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MANIFESTATIONS OF MORALITY AS COMMITMENT DEVICES: THE CONDITIONAL RELEVANCE OF EMPATHY DRA. ANN DE BUCK & PROF. DR. LIEVEN PAUWELS





INTRODUCTION

- The role of *human morality* in the explanation *of human cooperative choices*
- **Cooperation** = prosocial behavior that benefits others, regardless of whether the actor also benefits in the process (Batson & Powell, 2003; Barclay & van Vugt, 2014)

Morality

Morality is *about* cooperation (some moral behavior *is* cooperation, many moral phenomena *motivate* people to behave cooperatively)

- Evolutionary informed perspective on morality : analysis on different levels of explanation!! Ultimate functions:
 - to suppress selfishness and make social life possible (Haidt, 2008)
 - To uphold cooperative, caring, fair communities (Krebs, 2010; Tomacello, 2013)
 - To solve social dilemmas (conflict between self-interest and collective interest) (van Lange et al., 2014)

Proximate psychological mechanisms:



- a set of evolved psychological mechanisms (Batson, 2000; de Waal, 2009; Haidt, 2012; Krebs, 2011)
- **Commitment devices** (Frank, 1989; Nesse, 2000) -

EMOTIONS AS COMMITMENT DEVICES









GUILT AND EMPATHY AS COMMITMENT DEVICES

- *Empathy* (=concern about others, the ability to take others' perspective)
 - "Preparedness" for humans' capacity for morality (Bloom, 2013; Darwin, 1874; de Waal, 2009; Haidt, 2012; Hume, 1739; Smith, 1759)
 - Promotes prosocial behavior, inhibits antisocial behavior (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2021)
 - Precursor of guilt feelings (Eisenberg, 2000; Hofmann, 2001; Leith & Baumeister, 2008; Tangney, 1991)
- Guilt
 - Self-regulatory mechanism making people less likely to engage in behaviors they anticipate feeling guilty for committing (Baumeister et al., 1994; Hofmann, 2000; Tangney et al., 2007)
 - People refrain from cheating, lying, stealing..., not because they fear the consequences of being caught, but because they would *feel bad* if they did so (Frank, 1989)



SELF-SERVING JUSTIFICATIONS

- The tendency to have biased views regarding the propriety of one's own conduct (Adam Smith, ullet1759)
- Sykes & Matza (1957) \bullet
- **Self-deception** : active misrepresentation of reality (Trivers, 2002) \bullet
- Research shows that self-deception is widespread (Feldman, 2018; Frank, 1989; Trivers, 2002) \bullet
- Related to delinquency, alcohol use, gambling, unethcial decision making, violence, aggression ۲ (see overview Kiriakidis, 2016)
- Related to reduced levels of anticipated guilt (Ring & Kavussanu, 2017) ullet
- Lack of empathy is associated with higher levels of self-serving justifications (Delisi et al., 2013) \bullet





PREVIOUS STUDY





PRESENT FUDY: **1ULTIPLE** GROUPS OMPARISON

Exploration of the role of empathy by simultaneously testing for the effects of anticipated guilt and selfserving justifications in different subgroups



LOW empathic subgroup







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PARTICIPANTS

- Convenience sample of n=3817 adolescent youths in Dutch speaking part of Belgium (in 2019)
- Data collected via online scenario-based survey
- 1/3 male participants
- Mean age = 17.50y (SD= 5.15)



MEASURES

ENDOGENOUS VARIABLE: theft by taking

- **Uncooperative choices (2 items)**
 - How likely is it that you would keep the \in 50? (very unlikely very likely).
 - How likely is it that you would keep the €200?

EXOGENOUS VARIABLES

- Anticipated guilt (5 items, Marschall, Sanftner & Tangney, 1994).
 - e.g. I would feel remorse
- Self-serving justifications (2 items)
 - Stealing a small amount of money is OK when you consider that there are others who steal a lot \bullet of money
 - If people are careless where they leave their things, it is their own fault they get stolen

MODERATOR VARIABLE

Empathic concern and perspective taking- index (IRI, Davis, 1983)



MULTIPLE GROUPS COMPARISON

The sample was divided into three groups based on the z-scores on the empathic concern and empathic perspective taking index

- Persons whose scores fall 1 SD or more below the mean are considered LOW empathic (n=506)
- Persons whose scores falling 1 SD or more above the mean are considered **HIGH empathic** (*n*=538)
- The reminder as **average empathic** (*n*=2773)





STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

- SEM
- Mplus version 7.11 (Muthén & Muthén, 2012)
- MLR parameter estimates with robust standard errors (robust to nonnormality, heteroskedasticity, and dependence) (Kline, 2016)
- Model evaluation (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Marsh et al., 2004; Yu, 2002)

Chi Square	Smaller is betterSensitive to sample size
CFI/TLI	Acceptable >.90Good fit >.95
RMSEA	• Unacceptable >.10 • Good Fit <.06
SRMR	• Good fit < .05

TESTS FOR MEASUREMENT INVARIANCE \pm

Model	χ²	df	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR	ΔCFI*
Empathy_low (n=506)	70.966	24	0.974	0.062	0.027	
Empathy_medium	138.710	24	0.983	0.042	0.018	
Empathy_high	47.197	24	0.978	0.042	0.030	
Configural model	250.715	72	0.980	0.044	0.021	
Metric/weak invariance	286.469	84	0.978	0.044	0.035	0.002
Scalar/strong invariance	342.580	96	0.973	0.045	0.035	0.005
Strict Invariance (covariance between exogenous variables constrained to be the same)	361.402	98	0.971	0.046	0.057	0.002
Constrained model	116.256	102	0.971	0.045	0.068	0.009

The baseline model, tested separately in the groups, shows good model fit for each subgroup $(CFI > 0.970; SRMR \le 0.03).$



GHENT

Constraining the covariance structure of the latent variables equally across the groups **UNIVERSIT** estimated an equally good model.

LOW empathic subgroup (n=506)





LOW empathic subgroup (n=506)





HIGHLIGHTS

- A first attempt to examine the moderating role of empathy with the assumptions of varying effects of anticipated guilt and self-serving justifications simultaneously within the method of MGC
- Effect of anticipated guilt increases as levels of empathy increase
- Effect of self-serving justifications decreases as levels of empathy increase



DISCUSSION

- Relation empathy and morality?
- For other outcome variables, other forms of uncooperative behavior? (e.g. violence, aggression...)
- For other moral emotions? (e.g. shame)
- Does the model hold in other samples (e.g. in youthful offenders) ullet
- Using other methodologies?



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