



FUNDAÇÃO GETULIO VARGAS
ESCOLA BRASILEIRA DE ADMINISTRAÇÃO PÚBLICA E DE EMPRESAS
DOUTORADO EM ADMINISTRAÇÃO

YOUR NEED DOESN'T APPEAL TO ME: HOW SOCIAL CLASS SHAPES
DONATION ALLOCATION PREFERENCES

TESE APRESENTADA À ESCOLA BRASILEIRA DE ADMINISTRAÇÃO PÚBLICA E DE
EMPRESAS PARA OBTENÇÃO DO TÍTULO DE DOUTOR

YAN BERNARDES VIEITES

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DONATION ALLOCATION PREFERENCES**

**Dissertação de Doutorado apresentada à
Escola Brasileira de Administração Pública e
de Empresas da Fundação Getulio Vargas
como requisito parcial para a obtenção do
título de Doutor em Administração.**

**Orientador: Prof. Dr. Eduardo Bittencourt
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YAN BERNARDES VIEITES CASTRO DOS SANTOS

“YOUR NEED DOESN’T APPEAL TO ME: HOW SOCIAL CLASS SHAPES DONATION ALLOCATION PREFERENCES”.

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Resumo

Ao considerar um ato de caridade, os consumidores muitas vezes devem decidir como alocar seus recursos entre diferentes tipos de causas sociais. Embora as pesquisas existentes mostrem que a classe social do doador influencia as doações em geral, não se sabe se ela influencia sistematicamente as preferências por causas específicas. Este artigo avalia como a urgência relativa das causas (ou seja, o quão críticas para a sobrevivência humana são as causas) molda a relação entre classe social e pró-socialidade. Em uma série de estudos em um ambiente socioeconômico altamente desigual, demonstramos que os consumidores de classe baixa preferem doar para causas urgentes (por exemplo, reduzir a fome) em comparação com causas não urgentes (por exemplo, incentivo a atividades culturais), enquanto o efeito se inverte entre consumidores de classe alta. As experiências contrastantes com a escassez entre as diferentes classes sociais influenciam a simpatia intrínseca dos consumidores em relação às necessidades básicas não atendidas das pessoas, o que, por sua vez, molda as preferências de alocação de doações. Consistente com esse raciocínio teórico, as diferenças de classe nas alocações de caridade diminuem quando (a) sinais contextuais vívidos induzem simpatia entre os consumidores de classe alta e baixa ou (b) a experiência com a escassez é semelhante entre as classes sociais.

Palavras-Chave: Classe Social, Status Socioeconômico, Comportamento Pró-Social, Caridade, Simpatia

Abstract

When considering a charitable act, consumers must often decide on how to allocate their resources across a multitude of possible causes. Although existing research shows that social class influences charitable giving in general, it is unknown whether it systematically sways preferences for specific causes. This article assesses how the relative “urgency” of the causes under consideration (i.e., how critical to human survival the causes are) shapes the relationship between social class and prosociality. Across a series of studies in a highly unequal socioeconomic environment, we demonstrate that lower-class consumers prefer to donate to urgent causes (e.g., alleviating hunger) compared to non-urgent causes (e.g., encouraging cultural activities), whereas the effect reverses among higher-class consumers. Contrasting experiences with scarcity across social classes vary the consumers’ intrinsic sympathy toward people’s unmet basic needs, which in turn shapes donation allocation preferences. Consistent with this theoretical rationale, class differences in charitable allocations decrease when (a) vivid contextual cues induce sympathy among both higher- and lower-class consumers or (b) the experience with scarcity is similar across social classes.

Keywords: Social Class, Socioeconomic Status, Prosocial Behavior, Charitable Giving, Sympathy

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Sympathy Through Personal Experiences	3
Social Class and Shared Scarcity/Abundance Experiences	4
General Pretest	9
Study 1	12
Study 2	17
Study 2A – Donation Allocation Preferences	18
Study 2B – Sympathy	23
Study 2C – Alternative Account	27
Study 3	29
General Discussion.....	34
Theoretical Contributions.....	35
Societal and Managerial Implications.....	37
Limitations and Future Directions	39
Appendix	43
References	45
Web Appendix A.....	52
Web Appendix B.....	56
Web Appendix C.....	58
Web Appendix D.....	62
Web Appendix E.....	65
Web Appendix F	68
Web Appendix G.....	71

Introduction

When considering a charitable act, consumers must not simply decide on how much to give. They must also often decide how to allocate their money across a multitude of possible causes. For instance, the majority of, if not all, crowdfunding platforms segment donation appeals by type of cause such that, to conclude their donation, prospective donors must indicate both how much they are willing to give and to which specific cause. Along the same lines, universities commonly offer a menu of causes potential donors can contribute to (e.g., arts, athletics, diversity, student support, or the environment). The same reality is observed among notable international NGOs. Upon deciding on the amount to be contributed, donors of the American Red Cross are asked to choose the cause they would like to help from a set of social needs (e.g., disaster relief efforts, blood services, local community programs). These examples suggest that explicitly choosing from a set of different and readily available social causes is often an inherent part of the donation process.

Although causes vary on multiple dimensions, their relative urgency is arguably an important factor in the donation allocation decision. While some causes focus on the fulfillment of basic needs, critical to human survival (hereafter, called urgent causes: food, shelter, and safety), others, though important for personal and social development, target non-basic needs (hereafter, called non-urgent causes: cultural and sports activities). In this research, we explore whether social class systematically shapes the types of causes consumers are more prone to contribute to when multiple alternatives are available. More specifically, we examine whether, how, and why the relative urgency of the causes under consideration sways the relationship between social class and charitable giving.

Although research on social class and prosocial behavior has extensively examined class differences in giving (i.e., how much people donate; Benenson, Pascoe, and Radmore 2007; Côté, House, and Willer 2015; Korndörfer, Egloff, and Schmukle 2015; Piff et al. 2010), it remains an open question whether social class shapes specific donation preferences (i.e., to which causes people donate). The lack of research in this area possibly reflects the belief that generosity represents a general and stable prosocial tendency (Graziano and Eisenberg 1997; Habashi, Graziano, and Hoover 2016). In fact, whether proposing a positive or a negative relationship between social class and prosociality, scholars often point to the generalizability of their findings across multiple types and measurements of prosocial behavior (Korndörfer et al. 2015; Piff et al. 2010). In sharp contrast, however, it is reasonable to suspect that different causes may elicit divergent prosocial responses from higher- and lower-class consumers. After all, social class is known to shape both general preferences as well as specific “tastes” (Henry 2005; Henry and Caldwell 2018; Holt 1998; Martineau 1958; Pham 2016; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013), including the types of products and services people are more prone to consume (Carey and Markus 2016; Shavitt, Jiang, and Cho 2016).

In this paper, we address how the differences in scarcity/abundance among the poor and the wealthy influence consumers’ intrinsic degree of sympathy toward unmet basic needs in society, which consequently shapes donation allocation preferences. We argue and demonstrate in a series of studies that due to chronic experiences (own or vicarious) with scarcity, lower-class consumers naturally display a higher sympathy toward people’s unmet basic needs, which in turn, increase preferences for urgent relative to non-urgent causes. Conversely, due to chronic experiences with abundance, higher-class consumers display an intrinsically lower degree of

sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs, which in turn, reduce preferences for urgent relative to non-urgent causes.

In investigating how charitable giving varies across types of cause, we move beyond the traditional question of who behaves more prosocially (Piff et al. 2010, Korndorfer et al. 2015) to assess the causes toward which members of contrasting socioeconomic backgrounds act more generously, and why. We also extend findings from the scarcity literature (Mani et al. 2012; Shah et al. 2018; Shah, Mullainathan, and Shafir 2012; Shah, Shafir, and Mullainathan 2015) by showing how scarcity experiences can help shape donation allocation preferences. Finally, we respond to recent appeals, which have encouraged consumer researchers to (a) broaden their unit of analysis from the individual to larger groups (MacInnis et al. 2019) and (b) more deeply investigate the psychology of lower-class consumers (Carey and Markus 2016; Pham 2016; Shavitt et al. 2016).

Sympathy Through Personal Experiences

It is well established that personal experiences shape affective and behavioral responses to others' suffering (for reviews, see Loewenstein and Small 2007; Preston and de Waal 2002; Staub and Vollhardt 2008; Vollhardt 2009). Experiencing distressing events, though detrimental to the self, facilitates perspective taking and promotes sympathy (or empathic concern)—an emotional concern for another's well-being (Batson et al. 2007; Davis 1983; Eisenberg et al. 1989; Loewenstein and Small 2007; Wispe 1986). Indeed, people who have been through distressing experiences tend to display greater sympathy toward others facing similar misfortunes when compared to those who have not undergone the same plight (Barnett et al. 1986; Batson et al. 1996;

Christy and Voigt 1994; Eklund, Andersson-Stråberg, and Hansen 2009; Gerace et al. 2015; Hodges et al. 2010).

Importantly, sympathetic responses to suffering emerge not only from one's own personal experiences (Janson and Hazler 2004). Experiences with someone else's plight have also proven to influence donation preferences (Bennett 2012; Radley and Kennedy 1995). For instance, Small and Simonsohn (2008) found that closeness with a victim of a given misfortune increases sympathy and donations toward other victims of that misfortune.

But, while it is clear that personal experiences (own or vicarious) can be influential, it remains an open question whether widely shared experiences can shape an entire group's sympathetic responses to suffering, and, as a result, systematically influence donation preferences. We argue it can and, in addressing this possibility, we also take a slightly different approach to sympathy relative to standard research in the area. Rather than thinking of (and operationalizing) sympathy as a response to an individual's suffering (e.g., Small and Verrochi 2009), we construe sympathy as a group-based phenomenon where responses are directed to the unmet basic needs of a collective and, consequently, the social causes they embody (i.e., sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs).

Social Class and Shared Scarcity/Abundance Experiences

By definition, scarcity is an integral part of the lives of the poor whereas abundance is inherent to the lives of the rich. Lower-class environments are marked by fewer educational opportunities (Archer, Hutchings, and Ross 2003), limited access to health care (Peters et al. 2008), and reduced available resources to cope with everyday adversities (Piff et al. 2012). Also, not only

are evictions and homelessness rather prevalent in contexts of poverty (Desmond 2012a, 2012b; McChesney 1990; Shinn and Gillespie 1994), but the poor are also particularly likely to suffer from food insecurity and malnutrition (Fitchen 1987; Furness et al. 2004; Gundersen, Kreider, and Pepper 2011).

Beyond shaping one's own personal experiences, social class also molds the experiences people are exposed to in the social environment. Given the often striking gap in their material lives, higher and lower social class individuals tend to be geographically clustered in starkly different neighborhoods and cities (Massey 1990; Musterd 2013; Orfield 2002; Rothwell and Massey 2010). In the same vein, class-based divisions in social interactions are ubiquitous. People with different socioeconomic backgrounds attend different schools (Hochschild 2003; Hochschild and Scovronick 2003; Valenzuela, Bellei, and de los Ríos 2014), socialize in different circles (Domhoff 1998; Lareau 2002), cultivate different romantic ties (Schwartz 2013; Sweeney and Cancian 2004), and work with members of different classes (Argyle 1994; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). As a consequence, the contexts in which lower and higher social class consumers navigate likely reinforce their own experiences with scarcity or abundance. After all, while lower-class consumers themselves tend to have a limited access to basic needs, such as food and shelter, those close to them likely face similar difficulties. Conversely, higher-class consumers not only have their own basic needs chronically satisfied, but their social environments are also much more likely to insulate them from vicariously experiencing scarcity.

Given that lower-class consumers are embedded in contexts of generalized scarcity, we reasoned that this pervasive and enduring experience (witnessed or lived) would make the potential donor more intrinsically sympathetic to people's unmet basic needs, and consequently more inclined to donate to urgent causes (e.g., helping the homeless find shelter or helping alleviate

hunger) relative to non-urgent ones (e.g., helping promote sports or cultural activities). Importantly, although people may experience scarcity for both basic and non-basic needs (e.g., a poor consumer who cannot afford adequate housing likely cannot afford cultural activities as well), an implicit assumption of our predictions is that experiencing scarcity for a basic need is particularly consequential. Indeed, lacking access to food and shelter has arguably more drastic consequences than lacking access to culture and sports—and should therefore have a stronger influence on donation allocations. Previous work dovetail with the above rationale. In a sociological study using ethnographic methods, Desmond (2012a) found that poorer families in condition of vulnerability often rely on their peers' prosociality to meet their basic needs. More recently, survey-based evidence from Brazil showed that 62% of the low-class recipients of a "coronavoucher" reported using part of this already meager federal bonus to help family and friends fulfill their unmet basic needs triggered by the devastating economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic (DataFavela 2020). Likewise, experimental findings from the psychological literature show that, when coping with economic uncertainty or family crises, lower-class individuals tend to give more priority to community relative to higher-class individuals, who instead prioritize their own material wealth (Piff et al. 2012). Together, these findings lend indirect credence to the hypothesis that lower-class consumers sympathize with and hence prioritize urgent causes in their donation allocations.

Among the wealthy, contexts marked by abundance are likely to make the potential donor less intrinsically sympathetic to people's unmet basic needs, which would then make higher-class consumers not as inclined to donate to urgent compared to non-urgent causes. Along these lines, it has been argued that the wealthy not only reject the notion that donations serve to attend the basic needs of the destitute (Bremner 1977) but also often use philanthropy as an instrument that

bolsters the social life of their class (Ostrower 1995). As such, they could be particularly sensitive to issues that are well-regarded by their peers, such as education and culture, which are typically non-urgent. Consistent with this idea, Kraus and Callaghan (2016) showed that while lower-class consumers behave more prosocially than their higher-class counterparts in private settings, the opposite occurs when there are opportunities for reputational gains among the wealthy. Thus, other factors that influence the overall appeal of the cause (e.g., self and social signaling; Sargeant and Woodliffe 2007), may well play an important role in the wealthy's decision-making process.

In summary, due to differences in experienced scarcity and, consequently, sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs, we hypothesize that when allocating donation amounts between urgent and non-urgent causes:

H1: Lower-class consumers will donate more resources to the urgent (vs. non-urgent) cause, while the differences in allocation preferences will attenuate or even reverse among higher-class consumers.

Importantly, two additional hypotheses can be derived from the proposed theoretical arguments. First, if class-based differences in sympathy toward unmet basic needs help explain divergences in charitable allocations, then one would expect differences in donation preferences to attenuate when all consumers, rich and poor, were persuaded to sympathize with unmet basic needs during the charitable allocation decision. More specifically:

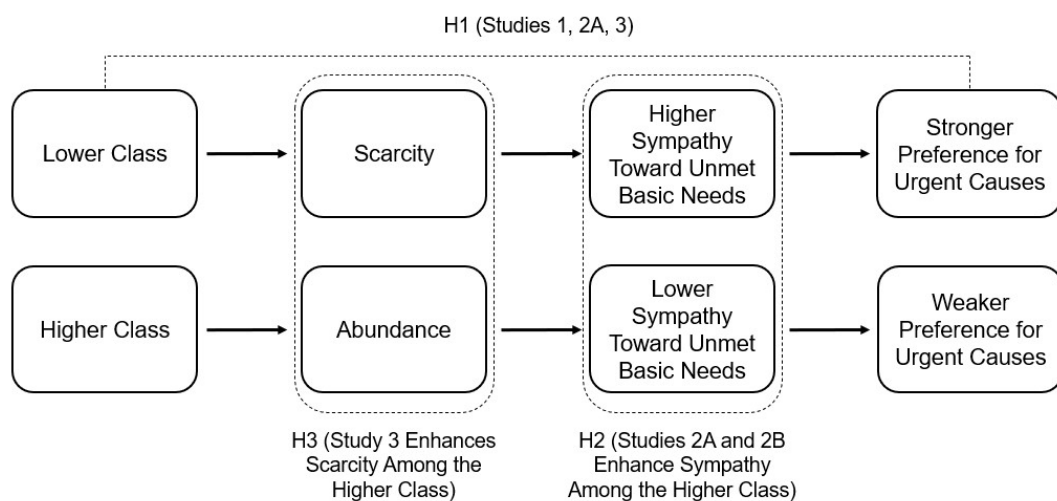
H2: When class differences in sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs are reduced, both lower- and higher-class consumers will donate more resources to the urgent (vs. non-urgent) cause, mostly due to an increase in preferences for the urgent cause among the wealthy.

Our theoretical framework assumes (and we will empirically confirm) that lower-class consumers have personally or vicariously experienced scarcity for basic needs, whereas such experiences have been virtually absent from the lives of higher-class consumers. But while this difference is true for most basic needs (e.g., food and shelter), it may not be true for all of them (e.g., safety). Thus, if both social classes have experienced similarly high levels of chronic scarcity for a particular basic need, then differences in donation allocation preferences should also be attenuated. Formally:

H3: When both lower- and higher-class consumers experience high levels of scarcity, the influence of social class on donation allocation preferences will be attenuated, mostly due to an increase in preferences for the urgent cause among the wealthy.

Studies 1-3 address these hypotheses across different pairs of urgent and non-urgent causes, different measurements, and different tests of the underlying process. Figure 1 conceptually summarizes the hypotheses and empirical plan.

FIGURE 1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND OUTLINE OF THE STUDIES AND HYPOTHESES



General Pretest

We start the empirical section with a general pretest designed to assess three important assumptions inherent to our conceptual framework and empirical tests. The pretest relied on the same populations of the five subsequent studies (for details about the procedure, see Web Appendix A). It was conducted with consumers from one of the wealthiest (i.e., South Zone) and one of the poorest (i.e., Favela da Maré) areas of the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil ($N = 100$; $M_{\text{age}} = 34.3$, $SD = 13.2$; 47% females). The south zone of Rio de Janeiro, with its internationally famous beach neighborhoods (e.g., Leblon, Ipanema, Copacabana), is the most affluent region of town, with one of the most expensive residential square footages in the country. Favela da Maré, at the other end of the socioeconomic continuum, is a cluster of 16 slums, constituting one of the poorest parts of the city. Figure 2 and the socioeconomic indicators across regions available in table A1 in the Appendix reveal the socio-economic disparities across these two areas.

FIGURE 2: AERIAL PICTURE OF THE HIGHER AND LOWER SOCIAL CLASS AREAS IN RIO DE JANEIRO



Given the multifaceted nature of the socioeconomic experience (Kraus et al. 2012; Kraus and Stephens 2012; Ostrove and Long 2007; Piff et al. 2010; Singh-Manoux, Adler, and Marmot 2003), we created a composite measure of social class. Precisely, we standardized and then averaged the participants' household income, educational attainment, subjective socioeconomic rank, and region of residence.

Perception of urgency. We assume that when presented with a pair of causes which vary on relative urgency, higher- and lower-class consumers agree on what cause is considered more urgent (e.g., the need for shelter, safety, or food is expected to be more urgent than the need for sports or cultural activities). That was indeed the case. For instance, participants in the general pretest were asked to indicate the cause they considered more urgent: helping the homeless find shelter versus encouraging people to participate in cultural activities. Not surprisingly, the majority (95%) believed that shelter is indeed more urgent than culture and, critically, no class differences were observed in a logistic regression model ($\beta = .03$, $SE = .50$, 95% $CI = [-.96, 1.02]$, $p = .96$, $OR = 1.03$). The same pattern emerged in every single pair of urgent and non-urgent causes used throughout the studies. For the sake of brevity, all the results of the general pretest are summarized in table A2 in the Appendix.

Liking for the non-urgent cause. Because all the studies contrast an urgent against a non-urgent cause (e.g., how much money to allocate to each cause), we also implicitly assumed that higher- and lower-class participants would display a similar positive attitude toward the non-urgent cause—that is, both groups should like and see the importance of cultural and sports activities. Otherwise, hypothesis 1 could be explained by avoidance strategies (e.g., lower-class participants donating more to shelter than culture because they dislike cultural activities more) rather than by differences in sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs. To test this assumption, two four-

item scales captured the participants' attitudes toward the two non-urgent causes used throughout the studies: "I believe that cultural [sports] activities are important," "I care about cultural [sports] activities," "I have affinity for cultural [sports] activities," and "I like to participate in cultural [sports] activities" (1 = totally disagree, 5 = totally agree; $\alpha = .86$ [$\alpha = .84$]). As expected, both culture ($M = 3.99$, $SD = 1.07$) and sports ($M = 3.79$, $SD = 1.23$) were highly appreciated by the participants. A linear regression model revealed that, although class differences emerged for cultural activities ($\beta = .22$, $SE = .12$, 95% CI = $[-.01, .45]$, $p = .06$, $r = .19$), fitted liking scores were high for both higher-class (one standard deviation above the mean; $M = 4.19$, $SE = .15$) and lower-class participants (one standard deviation below the mean; $M = 3.79$, $SE = .15$), thereby warding off potential concerns about avoidance strategies. Further, no class differences emerged for sports activities ($M_{HC} = 3.63$, $SE_{HC} = .17$; $M_{LC} = 3.95$, $SE_{LC} = .17$; $\beta = -.17$, $SE = .14$, 95% CI = $[-.44, .10]$, $p = .21$, $r = -.13$).

Experience with scarcity. Finally, we assumed that lower (vs. higher) class participants were much more likely to have experienced scarcity in terms of access to food and shelter (assumption underlying hypotheses 1 and 2). Again, that was the case. The following three-item scale was used for shelter [food]: "I or people close to me (friends or family) have been homeless [experienced hunger]," "I or people close to me (friends or family) have run the risk of being homeless [of not having what to eat]," and "being homeless [running out of food] is a genuine concern in my life or in the life of those close to me (friends and family)" (1 = totally disagree, 5 = totally agree; $\alpha = .97$ [$\alpha = .96$]). Linear regression analyses showed that, as expected, lower-class participants reported much higher scarcity in terms of access to shelter than their higher-class counterparts ($M_{HC} = 1.09$, $SE_{HC} = .14$; $M_{LC} = 3.52$, $SE_{LC} = .14$; $\beta = -1.33$, $SE = .11$, 95% CI = $[-$

1.55, -1.11], $p < .001$, $r = -.78$). The same was true for food ($M_{HC} = 1.06$, $SE_{HC} = .14$; $M_{LC} = 3.73$, $SE_{LC} = .14$; $\beta = -1.46$, $SE = .11$, 95% CI = [-1.67, -1.25], $p < .001$, $r = -.81$).

Of importance, we also assumed that lower- and higher-class participants would both report experiencing high levels of scarcity in terms of safety (assumption underlying hypothesis 3). The following three-item scale was used: “I or people close to me (friends or family) have suffered with the lack of safety,” “I or people close to me (friends or family) have run the risk of being victims of violence,” and “suffering violence is a genuine concern in my life or in the life of those close to me (friends and family)” (1 = totally disagree, 5 = totally agree; $\alpha = .87$). As expected, both groups reported feeling quite unsafe, and no class differences emerged ($M_{HC} = 4.24$, $SE_{HC} = .13$; $M_{LC} = 4.37$, $SE_{LC} = .13$; $\beta = -.07$, $SE = .10$, 95% CI = [-.27, .13], $p = .48$, $r = -.07$).

In a nutshell, this general pretest shows that lower and higher social class consumers (a) see the urgent causes as indeed more urgent, (b) have similarly positive attitudes toward the non-urgent causes, and (c) experience clearly different levels of scarcity for food and shelter but not safety. In the latter, scarcity is high for both wealthy and poor consumers. As it will become clearer, this general pretest helps address potential concerns throughout the subsequent studies.

Study 1

Study 1 relies on a consequential field setting to provide initial evidence for the hypothesized class difference in donation allocation preferences. Higher and lower-class consumers received a financial compensation for their participation in the study and were given the chance to donate at least part of this money to an urgent cause (i.e., helping the homeless find shelter) and/or a non-urgent cause (i.e., encouraging people to participate in cultural activities). We predict that while lower-class participants will donate more money to the urgent cause than to

the non-urgent cause, this effect will be at least mitigated, and possibly even reversed, among higher-class participants (H1).

Participants. Two hundred ninety residents from wealthy (i.e., South Zone) and poor areas (i.e., Favela da Maré) of Rio de Janeiro took part in the study. Four of them were excluded from the analysis as they failed to properly indicate their donation allocation preferences. Thus, our final sample has 286 participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 36.03$, $SD = 12.86$; 52% females), 136 of whom live in a deprived area and 150 of whom live in a wealthy area of town.

Procedure. Two in-group research assistants blind to the study hypothesis approached passers-by on the street and asked whether they would be willing to take part in a 5-minute survey about “several current topics.” Those who agreed to participate were given R\$10.00 (~\$2.5) in five R\$2.00 bills as a token of appreciation for their participation (for the sake of comparison, a bus ticket in the city at the time of data collection was priced at R\$3.60). To create a sense of endowment, the participants were given the money before they started the survey.

Type of cause. Upon completion of the survey, but before they had a chance to leave, participants were told that research assistants were collecting money for two campaigns, one to help the homeless find shelter (i.e., an urgent cause) and the other to encourage people to participate in cultural activities (i.e., a non-urgent cause). The exact instruction follows:

*Before I forget, some of the interviewers in this research are raising money for two campaigns: **helping the homeless find shelter and encouraging people to participate in cultural activities**. We were allowed to collect contributions for these causes at the end of the study. Here are two envelopes, one for each of these causes. As this is not part of the research, you decide whether and how much you are willing to donate and to which cause(s). The donation is totally voluntary and anonymous. Please deposit the envelopes*

in that urn, even if you cannot contribute at this moment. [Freely translated from Portuguese; Bold added]

Participants were then given two envelopes containing a neutral black and white pictorial drawing of the cause. The drawings were meant to simply facilitate identification; they were not meant to induce strong sympathetic reactions and/or to influence donation allocation preferences (see Web Appendix B for details). To minimize social pressure, the research assistant thanked and dismissed the participants in such a way that none of them were accompanied to the urn. Further, as described above, participants were instructed to deposit the two envelopes in the urn irrespective of their donation decisions. This final aspect of the procedure prevented the researcher or any observer from knowing, on the spot, whether the participant had made a contribution or not.

Socio-demographic information. In the survey, participants indicated their age, gender, ethnicity, marital status, religiosity (using a 5-point scale of religious attendance), occupation, monthly household income (1 = less than R\$500, 16 = more than R\$40,000; plus a “don’t know or don’t want to answer” option), number of people who depended on the reported income, education (1 = no formal education, 11 = graduate degree), and subjective socioeconomic rank in terms of childhood income (1 = well below average, 5 = well above average). We also inferred neighborhood of residence from the neighborhood of data collection. Our regression models across all the studies control for all the socio-demographic characteristics that are not inherent to the concept of social class (i.e., age, gender, marital status, religiosity, and ethnicity).

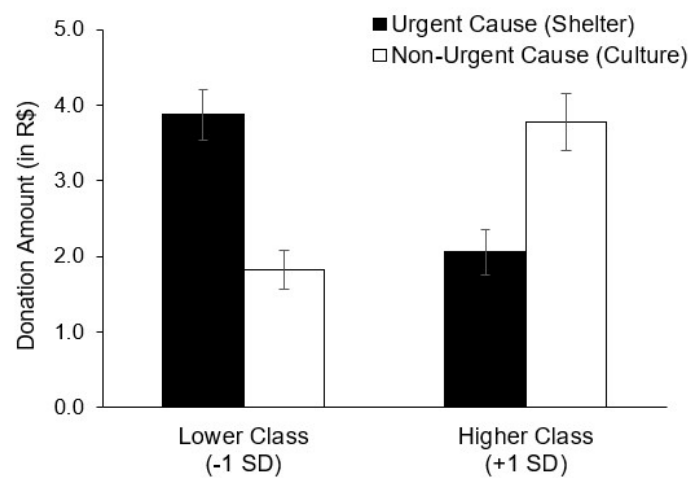
Measure of social class. We used the same measure of social class as in the general pretest. Precisely, we standardized the participants’ income, education, subjective socioeconomic rank, and region of residence separately and then averaged all four items to create a composite measure

of social class (see table A1 in the Appendix for details). Results using each of these items individually and details about the procedure are reported in Web Appendix B.

Results

Social Class and Prosocial Behavior. We used a multiple regression analysis to test for the main effects and interactions. The regression model included the composite measure of social class, a dummy for the type of cause (urgent cause [shelter] = 1, non-urgent cause [culture] = 0), and the interaction term between them, with standard errors clustered at the individual level. We controlled for the participants' age, gender (male = 1, female = 0), marital status (married = 1, non-married = 0), ethnicity (white = 1, non-white = 0), and religiosity. Except for gender ($\beta = .47$, $SE = .27$, 95% $CI = [-.07, 1.01]$, $p = .09$, $r = .07$) and ethnicity ($\beta = -.56$, $SE = .33$, 95% $CI = [-1.21, .08]$, $p = .09$, $r = -.07$), none of the other control variables reached significance (all $ps > .19$). In line with H1, the interaction between social class and type of cause was significant ($\beta = -2.14$, $SE = .34$, 95% $CI = [-2.81, -1.46]$, $p < .001$, $r = -.25$).

FIGURE 3: THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS AND TYPE OF CAUSE ON MONETARY CONTRIBUTIONS (STUDY 1)



As figure 3 illustrates, there was a systematic variation in the participants' choice of how to allocate their money. Lower-class participants (one standard deviation below the mean) contributed more money to a cause whose purpose was to help the homeless find shelter than to a cause whose goal was to encourage cultural activities ($\beta = 2.05$, $SE = .39$, 95% CI = [1.28, 2.83], $p < .001$, $r = .21$). Among higher-class participants (one standard deviation above the mean), the effect was not only reduced but actually reversed. The wealthy contributed less money to the urgent cause relative to the non-urgent cause ($\beta = -1.72$, $SE = .50$, 95% CI = [-2.71, -.73], $p = .001$, $r = -.14$). An analysis within each type of cause corroborates the cross-over. Lower-class participants donated more money than their much wealthier peers to the urgent cause ($\beta = -1.03$, $SE = .26$, 95% CI = [-1.55, -.51], $p < .001$, $r = -.16$), whereas the opposite was true for the non-urgent cause ($\beta = 1.11$, $SE = .27$, 95% CI = [.57, 1.65], $p < .001$, $r = .17$).

Absolute and relative donations. In general, participants donated about the same amount to the urgent and the non-urgent causes ($M_{\text{shelter}} = \text{R\$}2.95$, $SD = \text{R\$}3.68$; $M_{\text{culture}} = \text{R\$}2.81$, $SD = \text{R\$}3.85$; $\beta = .14$, $SE = .35$, 95% CI = [-.56, .84], $p = .69$, $r = .02$). Interestingly, there was also no impact of social class on the average amount of money donated per cause in absolute terms ($\beta = .04$, $SE = .21$, 95% CI = [-.37, .45], $p = .85$, $r = .01$). This implies that, as a percentage of their monthly income, lower-class participants donated substantially more money than their higher-class peers ($\beta = -.003$, $SE = .0004$, 95% CI = [-.003, -.002], $p < .001$, $r = -.27$).

Discussion

Study 1 shows that, in a scenario where higher- and lower-class consumers have equal resources and opportunities to make a monetary contribution at the time of the donation decision, both groups donated, on average, the same amount of money to the causes at stake. This means

that, in relative terms, those who are much more financially constrained in life, donated much more. Critically, social class seems to shape donation allocation preferences in a systematic manner. Consistent with hypothesis 1, lower-class participants donated significantly more money to the urgent cause (i.e., shelter) than to the non-urgent cause (i.e., culture) when compared to higher-class participants, who actually displayed the opposite pattern of donation allocation preferences. This reversal is consistent with the argument that the wealthy often reject the notion that donations serve to attend the basic needs of the destitute (Bremner 1977) and use philanthropy as an instrument that bolsters the social life of their class (Ostrower 1995), which could make them particularly sensitive to issues that are well-regarded by members of their own class, such as education and culture.

Although study 1 provides initial evidence for H1 and the conceptual framework, shelter and culture vary in many dimensions other than relative urgency, which could in theory help account for the observed interaction. Also, the observed effects could result from self-serving behavior. Maybe lower-class (higher-class) participants donated more to shelter to the homeless (cultural activities) because this is the cause they and/or their in-groups might directly benefit the most from. Finally, study 1 offers no data to support the roles of sympathy (H2) and scarcity (H3). The next studies address these limitations. Whereas study 2 investigates the importance of sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs, study 3 focuses on the role of scarcity.

Study 2

Our conceptual framework states that lower-class consumers have greater sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs, which in turn makes them more inclined to donate to urgent compared to non-urgent causes. The wealthy, in contrast, are intrinsically less sympathetic toward those

unmet needs, which makes them less prone to donate to urgent than non-urgent causes. If this rationale is accurate, class differences in donation preferences should be at least attenuated if during the charity allocation decision all participants, rich and poor, were prompted to sympathize with causes that target the unmet basic needs of the less fortunate (H2). Studies 2A and 2B jointly assess this hypothesis whereas study 2C rules out a plausible alternative account.

Study 2A – Donation Allocation Preferences

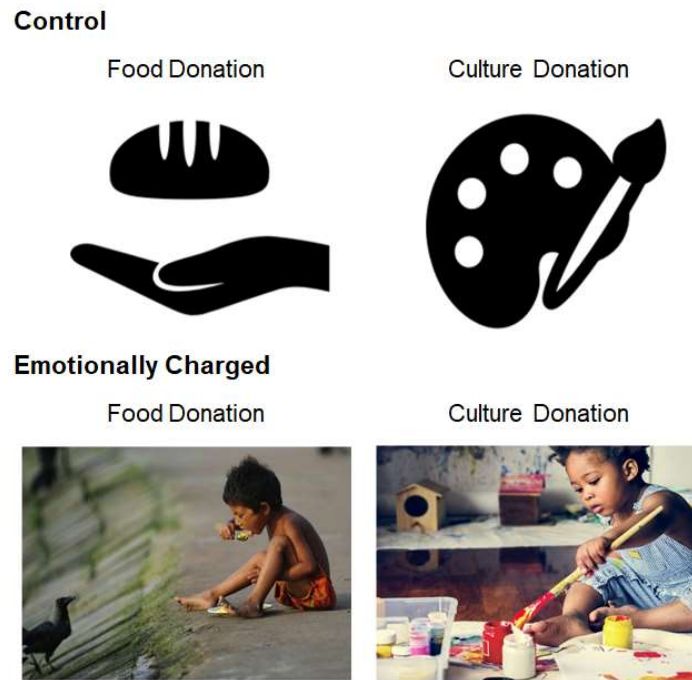
Study 2A relies on the same donation allocation paradigm employed in study 1. Higher and lower social class consumers were offered the opportunity to donate actual money to an urgent and/or a non-urgent cause. Differently from our initial study, however, participants were randomly assigned either to a control condition, in which the relative urgency of the causes is not strikingly noticeable, or to an emotionally charged condition, in which the relative urgency of the causes is vividly presented, and likely to trigger sympathy. In the control condition, we expect to replicate the interaction documented in study 1. In the emotionally charged condition, the plight of lacking resources to fulfill basic needs is made very explicit to both the poor and the wealthy, thereby increasing sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs (as we will show in study 2B). Thus, in this scenario, we expect both higher- and lower-class consumers to donate more to the urgent relative to the non-urgent cause.

Beyond directly assessing H2, this study offers two additional contributions. First, it attempts to replicate the findings observed in study 1 using another urgent cause (i.e., alleviating hunger). Second, it controls for self-serving behavior as an alternative account by explicitly defining and holding constant the beneficiary for the causes at stake.

Participants. Four-hundred fifteen residents from deprived and wealthy areas of Rio de Janeiro took part in the study, but five were excluded from the analysis as they failed to properly indicate their donation allocation preferences. The final sample counts with 410 participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 37.1$, $SD = 14.3$; 52% females), 210 of whom lived in a deprived area (Favela da Maré) and 200 of whom lived in a wealthy area of town (South Zone).

Procedure. The procedure was identical to that used in study 1, except for three main modifications. First, for the sake of robustness, a new urgent cause was used: raising money to help buy food for people from impoverished communities (instead of raising money to help homeless find shelter). Second, both urgent and non-urgent causes explicitly inform potential donors that the beneficiaries of the donations were “people from impoverished communities”. Given that the beneficiary of the prosocial act is held constant across all conditions, self-serving behavior can no longer be used to explain potential shifts in the patterns of giving across the social spectrum. Finally, and critically, participants were randomly assigned to one of two between-subjects conditions. While participants in the control condition received envelopes containing neutral black and white icons depicting each need, participants in the emotionally charged condition received envelopes containing real photographs of a child either trying to alleviate hunger or engaging in a cultural activity (see figure 4). We expected that by presenting the causes in an emotionally charged manner, the wealthy would become more likely to sympathize with people’s unmet basic needs and increase donations to the urgent relative to the non-urgent cause (H2).

FIGURE 4: EMOTIONAL DISPLAY MANIPULATION (STUDIES 2A-2C)



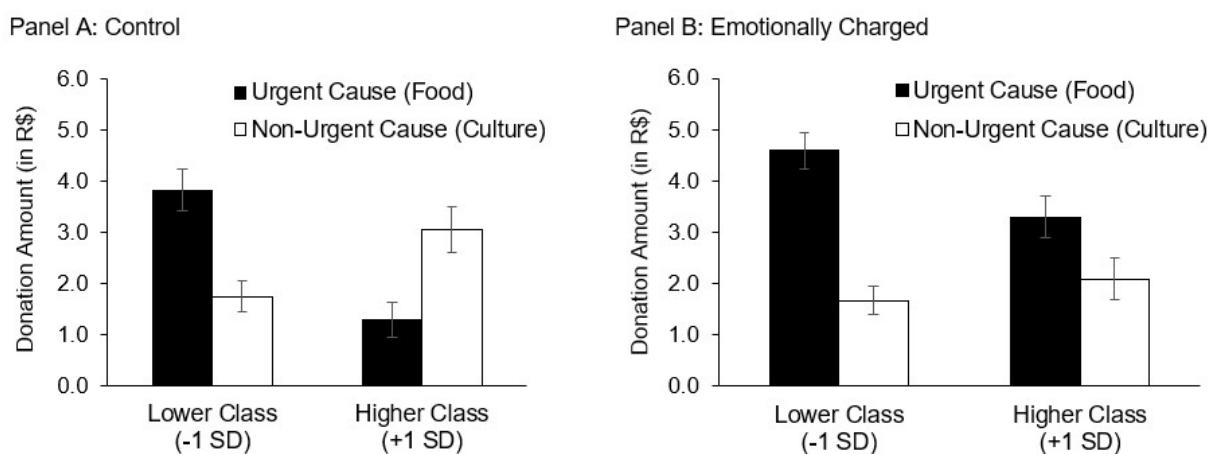
Measure of social class. Similar to the previous studies, we used a composite measure of social class containing four items (income, education, neighborhood of residence, and subjective socioeconomic rank). Results using each of these items individually and details about the procedure are reported in Web Appendix C.

Results. We used a multiple linear regression analysis to test for the main effects and interactions. The regression model included the composite measure of social class, a dummy for the type of cause (urgent [food] = 1, non-urgent [culture] = 0), a dummy for the emotional display manipulation (emotionally charged stimulus = 1, control = 0), all the two-way interactions, the three-way interaction, and the same control variables used in study 1. Except for marital status ($\beta = .51$, $SE = .25$, $CI = [.01, 1.00]$, $p = .044$, $r = .07$), none of the control variables reached significance (all other $ps > .17$). The pattern of the three-way interaction between social class, type

of cause, and emotional display provided support for H2 ($\beta = 1.25$, $SE = .63$, $CI = [.01, 2.50]$, $p = .048$, $r = .07$).

As depicted by the panel A of figure 5, when assigned to the control condition, the results replicated the interaction observed in study 1 ($\beta = -2.24$, $SE = .46$, $CI = [-3.15, -1.34]$, $p < .001$, $r = -.24$). Lower-class participants (one standard deviation below the mean) contributed more money to a cause whose purpose was to help alleviate hunger than to a cause whose goal was to encourage cultural activities ($\beta = 2.11$, $SE = .52$, $CI = [1.09, 3.13]$, $p < .001$, $r = .20$). Among higher-class participants (one standard deviation above the mean), the effect reversed. The wealthy contributed less money to the urgent cause relative to the non-urgent cause ($\beta = -1.76$, $SE = .56$, $CI = [-2.86, -.65]$, $p = .002$, $r = -.16$). These findings replicate the results from study 1 in a context where (a) self-serving behavior cannot explain class-based shifts in preferences and (b) a different urgent cause is used.

FIGURE 5: THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS, TYPE OF CAUSE, AND EMOTIONAL DISPLAY ON MONETARY CONTRIBUTIONS (STUDY 2B)



Critically, the pattern of results changed noticeably when the causes were presented in an emotionally charged manner (see panel B of figure 5). Both lower- and higher-class participants became more charitable to the urgent than to the non-urgent cause (respectively, $\beta = 2.93$, $SE = .44$, $CI = [2.05, 3.80]$, $p < .001$, $r = .31$; $\beta = 1.22$, $SE = .62$, $CI = [.01, 2.44]$, $p = .049$, $r = .10$). Because the simple main effect was still stronger for lower than higher-class participants, the two-way interaction between social class and type of cause remained significant in the emotionally charged condition ($\beta = -.99$, $SE = .44$, $CI = [-1.86, -1.22]$, $p = .026$, $r = -.11$). But in line with H2, the shift in the pattern of findings from the control to the emotionally charged condition resulted essentially from the higher-class participants, who ended up contributing much more to the urgent cause when the unmet needs were presented in an emotionally charged manner ($\beta = 2.10$, $SE = .51$, $CI = [1.10, 3.09]$, $p < .001$, $r = .20$). This manipulation had no effect among the lower-class participants who even in the control condition contributed disproportionately to the urgent cause ($\beta = .70$, $SE = .52$, $CI = [-.33, 1.71]$, $p = .18$, $r = .07$).

Another way of assessing the results is to compare the influence of the emotional display manipulation within each social group. Among lower-class participants, preference for urgent causes emerge irrespective of how the unmet needs were displayed; that is, the interaction did not reach significance ($\beta = .82$, $SE = .68$, $CI = [-.51, 2.15]$, $p = .23$, $r = .04$). Among higher-class participants, however, a strong interaction emerged ($\beta = 2.98$, $SE = .83$, $CI = [1.35, 4.61]$, $p < .001$, $r = .13$) such that higher-class participants donated more to non-urgent causes when presented in a neutral manner, whereas the effect reversed when the causes were displayed in an emotionally charged manner.

As expected, an analysis of the general main effects shows that presenting causes in an emotionally charged manner elicits on average greater monetary contributions per cause

($M_{\text{emotionally charged}} = \text{R\$}2.92$, $SD = \text{R\$}3.64$; $M_{\text{control}} = \text{R\$}2.48$, $SD = \text{R\$}3.60$; $\beta = .44$, $SE = .22$, $CI = [.01, .88]$, $p = .047$, $r = .07$). Further, people donated more to causes concerned with food than culture ($M_{\text{food}} = \text{R\$}3.24$, $SD = \text{R\$}3.80$; $M_{\text{culture}} = \text{R\$}2.15$, $SD = \text{R\$}3.35$; $\beta = 1.10$, $SE = .28$, $CI = [.55, 1.64]$, $p < .001$, $r = .14$). Finally, lower-class participants contributed more than their higher-class counterparts not only as a percentage of their income ($\beta = -.005$, $SE = .0005$, $CI = [-.006, -.003]$, $p < .001$, $r = -.30$), but also in absolute terms ($\beta = -.31$, $SE = .17$, $CI = [-.64, .01]$, $p = .059$, $r = -.07$).

Discussion. Study 2A replicates the findings from study 1 using a different urgent cause, rules out an alternative account based on self-serving behavior, and offers evidence consistent with H2. In the control condition, lower-class participants contributed more money to an urgent than to a non-urgent cause, whereas the effect reversed for higher-class participants. But when the relative urgency of the causes was made vividly salient to all, both higher- and lower-class participants donated significantly more to the urgent (vs. non-urgent) cause, mainly due to an increase in the donations to the urgent cause among the higher class.

Although these results are in line with the proposed mechanism, study 2A does not directly measure sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs. Study 2B addresses this issue. Given the potential consistency effects between donation allocation preferences and self-reported sympathy (e.g., "if I donate more to one cause, I must say I sympathize more with it"), we opted to gather evidence for the phenomenon and its underlying mechanism separately (for a similar approach, see Shah et al. 2015; Shiv and Fedorikhin 1999).

Study 2B – Sympathy

Study 2B serves two purposes. First, it tests whether, as assumed in our model, higher-class (vs. lower-class) participants do experience lower levels of sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs. Second, given that potential donors are more likely to empathetically respond to emotionally charged stimuli (Hsee and Rottenstreich 2004; Oveis, Horberg, and Keltner 2010; Piff et al. 2010; Small and Verrochi 2009), this study also tests whether the emotional display of unmet needs (e.g., a picture of a child vividly trying to alleviate hunger vs. performing a cultural activity) can reduce this social class difference and do so by increasing sympathy among higher-class individuals.

Participants. Three-hundred fifteen residents from deprived and wealthy areas of Rio de Janeiro took part in the study, but one of them failed to provide social class information and was therefore removed from the analysis. The final sample counts with 314 participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 39.3$, $SD = 13.4$; 47% females), 154 of whom lived in a deprived area (Favela da Maré) and 160 of whom lived in a wealthy area of town (South Zone).

Procedure. Two in-group research assistants blind to the study hypothesis approached passers-by on the street and asked whether they would be willing to volunteer to participate in a short survey. Those who agreed to participate were presented with a pair of images depicting two social needs: helping buy food for people from impoverished areas and helping promote cultural activities in impoverished areas. Importantly, although all participants were presented with the exact same food-related and a culture-related needs, we randomly varied the images used to illustrate these needs across participants. While participants in the control condition saw neutral black and white icons depicting each need, participants in the emotionally charged condition were exposed to vivid photographs of a child either trying to alleviate hunger or engaging in a cultural activity—the ones used in study 2A (see figure 4).

Below the pictures, participants were asked to indicate the cause toward which they “felt greater sympathy/compassion” on a 1 (certainly the culture-related cause) to 5 (certainly the food-related cause) scale. As previously pointed out, this approach is slightly different from that commonly used in research involving sympathy. Rather than operationalizing sympathy as a response to an individual’s suffering (e.g., Small and Verrochi 2009), we construe sympathy as a group-based phenomenon where responses are directed to the unmet basic needs of a collective and, consequently, the social causes they embody.

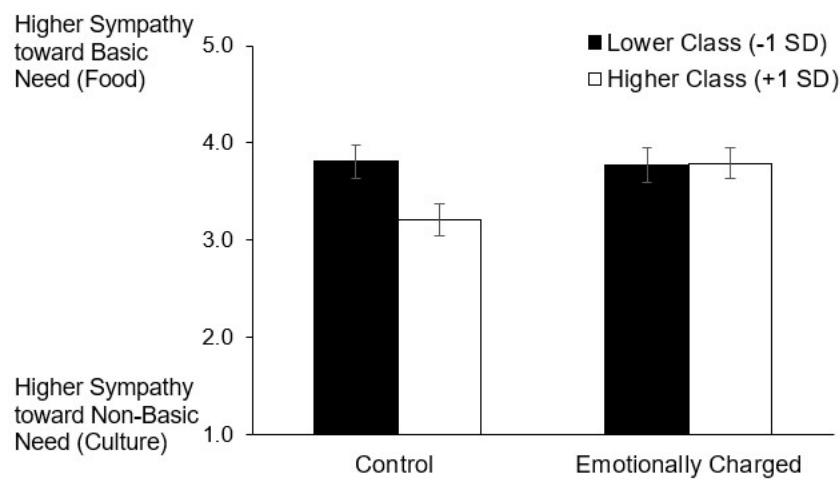
Upon completing this measure, participants answered a few unrelated questions, filled the same socio-demographic questionnaire used in study 1, and were finally dismissed.

Measure of social class. Similar to the previous studies, we used a composite measure of social class containing four items (income, education, neighborhood of residence, and subjective socioeconomic rank). Results using each of these items individually and details about the procedure are reported in Web Appendix D.

Results. Using a linear model, we regressed the sympathy measurement ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.43$) on the composite measure of social class, the emotional display manipulation (emotionally charged stimulus = 1, control = 0), and the interaction between them. We also controlled for the same socio-demographic variables used in studies 1 and 2A. Except for gender ($\beta = -.62$, $SE = .16$, $CI = [-.93, -.32]$, $p < .001$, $r = -.22$) and age ($\beta = -.01$, $SE = .01$, $CI = [-.03, .00]$, $p = .052$, $r = -.11$), none of the control variables reached significance (all other $ps > .17$). The interaction between social class and emotional display provided support for our conceptual framework ($\beta = .34$, $SE = .17$, $95\% CI = [.01, .67]$, $p = .044$, $r = .11$). When assigned to the control condition, higher- (vs. lower-) class participants reported a lower sympathy toward the basic (food-related) relative to the non-basic (culture-related) need ($\beta = -.33$, $SE = .15$, $CI = [-.63, -.03]$, $p = .029$, $r = -.12$). However,

when assigned to the emotionally charged condition, class differences in sympathy vanished ($\beta = .01$, $SE = .14$, $CI = [-.26, .28]$, $p = .93$, $r = -.005$). As important, the attenuation came from the fact that, among the rich, the emotional display enhanced sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs (one standard deviation above the mean; $\beta = .58$, $SE = .22$, $CI = [.15, 1.01]$, $p = .01$, $r = .15$). The manipulation had no effect among members of the lower class who even in the control condition reported a relatively high level of sympathy (one standard deviation below the mean; $\beta = -.04$, $SE = .21$, $CI = [-.46, .38]$, $p = .86$, $r = -.01$).

FIGURE 6: THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS AND EMOTIONAL DISPLAY ON SYMPATHY TOWARD PEOPLE'S UNMET BASIC NEEDS (STUDY 2B)



Discussion. Whereas study 2A shows that the emotional display makes the wealthy more likely to donate to the urgent (a) relative to non-urgent causes and (b) relative to urgent causes presented in a non-emotional manner, study 2B shows that it increases higher-class participants' sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs. Although the combined results of studies 2A and B

lend support to H2 and the advanced conceptual framework, one potential alternative explanation remains.

Study 2C – Alternative Account

Although the emotionally charged display increased sympathy toward basic relative to non-basic needs among the higher class (study 2B), this manipulation may have also asymmetrically affected the wealthy's perception of urgency of the causes under consideration, which could in turn help explain the pattern of results obtained in study 2A. Study 2C addresses this possibility. Although a general main effect may exist, we do not expect the emotional display manipulation to differentially affect the higher- and lower-class consumers' urgency perceptions—as it did for sympathy (study 2B) and donation allocation preferences (study 2A).

Participants. Two-hundred fifty-three residents from Rio de Janeiro took part in the study ($M_{\text{age}} = 42.0$, $SD = 15.6$; 52% females), 132 of whom lived in a deprived area (Favela da Maré) and 121 of whom lived in a wealthy area of town (South Zone).

Procedure. The procedure was similar to study 2B. Residents from wealthy and poor regions of town were asked whether they would be willing to volunteer to participate in a short survey. Those who agreed to participate were presented with an urgent cause (hunger alleviation) and a non-urgent cause (promotion of cultural activities). Each cause was accompanied by an image that was randomly manipulated across participants. The images were identical to those used in studies 2A and 2B (see figure 4). Upon being confronted with the causes and their respective illustrations, participants were asked to indicate which of the two campaigns targeted a more urgent/necessary/basic problem in the city: the food-related cause or the culture-related cause. This binary decision, which is similar to the item used in the general pretest, serves as our perceived

urgency measure. Finally, participants filled the same socio-demographic questionnaire used in the previous studies and were then dismissed.

Measure of social class. Again, we used a composite measure of social class containing four items (income, education, neighborhood of residence, and subjective socioeconomic rank). Results using each of these items individually and details about the procedure are reported in Web Appendix E.

Results and Discussion. We first conducted a proportion test to show that the urgent cause was indeed perceived as more urgent than the non-urgent cause. Confirming findings from our general pretest, the majority of participants indicated that food represented a more basic need than culture (72.3% vs. 50% [compared to chance], $z = 7.10$, $p < .001$). Next, we tested the main effects and interactions. Using a logistic model, we regressed the participants' perceived urgency on the composite measure of social class, emotional display (emotionally charged stimulus = 1, control = 0), and the interaction between them. We also controlled for the same socio-demographic variables used in the previous studies. Except for gender ($\beta = -1.20$, $SE = .33$, $CI = [-1.84, -.56]$, $p < .001$, $OR = .30$) and religiosity ($\beta = .26$, $SE = .13$, $CI = [-.00, .52]$, $p = .05$, $OR = 1.30$), none of the control variables reached significance (all other $ps > .42$). Critically, and consistent with our predictions, the interaction between social class and emotional display was not significant ($\beta = -.17$, $SE = .33$, $95\% CI = [-.81, .47]$, $p = .61$, $OR = .84$). Despite the existence of a general main effect of emotional display (emotionally charged = 82.0% vs. control = 63.4%; $\beta = 1.04$, $SE = .32$, $95\% CI = [.42, 1.66]$, $p = .001$, $OR = 2.82$), the influence of the manipulation on such perceptions was similar across social classes. Displaying the causes in a more emotionally charged manner increased the perceived urgency of the food-related cause both for higher (emotionally charged = 75.6% vs. control = 58.6%; $\beta = .88$, $SE = .43$, $95\% CI = [.03, 1.73]$, $p = .041$, $OR = 2.42$) and

lower social class participants (emotionally charged = 86.5% vs. control = 68.1%; $\beta = 1.21$, SE = .46, 95% CI = [.31, 2.10], $p = .01$, OR = 3.34). Thus, although the manipulation affected perceptions of cause urgency, it did so to a similar extent across the social class spectrum, which cannot explain the shift in donation allocation preferences documented in study 2A.

Study 3

Study 3 offers three relevant contributions. First, for the sake of robustness, it uses a different pair of urgent (shelter provision or safety promotion) and non-urgent causes (support to sports activities). Second, it rules out the possibility that the phenomenon observed so far is constrained to situations in which the donor's identity is made salient prior to the donation decision. Multiple strands of research have shown that identity salience may be important in guiding charitable donations (Kessler and Milkman 2018; Shang, Reed, and Croson 2008). Given that in studies 1 and 2A, the socio-demographic questions preceded the donation decision, it could be argued that the class-based differences in charitable allocations were only observed because the donor's identity was made artificially salient right before the participants decided on their donation preferences. To tackle this issue, study 3 relies on a hypothetical setting which allowed us to collect the socio-demographic information *after* the charitable donation preferences were revealed. Such approach eliminated any concerns about identity salience.

Finally, and critically, study 3 addresses hypothesis 3. Remember that our conceptual framework states that, among the poor, the chronic experience with scarcity (witnessed or lived) should make the potential donor considerably more sympathetic toward people's unmet basic needs, and consequently more inclined to donate to urgent causes (e.g., helping the homeless find

shelter) compared to non-urgent ones (e.g., helping promote sports activities). Among the wealthy, contexts marked by abundance should make the potential donor less sympathetic toward unmet basic needs, which would then make higher-class consumers not as inclined to donate to urgent compared to non-urgent causes. Following this rationale, the impact of social class on charitable allocations should be attenuated if both wealthy and poor consumers had similar scarcity experiences to start with (H3).

As described in the general pretest that opened the empirical section, higher- and lower-class consumers, as intuitively expected, do face very different levels of scarcity for most basic needs. Food and shelter insecurity are inherent to the lives of the poor but completely absent from the lives of the wealthy. However, there are some rarer instances in which the level of scarcity may be relatively similar across social classes. As our general pretest showed, this is the case of safety, a basic need for which both poor and rich residents from Rio de Janeiro experience high levels of scarcity. That is, both social classes feel highly unsafe.

Thus, we predict that the preference for the urgent cause will be stronger among lower- than higher-class consumers when both groups have experienced different levels of scarcity (i.e., when shelter is the urgent cause) but it will be attenuated when they have experienced similarly high levels of scarcity (i.e., when safety is the urgent cause). Further, the attenuation should come from an increase in the preference for the urgent cause among the wealthy in the similar (vs. different) scarcity condition (H3).

Method

Participants. Four hundred residents from Rio de Janeiro took part in the study ($M_{\text{age}} = 34.8$, $SD = 12.4$; 52% females); half lived in a deprived area (Favela da Maré) and the other half lived in a wealthy area of town (South Zone).

Procedure. As in the previous studies, passers-by were approached in wealthy and deprived areas of the city of Rio de Janeiro and asked whether they would be willing to volunteer to participate in a short survey. In the instructions, they were asked to imagine they wanted to split a small portion of their salaries between two causes (an urgent and a non-urgent cause). While the non-urgent cause always targeted the promotion of sports activities in impoverished communities, the urgent cause was randomly assigned across participants. For about half of them, the urgent cause involved helping homeless people from impoverished communities find shelter, whereas for the other half it involved helping reduce violence in impoverished communities. Thus, participants were either exposed to an urgent cause for which lower-class consumers in the city report experiencing scarcity and higher-class consumers report not experiencing scarcity (different [shelter] condition) or exposed to an urgent cause for which lower- and higher-class consumers in the city report similarly high levels of scarcity (similar [safety] condition).

Donation allocation preferences. Participants used a six-point scale to indicate their allocation decision: 1 = I would donate everything to the promotion of sports activities in impoverished communities; 6 = I would donate everything to help homeless people from impoverished communities find shelter (vs. to help reduce violence in impoverished communities). The presentation order of social causes was randomized to account for potential order effects. Finally, participants filled the same socio-demographic questionnaire used in the previous studies and were then dismissed.

Measure of social class. Similar to previous studies, we used a composite measure of social class containing four items (income, education, neighborhood of residence, and subjective socioeconomic rank). Results using each of these items individually and details about the procedure are reported in Web Appendix F.

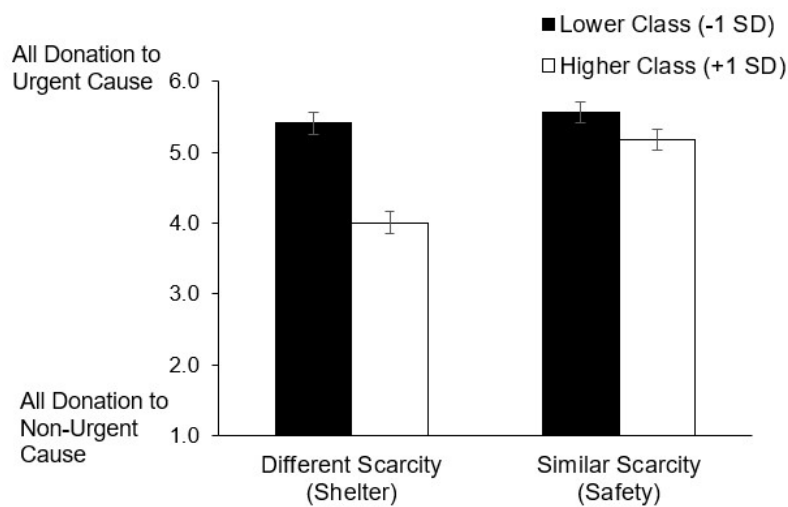
Results

We used a multiple regression analysis to test for the main effects and interactions. The regression model included the composite measure of social class, a dummy for the type of urgent cause (similar scarcity [safety] = 1, different scarcity [shelter] = 0), and the interaction term between them. A dummy for presentation order (1 = urgent cause first, 0 = non-urgent cause first) and the same socio-demographic controls used in studies 1-2C were also included in the model. None of the control variables reached significance (all p s > .26). Although there was a significant presentation order effect ($\beta = -.41$, $SE = .14$, $CI = [-.70, -.13]$, $p = .01$, $r = -.14$), we accounted for this variable in all regression models.

As pictorially depicted by figure 7, there was an interaction between the type of urgent cause and social class on donation preferences ($\beta = .56$, $SE = .16$, $CI = [.25, .88]$, $p = .001$, $r = .17$). In the different scarcity condition—that is, when shelter represented the urgent cause—, participants from the lower (vs. higher) class contributed significantly more to the urgent than to the non-urgent cause ($\beta = -.78$, $SE = .13$, $CI = [-1.03, -.53]$, $p < .001$, $r = -.29$). This difference was attenuated when safety represented the urgent cause ($\beta = -.22$, $SE = .12$, $CI = [-.45, .01]$, $p = .066$, $r = -.09$). Critically, and also consistent with H3, the attenuation came from a significant increase in the preference for donations to the urgent cause among higher-class participants ($\beta = 1.16$, $SE = .21$, $CI = [.76, 1.57]$, $p < .001$, $r = .27$). The manipulation had no effect among lower-class

participants who reported stronger preference for the urgent cause, irrespectively ($\beta = .15$, $SE = .21$, $CI = [-.26, .55]$, $p = .48$, $r = .04$).

FIGURE 7: THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS AND SCARCITY CONDITION ON
DONATION ALLOCATION PREFERENCES (STUDY 3)



Discussion

Study 3 conceptually replicates findings from studies 1 and the control condition of study 2A using another pair of causes while avoiding the identity salience concern. Critically, it provides support for hypothesis 3. Lower- (vs. higher-) class participants contributed more to the urgent than the non-urgent cause when scarcity experiences differed across classes (i.e., when shelter was the target urgent cause). However, this effect was substantially reduced when both rich and poor participants experienced similar levels of scarcity (i.e., when safety was the target urgent cause). Further, as expected, the effect of the scarcity experience manipulation was only observed among

higher-class participants. Lower-class participants donated more to the urgent cause irrespective of scarcity condition.

General Discussion

Understanding whether higher or lower social class individuals behave more prosocially has puzzled scholars from multiple disciplines (e.g., Benenson, Pascoe, and Radmore 2007; Chen, Zhu, and Chen 2013; Gittell and Tebaldi 2006; Korndörfer, Egloff, and Schmukle 2015; Piff et al. 2010). This research helped deepen the ongoing debate about the pattern of association between social class and prosocial behavior by introducing the moderating role of type of cause into the discussion. Across a series of studies in a highly unequal socioeconomic environment, we show that social class helps shape donation allocation preferences when multiple causes are available. In study 1, lower-class participants donated more money to an urgent cause (i.e., helping reduce homelessness) than to a non-urgent cause (i.e., encouraging cultural activities), whereas the effect reversed among higher-class participants (H1). The subsequent studies not only replicated these findings using other pairs of causes, but also shed light on the mechanisms underlying the phenomenon. Study 2A showed that when the plight of lacking resources to fulfill one's basic needs is presented in an emotionally charged manner, higher- and lower-class consumers become more inclined to donate to an urgent cause (i.e., helping alleviate hunger) relative to a non-urgent cause (i.e., promoting cultural activities). Consistent with our theoretical arguments, this effect results from the increase in sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs among the wealthy (H2, study 2B), and not from changes in perceptions of urgency (study 2C). Finally, study 3 demonstrated that preferences for the urgent cause are stronger among the lower- than the higher-

class participants when social class is associated with different levels of scarcity (e.g., when shelter is the urgent cause) but this gap is attenuated when social class is associated with similarly high levels of scarcity (e.g., when safety is the urgent cause). Of importance, the attenuation comes from an increase in the preference for the urgent cause among the wealthy (H3).

Theoretical Contributions

The current research relates and contributes to several streams of literature. First and foremost, we move beyond the question of who behaves more prosocially to assess the circumstances under which members of contrasting socioeconomic backgrounds act the most on behalf of others. We show that systematic differences in sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs shift the pattern of association between social class and prosocial behavior. In doing so, we join a burgeoning, but still very limited, body of research showing that social class is imbued with both selfishness and generosity and the degree to which these contrasting inclinations are manifested across the social spectrum is highly context-dependent (Côté et al. 2015; Kraus and Callaghan 2016; Whillans, Caruso, and Dunn 2017).

Further, we extend the finding that personal experiences shape sympathy toward specific causes (Bennett 2012; Radley and Kennedy 1995; Small and Simonsohn 2008) by showing how it can reflect a group-based phenomenon. Building on the fact that social class serves as a foundation for many of our psychological and social experiences (Kraus et al. 2012; Kraus and Stephens 2012), we demonstrate that occupying a determined position in the socioeconomic hierarchy influences one's preferences over charitable causes above and beyond unique personal experiences. We show that the socioeconomic context molds personal experiences in a relatively homogeneous way, such that group preferences can be reliably predicted irrespective of individual

idiosyncrasies. In doing so, we respond to recent appeals, which have encouraged consumer researchers to broaden their unit of analysis from the individual to larger groups (MacInnis et al. 2019).

We also contribute to research on scarcity by documenting a novel phenomenon in the literature (Mani et al. 2012; Shah et al. 2015, 2018). Although it has been shown that contexts marked by scarcity shift focus to the fulfillment of pressing needs (Shah, Mullainathan, and Shafir 2012), the downstream consequences of this tendency have been examined exclusively from the individual standpoint (e.g., borrowing decisions). We generalize findings from this literature by showing that the paucity of resources not only elicits greater attention to pressing personal needs, but also predisposes consumers to focus on the fulfillment of the most basic needs in society as a whole. This contrasting tendency to attend to what is most urgently needed helps explain the different patterns of charitable allocations across the social class spectrum, as consistently shown throughout this research.

Finally, we add to the literature on the consumption-related consequences of social class. It has long been contended that social class offers little or no additional explanatory power relative to income in the study of consumer behavior (see Henry and Caldwell 2008 for a review). Implicit to this view is the idea that class-based differences in consumption stem directly from the financial constraints faced by the poor and not shared by the wealthy. Thus, according to this strand of research, were higher and lower social class individuals granted access to the same economic resources, consumption preferences would be relatively similar. We instead demonstrate that, above and beyond monetary considerations (i.e., disregarding the amount given), social class molds individual preferences (i.e., the causes to which one gives) in important ways. In doing so, we respond to recent appeals for the study of lower-class consumers (Carey and Markus 2016;

Pham 2016; Shavitt et al. 2016) and provide further empirical support for the claim that social class shapes specific consumer preferences (Bourdieu 2015; Henry and Caldwell 2018; Holt 1998; Martineau 1958; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013).

Societal and Managerial Implications

The findings of this research entail an intriguing implication from the societal standpoint: in contexts of high economic inequality, where private donations from the wealthy would be particularly important, those at the top of the social hierarchy seem (1) less charitable in relative terms and (2) less inclined to contribute to the most urgent cause when multiple alternatives are available. This phenomenon poses a disproportionate burden on those who have the least to give, which may in turn help perpetuate economic inequalities (Hackel and Zaki 2018; Piff et al. 2010). Altogether, these results dovetail with the claim that members of the higher-class reject the notion that donations serve to attend the basic needs of the destitute (Bremner 1977).

Results from our studies demonstrate the existence of an intrinsic class difference in the consumers' sympathy toward people's unmet basic needs, which makes the wealthy (vs. poor) relatively less prone to donate to urgent causes. To overcome this psychological barrier is not necessarily an easy task. However, varying the emotional display of social needs, as we did in studies 2A and 2B, may be a possible avenue toward this end. In fact, findings from these studies offer insights to both practitioners and researchers. While scholarly research has traditionally investigated how affectively-charged content may enhance emotional responses and prosocial behavior (Hsee and Rottenstreich 2004; Oveis, Horberg, and Keltner 2010; Piff et al. 2010; Small and Verrochi 2009), we demonstrate that these appeals may influence not only the amount people

are willing to give, but also the social causes they are more willing to contribute to when multiple alternatives are available.

Along similar lines, study 3 offers additional insights on how to prompt the wealthy to give to urgent causes. Findings from this study suggest that focusing on a cause for which both rich and poor consumers face high levels of scarcity can also increase donations to basic needs among the higher class. To further substantiate the practical relevance of these findings, we conducted a supplementary study with 400 residents from wealthy and deprived regions of Rio de Janeiro ($M_{age} = 34.3$, $SD = 12.2$; 55% females; for details, see Web Appendix G). Rather than varying the target urgent cause, as in study 3, we used the same pair of causes across all conditions and varied only the focus of the cause's appeal. More specifically, while all participants reported their donation preference between a shelter-related (i.e., urgent) cause and a sports-related (i.e., non-urgent) cause, the urgent cause's appeal focused either on the benefits inherently connected to having access to adequate shelter (i.e., different [shelter] scarcity focus) or on the idea that reducing homelessness could also help mitigate robberies and violence in the city (i.e., similar [safety] scarcity focus). Given that higher-class consumers from Rio de Janeiro have a scarce access to safety but not shelter (see general pretest), we reasoned that members from the lower (vs. higher) class would donate more to the urgent relative to the non-urgent cause when the appeal focused on a different scarcity experience (i.e., shelter), but this gap would be reduced or even eliminated when the cause's appeal highlighted a need that was scarce to both rich and poor (i.e., safety). That was indeed the case. There was a significant interaction between social class and scarcity focus on donation preferences ($\beta = 1.09$, $SE = .15$, $CI = [.81, 1.38]$, $p < .001$) such that participants from the lower- (vs. higher) class contributed more to the urgent relative to the non-urgent cause when assigned to the different scarcity focus condition ($\beta = -1.31$, $SE = .11$, $CI = [-1.53, -1.09]$, $p <$

.001), but this difference was substantially reduced in the similar scarcity condition ($\beta = -.22$, $SE = .12$, $CI = [-.45, .01]$, $p = .06$). As important, the attenuation was driven mainly by an increase in donations to the urgent cause among the higher class ($\beta = 1.78$, $SE = .19$, $CI = [1.41, 2.16]$, $p < .001$). Taken together, these findings suggest that by emphasizing the indirect consequences that a donation to an urgent cause may have, it is possible to push the higher class to donate to more urgent societal needs.

Limitations and Future Directions

Our findings may help speculate about a number of other important class-based differences in charitable allocations. Perhaps the most prominent case is environmental conservation. Although previous research has shown that many factors may account for why the poor and uneducated generally behave less prosocially toward environmental causes than their higher-class peers (e.g., convenient access to sustainable options and environmental knowledge; Berger 1997; Dolnicar, Crouch, and Long 2008; Hines, Hungerford, and Tomera 1987), consumer's sympathy to unmet basic needs may also explain these findings in contexts where multiple social causes are presented. Indeed, lower-class consumers likely view hunger and homelessness as more critical to human survival than helping preserve natural resources. Future research could investigate this possibility, and, if this is true, how to frame environmental protection as an urgent cause.

Further, although we limited the scope of our research to the study of class differences in charitable giving, donating money to charity constitutes only one of the multiple facets of prosociality. As traditional definitions point out, prosocial behaviors represent any voluntary act intended to benefit others (Eisenberg, Fabes, and Spinrad 2006). Across studies, we held the prosocial act constant (i.e., charitable giving) and varied the cause to which it was attached (e.g.,

reducing homelessness vs. promoting cultural activities). However, it is reasonable to believe that besides being uniquely sensitive to particular social causes, individuals from distinct social classes may also operationalize their prosociality through distinct behaviors when variety of actions are available. Indeed, one can help the same social issue (e.g., hunger alleviation) either by donating money to that cause or by volunteering to help it. Since the factors that drive money donation can be particularly different from those driving the donation of time (Bryant et al. 2003; Lee et al. 2008; Lee and Chang 2007), for example, future research could also analyze class differences in the operationalization of prosociality.

We predicted that lower-class consumers would display a stronger preference for urgent (vs. non-urgent) causes than higher-class consumers. However, we did not a priori expect the latter to consistently donate more to non-urgent causes. It is plausible to assume that lower levels of sympathy allowed additional forces to operate and push wealthy consumers toward non-urgent causes. However, the exact mechanisms that drove this effect deserve scrutiny. One possible explanation consistent with a social signaling account is that non-urgent causes such as cultural activities offer greater reputational gains for higher-class consumers. Also, because non-urgent causes are typically associated with members of the higher class, they may well feel a sense of obligation toward these causes (i.e., “if I don’t donate to these causes, nobody will”). Other potential explanations involve the degree of agency that the cause carries (i.e., personal development [cultural activities] vs. social assistance [hunger alleviation])—

a force that may be particularly active in developing nations, where social assistance has been unable to “solve” the lasting socioeconomic inequalities. Relatedly, one can also consider the expected impact of the cause across time (i.e., long-term impact [culture] vs. short-term impact [food]), and even the orientation approach (promotion of culture vs. hunger prevention). Shedding

light on these forces will help deepen the current understanding of how social class affects charitable allocations, and particularly why and when the wealthy are less likely to prioritize what is most urgent in the environment.

While this research focuses on understanding class differences in donation allocation preferences, it is worth highlighting that lower-class consumers donated, on average, more than their higher-class peers in relative terms in both studies 1 and 2A, and even in absolute terms in the latter study. Understanding why, despite having very limited resources, the poor donate more than the wealthy is a puzzling question, often permeated by contention across disciplines (for a review, see Manstead 2018). This research offers insights that may help reconcile these conflicting findings. It is possible that, in addition to the role of type of cause, differences in empirical paradigm also shape the relationship between social class and prosocial behavior. In our studies, all participants were given a monetary compensation for their participation and were implicitly induced to use it as a reference budget for their donation. Consistent with a mental accounting reasoning (Thaler 1985, 1990, 1999), setting a budget for all participants to decide upon may have attenuated the importance of differences in objective material wealth on the average donation across social classes. This is an intriguing possibility that remains for future research.

Finally, we encourage future investigation on the generalizability of the current findings across different countries and populations. Conducting additional studies in contexts where poverty and inequality are more or less extreme may help further illuminate the uncovered phenomenon and possibly convey important insights into its boundaries.

In summary, although somewhat neglected in consumer research (Carey and Markus 2016; Pham 2016; Shavitt et al. 2016), social class informs many of our consumption decisions. As the current research demonstrates, the influence of social class goes beyond sheer financial constraints;

coming from either of the extremes of the socioeconomic distribution also shapes more fundamental preferences and tastes. As such, learning more about these divergent proclivities may help us reach a more nuanced understanding of how social class informs consumers' thoughts, feelings, and behaviors.

Appendix

TABLE A1: SUMMARY OF SOCIAL CLASS MEASURES ACROSS REGIONS (ALL STUDIES)

	Income	Education	Subjective SES Rank	Composite Social Class
<i>Wealthy Neighborhood</i>				
General Pretest	5,476.33 (3,085.16)	16.09 (1.70)	3.52 (.61)	.86 (.34)
Study 1	5,958.55 (2,729.86)	15.89 (2.03)	3.65 (.64)	.78 (.34)
Study 2A	6,542.13 (4,823.32)	15.94 (1.78)	3.69 (.61)	.82 (.37)
Study 2B	9,925.60 (6,057.67)	16.68 (1.99)	3.48 (.68)	.82 (.40)
Study 2C	13,970.13 (4,640.11)	17.61 (.86)	3.84 (.41)	.98 (.20)
Study 3	5,691.47 (3,746.38)	16.11 (1.88)	3.68 (.72)	.84 (.39)
<i>Deprived Neighborhood</i>				
General Pretest	486.50 (326.60)	8.29 (2.88)	1.50 (.68)	-.86 (.26)
Study 1	679.16 (642.21)	9.46 (3.47)	2.04 (1.01)	-.84 (.35)
Study 2A	498.23 (447.49)	8.80 (3.61)	2.03 (.97)	-.76 (.31)
Study 2B	921.49 (2,208.97)	9.63 (2.89)	1.43 (.62)	-.85 (.29)
Study 2C	822.98 (431.28)	9.28 (2.63)	1.33 (.47)	-.89 (.19)
Study 3	479.10 (304.98)	8.55 (2.97)	1.57 (.65)	-.84 (.23)

Note: Income refers to monthly household income per capita in R\$. Education refers to years of formal education. Subjective SES rank is a measure of childhood relative income (1 = well below average, 5 = well above average). To create the composite measure of social class, we standardized and then averaged the participants' income, education, subjective SES rank, and neighborhood of residence (1 = wealthy neighborhood [South Zone]; 0 = deprived neighborhood [Favela da Maré]). Standard deviations are in parentheses.

TABLE A2: SUMMARY OF RESULTS (GENERAL PRETEST)

Perception of urgency		
	Class Differences	Overall
Shelter vs. Culture	$\beta = .03$, SE = .50, 95% CI = [-.96, 1.02], $p = .96$, OR = 1.03	95%
Food vs. Culture	$\beta = -.57$, SE = .59, 95% CI = [-1.73, .58], $p = .33$, OR = .56	96%
Safety vs. Culture	$\beta = -.64$, SE = .69, 95% CI = [-2.00, .71], $p = .35$, OR = .52	97%
Shelter vs. Sports	$\beta = .17$, SE = .80, 95% CI = [-1.39, 1.74], $p = .83$, OR = 1.19	98%
Food vs. Sports	$\beta = .41$, SE = .41, 95% CI = [-.39, 1.21], $p = .31$, OR = 1.51	91%
Safety vs. Sports	$\beta = .59$, SE = .48, 95% CI = [-.36, 1.53], $p = .22$, OR = 1.80	93%
Note: Class differences were assessed through six logistic regressions using composite social class as the independent variable and perceived urgency as the dependent variable (perceived urgency was coded 1 if participants indicated shelter, food, or safety as more urgent than culture or sports). The column overall identifies the percentage of participants who perceived the presumably urgent cause as indeed more urgent.		
Liking for the non-urgent cause		
	Class Differences	Overall
Culture	$\beta = .22$, SE = .12, 95% CI = [-.01, .45], $p = .06$, $r = .19$	M = 3.99, SD = 1.07 ($\alpha = .86$)
Sports	$\beta = -.17$, SE = .14, 95% CI = [-.44, .10], $p = .21$, $r = -.13$	M = 3.79, SD = 1.23 ($\alpha = .84$)
Note: Class differences were assessed through two linear regressions using composite social class as the independent variable and liking for the non-urgent cause as the dependent variable (higher scores indicate higher liking for the cause).		
Experience with scarcity		
	Class Differences	Overall
Shelter	$\beta = -1.33$, SE = .11, 95% CI = [-1.55, -1.11], $p < .01$, $r = -.78$	M = 2.30, SD = 1.57 ($\alpha = .97$)
Food	$\beta = -1.46$, SE = .11, 95% CI = [-1.67, -1.25], $p < .01$, $r = -.81$	M = 2.39, SD = 1.65 ($\alpha = .96$)
Safety	$\beta = -.07$, SE = .10, 95% CI = [-.27, .13], $p = .48$, $r = -.07$	M = 4.31, SD = .90 ($\alpha = .87$)
Note: Class differences were assessed through three linear regressions using composite social class as the independent variable and experience with scarcity as the dependent variable (higher scores indicate higher scarcity experiences).		

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Web Appendix A

General Pretest - Complementary Information

Information about the survey: The questionnaire was administered in Portuguese. Data were collected at the streets of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. A high-income region (i.e., South Zone) served as a proxy for the higher-class sample and a low-income neighborhood (i.e., Favela da Maré) served as a proxy for the lower-class sample. Participants were informed that the completion of the questionnaires was entirely voluntary, the responses were anonymous, and there were no inherently right or wrong answers. Data were collected by two in-group research assistants using tablets. This research paradigm holds constant for all the subsequent studies.

Measure of social class: We created a composite measure of social class. Precisely, we standardized the participants' income, education, subjective socioeconomic rank, and region of residence separately and then averaged all four items. Income was measured as the participants' monthly household earnings before taxes on a 16-point scale (1 = less than R\$500, 16 = more than R\$40,000; plus a "don't know or don't want to answer" option). We used the bracket midpoints of the scale (e.g., R\$250 rather than 1) and replaced values with the neighborhood mean whenever participants refused to indicate their income. To adjust for household size, we also divided the participants' income by the number of persons who depended on the reported income. Education was measured using an 11-point scale (1 = no formal education, 11 = graduate degree) and then converted into years of formal education. Subjective socioeconomic rank was assessed by asking participants to indicate the relative income of the family in which they grew up on a 5-point scale (1 = well below average, 5 = well above average). Finally, neighborhood of data collection served as a proxy for neighborhood of residence and was operationalized as a dummy coded 1 for wealthy areas (i.e., South Zone) and 0 for deprived areas (i.e., Favela da Maré). This exact same approach was used in all the subsequent studies.

Participants who agreed to participate first completed a randomized questionnaire tapping into their perceived degree of need of different combinations of social causes:

There are several types of social causes. Regardless of how much people identify with/ like/ have an affinity for them, some causes target more urgent / necessary / basic issues than others. With that in mind, please compare the social causes below and answer the question.

Which of these two campaigns addresses a more urgent/ necessary/ basic problem in the city?

- *A campaign to help homeless people find shelter.*
- *A campaign to encourage people to participate in cultural activities.*

- *A campaign to help buy food for those who face hunger.*
- *A campaign to encourage people to participate in cultural activities.*

- *A campaign to promote safety and reduce violence.*
- *A campaign to encourage people to participate in cultural activities.*

- *A campaign to help homeless people find shelter.*
- *A campaign to encourage people to participate in sports activities.*

- *A campaign to help buy food for those who face hunger.*
- *A campaign to encourage people to participate in sports activities.*

- *A campaign to promote safety and reduce violence.*
- *A campaign to encourage people to participate in sports activities.*

Next, participants indicated the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a series of statements about their scarcity experiences in terms of access to shelter, food, and safety:

There are various basic human needs. SHELTER, FOOD and SAFETY are among the most common. Unfortunately, not everyone has access to shelter, food, and safety as they would like. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements [1 = totally disagree, 5 = totally agree]:

- *I or people close to me (friends or family) have been homeless.*
- *I or people close to me (friends or family) have run the risk of being homeless.*
- *Being homeless is a genuine concern in my life or in the life of those close to me (friends and family).*

- *I or people close to me (friends or family) have experienced hunger.*
- *I or people close to me (friends or family) have run the risk of not having what to eat.*
- *Running out of food is a genuine concern in my life or in the life of those close to me (friends and family).*

- *I or people close to me (friends or family) have suffered with the lack of safety.*
- *I or people close to me (friends or family) have run the risk of being victims of violence.*
- *Suffering from violence is a genuine concern in my life or in the life of those close to me (friends and family).*

Next, participants indicated their liking/affinity for cultural and sports activities:

Now, please disregard the comparisons made above and answer to the questions below focusing exclusively on your affinity with each of the described activities. There are no right or wrong answers, we just want to understand how much you value and/or identify with these activities REGARDLESS of any other issue.

People have affinity for various activities. These include cultural activities such as music, dance, art workshops, photography, theaters, and museums. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements [1 = totally disagree, 5 = totally agree]:

- *I believe that cultural activities are important.*
- *I care about cultural activities.*
- *I have an affinity with cultural activities.*
- *I like to participate in cultural activities.*

People have affinity for various activities. These include sports such as soccer, martial arts, swimming, volleyball, gymnastics, among others. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements [1 = totally disagree, 5 = totally agree]:

- ☐ *I believe that sports activities are important.*
- ☐ *I care about sports activities.*
- ☐ *I have an affinity with sports activities.*
- ☐ *I like to participate in sports activities.*

Finally, participants completed a demographic questionnaire and were then dismissed:

Finally, some demographic questions:

What is your gender?

- ☐ *Male*
- ☐ *Female*

What is your age?

What is your marital status?

▼ *Single ... Widowed*

What is your race / ethnicity?

- ☐ *Black*
- ☐ *White*
- ☐ *Asian*
- ☐ *Brown*
- ☐ *Indigenous*
- ☐ *Other* _____

How often do you take part in religious activities?

- ☐ *Never*
- ☐ *Once a year*
- ☐ *A few times a year*
- ☐ *Once a month*
- ☐ *Once a week*

What is your level of education?

▼ *No formal education ... Graduate degree*

What is your occupation?

Considering all the members of your household, what is the approximate monthly income of EVERYONE together? Include earnings from social programs/benefits in case you receive any.

▼ *less than R\$500 ... more than R\$40,000*

How many people depend on the income you mentioned?

▼ *1 ... 11 or more*

When compared to the income of the Brazilian population, would you say that the income of the family in which you grew up was:

- ☐ *Well below average*
- ☐ *Slightly below average*
- ☐ *Neither above nor below average*
- ☐ *Slightly above average*
- ☐ *Well above average*

Web Appendix B

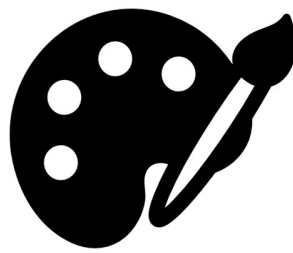
Study 1 - Complementary Information

All the participants received five R\$2.00 bills (R\$10.00) as a token of appreciation for their participation. The money endowed the participants with minimally similar resources to donate to help the homeless find shelter and/or to encourage people to participate in cultural activities. All the participants received two envelopes (one for the shelter donation cause and the other to the culture donation cause), where they could insert their voluntary monetary contribution. Whether participants contributed or not, they should deposit the envelopes in an opaque, locked urn placed a few meters away. Below are the texts (freely translated from Portuguese) and pictures printed on the envelopes and the urn used in the study.

Donation Shelter



Donation Culture



Urn



Participants completed a survey and responded to the same demographic questionnaire as the one used in the General Pretest. Upon completion of these questionnaires, participants were offered the opportunity to contribute to the two social causes described above:

You have finished this study. Thank you!

Before I forget, some of the interviewers in this research are raising money for two campaigns: helping the homeless find shelter and encouraging people to participate in cultural activities. We were allowed to collect contributions for these causes at the end of the study. Here are two envelopes, one for each of these causes. As this is not part of the research, you decide whether and how much you are willing to donate and to which cause(s). The donation is totally voluntary and anonymous. Please deposit the envelopes in that urn, even if you cannot contribute at this moment.

TABLE WA1: SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS AND TYPE OF CAUSE ON MONETARY CONTRIBUTIONS (STUDY 1)

	Composite Social Class		Education		Income		Neighborhood		Subjective SES Rank	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Social Class	0.04 (0.21)	1.11*** (0.27)	0.08** (0.04)	0.27*** (0.05)	-0.40 (0.55)	2.12** (0.83)	-0.37 (0.36)	1.48*** (0.50)	0.02 (0.13)	0.67*** (0.19)
Type of Cause	0.14 (0.35)	0.17 (0.33)	0.14 (0.35)	4.94*** (0.92)	0.14 (0.35)	1.88*** (0.46)	0.14 (0.35)	2.07*** (0.43)	0.14 (0.35)	3.90*** (0.75)
Social Class x Type of Cause		-2.14*** (0.34)		-0.37*** (0.07)		-5.04*** (1.01)		-3.69*** (0.67)		-1.31*** (0.26)
Male	0.47* (0.27)	0.47* (0.27)	0.48* (0.27)	0.48* (0.27)	0.47* (0.27)	0.47* (0.27)	0.44 (0.27)	0.44 (0.28)	0.47* (0.27)	0.47* (0.28)
Age	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Married	0.42 (0.32)	0.42 (0.32)	0.28 (0.33)	0.28 (0.33)	0.46 (0.32)	0.46 (0.32)	0.49 (0.32)	0.49 (0.32)	0.43 (0.32)	0.43 (0.32)
Religiosity	0.07 (0.10)	0.07 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)	0.01 (0.10)	0.01 (0.10)	0.06 (0.10)	0.06 (0.10)
White	-0.56* (0.33)	-0.56* (0.33)	-0.75** (0.31)	-0.75** (0.31)	-0.46 (0.32)	-0.46 (0.32)	-0.41 (0.33)	-0.41 (0.33)	-0.55* (0.31)	-0.55* (0.31)
Observations	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	572

Note: Composite social class is the combined measure of education, income, neighborhood of residence, and subjective SES rank. Income was measured using the bracket midpoints of a 16-point scale (1 = less than R\$500, 16 = more than R\$40,000). Education was measured using an 11-point scale (1 = no formal education, 11 = graduate degree) that was converted into years of education. Subjective socioeconomic rank was assessed by asking participants to indicate the relative income of the family in which they grew up on a 5-point scale (1 = well below average, 5 = well above average). Neighborhood of data collection served as proxy for neighborhood of residence and was operationalized as a dummy coded 1 for wealthy areas (i.e., South Zone) and 0 for deprived areas (i.e., Favela da Maré). Income is presented in R\$10,000. The table presents coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses).

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Web Appendix C

Study 2A - Complementary Information

All the participants received five R\$2.00 bills (R\$10.00) as a token of appreciation for their participation. The money endowed the participants with minimally similar resources to donate to buy food to be donated to people from impoverished communities and/or to help promote cultural activities in impoverished communities. All the participants received two envelopes (one for the food-related cause and the other for the culture-related cause), where they could insert their voluntary monetary contribution. We manipulated the salience of the relative of urgency of the causes by changing the image printed on these envelopes. While the participants in the control condition received envelopes containing icons depicting each need (i.e., a bread icon to symbolize food and a painting icon to symbolize culture), participants in the emotionally charged condition received envelopes containing real photographs of a child either alleviating hunger or engaging in a cultural activity. Whether participants contributed or not, they should deposit the envelopes in an opaque, locked urn placed a few meters away. Below are the texts (freely translated from Portuguese) and pictures printed on the envelopes and the urn used in the study.

Control Condition:



Emotionally Charged Condition:



Participants completed an unrelated survey and responded to the same demographic questionnaire as the one used in the General Pretest. Upon completion of these questionnaires, participants were offered the opportunity to contribute to the two social causes described above:

You have finished this study. Thank you!

Before I forget, some of the interviewers in this research are raising money for two campaigns, one to buy food to be donated to people from impoverished communities and the other to encourage people from impoverished communities to participate in cultural activities. We were allowed to collect contributions for these causes at the end of the study. Here are two envelopes, one for each of these causes. As this is not part of the research, you decide whether and how much you are willing to donate and to which cause(s). The donation is totally voluntary and anonymous. Please deposit the envelopes in that urn, even if you cannot contribute at this moment.

TABLE WA2: SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS, TYPE OF CAUSE, AND EMOTIONAL DISPLAY ON MONETARY CONTRIBUTIONS (STUDY 2A)

	Composite Social Class		Education		Income		Neighborhood		Subjective SES Rank	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Social Class	-0.31*	0.71**	-0.01	0.14**	-0.58*	1.35*	-0.60**	1.02*	-0.19*	0.49**
	(0.17)	(0.32)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.32)	(0.81)	(0.29)	(0.53)	(0.11)	(0.21)
Type of Cause	1.10***	0.18	1.10***	4.48***	1.10***	1.54***	1.10***	1.91***	1.10***	4.21***
	(0.28)	(0.36)	(0.28)	(1.18)	(0.28)	(0.53)	(0.28)	(0.49)	(0.28)	(0.97)
Emotional Display	0.44**	-0.51	0.43*	0.47	0.46**	-0.17	0.45**	-0.17	0.44**	0.17
	(0.22)	(0.33)	(0.22)	(0.81)	(0.22)	(0.38)	(0.22)	(0.34)	(0.22)	(0.71)
Social Class x Type of Cause		-2.24***		-0.35***		-4.16***		-3.65***		-1.44***
		(0.46)		(0.09)		(1.38)		(0.73)		(0.32)
Social Class x Emotional Display		-0.45		-0.08		-1.04		-0.73		-0.25
		(0.40)		(0.07)		(0.96)		(0.66)		(0.27)
Type of Cause x Emotional Display		1.90***		-1.10		1.11		0.83		0.15
		(0.53)		(1.50)		(0.67)		(0.64)		(1.35)
Social Class x Type of Cause x Emotional Display		1.25**		0.24*		2.53*		2.29**		0.63
		(0.63)		(0.12)		(1.52)		(1.06)		(0.47)
Male	0.15	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.19	0.18	0.11	0.10	0.14	0.14
	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.23)
Age	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.01	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Married	0.51**	0.51**	0.41	0.41	0.42*	0.43*	0.52**	0.51**	0.45*	0.45*
	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Religiosity	-0.11	-0.12	-0.08	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.12	-0.12	-0.11	-0.11
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
White	-0.12	-0.13	-0.32	-0.33	-0.17	-0.15	-0.10	-0.10	-0.20	-0.21
	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.26)

Observations	820	820	820	820	820	820	820	820	820	820
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Note: Composite social class is the combined measure of education, income, neighborhood of residence, and subjective SES rank. Income was measured using the bracket midpoints of a 16-point scale (1 = less than R\$500, 16 = more than R\$40,000). Education was measured using an 11-point scale (1 = no formal education, 11 = graduate degree) that was converted into years of education. Subjective socioeconomic rank was assessed by asking participants to indicate the relative income of the family in which they grew up on a 5-point scale (1 = well below average, 5 = well above average). Neighborhood of data collection served as proxy for neighborhood of residence and was operationalized as a dummy coded 1 for wealthy areas (i.e., South Zone) and 0 for deprived areas (i.e., Favela da Maré). Income is presented in R\$10,000. The table presents coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses).

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Web Appendix D

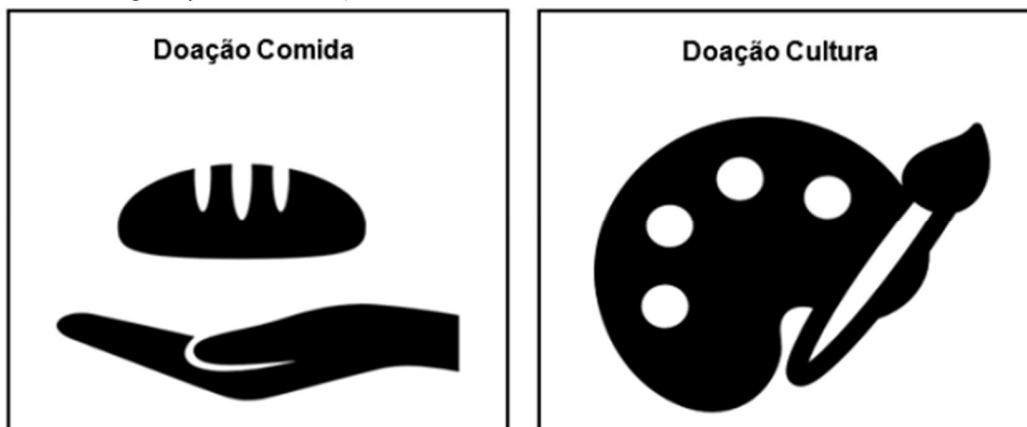
Study 2B - Complementary Information

This study was a short self-reported survey and participants, once approached, were asked to volunteer to participate. They received no monetary compensation. The procedure was as follows:

People donate to different social causes. Two very common causes are the purchase and distribution of food in impoverished areas and the promotion of cultural activities in impoverished areas.

The images below illustrate each of these causes:

Control urgency condition (“Donation Food” and “Donation Culture,” from left to right):



Emotionally charged condition (“Donation Food” and “Donation Culture,” from left to right):



Participants then filled a measure that assessed their sympathy/compassion toward the urgent versus the non-urgent cause:

Please indicate below the cause towards which you have the greatest sympathy/compassion:

- *Certainly the food-related cause*
- *Probably the food-related cause*
- *Neither one nor the other*
- *Probably the culture-related cause*
- *Certainly the culture-related cause*

Next, participants filled a perceived urgency measure, responded to a few unrelated questions, completed the same demographic questionnaire as the one used in the general pretest (except that gender was now measured with 3 categories: male, female, other), and were finally dismissed. Unfortunately, due to consistency bias in reporting, the perceived urgency measure was likely contaminated by the sympathy measure. The correlation between both measures was surprisingly high ($r = .63$). We then decided to (re)collect the perceived urgency measure in a separate study where this contamination could no longer affect results (Study 2C).

TABLE WA3: SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS AND EMOTIONAL DISPLAY ON SYMPATHY (STUDY 2B)

	Composite Social Class		Education		Income		Neighborhood		Subjective SES Rank	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Social Class	-0.14 (0.12)	-0.33** (0.15)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.08*** (0.03)	-0.23 (0.15)	-0.65*** (0.22)	0.01 (0.21)	-0.19 (0.26)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.19* (0.11)
Emotional Display	0.27* (0.15)	0.27* (0.15)	0.26* (0.15)	-0.86* (0.49)	0.28* (0.15)	-0.04 (0.20)	0.26* (0.15)	0.06 (0.22)	0.26* (0.15)	-0.14 (0.35)
Social Class x Emotional Display		0.34** (0.17)		0.09** (0.04)		0.62** (0.25)		0.38 (0.31)		0.16 (0.13)
Male	-0.65*** (0.16)	-0.62*** (0.16)	-0.65*** (0.16)	-0.59*** (0.16)	-0.65*** (0.16)	-0.64*** (0.16)	-0.65*** (0.16)	-0.64*** (0.16)	-0.66*** (0.16)	-0.64*** (0.16)
Age	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01** (0.01)	-0.01** (0.01)
Married	-0.16 (0.18)	-0.16 (0.18)	-0.15 (0.18)	-0.15 (0.18)	-0.17 (0.18)	-0.17 (0.18)	-0.21 (0.18)	-0.22 (0.18)	-0.16 (0.18)	-0.16 (0.18)
Religiosity	0.08 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)
White	-0.09 (0.20)	-0.08 (0.20)	-0.07 (0.19)	-0.08 (0.19)	-0.10 (0.18)	-0.07 (0.18)	-0.22 (0.20)	-0.22 (0.20)	-0.10 (0.19)	-0.10 (0.19)
Observations	314	314	314	314	314	314	314	314	314	314

Note: Composite social class is the combined measure of education, income, neighborhood of residence, and subjective SES rank. Income was measured using the bracket midpoints of a 16-point scale (1 = less than R\$500, 16 = more than R\$40,000). Education was measured using an 11-point scale (1 = no formal education, 11 = graduate degree) that was converted into years of education. Subjective socioeconomic rank was assessed by asking participants to indicate the relative income of the family in which they grew up on a 5-point scale (1 = well below average, 5 = well above average). Neighborhood of data collection served as proxy for neighborhood of residence and was operationalized as a dummy coded 1 for wealthy areas (i.e., South Zone) and 0 for deprived areas (i.e., Favela da Maré). Income is presented in R\$10,000. The table presents coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses).

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Web Appendix E

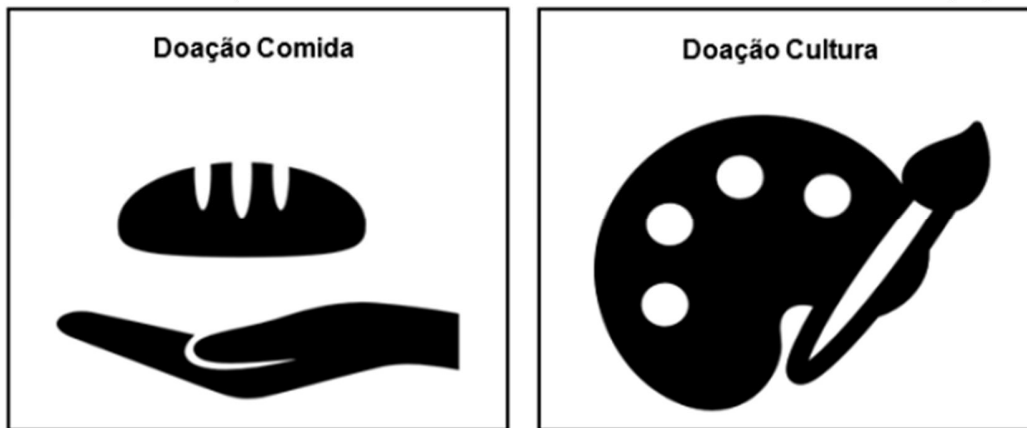
Study 2C - Complementary Information

This study was a short self-reported survey and participants, once approached, were asked to volunteer to participate. They received no monetary compensation. The procedure was as follows:

*There are several types of fundraising campaigns. Some campaigns target more serious problems **urgent** / **necessary** / **basic** than others. With your mind in mind, please compare the campaigns below.*

*Which of these two campaigns is targeting a more **urgent** / **necessary** / **basic** of the city?*

Control condition (“Donation Food” and “Donation Culture,” from left to right):



Emotionally charged condition (“Donation Food” and “Donation Culture,” from left to right):



Upon filling our perceived urgency measure, participants completed the same demographic questionnaire as the one used in the general pretest (except that gender was now measured with 3 categories: male, female, other) and were finally dismissed.

TABLE WA4: SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS AND EMOTIONAL DISPLAY ON PERCEIVED URGENCY (STUDY 2C)

	Composite Social Class		Education		Income		Neighborhood		Subjective SES Rank	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Social Class	-0.32 (0.23)	-0.24 (0.27)	-0.09** (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.21 (0.27)	-0.12 (0.33)	-0.40 (0.44)	-0.14 (0.51)	-0.23 (0.16)	-0.21 (0.19)
Emotional Display	1.04*** (0.32)	1.04*** (0.32)	1.04*** (0.32)	1.47 (1.00)	1.06*** (0.32)	1.19*** (0.44)	1.05*** (0.32)	1.37*** (0.46)	1.01*** (0.32)	1.11 (0.69)
Social Class x Emotional Display		-0.17 (0.33)		-0.03 (0.07)		-0.18 (0.41)		-0.65 (0.64)		-0.04 (0.24)
Male	-1.20*** (0.33)	-1.20*** (0.33)	-1.22*** (0.33)	-1.22*** (0.33)	-1.16*** (0.32)	-1.16*** (0.32)	-1.18*** (0.33)	-1.19*** (0.33)	-1.20*** (0.33)	-1.20*** (0.33)
Age	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Married	0.25 (0.37)	0.27 (0.37)	0.29 (0.37)	0.31 (0.37)	0.22 (0.36)	0.23 (0.37)	0.25 (0.37)	0.30 (0.37)	0.26 (0.37)	0.26 (0.37)
Religiosity	0.26* (0.13)	0.26* (0.13)	0.30** (0.14)	0.29** (0.14)	0.25* (0.13)	0.25* (0.13)	0.25* (0.13)	0.25* (0.13)	0.26* (0.13)	0.26* (0.13)
White	0.28 (0.44)	0.25 (0.45)	0.42 (0.44)	0.40 (0.44)	0.07 (0.41)	0.05 (0.41)	0.15 (0.43)	0.09 (0.44)	0.27 (0.43)	0.26 (0.43)
Observations	253	253	253	253	253	253	253	253	253	253

Note: Composite social class is the combined measure of education, income, neighborhood of residence, and subjective SES rank. Income was measured using the bracket midpoints of a 16-point scale (1 = less than R\$500, 16 = more than R\$40,000). Education was measured using an 11-point scale (1 = no formal education, 11 = graduate degree) that was converted into years of education. Subjective socioeconomic rank was assessed by asking participants to indicate the relative income of the family in which they grew up on a 5-point scale (1 = well below average, 5 = well above average). Neighborhood of data collection served as proxy for neighborhood of residence and was operationalized as a dummy coded 1 for wealthy areas (i.e., South Zone) and 0 for deprived areas (i.e., Favela da Maré). Higher scores in the perceived urgency measure indicate that the food-related cause was perceived as more urgent than the culture-related cause. Income is presented in R\$10,000. The table presents coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses).

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Web Appendix F

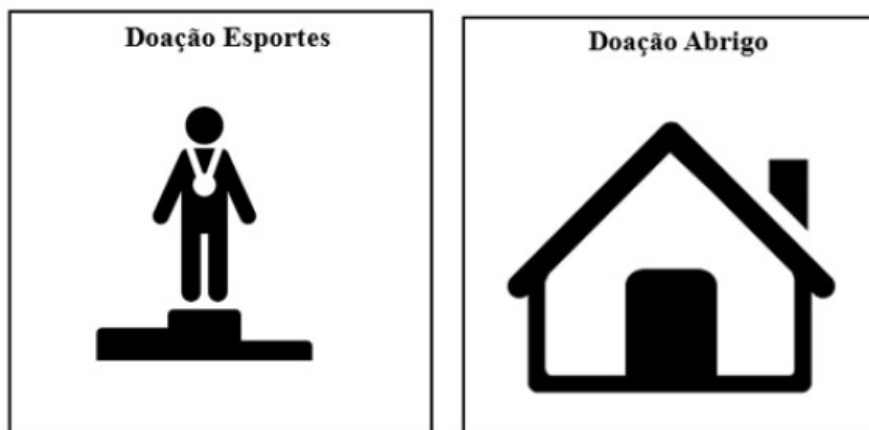
Study 3 - Complementary Information

This study was a short self-reported survey and participants, once approached, were asked to volunteer to participate. They received no monetary compensation. The procedure was as follows:

Imagine that you have the opportunity to split a small portion of your salary between two campaigns: one is to promote sports activities in impoverished communities and the other is to help homeless people from impoverished communities find shelter [help reduce violence in impoverished communities].

The figures below illustrate each of the causes:

Different experience with scarcity (shelter as urgent cause):



(“Donation Sports” and “Donation Shelter,” from left to right)

Similar experience with scarcity (safety as urgent cause):



(“Donation Sports” and “Donation Safety,” from left to right)

Please indicate below the cause to which you would donate the most money [order of causes was randomized]:

- *I would donate everything to the promotion of sports activities in impoverished communities*
- *I would donate considerably more to the promotion of sports activities in impoverished communities*
- *I would donate a little more to the promotion of sports activities in impoverished communities*
- *I would donate a little more to [help reduce violence in impoverished communities/ help homeless people from impoverished communities find shelter]*
- *I would donate considerably more to [help reduce violence in impoverished communities/ help homeless people from impoverished communities find shelter]*
- *I would donate everything to [help reduce violence in impoverished communities/ help homeless people from impoverished communities find shelter]*

Next, participants indicated the aspect that most influenced their donation decision (degree of urgency of the cause, affinity with the cause, other), reported their scarcity experiences in terms of access to shelter and safety (same approach as in the general pretest), completed the same demographic questionnaire as the one used in the general pretest, and were finally dismissed.

TABLE WA5: SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS AND SCARCITY CONDITION ON DONATION ALLOCATION PREFERENCES (STUDY 3)

	Composite Social Class		Education		Income		Neighborhood		Subjective SES Rank	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Social Class	-0.47*** (0.09)	-0.78*** (0.13)	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.14*** (0.02)	-0.61*** (0.23)	-1.68*** (0.37)	-0.87*** (0.17)	-1.26*** (0.22)	-0.35*** (0.07)	-0.52*** (0.09)
Similar Scarcity	0.65*** (0.15)	0.66*** (0.14)	0.63*** (0.15)	-0.75* (0.42)	0.65*** (0.15)	0.19 (0.20)	0.64*** (0.15)	0.26 (0.21)	0.62*** (0.15)	-0.23 (0.34)
Social Class x Similar Scarcity		0.56*** (0.16)		0.11*** (0.03)		1.56*** (0.43)		0.75** (0.29)		0.33*** (0.12)
Urgent Cause First	-0.43*** (0.15)	-0.41*** (0.14)	-0.42*** (0.15)	-0.40*** (0.15)	-0.41*** (0.15)	-0.41*** (0.15)	-0.42*** (0.15)	-0.41*** (0.15)	-0.45*** (0.15)	-0.43*** (0.15)
Male	0.10 (0.15)	0.10 (0.15)	0.11 (0.15)	0.13 (0.15)	0.09 (0.15)	0.11 (0.15)	0.04 (0.15)	0.05 (0.15)	0.10 (0.15)	0.09 (0.15)
Age	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Married	0.24 (0.17)	0.19 (0.17)	0.29* (0.17)	0.25 (0.17)	0.18 (0.17)	0.14 (0.17)	0.20 (0.17)	0.16 (0.17)	0.22 (0.17)	0.17 (0.17)
Religiosity	0.04 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.08 (0.07)	0.08 (0.07)	0.04 (0.07)	0.04 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
White	0.12 (0.17)	0.10 (0.17)	0.03 (0.17)	0.00 (0.17)	-0.08 (0.17)	-0.07 (0.17)	0.09 (0.17)	0.07 (0.17)	0.13 (0.17)	0.12 (0.17)
Observations	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400

Note: Composite social class is the combined measure of education, income, neighborhood of residence, and subjective SES rank. Income was measured using the bracket midpoints of a 16-point scale (1 = less than R\$500, 16 = more than R\$40,000). Education was measured using an 11-point scale (1 = no formal education, 11 = graduate degree) that was converted into years of education. Subjective socioeconomic rank was assessed by asking participants to indicate the relative income of the family in which they grew up on a 5-point scale (1 = well below average, 5 = well above average). Neighborhood of data collection served as proxy for neighborhood of residence and was operationalized as a dummy coded 1 for wealthy areas (i.e., South Zone) and 0 for deprived areas (i.e., Favela da Maré). Income is presented in R\$10,000. The table presents coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses).

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Web Appendix G

Supplementary Study - Complementary Information

Since this study uses a hypothetical paradigm, participants received no monetary compensation for their participation. The hypothetical scenario was described as follows:

Imagine that you have the opportunity to split a small portion of your income between two campaigns: one is to promote sports activities in impoverished areas and the other is to help homeless people find shelter.

The campaign to promote sports activities in impoverished areas has the following appeal:

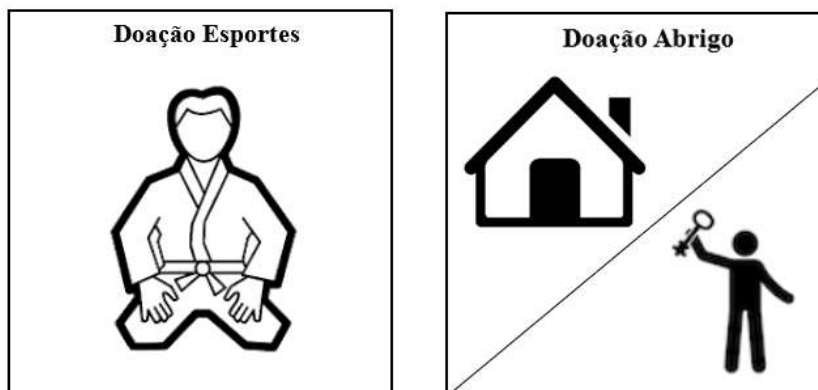
Help the residents of underprivileged areas to participate in sports activities and thereby develop their skills and self-esteem.

Focus of urgent cause: different scarcity experience (shelter):

The campaign to help homeless people find shelter, on the other hand, has the following appeal:

Help homeless people find shelter and thereby have a better quality of life.

Each of these appeals is also accompanied by an image depicting the cause in question, as illustrated below:



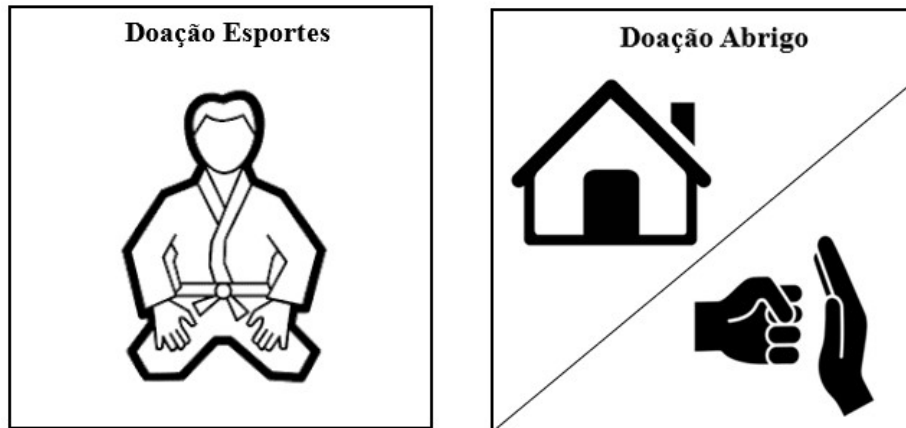
(“Donation Sports” and “Donation Safety,” from left to right)

Focus of urgent cause: similar scarcity experience (safety):

The campaign to help homeless people find shelter, on the other hand, has the following appeal:

Help homeless people find shelter and thereby reduce the widespread theft and violence in the city.

Each of these appeals is also accompanied by an image depicting the cause in question, as illustrated below:



(“Donation Sports” and “Donation Safety,” from left to right)

Please indicate below the cause to which you would donate the most money [order of causes was counterbalanced]:

- *I would donate everything to the promotion of sports activities in impoverished areas*
- *I would donate considerably more to the promotion of sports activities in impoverished areas*
- *I would donate a little more to the promotion of sports activities in impoverished areas*
- *I would donate a little more to help homeless people find shelter*
- *I would donate considerably more to help homeless people find shelter*
- *I would donate everything to help homeless people find shelter*

Next, participants indicated the aspect that most influenced their donation decision (degree of urgency of the cause, affinity with the cause, other), reported their scarcity experiences in terms of access to shelter and safety (same approach as in the general pretest), completed the same demographic questionnaire as the one used in the general pretest, and were finally dismissed.