears to be driven more by emotional mechanisms, such as a collectively shared desire to help others in need, than by individual rational considerations, such as job skills enhancement or organizational rewards (Comer & Cooper, 2002; Grant, Dutton, & Rosso, 2008; Peterson, 2004).

The disparity between the rational interpretation at the executive level and the emotional interpretation at the employee level is particularly striking in light of research showing that philanthropy *outside* the organizational context, as an "active effort to promote human welfare" (see *Merriam-Webster Dictionary,* 2011), is pri-

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marily motivated by feelings of empathy (Batson, 1998; Bekkers, 2005). Empathy is an other-oriented emotional response elicited by and congruent with the perceived welfare of a person in need, forming a potent source of motivation to help relieve the empathy-inducing need (Batson, Eklund, Chermok, Hoyt, & Ortiz, 2007; Kanov, Maitlis, Worline, Dutton, Frost, & Lilius, 2004). The other-directed reparative action tendencies associated with empathy stem from appraisals of how others are affected by their plight (Gault & Sabini, 2000; Oveis, Horberg, & Keltner, 2010). Thus far, however, organizational research has not explicitly considered empathy in relation to corporate philanthropy.

Given the contrast between the prevailing view of corporate philanthropy as a rational, executive-level decision and the empathic nature of employees' collective involvement, a closer examination of the links between the empathy of organization members and executive-level corporate philanthropy decision making is needed. To address this gap, we integrate arguments from three theories of emotions in organizations to develop a multilevel theory of empathy in corporate philanthropy decisions. Specifically, we draw on affective events theory (AET; Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996) to illustrate how the needs of others outside the organization arouse empathy in individuals inside the organization; intergroup emotions theory (IET; Barsade, 2002; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000) to explain how individual empathic emotion then converges to become collective; and the affect infusion model (AIM; Forgas, 1995; Lerner & Keltner, 2000) to explicate how the executive's corporate philanthropy decision making is infused with that collective empathic emotion. Drawing from these theoretical foundations, we also highlight individual-, interpersonal-, and organization-level factors that moderate empathy arousal, convergence, and infusion.

Our theoretical framework complements existing approaches to both corporate philanthropy and emotion in organizations in three primary ways. First, we offer a more comprehensive and affective view to explain *why* some organizations are more likely to respond to the needs of others, do so on a higher *scale*, and adopt higher-involvement *forms* of giving, despite the limited strategic benefit recipients provide to the organization (Haslam, Reicher, & Levine, 2011). This more participative perspective on organizations' social behaviors (Maclagan, 1999; Takala & Pallab, 2000) represents a major shift away from traditional models of the philanthropic manager as a "lone actor" (Laroche, 1995: 64) making a rational, utilitarian business decision (Porter & Kramer, 2006). Second, by explaining how external events can elicit empathy among organization members that affects executives' philanthropy decisions from the bottom up, we integrate arguments from AET, IET and AIM in order to broaden our understanding of the role of emotions in organizational decision-making processes and, thus, the emotional foundations of organizational action across organizational levels (Ashton-James & Ashkanasy, 2008; Barsade & Gibson, 2012; Etzioni, 1988; Forgas, 1995). Third, we offer a model in which human need, as a specific type of affective event, triggers processes related to empathy, a specific emotion. By explicating the effects of a specific emotion's appraisal and action tendencies, we provide a more nuanced understanding of the workings of discrete emotions in organizations (Briner & Kiefer, 2005; Cropanzano, Weiss, Hale, & Reb, 2003; Gooty, Gavin, & Ashkanasy, 2009).

In the pages that follow, we begin by discussing the limitations of the top-down rational view of corporate philanthropy decisions, given how little is known about how such decisions are made and on what criteria they are based. Next, we discuss how the philanthropy decision is clouded in uncertainty and ambiguity, circumstances that allow for emotion in general and empathy more specifically to affect decision making. We then link this empathic view with research on emotions in organizations to develop a bottom-up theory of collective empathy in corporate philanthropy decisions. In subsequent sections we explain the roles of emotion-specific factors and more general organizational structures that in concert enable the process. We conclude with a discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of our theory.

CORPORATE PHILANTHROPY DECISIONS AND EMPATHY

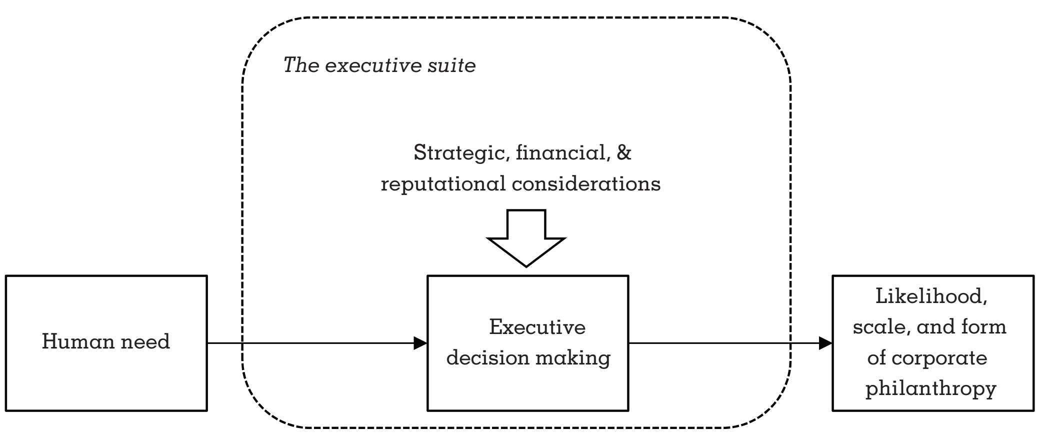
Evidence suggests that organizations are increasingly important contributors in times of human need (Fritz Institute, 2005; U.S. Chamber of

Commerce, 2010). Data show that the scale of corporate giving has increased in recent years, even as charity from other sources has stagnated (GivingUSA, 2011). Corporate giving is directed at a wide range of social issues, from donating medicines to fight AIDS (Dunfee, 2006) and river blindness in Africa (Dunfee & Hess, 2000) to allocating resources for disaster relief in the wake of catastrophic events (Crampton & Patten, 2008; Muller & Whiteman, 2009; Zhang, Rezaee, & Zhu, 2009). Corporate philanthropy also takes various forms, limited not only to cash and in-kind donations but increasingly including employee matching programs and employee time in the form of corporate volunteering (Fry et al., 1982; Grant, 2012; Marquis, Glynn, & Davis, 2007).

Yet organizational scholars primarily study corporate philanthropy as a business tool embedded in the broader domain of strategic, business-related decisions (Lee, 2008; Porter & Kramer, 2002; Saiia, Carroll, & Buchholtz, 2003; Sen et al., 2006). This strategic perspective proposes that managers should think purposefully about how addressing social causes may generate fiscal and financial benefits (Lev et al., 2010; Navarro, 1998; Useem, 1988) or marketing and reputational value (Bhattacharya, Korschun, & Sen, 2009; Brammer & Millington, 2005). By aligning philanthropic decision making with the strategic goals of the organization (Marquis & Lee, 2012), an organization is supposed to avoid the ineffective "hodgepodge of uncoordinated CSR and philanthropic activities disconnected from the company's strategy" (Porter & Kramer, 2006: 4) and be able to enhance its "competitive context" (Porter & Kramer, 2002: 3). Thus, the prevailing paradigm depicts corporate philanthropy as a rational business decision made in the executive suite, based on clear strategic criteria (Figure 1). Once aware of a given human need, be it illiteracy, health, or the environment, the executive assesses whether the need helps the organization achieve overall strategic, reputational, or financial goals. When such considerations are assessed positively, the executive will allocate organizational resources toward alleviating that need with the expectation that doing so will generate tangible benefits for the organization.

However, research on how *likely* companies are to donate, the *scale* of resources they allocate, and the *form* in which they donate is highly fragmented, and, thus, little is known about how corporate philanthropy decisions are made. For instance, research suggests that companies are more likely to give, and to give more, when the human need in question is related to business considerations (Dunfee, 2006; Dunfee & Hess, 2000) or is geographically proximate to the organization (Crampton & Patten, 2008; Muller & Whiteman, 2009), but the underlying motives are only inferred and the decision itself remains a black box. Other research has theorized about conformity across firms when it comes to forms of corporate philanthropy (e.g., cash or volunteering; cf. Marquis et al., 2007) but not the circumstances under which organizations opt for one form over another. Similarly, while research links volunteering to "bottom-up grassroots ef-

FIGURE 1
The Rational View of Corporate Philanthropy Decisions



forts of employees" (Grant, 2012: 590), no known research has addressed the mechanisms and processes associated with executives' decisions to allocate employee time to charity.

Thus, the reality of corporate philanthropy decisions appears to be more complex, and our conceptual understanding less developed, than the prevailing paradigm in Figure 1 would suggest. In spite of their strategic prescriptions, for instance, Porter and Kramer (2002: 6) observed that corporate philanthropy decisions are typically made in a much more ad hoc fashion, often based on "beliefs and values." Instead of systematically assessing the degree to which philanthropy will "enhance the competitive context" (Porter & Kramer, 2002: 3) or generate quantifiable "moral reputational capital" (Godfrey, 2005: 783), executives seem to make gut-level decisions influenced by an underspecified set of considerations. Therefore, even though a majority of executives report *considering* business goals when making philanthropy decisions (Galaskiewicz, 1997), such goals do not appear to be the overriding evaluation element when they are deciding whether to respond to a given need with charity (likelihood), at which level (scale), and with which resources (form).

One key reason the philanthropy decision is unlikely to be based on purely rational considerations stems from the mixed signals managers receive from the external environment regarding philanthropy's potential value to the organization. As mixed empirical evidence on the relationship between corporate philanthropy and financial performance shows, it is unclear if or how philanthropy serves strategic business objectives (Brammer & Millington, 2008; Dean, 2003; Godfrey, 2005). Charity recipients are often unknown or "unidentifiable" others (Small, Loewenstein, & Slovic, 2007: 144)—faceless "statistical populations" (Trout, 2009: 53) whose ability to deliver future benefits to the firm is far from clear. Thus, the potentially business-strategic information upon which corporate philanthropy decisions might be based is often either absent or ambiguous. For these reasons some scholars see corporate philanthropy as unrelated to business, subject instead to executive discretion (Carroll, 2004). However, while research has sought to explain variance in the amount of discretion executives enjoy (Galaskiewicz, 1997), the criteria that inform an executive's discretionary decision remain unclear. In conclusion, there appear to be few clear-cut decision rules in terms of when to engage in corporate philanthropy, at what scale, and in what form. If the information driving decision making is ambiguous and the potential benefit for the organization uncertain, the prevailing view of corporate philanthropy as a calculative, rational decision appears limited (Barnard, 1997).

Corporate Philanthropy As the Outcome of an Affect-Infused Decision

Highlighting the limitations of the rational perspective, a growing body of research based on AIM shows that when the criteria for corporate decisions are ambiguous and their impact on an organization's bottom line is uncertain, *emotions* play a key role in decision making (Forgas, 1995; Huy, 2012). Emotions are "activities of perceptual/motivational/affective systems" (Gault & Sabini, 2000: 497) that, when triggered, lead to specific appraisal and action tendencies that affect decision making. Appraisal tendencies are emotion-specific perceptual processes that interrupt ongoing cognitive processes and direct attention, memory, and judgment, thereby coloring the interpretation of stimuli (Lerner & Keltner, 2000). Action tendencies are "prewired action patterns" (Frijda, Kuipers, & ter Schure, 1989: 213) or "states of readiness to execute a given kind of action" (Frijda, 1986: 70) associated with specific appraisal patterns. Anger, for example, is an individual-focused emotion triggered by events perceived as personally offensive. Anger leads to appraisals that others are responsible for subsequent events and to retaliatory, punitive action tendencies aimed at preserving or enhancing self-esteem (Gault & Sabini, 2000; Lerner & Keltner, 2000; Oveis et al., 2010).

Through appraisal and action tendencies, emotions guide information processing, influencing what information is attended to, what is likely to be recalled and acted upon, and what is likely to be ignored (Nabi, 2003). This selective information processing, or "infusion" (Forgas, 1995), allows emotions to affect the considerations that are used in the decision-making process and how those considerations are evaluated (Etzioni, 1988). Thus, emotion infusion leads to an affective reranking of available options and, ultimately, a different decision outcome than would occur under rational criteria alone (Gaudine & Thorne, 2001). If emotion infusion is particularly relevant for decisions made under uncertainty and ambiguity (Elfenbein, 2007; Forgas, 1995; Huy, 2012), then the uncertainty and ambiguity associated with corporate philanthropy decisions means that emotion is likely to be an important but understudied element in those decisions.

Employees' Collective Empathy As a Source of Affect Infusion

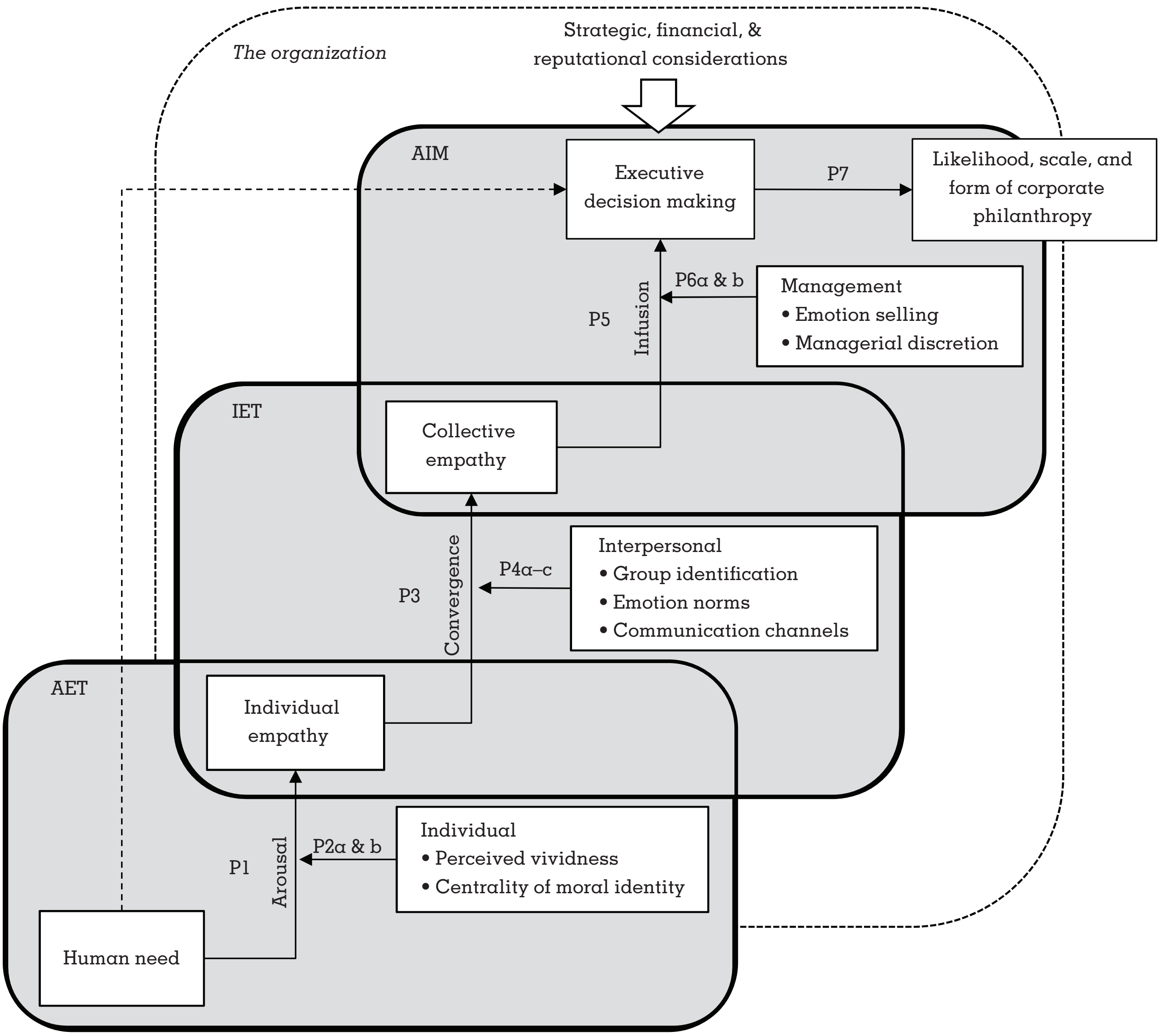
In particular, corporate philanthropy decision-making processes are likely to be infused with *empathy*. Empathy, associated with feelings like compassion, sympathy, tenderness, and softheartedness, refers to other-directed emotion aroused in response to the needs of others that elicits caretaking behavior (Batson et al., 2007). The appraisal tendencies of empathy are societally focused, creating perceptions of similarity with those in need and leading to action tendencies aimed at reparative behaviors, such as altruism and helping (Gault & Sabini, 2000; Lazarus, 1991). While empathy is increasingly recognized as an important emotion in the organizational context (Batson et al., 1995; Kellett, Humphrey, & Sleeth, 2002, 2006; Sadri, Weber, & Gentry, 2011), most research thus far has focused on the role of empathy in addressing the needs of others *inside* the organization (Grant et al., 2008). For example, when an organization member experiences the loss of a loved one or takes ill, his or her colleagues may be moved to help by providing emotional support, organizing a rotating schedule to cover missed shifts, or helping out with household tasks (Lilius, Kanov, Dutton, Worline, & Maitlis, 2012).

Yet AET suggests that events *outside* the organization can also evoke emotions *inside* the organization (Ashton-James & Ashkanasy, 2008). In the context of our theorizing, evidence indicates that the empathic desire to enhance the well-being of others outside the organization is a key factor underlying organizational responsiveness to human needs. In a release following the 2010 Haiti earthquake, for instance, Sanofi-Aventis (2010) spoke of its donation as an expression of its employees' "sincere compassion" in the face of victims' "dire need." In this fashion, the role of organizational leadership is geared more toward facilitating, rather than directing, employees' desire to respond. At LeasePlan employees note, "[We] come up with ideas and our management not only lets us run with them, but they also embrace and participate in our ideas" (Tierney, 2011: 8G). Recent work also suggests that employees' urges to help lead to forms of corporate philanthropy that engage employees more actively, such as volunteering and employee matching programs. For example, instead of simply writing a check in the wake of the 2004 South Asian tsunami, DHL facilitated its employees' desire to help by flying scores of volunteers to Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia, and the Maldives (Chong, 2009). In response to that same disaster, Cisco employees donated more than $460,000, which the company pledged to match dollar for dollar (Cisco, 2004). Thus, empathy, particularly among employees, seems to be a factor in when and how organizations respond to the needs of others.

Moreover, IET (Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007) suggests that empathy, as an inherently other-directed and social emotion, can become *collective*—that is, a palpable attribute of a group that defines the group as more than just an aggregation of individuals (Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011; Barsade, 2002; Huy, 2011). By strengthening the bonds of group membership, collective emotions carry more powerful action tendencies than do individual emotions (Barsade & Gibson, 2012; Mackie, Silver, & Smith, 2004). Given that executive decisions can be subject to infusion by collective emotions (Huy, 1999; Parkinson & Simons, 2009; Sanchez-Burks & Huy, 2009; van Kleef, de Dreu, & Manstead, 2010), collective empathy can influence executives to make philanthropic decisions that reflect the empathic action tendencies of the group (LeBon, 1896; Smith et al., 2007). Thus, anecdotal and scholarly evidence suggest that corporate philanthropy decisions are not exclusively calculative decisions made in isolation by rationally minded "corporate leaders" (Grant, 2012; Marquis & Lee, 2012), as Figure 1 depicts, but, rather, can be linked to the collectively shared empathic desire of employees to respond to the needs of others outside the organization.

What is needed, therefore, is a more comprehensive model of corporate philanthropy decisions in order to more fully understand the relationships we advance in Proposition 1. Figure 2 illustrates such a model. Specifically, by integrating arguments from AET, IET, and AIM, we

FIGURE 2
A Model of Collective Empathy in Corporate Philanthropy Decisions



explicate how and when feelings of empathy are *aroused* among employees in response to the needs of others outside the organization, how and when they *converge* and become collective, and how and when they *infuse* executives' corporate philanthropy decisions such that they affect the likelihood of donating, the scale of the donation, and the form of donation chosen.

By highlighting processes of empathy arousal, convergence, and infusion, our model extends the rational perspective presented previously in Figure 1, in which decision making is restricted to the executive suite alone. In line with research demonstrating the importance of empathy for the likelihood, scale, and form of charitable behavior outside the organization (Batson, 1998; Batson, Fultz, & Schoenrade, 1987; Bekkers, 2005; Frey & Meier, 2004) and for other-directed helping behavior inside the organization (Dutton, Worline, Frost, & Lilius, 2006; Kanov et al., 2004), our model explicates how empathy affects these decision outcomes from the bottom up. In doing so our model exposes the rational paradigm's neglect of these fundamental emotional processes related to corporate philanthropy.

Additionally, just as individuals and organizations do not always respond philanthropically to a given need, processes of empathic arousal, convergence, and infusion do not always unfold in response to a human need outside the organization. AET establishes how individual emotion is subject to variation based on dispositional features and perceptions of the affective event (Ashton-James & Ashkanasy, 2008; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996); we therefore consider individual-level factors that affect the degree to which a human need arouses feelings of empathy. IET research shows that emotion convergence hinges on the intensity and nature of interpersonal interaction (Kelly & Barsade, 2001; Smith et al., 2007); we therefore consider factors that enable interpersonal-level processes of empathy convergence. Further, as our model unfolds in the organization as a whole (Figure 2) as opposed to the executive suite alone (Figure 1), we consider the role of organizational features that propagate and legitimate empathy, enabling affect infusion from the bottom up (Dutton et al., 2006; Kanov et al., 2004). Thus, our model is built on the interplay between emotion-specific factors and more general organizational structures, which in concert facilitate empathic arousal, convergence, and infusion in organizations. We begin by exploring how human needs are affective events that arouse empathy inside organizations, as depicted in Figure 2.

A MODEL OF COLLECTIVE EMPATHY IN CORPORATE PHILANTHROPY DECISIONS

Human Needs As Empathy-Arousing Affective Events

AET holds that discrete events give rise to specific emotions in individuals in the work environment, depending on whether the event has relevance for the individuals' personal goals or objectives (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Although AET was initially aimed at explaining how events *inside* the organization can affect individual-level attitudes and behaviors, Ashton-James and Ashkanasy (2005) extended this perspective to include extraorganizational events that have relevance for the organization as a whole. For instance, research has shown how "environmental jolts" (Meyer, 1982) that impact organizations, such as changes in the regulatory environment, also have affective consequences for organization members (Venkataraman & Van de Ven, 1998). For any given organization, some external events will be more relevant than others, and, thus, some external events will be more likely than others to arouse emotions among the members of that organization.

As noted previously, human needs arouse empathy, an other-directed emotion that elicits reparative behaviors, such as altruism and helping (Batson et al., 2007; Gault & Sabini, 2000; Lazarus, 1991). Given the wide span of human needs, organization members are not likely to perceive all human needs as equally relevant for their organization. Rather, human needs are more likely to be perceived as relevant—and thus arouse empathy among organization members—when there is alignment between the pursuit of organization members' work-related objectives and the alleviation of a particular need. Alignment means that organization members possess the adaptive resources required to cope with the stimulus. In the case of corporate philanthropy, this alignment is manifested in the ability to contribute to the alleviation of a given human need (Ashton-James & Ashkanasy, 2005). From this perspective, it is no coincidence that Intel aims philanthropy at science education among elementary and high school students in developing countries, DHL provides logistics for the delivery of humanitarian aid, and Merck donates medication in Sub-Saharan Africa (Chong, 2009; Dunfee & Hess, 2000). Whereas proponents of the strategic paradigm would argue that these patterns reflect rational choices driven by the prospect of financial gain, conclusive empirical support for such a link remains elusive (Bhattacharya et al., 2009), and, hence, utilitarian gain cannot be the primary rationale driving these philanthropy outcomes. In contrast, AET suggests that those human needs that members of the organization are best "equipped to deal with" (Ashton-James & Ashkanasy, 2005: 36) are most likely to spill over the organizational boundary (cf. Rothbard, 2001) and arouse empathy in organization members. We therefore propose the following.

> *Proposition 1: The more organization members perceive an organization-external human need to be relevant to their organization, the more*

likely they are to experience empathic arousal in response to that need.

However, research based on AET suggests that events do not arouse empathy in individuals in organizations to the same degree (Huy, 2002; Sanchez-Burks & Huy, 2009). Rather, the affective significance of an event is contingent on characteristics of the observer (Ashton-James & Ashkanasy, 2008). In line with these assumptions, we examine two factors that affect individual organization members' experiences of empathy in response to human needs outside the organization.

Vividness of human need. Vividness is a quality characterizing the perception of stimuli as emotionally interesting and temporally, sensorially, or spatially proximate and speaks to the relevance of the event in the eyes of the observer. Vivid imagery of human beings in need can trigger the visceral responses and physiological arousal in observers that are the precursors to the empathic urge to help (Arnold, 1960; Hendriks & Vingerhoets, 2006; Loewenstein, 1996; Maitlis & Sonenshein, 2010; Marsh & Ambady, 2007), as demonstrated in research on donations in response to the 2004 South Asian tsunami (Smith & McSweeny, 2007) and the 2001 "9/11" attacks (Piferi, Jobe, & Jones, 2006). In the context of our theorizing, we propose that by altering perceptions of proximity to those in need, vividness affects whether the empathy-evoking properties of that need arouse empathy in the workplace irrespective of the human need's relevance for the organization or workplace functioning (Dutton et al., 2006; Judge & Ilies, 2004; Mennino, Rubin, & Brayfield, 2005; Rothbard, 2001).

Proposition 2a: The more vivid an organization member's perception of a human need outside the organization, the more intense the arousal of empathy.

Centrality of moral identity. In addition to the perceived features of the need itself, individual dispositional characteristics also influence the intensity of empathic arousal. Cognitive appraisals of need acuity and others' deservingness form an individual-level regulative mechanism that can either amplify or attenuate empathic arousal (Fong, 2007; Goetz, Keltner, & Simon-Thomas, 2010). Such appraisals are contingent on the extent to which the observer identifies with those in need. That is, those in need must be "easily imaginable individuals rather than statistical populations" (Trout, 2009: 53). The degree of identification with those in need affects appraisals of self-other similarity, which, by blurring the self-other boundary, drives empathic arousal in the observer (Batson et al., 1997; Davis, 2004; Oveis et al., 2010).

The appraisal of self-other similarity is evident when others in need are familiar, such as family, friends, or colleagues (Goetz et al., 2010). Human needs *outside* the organization, however, are typically associated with unknown others. In that case, the appraisal of self-other similarity will be linked to the centrality of organization members' *moral identity*. Moral identity is a facet of individual identity that governs whether an individual considers others to be objects of his or her concern (Frijda, 1988; Reed, Aquino, & Levy, 2007). Since moral identity varies in its centrality to the self-concept (Aquino & Reed, 2002; Treviño, Weaver, & Reynolds, 2006), individuals with greater centrality of moral identity have a more extensive "circle of moral regard" (Reed & Aquino, 2003: 1271), in which a larger pool of others are considered objects of the observer's concern (Frijda, 1988). Thus, individuals with greater centrality of moral identity are more likely to experience other-regarding emotions like empathy in response to the needs of others, even if those others are unknown or hard to identify with (Small et al., 2007; Trout, 2009).

Proposition 2b: The greater the centrality of an organization member's moral identity, the more intense the arousal of empathy.

Intergroup Emotions and Empathy Convergence

Research based on IET suggests that interactions between individual organization members experiencing feelings of empathy can lead to *convergence* of members' empathic states through both implicit and explicit sharing processes (Barsade, 2002; Kelly & Barsade, 2001; Smith et al., 2007). Implicit sharing processes occur when individuals unconsciously spread empathy through the organization by expressing their own feelings. For example, facial expressions or physiological manifestations of empathic arousal trigger similar emotional experiences for organization members (Sanchez-Burks & Huy, 2009). Alternatively, individuals may vicariously place themselves in another person's circumstance (Lazarus, 1991). Explicit emotional sharing processes occur when individuals consciously adopt or actively attempt to influence others' emotions. For instance, one organization member's expressed empathy may be openly evaluated by others as a signal of how they should appropriately feel (Barsade, 2002), or one organization member may intentionally induce empathy in others by vividly describing those in need. Research also suggests that the more intense the emotion aroused in individual members, the more intensely emotions are shared and the greater the degree to which they converge (Barsade, 2002; Rimé, 2007). Empathy, as an inherently social emotion, lends itself particularly well to sharing and convergence (Smith et al., 2007).

As organization members' empathic emotions converge, that empathy takes on properties of a collective phenomenon, becoming a palpable attribute of a group (Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011; Barsade & Gibson, 1998). Collective empathy is qualitatively different from the sum of individual empathy for a number of reasons. First, individuals can experience collective emotions such as empathy even when they are not personally involved in or exposed to the empathy-arousing event through processes known as secondary or tertiary sharing (Rimé, 2007). Second, the group sharing processes underlying convergence are typically recurrent such that collective empathy is continually reactivated and, thus, sustained at higher intensity levels than any one individual's empathy alone (Rimé, 2007). Third, as a function of group membership, collective empathy carries more powerful action tendencies than individual empathy (Barsade & Gibson, 2012). Specifically, by bringing group members closer together (Barsade & Gibson, 1998; Rimé, 2007), collective empathy creates a heightened sense of cooperation and galvanizes group members to act together in ways that reflect the collective (Barsade & Gibson, 2012; Mackie et al., 2004; McDougall, 1923).

Proposition 3: The more intense the arousal of empathy in organization members, the more their feelings of empathy will converge to become collective.

Additionally, IET suggests that both affective and nonaffective factors of the group impact the convergence of emotion. Among the most important of these are the level of group identification among organization members, the organization's emotion norms, and the organization's communication channels (Kelly & Barsade, 2001; Smith et al., 2007). Thus, we examine how these factors affect the degree to which individual organization members' empathy in response to human needs outside the organization converges to become collective.

Group identification. Group identification refers to the degree to which organization members identify with and define themselves by the same attributes they believe define the organization (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994). Group identification forms an emotional attachment to the organization that shapes individuals' experiences of emotion in the organizational setting (Foreman & Whetten, 2002). In the context of our theorizing, group identification relates to the extent to which organization members will feel, express, and adopt empathic emotion in the organization. First, greater group identification implies a higher level of "permeability" between private and work-related role identities, increasing the likelihood of sharing non-work-related emotions in the workplace (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000; Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006; Lilius, Worline, Dutton, Kanov, & Maitlis, 2011). Second, group identification affects the degree to which empathy converges (Dutton et al., 2006). That is, individuals who identify themselves as members of the same group are more likely to adopt each other's empathic emotions in a given situation than are individuals who do not (de Waal, 2009; Haslam et al., 2011; Huy, 1999) because their appraisals of the need will be a function of both individual concerns and of group membership (Smith, 1993, 1999). Thus, by bringing the collective emotional bond formed by group membership to the fore (Elfenbein, 2007; Smith et al., 2007), a stronger sense of group identification means that empathic emotions of group members will still converge even when some group members are less concerned than others with those in need outside the organization (Barsade, 2002; Rimé, 2007).

Based on these arguments, we posit the following.

> *Proposition 4a: The stronger the sense of group identification among organization members, the more their feelings of empathy will converge to become collective.*

Emotion norms. An organization's emotion norms form an important feature of the organization's social architecture moderating the processes by which empathic emotion converges (Lilius et al., 2012). Emotion norms are an organization-level set of feeling rules (cf. e.g., Hochschild, 1983) governing the display of and sensitivity to others' emotions (Barsade & Gibson, 2007; Elfenbein, 2007; Huy, 1999). In some organizations emotional expressions may be discouraged for fear they will be considered inappropriate (Dutton, Spreitzer, Heaphy, & Stephens, 2010). In other organizations, however, emotion norms legitimate and propagate feelings and expressions of empathy (Dutton et al., 2006; Kelly & Barsade, 2001). In such settings the sharing and convergence of empathy becomes a fundamentally social process by which organization members collectively cope with each other's empathic emotions, doing so as an expression of other-directed concern (Grant et al., 2008; Lilius et al., 2012). This leads to the following proposition.

> *Proposition 4b: The more an organization's emotion norms facilitate the legitimation and propagation of empathy, the more organization members' feelings of empathy will converge to become collective.*

Communication channels. Empathy, as an inherently social emotion, requires interpersonal interactions in order to converge among organization members. Given that the operations of many organizations are internationally dispersed, convergence will depend on structural organizational characteristics that affect the ability of organization members to interact across significant distances. International management research, for instance, has demonstrated the negative effects of cultural differences and geographic distance on knowledge and information flows within multinational enterprises (Pedersen, Petersen, & Sharma, 2003). Similarly, research has described the effects of cultural differences within organizations as a factor in the accurate perception of colleagues' emotions (Sanchez-Burks & Huy, 2009). Other scholars have looked at the effects of geographic distance on sharing processes and the development of a collectively shared emotional climate or tone (Fehr & Gelfand, 2012). Thus, communication channels that help overcome the effects of geographic and cultural distance within the organization are likely to be key factors in the processes by which group members' empathic emotions converge.

Communication channels that facilitate the convergence of members' emotions over greater distances include the same Internet technologies, such as email and video conferencing, that enable common organizational practices like telework and virtual teams (Fehr & Gelfand, 2012). For instance, Dutton and colleagues (2006) have described the use of email in drawing attention to colleagues' pain in times of need and in coordinating a response. In the context of our own theorizing, UPS (2010) set up a web-based blog following the Haiti earthquake with an interactive platform that allowed employees to comment and communicate with one another about the disaster and UPS's response, sharing their feelings about the event. Similarly, video conferencing can reduce the effects of cultural distance in organizations by allowing nonverbal communication to play a greater role in interpersonal interaction. Such channels thus facilitate the sharing processes that lead to convergence even across geographic and cultural distances. Hence, we propose the following.

> *Proposition 4c: The more an organization's communication channels facilitate the legitimation and propagation of empathy, the more organization members' feelings of empathy will converge to become collective.*

The Infusion of Executives' Philanthropy Decision Making with Collective Empathy

In the final stage of our model, we draw on AIM (Forgas, 1995) to explain how executives' philanthropic decision-making processes are infused with the empathy that exists among organization members, affecting "the extent to which decision making takes place, the information gathered, the ways it is processed, the inferences that are drawn, the options that are being considered, and those that are finally chosen" (Etzioni, 1988: 127). In particular, *collective* empathy will have a strong impact on top-level decision-making processes given that the action tendencies associated with collective empathy are more powerful than those associated with individual empathy (Barsade & Gibson, 1998). This is because the representative nature of collective emotions makes them appear less biased, whereas individual emotions can seem idiosyncratic. Also, collective emotions reflect group solidarity as well as a sense of shared values and action readiness (Smith et al., 2007). Finally, since more convergent collective emotion is associated with a more palpable collective action readiness, it follows that greater empathic emotion convergence will lead to greater infusion effects on executives' decision-making processes (LeBon, 1896; Mackie et al., 2004; Smith et al., 2007). This leads to the following proposition.

> *Proposition 5: The more empathic emotion in the organization converges and becomes collective, the greater the degree to which it will infuse executives' corporate philanthropic decision-making processes.*

Additionally, we present two organization-level factors affecting the degree to which collective empathy in response to human needs outside the organization infuses executives' corporate philanthropy decisions: *emotion selling*, a key mesolevel mechanism that enables the micro-macro linkages in our model (Dasborough, Ashkanasy, Tee, & Tse, 2009), and *managerial discretion*, a key factor that determines the degree of flexibility present in organizational decision-making frameworks (Kidder & Buchholtz, 2002).

Emotion selling. Our framework emphasizes the organization as a multilevel context in which empathy develops at the individual level, proceeds upward through groups, and ends up at the macroorganizational level (Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011). Interactions between leaders and members have been identified as a key mesolevel organizational factor establishing the "micro-macro nexus" (Dasborough et al., 2009: 572). Yet as Huy (2002) points out, executive decision makers are often removed from their employees such that the direct contagion mechanisms that might otherwise lead to an emotional "upward spiral" (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008: 41) in the organization may be insufficient. In recognition of this organizational reality, we introduce emotion selling as a mesolevel mechanism that facilitates the flow of empathic emotion from the bottom up to the executive decision maker. Emotion selling refers to actions through which middle managers convey the collective empathy among organization membership to the executive suite. Emotion selling can thus be understood as a form of "issue selling," which refers to middle managers' direction of senior management's limited attention to and perception of certain issues (Dutton, Ashford, O'Neill, Hayes, & Wierba, 1997: 408).

Middle managers are in a unique position to sell emotions because they form the linchpin between senior management and their subordinates. By interacting directly and frequently with their subordinates, middle managers are most likely to "recognize, monitor, discriminate and attend to [their] members' emotions" (Huy, 1999: 325). At the same time, when communication between senior executives and middle managers is based on exchange and reciprocity, middle managers have many opportunities for communicating directly with senior executives (Treviño et al., 2006). Through open and reciprocal interactions with senior managers, middle managers transmit the emotionally charged collective urge to act, aroused in response to the suffering of unknown others, to the decision making of senior management. Emotion selling is therefore a function of organization-level abilities by which middle managers bring patterns of shared emotion into focus and convey their content and significance to senior management (Sanchez-Burks & Huy, 2009). This leads to the following proposition.

> *Proposition 6a: The more emotion selling takes place in the organization, the greater the degree to which collective empathy will infuse executives' corporate philanthropy decision-making processes.*

Managerial discretion. Additionally, AIM stipulates that the level of uncertainty and degree of ambiguity inherent in a decision impact the emotion infusion process (Forgas, 1995). As stated previously, uncertainty and ambiguity are both inherent in corporate philanthropy decisions. However, Forgas (1995) also has suggested that the flexibility of existing decision-making frameworks impacts the degree of affect infusion. Thus, the degree to which collective empathy in the organization can infuse senior executives' decision-making processes also depends on the degree of managerial discretion executives enjoy in their decision making—that is, the "latitude to decide" (Buchholtz, Amason, & Rutherford, 1999: 172). Managerial discretion is therefore also a function of executives' ability to recognize and act on the discretion they receive, as well as the structural organizational characteristics that enable or constrain executives' latitude of action (Kidder & Buchholtz, 2002). The concept of managerial discretion is premised, on the one hand, on the notion that managers' decision environments are full of choices and, on the other hand, on the notion that managers' actions can never be completely "prescribed by corporate procedures, formal job definitions, resource availabilities, or technologies" (Wood, 1991: 699).

The role of managerial discretion has been linked previously to corporate philanthropy in that philanthropy reflects a category of decisions that fall under the purview of the executive but for which society does not provide "clear-cut" expectations (Carroll, 1999: 283). Under these circumstances, such decisions are left to individual executives' judgments and choices. However, while establishing that some executives will experience greater freedom to make a decision than others, this perspective does not explain circumstances under which greater discretion is more or less likely to lead to one outcome over another. With respect to empathy infusion, we provide such a mechanism by proposing that variance in executives' "latitude to decide" enables greater infusion of the decision because corporate philanthropy decision making in the organization is less scripted.

Proposition 6b: The greater executives' managerial discretion, the greater the degree to which collective empathy will infuse executives' corporate philanthropy decision-making processes.

Infusion of Executive Decision Making and Corporate Philanthropy

Thus far, research has not explicitly addressed affect infusion in relation to the outcomes of corporate philanthropy decisions. Yet a wealth of prior research outside the organizational context has established that more intense feelings of empathy are linked to a greater likelihood of giving, as well as to giving at a greater scale (Batson, 1990; Batson et al., 1997; Sargeant, 1999). Additionally, research has highlighted the role of empathy in the choice between different forms of philanthropy. For instance, empathy predicts individuals' increased willingness to donate their time (i.e., volunteer) for the benefit of others (Griffin, Babin, Attaway, & Darden, 1993). Similarly, people have a greater preference to donate time instead of money to charities when they are more emotionally invested in the cause (Reed et al., 2007). Theorizing in the organizational context, we argue that the infusion effects of empathy inside the organization will lead to similar patterns in executives' organization-level philanthropy decision outcomes. When executives feel collective empathy, their empathic appraisal and action tendencies may override rational arguments against donating (i.e., an anticipation of insufficient strategic, financial, or reputational benefits); alternately, if rational arguments favor donating, they will be reinforced through collective empathy infusion. Thus, the infusion of executive decision making with collective empathy increases the likelihood that decision makers will make choices that reflect the emotions of their social group, aimed at group solidarity and harnessing the energy of the collective.

Additionally, in social settings where group bonds are strong, a collectively shared urge to behave altruistically leads to a greater likelihood of collective action. Thus, with respect to corporate philanthropy, the greater propensity to act collectively leads to forms of philanthropy that capitalize on that collective action readiness. Specifically, this occurs through the adoption of higher-involvement forms of philanthropy that engage employees directly in the philanthropic response, as opposed to lower-involvement forms such as cash donations or the provision of in-kind goods. One high-involvement form of corporate philanthropy is corporate volunteering. Corporate volunteering—the formal sponsoring and subsidizing of employees' community service and outreach activities on company time—represents a significant philanthropic resource commitment on the part of the organization (Grant, 2012). With respect to group ties and empathy, corporate volunteering is known to be higher when employee attachment to the organization is high and when employees feel a strong affinity with the cause in question (Turban & Greening, 1997). In the same way that collective emotions like empathy are recursive and self-sustaining (Rimé, 2007), high-involvement philanthropy efforts, such as volunteering, depend on positive reinforcement in the organizational context (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Peloza, Hudson, & Hassay, 2009).

Another higher employee engagement form of philanthropy is the establishment of a matching program. Employee donation matching is a form of philanthropy by which the organization pledges to match employee donations, usually dollar for dollar. Matching programs legitimate and facilitate employees' urge to respond, giving the collective a specific outlet for its feelings of empathy (Bekkers, 2005). For example, American Family Insurance stated, in response to the 2010 Haiti earthquake, that

> American Family employees and agents demonstrate their compassion and generosity time and again, and many of them are choosing to help the victims of this colossal tragedy. By matching their individual contributions, we're enabling our employees and agents to have an even greater impact on the recovery efforts (2010).

Matching programs also facilitate the collective element by enhancing "crowding in"—an increased willingness of individuals to participate in the collective response—and reducing "crowding out"—by which some members free ride on the donations of others (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Frey & Meier, 2004; Shang & Croson, 2009). In sum, the appraisal and action tendencies associated with collective empathy infuse executives' corporate philanthropy decisions such that the reranking of available options affects the outcome in terms of philanthropy's likelihood, scale, and form. Based on these arguments, we propose the following.

> *Proposition 7: The more executives' corporate philanthropy decision-making processes are infused with collective empathic emotion, the greater the likelihood of engaging in corporate philanthropy, the greater the scale of resources allocated, and the greater the likelihood the response will involve higher-engagement forms of philanthropy.*

DISCUSSION

In this article we have integrated arguments from AET, IET, and AIM to develop a framework in which feelings of empathy among organization members, triggered by a human need outside the organization, affect the *likelihood*, *scale*, and *form* of organization-level philanthropic responses directed at the alleviation of that need. Additionally, acknowledging that our process relies on individual agency as well as contextual structures, we have highlighted dispositional and organizational factors that enable the bottom-up process to unfold across its three levels. With respect to human needs as affective events, we emphasized the role of vividness and centrality of moral identity in empathy arousal at the individual level. With respect to intergroup emotions, we explained how group identification, interpersonal norms, and communication channels affect processes of empathy convergence. With respect to affect infusion, we explicated the roles of emotion selling and managerial discretion in processes of empathy infusion in corporate philanthropic decisions. Our theory contributes to a better understanding of corporate philanthropy as a collective, empathy-infused organizational behavior and a greater understanding of the linkages between AET, IET, and AIM. As such, it better encompasses the variance in giving among corporations and adds depth to existing multilevel research on emotions in organizations. We expand on our contributions below.

Theoretical Contributions

First, our theoretical framework complements existing approaches to corporate philanthropy. Including the bottom-up emotional perspective of why organizations respond to the needs of others offers an extension to the top-down rational view that predominates in extant research. By showing how collective empathy affects the considerations used in the decision-making process and how those considerations are evaluated, our model helps explain the apparently "ad hoc" nature of corporate philanthropy (Porter & Kramer, 2002: 6). Instead of being based on clear, strategic criteria and unambiguous information, corporate philanthropy decisions are inherently uncertain, both in terms of how a decision is to be made and on what criteria it should be based and in terms of possible benefits to the firm. While the potential strategic, reputational, or financial gains derived from philanthropy remain important elements of consideration (Galaskiewicz, 1997), empathy infusion affects the way those considerations are evaluated, even though the executive may not be consciously aware of empathy's effects on his or her decision making (Bargh & Williams, 2006; Berridge & Winkielman, 2003).

Second, by drawing from and integrating arguments from AET, IET, and AIM to explain how collective empathic emotion ultimately infuses executives' philanthropic resource allocation decisions, we heed the call to shed more light on the role of emotions in organizational decision-making processes (Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011; Ashton-James & Ashkanasy, 2008; Etzioni, 1988; Forgas, 1995). Our bottom-up perspective complements existing research that has primarily examined the top-down role of emotions in organizations (such as leaders' emotions and their impact on employees; e.g., Dasborough & Ashkanasy, 2002). Moreover, the top-down and bottom-up aspects of emotions in organizations are likely to be intertwined and mutually reinforcing. For instance, by harnessing and acting on employees' collective emotions, executives will make their subordinates feel understood and valued while simultaneously reinforcing their leadership position (Kellett et al., 2006; cf. also Tierney, 2011).

Third, we shed light on the specific mechanisms that explain how a discrete emotion—empathy—is aroused in individuals, becomes collective, and ultimately affects the likelihood, scale, and form of corporate philanthropy in response to human needs. Despite the differences in the action tendencies associated with various emotions, emotions research thus far has focused primarily on investigating broad categories of positive and negative emotions (Briner & Kiefer, 2005; Gooty et al., 2009). As a result, many emotions have been unnecessarily assigned valence despite having both positive and negative features (Lazarus & Cohen-Charash, 2001), which has limited our understanding of their effects (Barsade & Gibson, 2012; Cropanzano et al., 2003). Additionally, emotions of similar valence can have very different appraisal and action tendencies (Lerner & Keltner, 2000). Empathy involves feeling badly for others in need but, at the same time, carries positive action tendencies that involve helping those in need (Batson et al., 2007). Studying the specific appraisal and action tendencies associated with specific emotions such as empathy advances our understanding beyond broader categorizations based on valence alone (van Kleef et al., 2010).

Practical Implications

Our model also has practical value for managers, organizations, and their stakeholders. First, it can contribute to a reduction in the cynicism about the role organizations play in society stemming from the predominantly rational interpretation of corporate philanthropy. A consequence of the cynical view is that corporate philanthropy can negatively affect organizations' reputations if societal actors assume philanthropy is used simply for impression management. In contrast, recognition of the bottom-up and empathic elements of corporate philanthropy is likely to engender a more positive societal response (Godfrey, 2005). It also allows for a less stringent interpretation of managerial discretion regarding corporate philanthropy by acknowledging that while rational, strategic considerations matter, they are not likely to be the overriding element in the decision. Moreover, repeatedly acknowledging and legitimating the role of empathy in corporate philanthropy over time may even affect the ordering of rational considerations and how they are evaluated in subsequent situations, leading to a more empathic and philanthropic culture in the organization. At the same time, however, the potential for convergence between empathic motives and rational considerations over time means that by directing employees' attention to some needs and not others, executives may try to steer their employees' empathic desire to help others to be better aligned with the organization's business objectives.

Second, by explicating the infusion of a collective, emotionally driven urge to act into the executive decision process, our model allows not only for a more nuanced understanding of the potential motives behind corporate philanthropy but also for a broader perspective on its manifestation. Whereas a considerable body of research has explained some of the variance in the scale of corporate philanthropy, only a small number of studies have addressed the likelihood of giving, and we know of no research in which scholars have tried to explain variance in the form of giving. As scholarly research and anecdotes about corporate giving suggest, the legitimation of employees' desire to alleviate the needs of others leads to philanthropy decisions in which employees have the opportunity to contribute their own time and money as part of the donation effort, making it a truly collective endeavor (cf. Chong, 2009). Thus, bottom-up, empathy-infused corporate philanthropy is likely to be associated with positive repercussions in the future, such as increased volunteering levels, greater employee contributions, and management-level legitimation through, for example, the structural development of employee donation matching programs.

Third, our model implies that by addressing collective empathic emotion and reinforcing social bonds within the group (Mackie et al., 2004), empathy-infused corporate philanthropy decisions generate positive feedback loops at multiple levels in the organization. For example, executive decisions influenced by collective empathic emotion will feed back into individuals' level of organizational identification and will reinforce the organization's empathy-legitimating and empathy-propagating emotion norms (Tierney, 2011). Moreover, the actions leaders take in response to emotion have a profound impact on followers' emotional reactions (Walter, Cole, & Humphrey, 2011); adeptly addressing followers' feelings and concerns can help leaders generate and maintain follower trust and cooperation (George, 2000). Thus, the infusion of executive decisions with collective emotion can be important for the management of emotions in the organization (Ashkanasy & Daus, 2002), with longer-term benefits for employees, the organization, and the executive's position as a leader (Kellett et al., 2006).

Limitations and Future Directions

In our theory we acknowledge that rational arguments can work in tandem with other-directed objectives and that such seemingly contradictory motives can exist simultaneously (cf. Muller & Kräussl, 2011). In doing so we expand current thinking that limits the philanthropy decision to the executive suite and overemphasizes the role of business objectives by offering a more collective, inclusive, and empathic process. However, corporate philanthropy, no matter how well-intentioned, may not alleviate the needs it aims to alleviate. The potentially limitless human need in society may lead to empathy "fatigue" or "burnout" in the organization (cf. Elliot, 2008; Frost et al., 2006). Both could lead to emotional distress among organization members and, ultimately, have a negative effect on the organization's emotional climate (Ashkanasy, 2003). However, the primary focus of our theorizing is on the empathic motives underlying corporate philanthropy. Future research therefore should explore both the organization-internal and organization-external outcomes related to this process, including the impact on such factors as organizational reputation, employee engagement, and beneficiaries' well-being.

Also, we acknowledge that our more "participative" model of corporate social engagement (Aguilera et al., 2007; Anthony, 1978; Takala & Pallab, 2000) may still imply that corporate philanthropy decisions can be contested within the organization and that empathy-driven actions cannot become the sole objective of organizational activity. Empathy-driven decisions, especially those given little strategic thought, can be ineffectual or even detrimental if they lead to conflicts between management and shareholders. Negotiating competing demands for short-term concerns associated with day-to-day business operations and long-term efforts to "enhance the collective goodness of the organization" can subject organizations and their managers to the strains associated with "role conflict" (Heugens, Kaptein, & van Oosterhout, 2008: 113). Alternately, empathy could be co-opted by executives for instrumental purposes (Frost et al., 2006). Our model opens up avenues for researchers to explore the results of bottom-up, empathy-driven actions versus top-down processes considering a variety of outcomes, including societal goals, organizational engagement, and business objectives (cf. Tierney, 2011).

With respect to emotions research, we focused on a discrete emotion—empathy—which develops as a result of observing others in need and manifests as a desire to alleviate that need. We acknowledge that the bottom-up process we describe may also be influenced by other emotions, such as enthusiasm, excitement, and cheerfulness. However, the action tendencies associated with these emotions are related to strong self-agency and approach-related behavior rather than a specific desire to help others in need (Frijda et al., 1989). Thus, these emotions may likely serve as antecedents to the bottom-up process we have described above: when individuals feel excited and enthusiastic, their self-agency may drive them to feel that they can make a difference and proactively seek out individuals who are in need. Additionally, the bottom-up empathic infusion of corporate philanthropy decisions may elicit other discrete emotions in employees, such as enthusiasm or pride, which, in turn, may lead to more proactive, empathy-driven corporate philanthropy in the future. Future research should investigate the specific effects of other discrete collective emotions on the bottom-up empathic infusion of corporate philanthropy decisions, as well as on other executive decisions.

Finally, our model includes moderators at the individual level and organizational level that facilitate empathy arousal, convergence, and infusion. Some of our moderators are empathy specific, such as the perceived vividness of human need, centrality of moral identity, and empathy-legitimating emotion norms, whereas others capture more structural organizational features, such as communication channels, emotion selling, and managerial discretion. While our model includes moderators that, in concert, uniquely support *empathy* from the bottom up, the mix of emotion-specific and more general structural features may serve as a template for exploring the dynamics of other discrete emotions in organizations. At the same time, our model may exclude other potentially important factors, such as perceptions of deservingness (Fong, 2007) or symbolic actions by organization members (Dutton et al., 2006). In addition, other emotion-related variables may play a role in this model. Emotional intelligence, for example, is related to the ability to experience empathy, factors into the processes involved in sharing emotions, and has been shown to be an important factor in decision making (Caruso, Mayer, & Salovey, 2002; Mayer, Roberts, & Barsade, 2008). Future research could expand on our model to elucidate the workings of additional moderators or to develop a more general multilevel model of emotions in organizations.

Conclusion

In the preceding pages we took several important steps toward understanding how and why organizations' philanthropic decisions need not be seen as purely calculative decisions but may also stem from empathy. While our perspective is not intended to explain all pathways by which human needs elicit philanthropic responses, we suggest our model paints a more complete picture of organizations' charitable giving. By including emotional elements that have been largely ignored in research on corporate philanthropy, we further an empathy-based perspective of organizational decision making and behavior (Aguilera et al., 2007; Swanson, 1999) that helps "breathe life" into organizational studies (Dutton, 2003: 6).

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