

HOW DOES ASYMMETRIC INFORMATION AFFECT DONATIONS TO BEGGARS?

In the current debate of donations to beggars, many individuals claim that they want to donate but that they refrain from doing so due to a lack of information about the beggar. The purpose of our study is to examine the impact asymmetric information has on altruistic behavior towards beggars. We conduct a laboratory experiment with donations to beggars in a double-blind dictator game using a Swedish sample. The recipients of the donations have been recruited through the organization Ny Gemenskap which works with homeless people in Stockholm. Each subject in each experimental session is randomly assigned to one of four treatment groups with different information regarding the usage of the donation and the cause of poverty for the recipient. Our results suggest that altruism is predominantly paternalistic in donations to beggars and that providing credible information about a specified usage of the donation has a significant effect on the average donation size. The results also suggest that altruism is unconditional on the cause of poverty for our sample.

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Authors: Michel Elmoznino Laufer (21283) and Ezgi Saginer (21349)

Tutor: Magnus Johannesson

Examiner: Örjan Sjöberg

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Discussants: Florian Hemmerlein and Johanna Modigsson

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Beggars should be entirely abolished! Truly, it is annoying to give to them and annoying not to give to them.

- Friedrich Nietzsche

1. Introduction

A common view of economic transactions is that they should rely on a reciprocated market exchange between individuals, where each person gains from the exchange. The phenomenon of charitable donations is an anomaly from the predictions of the *Homo Economicus* assumption, since people give money without receiving any observable good in return. This cannot be considered utility maximizing in a strictly material sense.

There has been a rapidly growing interest in the economics of philanthropy and charitable giving since the 1980s with philanthropy being one of the greatest puzzles for economics (Kolm and Ythier, 2006). In the last decades, there has been an increasing trend in many developed countries of donating money to charities with a larger number of private and international charity organizations entering the market as a result (Bremas, 2008; List, 2011). For example in Sweden, the number of fundraising organizations has increased threefold in the last 15-20 years while the total size of the donations in the private sector has almost doubled between the years 1996 and 2006 (Bremas, 2008).

A controversial subject which has received a large attention in the media in Europe in the last decade is donations to beggars.¹ Donations to beggars can be contrasted to donations to charitable organizations, in which the relation between the donor and the recipient is clearer. From the perspective of the potential donor, donations to beggars are characterized by an ambivalence and ambiguity in the nature of the giving (McIntosh and Erskine, 2000). When deciding whether to donate any money to a beggar or not, people may feel that they have a moral responsibility to help but they may at the same time also feel an uncertainty about why the person begs for money and that the beggar is outside the potential donor's social sphere.

¹ In this thesis, we define a beggar as a person who begs for money in public locations, and for his/her own consumption. This can be contrasted to a solicitor that asks people to donate for the benefit of others, for instance the Salvation Army.

Anecdotal evidence in Sweden and Britain suggests that although many people say that they want to help the beggars to improve their social situation, they do not donate any money (Lagercrantz, 2007a; McIntosh and Erskine, 2000). One of the main reasons may be that there exists a considerable information asymmetry, as while the beggar is fully informed as to how much he/she needs the money, and how it will be used, the donor has no information about these facts. Neither is there any way for the donor to ensure that the donations will be used in a way that he/she thinks is the most appropriate for the beggar if the donations are made in cash. People who have been interviewed in Sweden are suspicious that the donated money will be used to finance a heavy drug addiction or alcohol consumption (Lagercrantz, 2007a, 2007b). Also, the increased presence of beggar syndicates from Eastern Europe in the last decade has been a controversial issue and has increased distrust towards beggars (Andrén, 2009). According to the Swedish police and French government, many persons are being forced to beg on the streets in Europe by criminal organizations and by giving money to beggars donors may indirectly finance organized crime and trafficking (Hellberg and Johansson, 2009; Samuel, 2011). Western tourists travelling in Africa and Asia have been warned by international non-profit organizations that they should not give money directly to street begging children since they might have been forced to beg by criminal gangs (Burke and Hammadi, 2011; Robertson, 2007).

Because of the asymmetric information, some people who would be willing to make a donation if they knew how and by whom the money would be used might refrain from doing so. By using physical attributes, signs and photos, beggars try to signal that they are in an urgent need of the money and that they will use it in what could be considered an appropriate way, thus trying to bridge the information asymmetry. But in practice, as some people refrain from donating, it may be the case that the signals that the beggars are using are not considered to be credible by some potential donors. However, if enough credible information is given to signal that the donations will be used in accordance with the preferences of the donor, it is likely that the number and size of donations would increase.

While there has been a rapidly growing interest in charitable donations in the field of economics in the last decades, to our knowledge no previous study in behavioral economics has examined donations to beggars. In our study, we want to use a laboratory experiment with donations to real-life recipients to try to isolate the effects that asymmetric information has on people's actual donation decisions.

The purpose of this study is to examine the impact asymmetric information has on altruistic behavior towards beggars. This will be done by using the dictator game and comparing the average donation size between treatment groups with different information about the beggars. Specifically, we want to examine the impact that two types of asymmetric information have. First, we want to test if providing information about a specified usage of the donated money will significantly affect the average donation size compared to providing no information about how the beggar will use the money. Second, we want to test if providing information about different causes of poverty will significantly affect the average donation size.

Due to convenience, we only conduct the experiment with subjects from Stockholm. We will focus on designing an experiment with a relatively high degree of internal validity to be able to draw conclusions which would be valid for our sample. We hope that our study will contribute to an increased understanding of donations to beggars as an economic phenomenon, and also how altruism and asymmetric information affect donations.

The remainder of this thesis is organized as follows: Section 2 describes previous literature on donations in the field of economics, which our experimental design will be based on. Section 3 describes the experimental design. Section 4 presents the hypotheses and tests that we will conduct. Section 5 shows the results of the experiment followed by a discussion in Section 6. Finally, Section 7 concludes the thesis.

2. Previous literature on donations in the field of economics

Previous literature within the field of behavioral economics regarding donations has studied issues such as contribution to a public good (Foster et al., 1997), donations to charitable organizations (Eckel and Grossman, 1996) and paternalistic donations (Breman, 2006b; Jacobsson et al., 2007). Some studies have examined donations to poor people (Aguar et al., 2008; Breman, 2006a; Fong, 2007). However, to our knowledge no previous study in the field of behavioral economics has examined donations to beggars. Other scientific disciplines have studied the phenomenon of beggars, such as sociology. In a study by McIntosh and Erskine (2000) conducted in Scotland, the authors identified the information asymmetry as a core issue regarding donations to beggars, as the

beggars are perfectly informed about how much they need the money and how the donations will be used, while potential donors have no information about these facts.

In the conventional model of economic behavior, where people are assumed to be selfish materialists, the phenomenon of donations to beggars cannot be explained. As the decision to donate clearly is not utility maximizing in a strictly material sense, there must be some other motives for donating money. Some suggestions for alternative motives are fairness (Fehr and Schmidt, 1999) and social image (Ariely et al., 2009). Jacobsson et al. (2007) discuss additional social preference motives for donations which are related to previous literature, namely empathy, reciprocity, warm glow and altruism. Fong (2007) divided altruism into two categories, unconditional altruism and conditional altruism.² In our study, we concentrate on conditional altruism and intend to keep all the other social preferences constant in our experiment. This demarcation is supported by the finding of McIntosh and Erskine (2000) that in order to donate, many people seem to have certain requirements for what social background the beggar should have and how the beggar will use the money.

The dictator game closely resembles the situation of donations to beggars. In this game, a donor chooses how much of a fixed sum of money he/she wants to allocate to a recipient. There are no strategic considerations in this game as the donor does not have to take the recipient's response into consideration. Hence, the dictator game tests for the existence of social preferences.³ In several studies of the dictator game, the donor has been found to give a substantial amount to the recipient even though this is contrary to his/her self-interest in a strictly material sense. In anonymous dictator games where students can choose how they want to allocate a fixed sum of money between themselves and another student, subjects on average donate about 20% of their given endowment (Granström, 2007).

Experimental studies of within-country and cross-country altruism have shown that the information provided about the recipient has a significant effect on the average donation size. In dictator games where the recipient is perceived to be more “deserving” of getting donations than students, the

² In this thesis, we define altruism as in Jacobsson et al. (2007), i.e. that the utility of the donor depends on the utility of the recipient. Unconditional altruism means that the donor behaves altruistically without having any requirements for the recipient, as long as the recipient maximizes his/her own utility. In the case of conditional altruism, the donor has certain requirements in order to behave altruistically.

³ The dictator game can also test for social image effects by varying the degree of anonymity of the donor towards the experimenter, the other participants and the recipient.

average donation increases to between 30% and 55% of the given endowment (Granström, 2007). Eckel and Grossman (1996) found that there was a significant increase in the mean donation from 10.6% to 31% when the recipient was a reputable charity (the American Red Cross) compared to when the recipient was an anonymous individual. When subjects could donate money to an industrious welfare recipient in the US the mean donation was about 30% (Fong, 2007), while in a study where the recipient was a smoking diabetes patient and the donated money would be converted into nicotine patches the average donation was 41% (Jacobsson et al., 2007). In an experiment where the recipient was a child in the SOS children's village in South Africa and when some information about the child was included the mean donation was 55% (Breman, 2006a).

Hence, asymmetric information has been found to affect the size of the donations in the dictator game. Aguiar et al. (2008) divide the information relevant for the decision of the donor in the dictator game into the following three categories: 1) information related to the donor, i.e. whether or not the decision is observed by others, 2) information that the donor receives about the recipient, and 3) information derived from the framing of the game. In our study, we are primarily interested in the second category, as it captures the information asymmetry in a real world setting where individuals choose how much to donate to beggars. The anonymity of the donor and the framing of the experiment will be held constant throughout all of our treatments, while the information that the donor receives about the recipient will vary.

Based on these findings, in our study we define *conditional altruism* as altruism conditional on 1) the recipient being poor, 2) the recipient's *usage* of the donation and 3) the *cause of poverty* for the recipient.⁴ To simplify, the recipient can use the donated money in a way the donor considers to be either good or bad. The cause of poverty refers to whether the beggar became poor due to a factor beyond his/her control or due to a factor within his/her control. So in our study, the intention is that the donor decides how much money to donate given his/her beliefs regarding whether the recipient is poor, the usage of the donation, and the cause of poverty.

The first of our conditions, that the recipient is poor, was found to be relevant by Aguiar et al. (2008) who noted that receiving information about the recipient being poor positively affected the size and propensity of donations. Obviously, this is a relative measure and not an absolute one, meaning that the recipient must be poor relative to the donor. In the case of donations to beggars,

⁴ Note that our definition of conditional altruism may be different from the definition used in other studies.

we consider the condition that the recipient is poor relative to the donor to be fulfilled, and hence, this condition will not be further discussed.

The second of our conditions concerns how the donation will be used by the recipient. Jacobsson et al. (2007) distinguished between pure altruism and paternalistic altruism in dictator games with donations to smoking diabetes patients. They conducted a series of experiments in Sweden where subjects in different treatment groups received different information about the usage of the donated money. In the first experiment, the subjects were randomly assigned to either a treatment group in which they could donate money that a smoking diabetes patient could use freely or to a treatment group in which the donated money would be converted into nicotine patches that would be given to the patient. The average donation in the nicotine patches treatment group was 40% larger than in the money group. In two other experiments where the dictator game was used, the subjects could decide how large fraction of their eventual donation that they wanted the smoking diabetes patient to be given in cash and how large fraction they wanted to be converted into nicotine patches. In both of these experiments, subjects on average donated a substantially larger share of their given endowment for nicotine patches than in cash.

Jacobsson et al. (2007) found that subjects were more inclined to donate when there was some way to ensure that the donated money was used in a way that the subjects found appropriate, which was guaranteed when the donated money would be converted into nicotine patches. This was referred to as paternalistic altruism, where the subjects are more concerned about the health of the recipient, and are less concerned with other aspects of the recipient's preferences. In the study by Jacobsson et al. (2007), there was a reduced information asymmetry regarding the use of the donations in the treatment groups where the donated money would be converted into nicotine patches, which increased the credibility that the donations were used in line with the donors' paternalistic preferences. Extending the theory of paternalistic altruism to our setting, we assume that altruism is paternalistic with respect to what the donor believes is a good use of the donated money. In the case of donations to beggars, with asymmetric information, there is no way for the donor to ensure that the donation will be used in accordance with paternalistic preferences if the donations are made in cash. Then, some persons with paternalistic preferences will refrain from donating to beggars.

The findings of Breman (2006b) add further support to our assumption of altruism being paternalistic with respect to what the donor believes is a good use of the donated money. In a

double-blind experiment with donations to an anonymous household in Zambia, the subjects could choose whether to donate money that would be given to the household or making a tied transfer in which the donated money would be converted into mosquito nets. Although the subjects were told that the household had revealed preferences for money, the mean donation of mosquito nets was significantly different from zero which implied that some of the donors had paternalistic preferences.

In a study by Fong (2007), on donations to welfare recipients in the US, she found support for the third aspect of conditional altruism, where the cause of poverty affected the size of the donations. A dictator game was used, and donors were randomly assigned to one of three treatment conditions with different information about the effort that the welfare recipient had exerted in applying for a job. The recipients in all of these three treatment groups were single African-American mothers who did not have full-time jobs but the recipients differed in how much effort they had exerted to try getting a job. Fong (2007) found that the size of the donations depended on whether the recipient was poor due to bad luck or lack of effort. In her study, recipients that the subjects were likely to consider industrious, i.e. that actively tried to improve their situation, got larger donations compared to the recipients that the subjects were likely to consider lazy. Hence, in Fong (2007), the donation size was determined by how much effort the recipient had exerted for getting a job. We extend these findings to our setting by generalizing these two measures into *internal factors*, which means that the recipient is poor due to lack of effort or other factors within his/her control, and *external factors*, which means that the recipient is poor due to bad luck or other factors beyond his/her control. Our extension from Fong (2007) is that we assume that altruism is conditional on the reason for becoming poor for beggars while she finds that altruism is dependent on whether the recipient in her study has exerted effort to get out of poverty or not. Hence, our condition varies in the degree of control the recipient had over the reason for becoming poor while Fong's (2007) measure varies in the degree of effort the recipient exerts to get out of poverty.

So, we believe that the conditional altruism of the donor is dependent on his/her beliefs about how poor the recipient is, how the donated money will be used and the cause of poverty for the recipient. As previously mentioned, we consider the condition that the recipient is poor relative to the donor to be fulfilled in the situation of donations to beggars, so in our treatment groups we will only vary the information about the usage of the donation and the cause of poverty. In the next section, we

will present the experimental design and discuss how we have recruited the participants of the experiment and the recipients of the donations.

3. Experimental design

3.1 Participants

The experiment was carried out at the Stockholm School of Economics during two weeks in the spring semester 2012, from the 24th of January to the 7th of February. When recruiting the subjects, we used posters, sent out e-mail invitations and we handed out flyers. We also had in-class announcements for undergraduate students at the Stockholm School of Economics. The only information that we revealed about the task of the experiment was that each participant would make an individual economic decision, and that they would be able to earn up to SEK 100. We did not reveal that the experiment would be about donations nor did we reveal any information about the purpose of the experiment to avoid priming the subjects to behave in a certain way.

To be able to get a large group of subjects for the experiment we mainly tried to recruit students from the Stockholm School of Economics and from the Student Palace due to proximity. To increase the heterogeneity of the subjects in our sample, we also tried to recruit people who work full-time from various companies by sending e-mail invitations to selected contact persons who sent these invitations forward to other employees. The only requirements that we had from the persons that we were trying to recruit was that they would be able to understand instructions written in Swedish and that they would not have been taking the behavioral economics course at the Stockholm School of Economics. The subjects that we tried to recruit were told that they could bring anyone who was interested in participating in our experiment with them.

We had fourteen experimental sessions and in total 172 subjects participated. 82 of the subjects in our sample are male (48%) and 90 subjects are female (52%). 101 of the participants are students from the Stockholm School of Economics (59%), 32 are students from other institutes of higher education in Stockholm (18.5%), 36 are from the working-population (21%) and some of the subjects are retired (1.5%). Subjects from other universities and colleges than the Stockholm School

of Economics are students from the Stockholm University, the Royal Academy of Technology, the Karolinska Institute, Södertörns University and Uppsala University.

The main reason for why we focused on recruiting students from the Stockholm School of Economics and the Student Palace was because of convenience and since we had free access to a classroom at the Stockholm School of Economics in which the experiment would be conducted. Laboratory experiments in behavioral economics typically use students because of convenience (Camerer, 2003; Harrison and List, 2004). We think that the results of our study might be relatively representative for students in Stockholm but probably not for the Swedish population in general. Demographic factors which have been found to influence both the inclination to donate and the level of contribution offered in charitable donations have included age, income, occupational status, social class and educational attainment (Bennett, 2002). Some studies have also shown that the gender of the donor might influence the donation size (Croson and Gneezy, 2009; Plott and Smith, 2008). In an ideal experiment of donations to beggars, subjects from completely different educational and working backgrounds, age groups and geographical areas should be randomly selected and the sample should be as large and heterogeneous as possible in order to be as representative for the Swedish population as possible. In our sample, the group of retired people has been left out and people from the working-population are relatively underrepresented while students from Stockholm, particularly from the Stockholm School of Economics, are overrepresented.

However, in our experiment, we wanted to take a first step to see in which direction the donation behavior would go when providing different information about the usage of the donated money and the cause of poverty for the recipient. Given our budget and time constraints, our aim was to get a sample which would be large enough to be able to find statistically significant results if such would exist and students from the Stockholm School of Economics and the Student Palace were less difficult to recruit than other subjects. A difficulty when recruiting the subjects was that we only chose to reveal that each participant would be able to earn up to SEK 100 and that some of the persons that we tried to recruit thought that they might not earn anything by participating. Also, some of the persons that we tried to recruit wanted to get exact information about the task and purpose of the experiment in order to participate.

Our results would strictly apply to the sample which we have been recruiting for the experiment but it would be interesting to use a different sample in further research to see if our results would

persist. To be able to draw conclusions which would be valid for our sample, we wanted to have an experimental design with a relatively high degree of internal validity.

3.2 The design of the experiment

The experiment was a double-blind dictator game with four different treatment groups in which each subject was given an endowment of SEK 100 in SEK 10 coins.⁵ The subjects could choose how much of their given endowment that they wanted to donate to homeless persons under different information treatments where the information about the usage of the donation and the cause of poverty was varied.

In each session we randomly assigned each subject into one of four treatment groups which we have chosen to call *Internal/no information on use*, *Internal/good use*, *External/no information on use*, and *External/good use*. In all treatments, we included the basic information that the recipient is a homeless, Swedish male who begs for money on the streets. The reason for explicitly stating that the recipient is a Swedish male is that potential donors might have different views about donations to homeless persons who are Swedish citizens compared to non-Swedish citizens while there might also be differences in donations to men and women (Ben-Ner et al., 2004).⁶ Also, by explicitly stating that the homeless person was Swedish we wanted to avoid the subjects suspecting that the recipient might be affiliated with a foreign beggar syndicate (Andrén, 2009). So we wanted to keep the information about the nationality and the gender of the recipient constant throughout all of our treatments to be able to capture the causal effect that the usage of the donation and cause of poverty would have on the donation decision. In our treatment groups, *Internal* and *External* indicates whether the reason for why the recipient became homeless depended on an internal factor within his control, or an external factor beyond his control. *Good use* signals that the recipient will use the money in a way that the subjects are intended to consider “good”.

To determine what was considered to be an internal and external reason for becoming homeless and what was considered to be a good use of the donations, a pre-experiment questionnaire was handed

⁵ SEK = Swedish Kronor; exchange rate January/February 2012: \$1≈SEK 7. The main reasons for using SEK 10 coins instead of SEK 20 bills were that we wanted the experiment to more closely resemble the real world context of donations to beggars where donors usually give coins and to allow smaller divisions of the money, e.g. a 50-50 split.

⁶ The main reason for we decided to have male recipients instead of female is that a larger fraction (76%) of homeless people in Stockholm is male (Tottmar, 2009a). We thought that it would probably be less difficult to recruit male recipients of the donations.

out in Stockholm to a convenience sample. The subjects who answered this questionnaire were anonymous and were asked to determine which reasons for becoming homeless that they thought were within a homeless person's control and beyond that person's control and the subjects were also asked to grade various uses of donated money. Different uses included food, alcohol, drugs, clothes, medicines, and accommodation. The subjects answering this questionnaire was a separate sample, in order to avoid any potential priming effects in the main experiment from having participated in this survey. Thus, no one at the Stockholm School of Economics or the Student Palace received the pre-experiment questionnaire. The ranking only served to give priors regarding how the subjects in the main sample may react to the information about the homeless persons.⁷

In total, 55 subjects answered the pre-experiment questionnaire. 30 of these subjects are male (55%) and 25 are female (45%). The average age is 38 years while the youngest person is 21 and the oldest is 69 years old.⁸ Regarding the usage of the donation, food was graded the highest of the factors in the questionnaire while alcohol and drugs received the lowest scores. 78% of the subjects graded food as a "very good" use of the donated money while 89% graded drugs and 82% alcohol as "very bad". Regarding the cause of poverty for a homeless person who begs for money, many subjects ranked alcohol addiction to a relatively high degree as an internal factor (82%) while many subjects ranked mental illness to a relatively high degree as an external factor (83.7%). Based on these pre-experiment questionnaire results, we decided that the donated money in the good use-treatments should be used for food while we decided to use alcohol addiction as an internal factor and mental illness as an external factor for becoming homeless.⁹

⁷ See Appendix 1 for the original pre-experiment questionnaire in Swedish and Appendix 4 for the pre-experiment questionnaire in English. The results from the pre-experiment questionnaire are shown in Appendix 7.

⁸ The purpose of the pre-experiment questionnaire was to get priors regarding how the subjects in the main experiment may react to the information about the homeless persons and not to get results which would be representative for the general population in Sweden. A potential drawback is that we had a different sample for the pre-experiment questionnaire than in the main experiment since we wanted to avoid priming effects. However, we thought that the choice of the usage of the donation and particularly of the internal and external factors in the experiment would be more objective by using the results from the pre-experiment questionnaire than if we would have decided these factors by ourselves. The pre-experiment questionnaire was designed in mid-August 2011 and conducted in December 2011.

⁹ In a real world situation, the cause of poverty probably depends on many interacting factors so one may argue that it is too simplistic to name only one reason for why a person became homeless and whether that factor really is internal or external. However, in our information treatments the only information that we chose to reveal regarding the cause of poverty was either that the recipient had become homeless because of an alcohol addiction or because of mental illness. We did not choose to include more detailed life-stories about the recipients since it would be too complex to compare the different treatment groups with each other and to estimate the causal effect that the cause of poverty would have had on the donation decisions.

In the four treatment groups with reduced information asymmetry, information was provided which signaled the usage of the donated money, and whether the cause of poverty was the result of an internal or external factor. Each subject in each experimental session was randomly assigned to one of the four treatment groups. To summarize, these groups were as follows: Internal/no information on use (Alcohol addiction/money), Internal/good use (Alcohol addiction/lunch), External/no information on use (Mental illness/money) and External/good use (Mental illness/lunch).

After we had conducted the pre-experiment questionnaire and chosen to have these four treatment groups, our aim was to recruit recipients of the donations.

3.3 Recruiting the recipients of the donations

The recipients of the donations were recruited through the organization Ny Gemenskap which has been working with homeless people in Stockholm since 1968. Ny Gemenskap is a non-profit organization which is politically and religiously independent. It is financed by grants from the Social Affairs Committee, churches, foundations, and through gifts of various kinds. The organization has a 90-account and is regularly monitored by the Swedish Fundraising Control so that donated money is used in an appropriate way (Ny Gemenskap, 2012).

Ny Gemenskap has a day shelter with drop-in for homeless people from Tuesdays to Sundays where they can buy a lunch meal for SEK 10, and where neither alcohol nor drugs are allowed (Tottmar, 2009b). On average, there are about 200 visitors each day and Ny Gemenskap does not require its visitors to identify themselves nor do they have to register any personal information to be able to visit the day shelter (Tottmar, 2011). The organization regularly arranges group activities for homeless people such as music performances, cooking and baking and the only requirement for the participants is that they are sober (Ny Gemenskap, 2012).

We chose to contact Ny Gemenskap regarding the recruitment of the recipients and made a study visit in the fall semester 2011 and told them about the idea, purpose and design of the economic experiment. Together, in the winter 2011/2012, we decided that two groups of recipients would be recruited through Ny Gemenskap's co-workers. The reason for recruiting two groups of recipients instead of recruiting two individuals was to reduce the potential unfairness of only two persons potentially receiving a relatively large donation. All of the recipients that were recruited were

homeless, Swedish men who beg for money on the streets. In one of the two groups, the recipients had become homeless to a relatively large extent because of an alcohol addiction while in the other group the recipients had become homeless to a relatively large extent because of mental illness. The recipients in each of the two groups would both receive money that they could use freely and lunch meals at Ny Gemenskap's day shelter. It is important to note that in the written instructions the two groups of recipients would only differ in the reason for becoming homeless. In all other aspects, the information provided about the recipients would be the same to make the treatments comparable. In the written instructions for the four treatment groups each subject was told that his/her donation would be given to an individual recipient.¹⁰

We made an agreement with Ny Gemenskap that for each SEK 10 coin that would be donated in the good use-treatment groups the recipient would get a free lunch meal at the organization's day shelter. This can be seen as a way to enforce the paternalistic preferences, by limiting the recipient's usage of the donation to food. Converting the donated money into lunch meals could be a way in which it would be possible to more clearly see the effects of paternalistic preferences, or the lack thereof. In the two good use-treatment groups, the subjects were therefore informed that the recipient would get a free lunch meal at Ny Gemenskap's day shelter for each SEK 10 coin that would be donated and that no alcohol is served at the day shelter.¹¹ The subjects were also informed that SEK 10 is the market price for a lunch meal at Ny Gemenskap's day shelter.

One certificate for each of the four treatment groups were signed by Ny Gemenskap's site manager in January 2012. In each of the certificates it was written that we had been in contact with the organization regarding the recruitment of the recipient, that the recipient had been recruited through one of the organization's co-workers and that the recipient would receive the full amount that would be donated. In each of the certificates, the description of the recipient from the corresponding

¹⁰ After all of the experimental sessions were conducted we prepared a list for each of the four treatment groups on the amount of money given by each individual donor so that each person's donation would be matched by one recipient in the corresponding treatment group. Ny Gemenskap were told before the experiment was conducted that they could choose how many recipients that there would be in each of the two groups that were recruited and how they wanted to allocate the donated money between the recipients as long as everything would be in accordance with the written instructions that were given to the participants of the experiment. Each individual recipient in the two groups that were recruited could get donations from more than one donor.

¹¹ In practice, this was carried out by converting each SEK 10 coin donated in the good use-treatments into a stamped lunch coupon that the recipients would only be able to use at Ny Gemenskap's day shelter. In the experimental instructions, we did not reveal that the recipients would be given lunch coupons since some of the subjects might have suspected that the recipients would be able to sell the lunch coupons to other persons to get money instead.

treatment group was quoted and guaranteed to be true. It was also written that Ny Gemenskap would sign a certificate after the experiment had been conducted that the homeless persons would have received the donations and it was written that this certificate would be scanned and included in the thesis. The signed certificates were copied and handed out to each participant of the experiment along with the experimental instructions.

As previously mentioned, the four treatment groups were as follows:

1. Internal/no information on use (Alcohol addiction/money)
2. Internal/good use (Alcohol addiction/lunch)
3. External/no information on use (Mental illness/money)
4. External/good use (Mental illness/lunch)

The Swedish experimental instructions and certificates for each of the four treatment groups can be found in Appendix 2a)-d), while an English translation of the four experimental instructions and certificates can be found in Appendix 5 and 6 respectively.

3.4 The conduct of the experiment

Each experimental session was conducted as follows: when the subjects arrived to the experiment, they were asked to sit and to be spread out in the classroom and to write their names on an attendance list. Each participant received an envelope with SEK 100 in SEK 10 coins and written instructions in which the recipient was introduced in accordance with one of the four treatments. When all subjects in a session had arrived, we had a brief welcome speech and told the participants that no communication between them would be allowed, that they should read the instructions carefully and that they would be called by us one by one to go behind a screen to make a donation decision after they have read through the instructions. They were also told that they would take any eventual questions with us privately behind the screen when it became their turn to make an economic decision, and that we would leave them alone behind the screen after they would have been asking us any eventual questions so that we would be unable to observe their donation decisions.

In order to make the different treatments as comparable as possible, the subjects received a paper containing the experiment instructions, and the information about the recipient. No pictures, names

or any more personal information about the recipients were provided. By having this approach, we could change information in the treatments about the usage of the donation and cause of poverty while keeping all other factors equal. After learning about the homeless persons and receiving the information, the subjects were called by us one by one to make an individual donation decision. Each participant was asked to go behind a screen in a shielded area of the room, so that they would remain anonymous in their donation decision to the other subjects and the experimenters. This was intended to minimize the effect of social image. Behind the screen, the subjects placed their eventual donation in their envelope, which they then sealed and put in the box.¹² The subjects were also asked to place the paper with the instructions in the envelope together with the donated money. The reason for doing so was to make sure that we could identify what treatment elicited what donation. This would be analogous to a double-blind procedure as defined by Hoffman et al. (1996), where the decisions are anonymous towards the experimenters and other participants.

We decided to use a double-blind design where the subjects are completely anonymous instead of using a single-blind design where the subjects are not anonymous to the experimenters. Since we used a double-blind design we only collected data on gender and school/occupation for the sample as a whole and not for each individual donation decision. When applying to participate in the experiment, the persons were asked to write their names, school/occupation and in which session they wanted to participate. We indirectly got data on gender by looking at the names of the subjects on the attendance lists. But we did not collect data on gender and school/occupation for each individual donation decision. Each subject was only asked to put his/her instruction back into the envelope together with the eventual donation. However, we still chose to have a double-blind design instead of a single-blind because we wanted to reduce the potential social image effects of the subjects not being anonymous to the experimenters in their donation decision. Also, since each subject in each session was randomly assigned to one of the four treatments the treatment groups should be well-balanced.

After all of the experimental sessions were conducted, the donated money was brought to Ny Gemenskap to be given to homeless persons in accordance with the written instructions and certificates. On the 22nd of February, Ny Gemenskap signed a certificate that all of the donations had been received.

¹² The experiment was conducted in room 550 at the Stockholm School of Economics in which there is a separate area of the room.

4. Hypotheses and tests

Our main hypotheses regarding how conditional altruism affects donations to beggars are as follow:

1) Given a fixed cause of poverty, subjects will donate more for a good use than without any information about the use of the donations. 2) Given a fixed information regarding usage of the donation, subjects will donate more if the recipient became homeless due to an external factor than if the recipient became homeless due to an internal factor.

We will test our main hypotheses by comparing the average donations in the different treatment groups. Given our experiment design, we will get measures of the mean offers for each of the four treatment groups. These can be defined as in Figure A.

Figure A

The mean donations for the four different treatment groups with varying degrees of information regarding the usage of the donation and cause of poverty.

	No information on use	Good use
Internal	D_{IN}	D_{IG}
External	D_{EN}	D_{EG}

The hypotheses can be expressed by the following inequalities:

Hypothesis 1:

$$a) \quad H_0: \quad D_{IG} \leq D_{IN}$$

$$H_1: \quad D_{IG} > D_{IN}$$

$$b) \quad H_0: \quad D_{EG} \leq D_{EN}$$

$$H_1: \quad D_{EG} > D_{EN}$$

Hypothesis 2:

$$a) \quad H_0: \quad D_{EN} \leq D_{IN}$$

$$H_1: \quad D_{EN} > D_{IN}$$

$$\text{b)} \quad H_0: \quad D_{EG} \leq D_{IG}$$

$$H_1: \quad D_{EG} > D_{IG}$$

That is, given a certain cause of poverty, information about the usage of the donation will generate more generous offers than no information regarding the usage, and given a certain information regarding use, the external factor will generate more generous offers than the internal factor. In these tests, we establish whether usage or cause of poverty affects donations significantly.

All the preceding hypothesis-tests will be conducted using parametric, two-sided t-tests and non-parametric Mann-Whitney tests for between-subject comparisons.

When comparing the differences between the treatment groups, we assume that if the subjects on average are driven by selfish materialism in their decision the difference between the treatments will on average be zero. This is due to the fact that a selfish materialist does not take the recipient's utility into consideration in his/her donation decision. Then, the information provided will not have any effect on their donation choices. We assume that if the subjects on average are driven by unconditional altruism, the average donation will be at least as high in the money groups as in the lunch groups since an unconditional altruist will only care about the other person's utility and not have any preferences regarding usage of the donation or cause of poverty. However, if any of our four previously stated partial hypotheses holds, it suggests that the donation behavior may depend on preferences of conditional altruism, where knowledge about the use of the money or cause of poverty positively or negatively affects the size of donations.

There might be potential problems with the treatment groups in which the subjects receive information about cause of poverty but not about the use of the donations. When giving information regarding cause of poverty, there is probably a *belief spillover* to usage, for which no explicit information has been given. We believe that the subjects in the alcohol addiction/money-group think that it is more likely that the donations will be put to a bad use than the subjects in the mental illness/money-group and we think that potential donors might have different beliefs about the recipient's degree of self-control in these treatment groups. If this would be the case, we should expect the difference in the average donation size between the alcohol addiction/lunch and alcohol addiction/money groups to be significantly larger than the difference between the mental illness/lunch and mental illness/money groups. Regarding the cause of poverty, we think that H_0

should be rejected in both hypothesis 2 a) and b) if the cause of poverty per se would have a significant effect on the average donation size. If the null hypothesis would only be rejected in hypothesis 2 a) but not in b), it might be the case that different beliefs about the usage of the donation and not the cause of poverty per se explains the differences between the money groups. However, if the null hypothesis is also rejected in hypothesis 2 b), where the donors know for sure how the donated money will be used, it is probably the case that the different causes of poverty explains these results.

5. Results

In total, SEK 11 640 was donated in the four treatment groups and the average donation for the full sample of 172 subjects was about 68% of the given endowment of SEK 100.¹³ We had 43 subjects in each of the four treatment groups.

Table 1 shows the results of the two internal treatment groups in which the recipient has become homeless because of an alcohol addiction. The average donation in the money group was SEK 48 while the average donation in the lunch group was SEK 81. The mean donation in the lunch group was 69% higher than in the money group. Two different tests were conducted in order to measure if this difference was statistically significant or not and as Table 1 shows, both a t-test and a Mann-Whitney test show that the difference is significant at the 5% level ($p < 0.001$). When testing hypothesis 1a), H_0 can therefore be clearly rejected.

Table 1

Results of testing hypothesis 1a): A between-subjects comparison between Internal/no information on use with Internal/good use (using a two-sided t-test and Mann-Whitney test). Internal denotes that the recipient has become homeless due to an alcohol addiction.

	Treatment groups: Internal		p-value of difference	
	Money	Lunch	t-test	Mann-Whitney
Number of observations	43	43		
Average donation	48.14	81.16	<0.001	<0.001
STD of donation	38.44	30.88		

¹³ See Appendix 3 for the certificate of the receipt of the donations.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of donations in the two internal treatment groups. In the lunch group, 65% of the subjects chose to donate the full amount of SEK 100 compared to 26% in the money group. Also notable is that 23% of the subjects in the money group did not donate anything compared to 2% in the lunch group and that 16% of the subjects in the former treatment made an equal split of their given endowment compared to 9% in the lunch group.

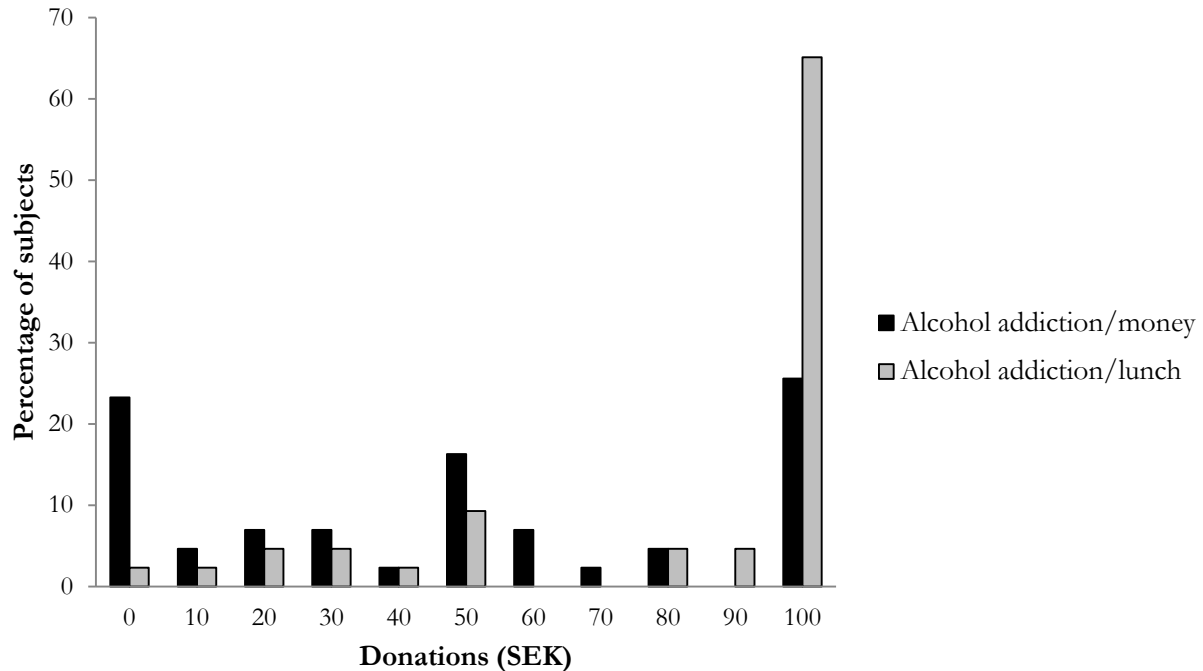


Figure 1. *The distribution of donations in the treatment groups Alcohol addiction/money and Alcohol addiction/lunch.*

Table 2 shows the results from the two external treatment groups in which the recipients has become homeless because of mental illness. The average donation in the money group was SEK 67 and in the lunch group it was SEK 75. The mean donation in the lunch group was approximately 12% higher than in the money group. The two significance tests, t-test and Mann-Whitney, do not however find this difference significant at conventional significance levels. In hypothesis 1b), H_0 cannot be rejected from being significantly different from zero.

Table 2

Results of testing hypothesis 1b): A between-subjects comparison between External/no information on use with External/good use (using a two-sided t-test and Mann-Whitney test). External denotes that the recipient has become homeless due to mental illness.

	Treatment groups: External		p-value of difference	
	Money	Lunch	t-test	Mann-Whitney
Number of observations	43	43		
Average donation	66.74	74.65	0.320	0.300
STD of donation	37.46	35.81		

Figure 2 shows the distribution of donations in the two external treatments. The difference between the mental illness/money versus mental illness/lunch groups is not as radical as the difference between the alcohol addiction-groups. 47% chose to donate SEK 100 in the mental illness/money group versus 58% in the mental illness/lunch group. A larger fraction of the subjects in the mental illness/money group chose to donate SEK 50 or less than in the mental illness/lunch group (42% versus 29%). In the mental illness/money group, 9% did not donate anything compared to 5% in the mental illness/lunch group.

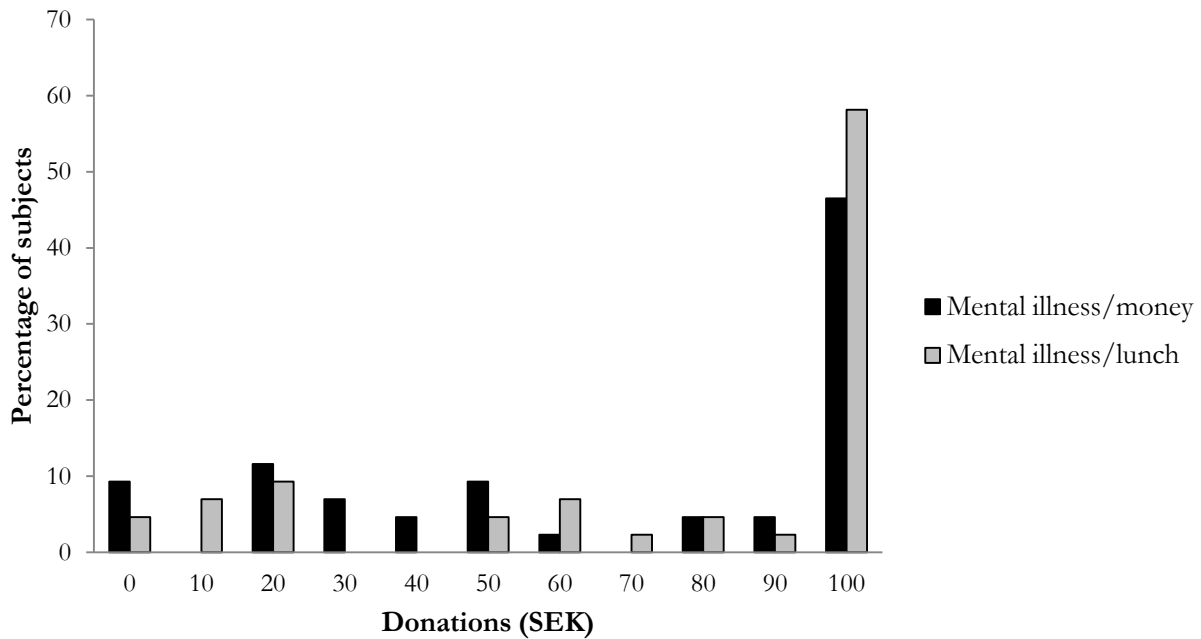


Figure 2. *The distribution of donations in the treatment groups Mental illness/money and Mental illness/lunch.*

Table 3 shows the average donations in the two money groups and comparing the internal versus the external treatments. The average donation in the internal money group was lower at SEK 48 compared to the external money group where it was SEK 67, which is 40 % higher. This difference is also statistically significant so in hypothesis 2a), H_0 of no difference can be rejected at the 5% significance level.

Table 3

Results of testing hypothesis 2 a): A between-subjects comparison between Internal/no information on use with External/no information on use (using a two-sided t-test and Mann-Whitney test).

	Treatment groups: Money		p-value of difference	
	Internal	External	t-test	Mann-Whitney
Number of observations	43	43		
Average donation	48.14	66.74	0.026	0.031
STD of donation	38.44	37.46		

Figure 3 shows the distribution of donations in the two money groups.

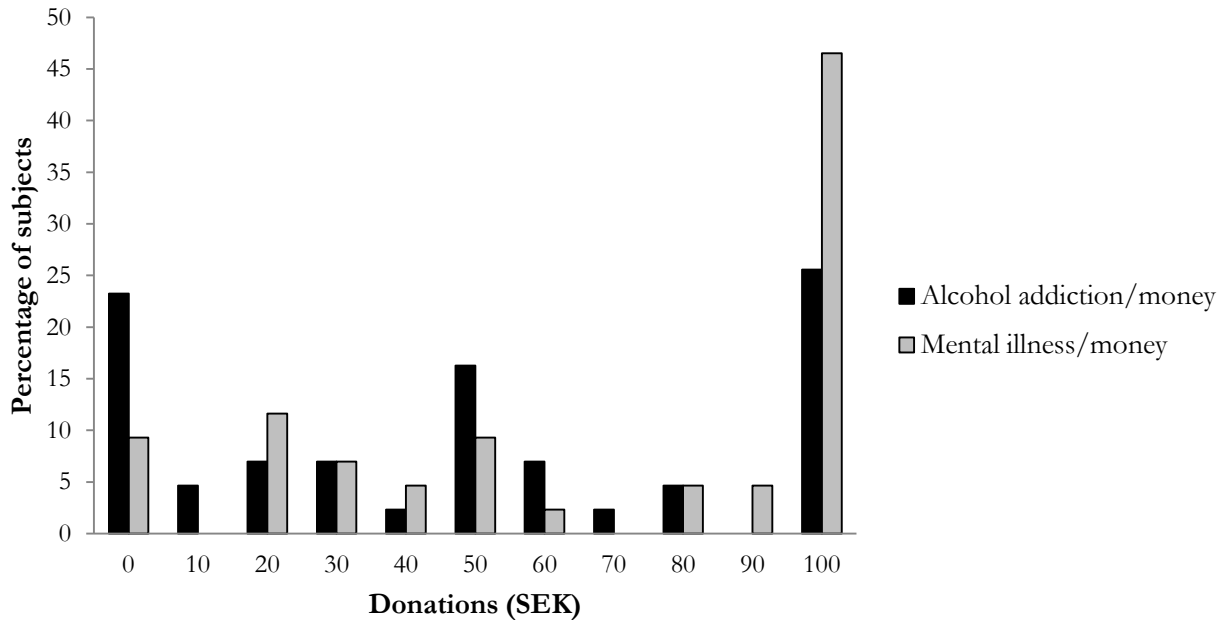


Figure 3. *The distribution of donations in the treatment groups Alcohol addiction/ money and Mental illness/ money.*

Table 4 shows the results of the average donations of the two lunch groups and comparing the internal versus external treatments. Surprisingly, the internal lunch group has higher donations on average than the external group, at SEK 81 contra SEK 75. The difference is however relatively small and not statistically significant so in hypothesis 2b), H_0 of no difference between the two lunch groups cannot be rejected.

Table 4

Results of testing hypothesis 2b): A between-subjects comparison between Internal/good use with External/good use (using a two-sided t-test and Mann-Whitney test).

	Treatment groups: Lunch		p-value of difference	
	Internal	External	t-test	Mann-Whitney
Number of observations	43	43		
Average donation	81.16	74.65	0.369	0.418
STD of donation	30.88	35.81		

Figure 4 shows the distribution of donations in the two lunch groups.

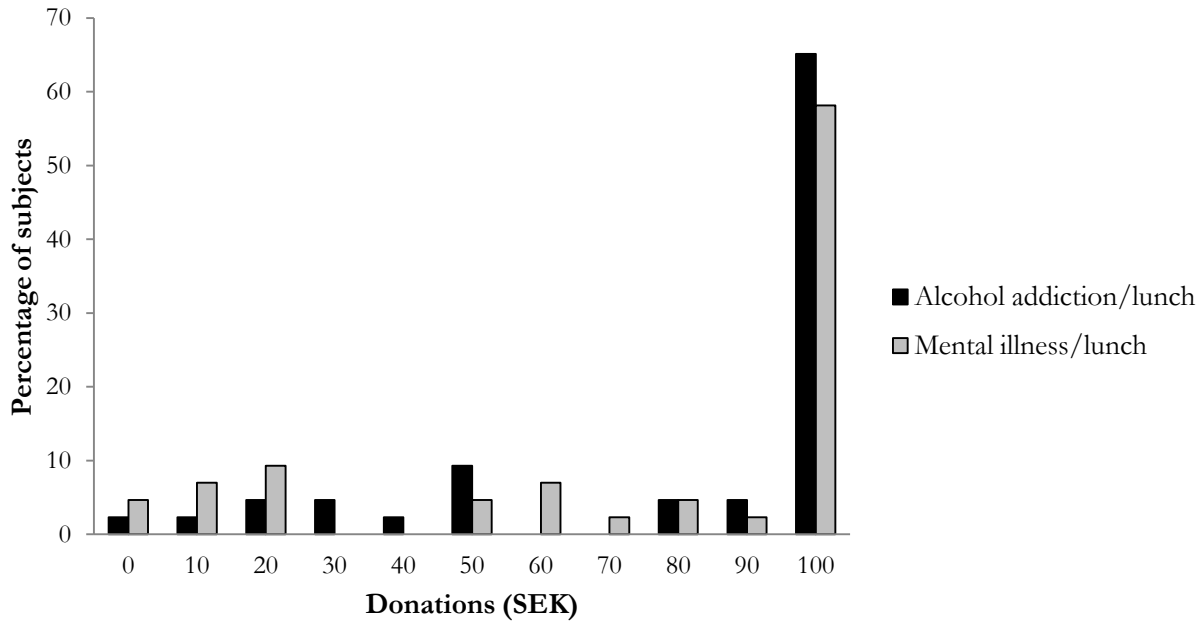


Figure 4. *The distribution of donations in the treatment groups Alcohol addiction/ lunch and Mental illness/ lunch.*

6. Discussion

6.1 Analysis of the results

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact asymmetric information has on altruistic behavior towards beggars. Our main hypotheses were that the average donation size would be higher in the good use-treatments than in the no information on use-treatments, and that the average donation size would be higher in the treatments where the recipient had become homeless because of an external factor rather than because of an internal factor.

Our results suggest that altruism is predominantly paternalistic in donations to beggars and conditional on the usage of the donation. When comparing donations between the subjects who received information that the recipient became homeless due to an alcohol addiction the average donation in the lunch group was 69% higher than in the money group and this difference was clearly significant. When comparing the average donations between the subjects who received information that the recipient became homeless due to mental illness the difference between the lunch group and money group was less striking with a difference of 12% and this was not statistically significant. We suspect that this is because of differences in belief spillover of how the donated money will be used in the two money groups. We think that it is plausible to assume that the subjects in the alcohol addiction/money-group thought it was more likely that the donations would be put to a bad use than the subjects in the mental illness/money-group thought.

Furthermore, our results also seem to suggest that altruism is unconditional on the cause of poverty in donations to beggars if the potential donor knows how the donated money is going to be used and given that the donor believes that the recipient really needs the money. When comparing donations between the two money-groups the average donation in the treatment where the recipient became homeless due to mental illness was 40% larger than in the treatment where the recipient became homeless due to an alcohol addiction. However, as previously discussed, we believe that this difference can to a relatively large extent be explained by differences in belief spillover about the usage of the donation and not solely because of the cause of poverty. When comparing the two lunch-treatments the difference is not statistically significant so these results suggest that the cause of poverty per se does not seem to matter if the potential donor knows how the donated money will be used, and given that there is a credible third party who can guarantee that the recipient will get

the donations himself and that he really needs the donations. So in our sample, altruism does not seem to depend on the cause of poverty.

The average donation size of 68% for the full sample is higher than in studies with donations to health care patients (Jacobsson et al., 2007) and foreign aid recipients (Bremán, 2006a). In Jacobsson et al. (2007), in a treatment group where the recipient was a smoking diabetes patient and the donated money would be converted into nicotine patches the average donation was 41% and in Bremán (2006a) the average donation was about 55% in a treatment group where the recipient was a child in SOS children villages and where some information about the child was included. There is a large altruism towards the group of homeless recipients and it seems to be paternalistic for our sample. The average donation size of 81% in the alcohol addiction/lunch treatment is almost twice as high as in the nicotine patches treatment in Jacobsson et al. (2007), and the difference between the average donation size in the alcohol addiction/lunch and alcohol addiction/money groups in our study is 69% while in Jacobsson et al. (2007) the difference between the nicotine patches group and money group is 40%.

A potential problem with interpreting our results is that there are ceiling effects. Because the average donation levels in the treatment groups are so high it is difficult to find statistically significant differences when comparing some of the treatment groups in our experiment. A potential explanation for why the average donation levels are very high is that the subjects in the experiment did not have to perform any task to earn the money while the recipients belonged to an extremely vulnerable group (Munck, 2009; Thoren, 2008). Some of the subjects might have thought that the recipient was more deserving of getting money than the subjects themselves because the recipients were homeless and because the information provided about the recipients was certified to be true by an organization that was probably perceived to be credible.

Two other factors which might have contributed to the high average donation levels are that SEK 10 coins were used and because of the sample that we used. Regarding the SEK 10 coins it might be easier to donate everything than if the subjects would have been given SEK 20 bills and some subjects might think that it is more comfortable to take out and keep SEK 20 bills from the envelope than SEK 10 coins. Furthermore, our sample consists mostly of students from Stockholm who voluntarily chose to participate in our experiment and whose donation behavior might differ from other samples of the Swedish population. As previously discussed, demographic factors which

have been found to influence both the inclination to donate and the level of contribution offered in charitable donations have included age, income, occupational status, social class and educational attainment (Bennett, 2002). Many of the subjects in our sample are students, who are relatively young, and they have a relatively high educational attainment and might be more engaged in social issues than some other groups of the Swedish population. The average donation levels might be lower with another sample.

The high average donation levels should not however affect the internal validity of the experiment and the differences between the treatment groups that were shown to be statistically significant. But it would make it harder to observe differences between the mental illness/money and mental illness/lunch groups where we did not find significant results. As previously mentioned the donation behavior went in the expected direction, so the average donation in the mental illness/lunch group might be significantly larger than in the mental illness/money group with a larger sample with more statistical power.

Regarding the relatively high average donation level we also believe that this to a large extent can be explained by the fact that the recipients have been recruited through an organization which works with homeless people and that we included copies of signed certificates that the subjects were given. We believe that the signed certificates and the recruitment of homeless recipients through an organization in Stockholm played an important role in reducing the information asymmetry and in increasing the credibility of the experiment. When introducing a credible third party whom can guarantee that the donated money will be given to recipients that really need the money and that the money will be used in a way which potential donors think are appropriate, we believe that the relation between the donor and the beggar changes and becomes less ambiguous.

We think that the information asymmetry is an important reason for why many people in a real world setting refrain from donating to beggars. We believe that more people would be willing to make a donation if the money would be used in line with their paternalistic preferences, and if credible organizations could deal with the information asymmetry problems and report how the donated money would be used in a way which is as transparent as possible (Rönnqvist, 2007).

6.2 Validity of the study

We have chosen to study individuals' donations to beggars in a laboratory experiment, in order to get a higher degree of internal validity than if we would have conducted a field experiment. While observing people's donation choices in a field experiment would more closely resemble a real world situation, it would probably be too complex to measure and isolate causal effects of how asymmetric information affects people's donation choices.

However, while the lab experimental setting increases the internal validity of the study it also decreases the external validity. In a real world situation, people are neither anonymous to beggars nor to other people who can observe how much money an individual chooses to donate which might influence the donation choice. In a real world situation, some persons might also choose to ignore street beggars simply because they might feel uncomfortable to take out money from the wallet while in our experiment each subject was given a more direct and personal choice of whether they wanted to donate any money or not.

Another factor related to external validity is how generalizable the findings in our study are to other populations. It would be interesting to conduct the experiment in other countries than Sweden to see if there are cultural differences in donations to beggars. There may be cultural differences in people's view in general about beggars, how they are presented in the media and about charitable donations and gift giving. Furthermore, our sample consists mostly of students from Stockholm whose donation behavior is probably not representative of the general population in Sweden. We have been taking a first step in trying to establish the causal effect that providing information about the usage of the donation and the cause of poverty would have on the average donation size. A further step would be to use a sample which is more representative of the Swedish population and to conduct the experiment in a more field experimental setting. As previously discussed, it would be interesting to use a larger sample with people from completely different educational and working backgrounds, age groups and geographical areas of Sweden and possibly to use a single-blind design to gather information on the characteristics of the subjects for each individual donation decision. An interesting extension would be to conduct the experiment with people from different political blocks and to compare the results between supporters of right-wing and left-wing parties. Another interesting extension would be to conduct the experiment with a sample of retired people and with a sample of middle-aged people from the working-population and compare the results with our

experiment to see if different generations of the population would have different altruistic preferences in donations to beggars. Retired people have more life-experience than students and have grown up in a time-period where the phenomenon of beggars might have been seen differently in society and by the media which might influence their donation decisions.

Another issue of the study is that the definition and distinction between different types of altruism is not so clear-cut and might affect the interpretation of our results in the money-groups. For example, unconditionally altruistic individuals might not donate anything if they think that the beggar lacks self-control. The kind of behavior observed from paternalistic preferences, may in fact also be the result of unconditional altruism, if it is the case that the donor does not believe that the recipient has sufficient self-control to use the money in a way which maximizes his utility. For instance, an unconditionally altruistic donor may refrain from donating money if he/she believes that the beggar would like to buy food but would instead buy alcohol for the money due to a lack of self-control, which will reduce the beggar's utility. Then, it would be difficult to distinguish the true motive behind the observed behavior. It may be the case that some people think that beggars have insufficient self-control in this manner, and that they therefore refrain from donating because of this. So both unconditional altruists and conditional altruists might refrain from donating money if they believe that the recipient lacks self-control.

One final issue that might be discussed is the ethical considerations of the experiment. Some might argue that it is unfair that some homeless persons have received donations just by chance while others, who are equally deserving of getting money, have not received anything because they were not in line with the descriptions of the experiment. As previously discussed, two groups of recipients were recruited instead of only two individuals in order to reduce the potential unfairness of only two persons potentially receiving a large donation. Furthermore, we believe that the findings of this experiment might be beneficial for homeless people in general. The average donation level of 68% for the full sample was higher than in studies with donations to health care patients (Jacobsson et al., 2007) and foreign aid recipients (Bremner, 2006a). The large altruism towards the group of homeless recipients in our experiment suggest that improving the situation for homeless people is an important public policy issue that needs to be dealt with more efficiently, and that deserves to get a larger attention from policymakers in Sweden (Bergbom, 2009; Tottmar, 2009a).

7. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact asymmetric information has on altruistic behavior towards beggars. We wanted to examine the impact that two types of asymmetric information have. First, we wanted to test if providing information about a specified usage of the donated money would significantly affect the average donation size compared to providing no information about how the beggar would use the money. Second, we wanted to test if providing information about different causes of poverty would significantly affect the average donation size. For our sample, we find that providing information about a specified usage of the donated money significantly increases the average donation size. Hence, our results suggest that altruism is predominantly paternalistic in donations to beggars and conditional on the usage of the donation. Our results also seem to suggest that altruism is unconditional on the cause of poverty in donations to beggars if the potential donor knows how the donated money is going to be used. However, further studies are necessary to see if these results would hold for the general population in Sweden and for populations of other countries.

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Appendix 1: the pre-experiment questionnaire in Swedish

Syftet med detta frågeformulär är att samla in data till vårt examensarbete i Nationalekonomi på Handelshögskolan i Stockholm, vårterminen 2012. Frågeformuläret är anonymt.

1. Föreställ dig att du skulle donera pengar till en hemlös person som tigger på gatan, där du *garanterat* visste vad tiggaren skulle använda pengarna till. Betygsätt var och ett av alternativen nedan på följande skala när det gäller användningen av donerade pengar: mycket dåligt (1), dåligt (2), varken bra eller dåligt (3), bra (4), mycket bra (5).
Ringa in en siffra för var och ett av alternativen nedan.

	Skala				
• Alkohol	1	2	3	4	5
• Mediciner	1	2	3	4	5
• Boende	1	2	3	4	5
• Droger	1	2	3	4	5
• Mat	1	2	3	4	5
• Kläder	1	2	3	4	5

2. Föreställ dig att du skulle donera pengar till en hemlös person som tigger på gatan. Antingen så har tiggaren blivit hemlös på grund av en faktor inom hans/hennes kontroll eller en faktor utom hans/hennes kontroll. Med ”att personen blivit hemlös på grund av en faktor inom hans/hennes kontroll” så menar vi att personen blivit hemlös på grund av omständigheter som personen själv kunnat påverka och ha kontroll över. Med ”att personen blivit hemlös på grund av en faktor utom hans/hennes kontroll” så menar vi att personen blivit hemlös på grund av omständigheter som han/hon inte själv kunnat hjälpa och ha kontroll över.

Betygsätt var och ett av alternativen nedan på skalan (1) till (5). Ju längre till vänster på skalan desto högre grad har orsaken till att personen blivit hemlös berott på omständigheter inom personens kontroll, och ju längre till höger på skalan desto högre grad har orsaken till att personen blivit hemlös berott på omständigheter utom personens kontroll. Ringa in en siffra för var och ett av alternativen nedan.

	Inom kontroll (1)					Utom kontroll (5)				
• Bli övergiven av sin partner/skilsmässa	1	2	3	4	5					
• Spelberoende	1	2	3	4	5					
• Psykisk sjukdom	1	2	3	4	5					
• Drogberoende	1	2	3	4	5					
• Alkoholberoende	1	2	3	4	5					

3. Vilken typ av omständighet tror du är vanligast för att bli hemlös för en person som tigger på gatan?

Ringa in ditt svar.

- Omständighet inom personens kontroll
- Omständighet utom personens kontroll
- Vet ej

4. Vad anser du om att donera pengar till tiggare?

Ringa in ditt svar.

- Mycket bra
- Bra
- Varken bra eller dåligt
- Dåligt
- Mycket dåligt
- Vet ej

5. Händer det att du ger pengar till tiggare?

Ringa in ditt svar.

- Ja
- Nej

6. Tycker du att man bör förbjuda tiggeri?

Ringa in ditt svar.

- Ja
- Nej
- Vet ej

Var god fyll i följande:

Ålder:

Kön:

Sysselsättning (kryssa i ett alternativ): __ Studerande __ Arbetande (heltid) __ Pensionär

Tack för din medverkan!

Appendix 2 a): the Swedish experimental instructions and certificate for the treatment group Internal/no information on use (Alcohol addiction/money)

Tack för att du medverkar i detta experiment. Var god och läs följande instruktioner noggrant. Prata inte med någon av de andra deltagarna innan du har lämnat den här salen.

I detta kuvert har du fått dessa instruktioner som är hophäftade med en bilaga, och du har fått 100 kronor i 10-kronorsmynt som du ska välja hur du vill fördela mellan dig själv och en anonym mottagare. Efter att du har läst klart instruktionerna, var god och sitt kvar tills vi kallar på dig att det blir din tur att fatta ett donationsbeslut. När det blir din tur så ska du vika och lägga tillbaka instruktionerna och bilagan i kuvertet, ta med dig kuvertet och ställa dig bakom det avskärmade området i den här salen som en av experimentledarna kommer att visa dig.

När du befinner dig bakom det avskärmade området så kan du välja att donera pengar till en person som kommer att beskrivas nedan. Du får själv välja om du vill donera hela beloppet, ingenting eller valfritt antal 10-kronorsmynt. Om du väljer att donera pengar, var god och lägg de tio-kronor du vill donera i ditt kuvert och lägg det i boxen som finns på bordet bakom det avskärmade området. Du kommer att vara anonym i ditt donationsbeslut. Ingen av de andra deltagarna, mottagaren av donationerna eller experimentledarna kommer att veta hur mycket du har valt att donera. Oavsett om du har valt att donera pengar eller inte, så var god och vik och lägg tillbaka instruktionerna och bilagan i kuvertet och lägg det i boxen bakom skärmen. Klistra igen kuvertet och se till att det är ordentligt stängt. Efter att du har lagt kuvertet i boxen så är experimentet avslutat för din del och då kan du lämna salen så att nästa person kallas. Glöm inte att ta med dig alla dina personliga ägodelar innan det blir din tur att kallas av experimentledaren.

Mottagaren av donationerna kan beskrivas på följande sätt:

Personen är en hemlös, svensk man som tigger på gatan för att få pengar. Han blev hemlös på grund av ett alkoholberoende som gjorde att han inte kunde arbeta. Eftersom han inte hade råd att betala hyran så blev han hemlös och hamnade ute på gatan och var tvungen att tigga för att få pengar.

Hela det belopp som du eventuellt väljer att donera kommer att gå till personen som beskrivits ovan.

Vi försäkrar dig om att personen som beskrivits ovan har rekryterats via organisationen Ny Gemenskap som arbetar med hemlösa personer i Stockholm. Ny Gemenskap är en ideell förening som är politiskt och religiöst obunden. Vi har bifogat en bilaga med ett intyg från Ny Gemenskap om att vi har varit i kontakt med de angående rekryteringen av mottagaren av donationer.

Intyg om rekrytering av mottagare av donationer

Härmed intygar vi på Ny Gemenskap att Michel Elmoznino Laufer och Ezgi Saginer från Handelshögskolan i Stockholm har varit i kontakt med oss angående deras examensarbete i Nationalekonomi vårterminen 2012. Vi på Ny Gemenskap intygar att mottagaren av donationerna har rekryterats via en av våra medarbetare och att mottagaren kommer att få hela det belopp som du väljer att donera. Vi på Ny Gemenskap intygar också att mottagaren stämmer överens med nedanstående beskrivning:

"Personen är en hemlös, svensk man som tigger på gatan för att få pengar. Han blev hemlös på grund av ett alkoholberoende som gjorde att han inte kunde arbeta. Eftersom han inte hade råd att betala hyran så blev han hemlös och hamnade ute på gatan och var tvungen att tigga för att få pengar."

Vi kommer även att skriva på ett intyg efter att denna studie genomförts att mottagaren av donationerna fått det som eventuellt donerats. Detta intyg kommer att scannas och finnas med i examensarbetet.

19/1 2012
Datum och ort

Anna Malmqvist
Underskrift

Anna Malmqvist
Namnförtydligande

Appendix 2 b): the Swedish experimental instructions and certificate for the treatment group Internal/good use (Alcohol addiction/lunch)

Tack för att du medverkar i detta experiment. Var god och läs följande instruktioner noggrant. Prata inte med någon av de andra deltagarna innan du har lämnat den här salen.

I detta kuvert har du fått dessa instruktioner som är hophäftade med en bilaga, och du har fått 100 kronor i 10-kronorsmynt som du ska välja hur du vill fördela mellan dig själv och en anonym mottagare. Efter att du har läst klart instruktionerna, var god och sitt kvar tills vi kallar på dig att det blir din tur att fatta ett donationsbeslut. När det blir din tur så ska du vika och lägga tillbaka instruktionerna och bilagan i kuvertet, ta med dig kuvertet och ställa dig bakom det avskärmade området i den här salen som en av experimentledarna kommer att visa dig.

När du befinner dig bakom det avskärmade området så kan du välja att donera pengar till en person som kommer att beskrivas nedan. Du får själv välja om du vill donera hela beloppet, ingenting eller valfritt antal 10-kronorsmynt. Om du väljer att donera pengar, var god och lägg de tio-kronor du vill donera i ditt kuvert och lägg det i boxen som finns på bordet bakom det avskärmade området. Du kommer att vara anonym i ditt donationsbeslut. Ingen av de andra deltagarna, mottagaren av donationerna eller experimentledarna kommer att veta hur mycket du har valt att donera. Oavsett om du har valt att donera pengar eller inte, så var god och vik och lägg tillbaka instruktionerna och bilagan i kuvertet och lägg det i boxen bakom skärmen. Klistra igen kuvertet och se till att det är ordentligt stängt. Efter att du har lagt kuvertet i boxen så är experimentet avslutat för din del och då kan du lämna salen så att nästa person kallas. Glöm inte att ta med dig alla dina personliga ägodelar innan det blir din tur att kallas av experimentledaren.

Mottagaren av donationerna kan beskrivas på följande sätt:

Personen är en hemlös, svensk man som tigger på gatan för att få pengar. Han blev hemlös på grund av ett alkoholberoende som gjorde att han inte kunde arbeta. Eftersom han inte hade råd att betala hyran så blev han hemlös och hamnade ute på gatan och var tvungen att tigga för att få pengar.

Vi har gjort en överenskommelse med organisationen Ny Gemenskap som arbetar med hemlösa personer i Stockholm. För varje tio-krona som du väljer att donera så kommer den hemlösa personen som beskrivits i texten ovan att få en gratis lunchmåltid på Ny Gemenskaps daghärbärge. Daghärbärgen är öppna tisdag-söndag för hemlösa där de kan köpa en lunchmåltid för 10 kr. Ingen alkohol serveras på daghärbärgen.

Vi försäkrar dig om att personen som beskrivits ovan har rekryterats via organisationen Ny Gemenskap som arbetar med hemlösa personer i Stockholm. Ny Gemenskap är en ideell förening som är politiskt och religiöst obunden. Vi har bifogat en bilaga med ett intyg från Ny Gemenskap om att vi har varit i kontakt med de angående rekryteringen av mottagaren av donationer.

Intyg om rekrytering av mottagare av donationer

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Vi kommer även att skriva på ett intyg efter att denna studie genomförts att mottagaren av donationerna fått det som eventuellt donerats. Detta intyg kommer att scannas och finnas med i examensarbetet.

19/1 2012
Datum och ort

Anna Halmgrist
Underskrift

Anna Halmgrist
Namnförtydligande

Appendix 2 c): the Swedish experimental instructions and certificate for the treatment group External/no information on use (Mental illness/money)

Tack för att du medverkar i detta experiment. Var god och läs följande instruktioner noggrant. Prata inte med någon av de andra deltagarna innan du har lämnat den här salen.

I detta kuvert har du fått dessa instruktioner som är hophäftade med en bilaga, och du har fått 100 kronor i 10-kronorsmynt som du ska välja hur du vill fördela mellan dig själv och en anonym mottagare. Efter att du har läst klart instruktionerna, var god och sitt kvar tills vi kallar på dig att det blir din tur att fatta ett donationsbeslut. När det blir din tur så ska du vika och lägga tillbaka instruktionerna och bilagan i kuvertet, ta med dig kuvertet och ställa dig bakom det avskärmade området i den här salen som en av experimentledarna kommer att visa dig.

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Personen är en hemlös, svensk man som tigger på gatan för att få pengar. Han blev hemlös på grund av psykisk sjukdom som gjorde att han inte kunde arbeta. Eftersom han inte hade råd att betala hyran så blev han hemlös och hamnade ute på gatan och var tvungen att tigga för att få pengar.

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19/1 2012
Datum och ort

Anna Malmqvist
Underskrift

Anna Malmqvist
Namnförtydligande

Appendix 2 d): the Swedish experimental instructions and certificate for the treatment group External/good use (Mental illness/lunch)

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Vi har gjort en överenskommelse med organisationen Ny Gemenskap som arbetar med hemlösa personer i Stockholm. För varje tio-krona som du väljer att donera så kommer den hemlösa personen som beskrivits i texten ovan att få en gratis lunchmåltid på Ny Gemenskaps daghärbärge. Daghärbärgen är öppna tisdag-söndag för hemlösa där de kan köpa en lunchmåltid för 10 kr. Ingen alkohol serveras på daghärbärgen.

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Intyg om rekrytering av mottagare av donationer

Härmed intygar vi på Ny Gemenskap att Michel Elmoznino Laufer och Ezgi Saginer från Handelshögskolan i Stockholm har varit i kontakt med oss angående deras examensarbete i Nationalekonomi vårterminen 2012. Vi på Ny Gemenskap intygar att mottagaren av donationerna har rekryterats via en av våra medarbetare och att mottagaren kommer att få en gratis lunchmåltid för varje tio-krona som du väljer att donera. Vi på Ny Gemenskap intygar också att mottagaren stämmer överens med nedanstående beskrivning:

”Personen är en hemlös, svensk man som tigger på gatan för att få pengar. Han blev hemlös på grund av psykisk sjukdom som gjorde att han inte kunde arbeta. Eftersom han inte hade råd att betala hyran så blev han hemlös och hamnade ute på gatan och var tvungen att tigga för att få pengar.

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Vi kommer även att skriva på ett intyg efter att denna studie genomförts att mottagaren av donationerna fått det som eventuellt donerats. Detta intyg kommer att scannas och finnas med i examensarbetet.

19/1 2012
Datum och ort

Anna Malmqvist
Underskrift

Anna Malmqvist
Namnförtydligande

Appendix 3: certificate of receipt of the donations

Intyg om mottagande av donationer

Härmed intygar vi på Ny Gemenskap att Michel Elmoznino Laufer och Ezgi Saginer från Handelshögskolan i Stockholm har överlämnat hela det belopp som deltagarna i deras studie har valt att donera och att donationerna erhållits av mottagare som stämmer överrens med intygen som deltagarna i studien har fått.

Vi på Ny Gemenskap intygar att personer som stämmer överrens med följande beskrivning tagit emot det som har donerats i kontanter respektive lunchkuponger.

"Personen är en hemlös, svensk man som tigger på gatan för att få pengar. Han blev hemlös på grund av ett alkoholberoende som gjorde att han inte kunde arbeta. Eftersom han inte hade råd att betala hyran så blev han hemlös och hamnade ute på gatan och var tvungen att tigga för att få pengar."

Personer som stämmer överrens med ovanstående beskrivning har sammanlagt erhållit följande belopp i kontanter som de kan använda fritt: 2070 SEK

Personer som stämmer överrens med ovanstående beskrivning har sammanlagt erhållit stämplade lunchkuponger som de kan använda på Ny Gemenskaps daghärbärge för motsvarande följande belopp: 3490 SEK

Vi på Ny Gemenskap intygar att personer som stämmer överrens med följande beskrivning tagit emot det som har donerats i kontanter respektive lunchkuponger.

"Personen är en hemlös, svensk man som tigger på gatan för att få pengar. Han blev hemlös på grund av psykisk sjukdom som gjorde att han inte kunde arbeta. Eftersom han inte hade råd att betala hyran så blev han hemlös och hamnade ute på gatan och var tvungen att tigga för att få pengar."

Personer som stämmer överrens med ovanstående beskrivning har sammanlagt erhållit följande belopp i kontanter som de kan använda fritt: 2870 SEK

Personer som stämmer överrens med ovanstående beskrivning har sammanlagt erhållit stämplade lunchkuponger som de kan använda på Ny Gemenskaps daghärbärge för motsvarande följande belopp: 3210 SEK

22/2 2012
Datum

Anna Halmqvist
Underskrift

Anna Halmqvist
Namnförtydligande

Föreningen Ny Gemenskap
Box 3053, 103 61 Stockholm
Tel. 08-22 17 09

Appendix 4: the pre-experiment questionnaire in English

1. Consider donating money to a homeless person who begs on the streets, where you would know *for sure* what the beggar will use the money for. Grade each of the alternatives below on the following scale regarding the usage of the donated money: very bad (1), bad (2), neither good nor bad (3), good (4), very good (5). Circle one number for each of the alternatives below:

	Scale				
• Alcohol	1	2	3	4	5
• Medicines	1	2	3	4	5
• Accommodation	1	2	3	4	5
• Drugs	1	2	3	4	5
• Food	1	2	3	4	5
• Clothes	1	2	3	4	5

2. Consider donating money to a homeless person who begs on the streets. Either the beggar has become homeless because of a factor within his/her control or because of a factor beyond his/her control. With “the person has become homeless because of a factor within his/her control” we mean that the person has become homeless because of circumstances the person himself/herself has been able to influence and have control over. With “the person has become homeless because of a factor beyond his/her control” we mean that the person has become homeless because of circumstances that he/she could not help and did not have control over.

Grade each of the following alternatives on the scale (1) to (5). The further to the left on the scale the higher degree the reason that the person became homeless depended on circumstances within the person’s control, and the further to the right on the scale the higher degree the reason that the person became homeless depended on circumstances beyond the person’s control. Circle a number for each of the alternatives below.

	Within control (1)					Beyond control (5)				
• Being abandoned by one’s spouse/divorce	1	2	3	4	5					
• Gambling addiction	1	2	3	4	5					
• Mental illness	1	2	3	4	5					
• Drug addiction	1	2	3	4	5					
• Alcohol addiction	1	2	3	4	5					

3. Which type of circumstance do you think is the most common to become homeless for a person who begs on the streets?

Circle your answer.

- A factor within the person's control
- A factor beyond the person's control
- Don't know

4. What is your opinion on donating money to beggars?

Circle your answer.

- Very good
- Good
- Neither good nor bad
- Bad
- Very bad
- Don't know

5. Does it happen that you donate money to beggars?

Circle your answer.

- Yes
- No

6. Do you think that begging should be abolished?

Circle your answer.

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

Please, fill in the following:

Age:

Gender:

Occupation (mark one alternative): __Student __Working (full-time) __Retired

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix 5: the experimental instructions in English

Thank you for participating in this experiment. Please read the following instructions carefully. Do not speak with any of the other participants before you have left this room.

In this envelope you have been given these instructions, and you have been given SEK 100 in SEK 10 coins which you will choose how you want to allocate between yourself and an anonymous recipient. After you have read through the instructions, please remain seated until you are called out to make a donation decision. When it becomes your turn you will fold and put the instructions back into the envelope, take the envelope with you and go behind the screen in this room which one of the experimenters will show you.

When you are behind the screen you can choose to donate money to a person who will be described below. You are free to choose whether you want to donate the full amount, nothing or an optional number of SEK 10 coins. If you choose to donate money, please put the SEK 10 coins that you want to donate in your envelope and put it in the box which is behind the screen. You will be anonymous in your donation decision. None of the other participants, the recipient of the donations or the experimenters will know how much you have chosen to donate. Regardless of whether you have chosen to donate money or not, please fold and put the instructions in the envelope and put it in the box which is behind the screen. Make sure that the envelope is closed properly. After you have put the envelope in the box, the experiment is finished for your part and then you can leave this room so that the next person is called out. Do not forget to take all of your personal belongings with you before it becomes your turn to be called out by the experimenter.

The recipient of the donations can be described as follows:¹⁴

- 1) The person is a homeless, Swedish male who begs for money on the streets. He became homeless because of an alcohol addiction which made him unable to work. Because he could not afford to pay his rent he lost his apartment and started living on the streets, begging for money.

All of the money that you choose to donate will go to the person described above.

- 2) The person is a homeless, Swedish male who begs for money on the streets. He became homeless because of an alcohol addiction which made him unable to work. Because he could not afford to pay his rent he lost his apartment and started living on the streets, begging for money.

We have made an agreement with the organization Ny Gemenskap which works with homeless people in Stockholm. For each SEK 10 coin that you choose to donate the homeless person who has been described in the text above will get a free lunch meal at Ny

¹⁴ Each subject was randomly assigned one of the following four descriptions of the recipient in addition to the general instruction. The treatments are as follows: 1) D_{IN} – Internal/no information on use (Alcohol addiction/money), 2) D_{IG} – Internal/good use (Alcohol addiction/lunch), 3) D_{EN} – External/no information on use (Mental illness/money), and 4) D_{EG} – External/good use (Mental illness/lunch).

Gemenskap's day shelter. The day shelter is open Tuesday-Sunday for homeless people where they can buy a lunch meal for SEK 10. No alcohol is served at the day shelter.

- 3) The person is a homeless, Swedish male who begs for money on the streets. He became homeless because of mental illness which made him unable to work. Because he could not afford to pay his rent he lost his apartment and started living on the streets, begging for money.

All of the money that you choose to donate will go to the person described above.

- 4) The person is a homeless, Swedish male who begs for money on the streets. He became homeless because of mental illness which made him unable to work. Because he could not afford to pay his rent he lost his apartment and started living on the streets, begging for money.

We have made an agreement with the organization Ny Gemenskap which works with homeless people in Stockholm. For each SEK 10 coin that you choose to donate the homeless person who has been described in the text above will get a free lunch meal at Ny Gemenskap's day shelter. The day shelter is open Tuesday-Sunday for homeless people where they can buy a lunch meal for SEK 10. No alcohol is served at the day shelter.

We assure you that the person who has been described above has been recruited through the organization Ny Gemenskap which works with homeless people in Stockholm. Ny Gemenskap is a non-profit organization which is politically and religiously independent. We have attached a copy of a certificate from Ny Gemenskap to assure you that we have been in contact with them regarding the recruitment of the recipient of the donations.

Appendix 6: Certificates of the recruitment of the recipient of the donations for the four treatment groups in English

Internal/no information on use (Alcohol addiction/money)

- 1) Hereby Ny Gemenskap certifies that Michel Elmoznino Laufer and Ezgi Saginer from the Stockholm School of Economics have been in contact with us regarding their degree project in Economics for the spring semester 2012. Ny Gemenskap certifies that the recipient of the donations has been recruited through one of our co-workers and that the recipient will get all of the money that you choose to donate. Ny Gemenskap also certifies that the recipient is in accordance with the description below:

“The person is a homeless, Swedish male who begs for money on the streets. He became homeless because of an alcohol addiction which made him unable to work. Because he could not afford to pay his rent he lost his apartment and started living on the streets, begging for money.”

We will also sign a certificate after this study has been conducted that the recipient of the donations has received what has been donated. This certificate will be scanned and will be included in the degree project.

Date and place

Signature

Name

Internal/good use (Alcohol addiction/lunch)

- 2) Hereby Ny Gemenskap certifies that Michel Elmoznino Laufer and Ezgi Saginer from the Stockholm School of Economics have been in contact with us regarding their degree project in Economics for the spring semester 2012. Ny Gemenskap certifies that the recipient of the donations has been recruited through one of our co-workers and that the recipient will get a free lunch meal for each SEK 10 coin that you choose to donate. Ny Gemenskap also certifies that the recipient is in accordance with the description below:

“The person is a homeless, Swedish male who begs for money on the streets. He became homeless because of an alcohol addiction which made him unable to work. Because he could not afford to pay his rent he lost his apartment and started living on the streets, begging for money.

We have made an agreement with the organization Ny Gemenskap which works with homeless people in Stockholm. For each SEK 10 coin that you choose to donate the homeless person who has been described in the text above will get a free lunch meal at Ny Gemenskap’s day shelter. The day shelter is open Tuesday-Sunday for homeless people where they can buy a lunch meal for SEK 10. No alcohol is served at the day shelter.”

We will also sign a certificate after this study has been conducted that the recipient of the donations has received what has been donated. This certificate will be scanned and will be included in the degree project.

Date and place

Signature

Name

External/no information on use (Mental illness/money)

- 3) Hereby Ny Gemenskap certifies that Michel Elmoznino Laufer and Ezgi Saginer from the Stockholm School of Economics have been in contact with us regarding their degree project in Economics for the spring semester 2012. Ny Gemenskap certifies that the recipient of the donations has been recruited through one of our co-workers and that the recipient will get all of the money that you choose to donate. Ny Gemenskap also certifies that the recipient is in accordance with the description below:

“The person is a homeless, Swedish male who begs for money on the streets. He became homeless because of mental illness which made him unable to work. Because he could not afford to pay his rent he lost his apartment and started living on the streets, begging for money.”

We will also sign a certificate after this study has been conducted that the recipient of the donations has received what has been donated. This certificate will be scanned and will be included in the degree project.

Date and place

Signature

Name

External/good use (Mental illness/lunch)

- 4) Hereby Ny Gemenskap certifies that Michel Elmoznino Laufer and Ezgi Saginer from the Stockholm School of Economics have been in contact with us regarding their degree project in Economics for the spring semester 2012. Ny Gemenskap certifies that the recipient of the donations has been recruited through one of our co-workers and that the recipient will get a free lunch meal for each SEK 10 coin that you choose to donate. Ny Gemenskap also certifies that the recipient is in accordance with the description below:

“The person is a homeless, Swedish male who begs for money on the streets. He became homeless because of mental illness which made him unable to work. Because he could not afford to pay his rent he lost his apartment and started living on the streets, begging for money.

We have made an agreement with the organization Ny Gemenskap which works with homeless people in Stockholm. For each SEK 10 coin that you choose to donate the homeless person who has been described in the text above will get a free lunch meal at Ny Gemenskap’s day shelter. The day shelter is open Tuesday-Sunday for homeless people where they can buy a lunch meal for SEK 10. No alcohol is served at the day shelter.”

We will also sign a certificate after this study has been conducted that the recipient of the donations has received what has been donated. This certificate will be scanned and will be included in the degree project.

Date and place

Signature

Name

Appendix 7: The results from the pre-experiment questionnaire

Total number of subjects: 55 responses

The number of men and women: 30 men (55%) and 25 women (45%).

Age: lowest – 21 years old, highest – 69 years old, the average for the full sample: 38 years old

Question 1: the usage of the donation

Table A

The results from question 1. In total, 55 subjects graded each of the factors in the table below from the scale 1 to 5. The table shows the percentage of these 55 subjects' grading for each of the factors. For example, 82% of the 55 subjects that answered question 1 were grading the factor Alcohol as 1 (very bad) while 2% was grading Alcohol as 5 (very good).

Usage	Very bad	1	2	3	4	5	Very good
Alcohol		82%	16%	0%	0%	2%	
Medicines		11%	5%	13%	13%	58%	
Accommodation		4%	5%	13%	13%	65%	
Drugs		89%	7%	2%	0%	2%	
Food		2%	2%	5%	13%	78%	
Clothes		5%	2%	22%	27%	44%	

Question 2: the cause of poverty

Table B

The results from question 2. In total, 55 subjects graded each of the factors in the table below from the scale 1 to 5. The table shows the percentage of these 55 subjects' grading for each of the factors. For example, 16.5% of the 55 subjects that answered question 2 were grading the factor Break-up/ Divorce as 1 (the furthest to left on the scale) while 4% were grading Break-up/ Divorce as 5 (the furthest to the right on the scale).

Cause of poverty	Within control	1	2	3	4	5	Beyond control
Break-up/Divorce		16.5%	16.5%	47.5%	15.5%	4%	
Gambling addiction		49%	35%	9%	5%	2%	
Mental illness		3.6%	0%	12.7%	32.7%	51%	
Drug addiction		44%	36%	13%	5%	2%	
Alcohol addiction		44%	38%	11%	5%	2%	

Question 3: Which type of circumstance do you think is the most common to become homeless for a person who begs on the streets?

Answers: 37 internal (67%), 10 external (18%) and 8 don't know (15%).

Question 4: What is your opinion on donating money to beggars?

Answers: 1 very good (1.8%), 5 good (9.1%), 18 neither good nor bad (32.7%), 13 bad (23.6%), 17 very bad (31%) and 1 don't know (1.8%).

Question 5: Does it happen that you donate money to beggars?

Answers: 14 yes (25.5%) and 41 no (74.5%).

Question 6: Do you think that begging should be abolished?

Answers: 20 yes (36.4%), 26 no (47.3%) and 9 don't know (16.3%).