

Newsletter of the
Altruism, Morality & Social Solidarity
 Section-in-Formation of the American Sociological Association

Volume 2, Issue 2 December 2010

Introducing the Concept of Social Courage

Gerd Meyer — University of Tuebingen, Germany

We all know situations in everyday life in which courage is sought to stand up for important personal and social values, to protect oneself, and to act on behalf of others: 1) Violence is threatening or used, or we meet other form of aggressiveness like mobbing/bullying or sexual harassment. 2) We are witnesses of more or less open racist, xenophobic or sexist remarks or of some form of nationalist chauvinism. 3) We stand alone with our opinion against a majority in a relevant group or hierarchy, in formal or informal meetings, and there is no compromise in sight.

Continued on page 20...

Our Two Important Projects

Vincent Jeffries, Acting Chairperson – Altruism, Morality & Social Solidarity

As individuals, and as a section, we have two important projects for 2011. One is crucially important, immensely difficult, and will transcend the life span of all of us as it moves from potentiality to increasingly fuller actualization. The second is also crucial, relatively easy to accomplish with sufficient collective effort, and must be concluded this year.

The first and most fundamental project is to define and develop the intellectual content of our section, and establish...

Continued on page 4 ...

Solidarity, Altruism and Genocide: A contribution to the section on Morality, Altruism and Social Solidarity. *Helen Fein—Institute for the Study of Genocide—Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government*

For many years, I have viewed sociology as a lens to explore the origins of collective evil and collective good. How this fits in my biography is best detailed in a chapter, "From Social Action to Social Theory and Back: Paths and Circles: in *Pioneers of Genocide Studies*...

Continued on page 7 ...

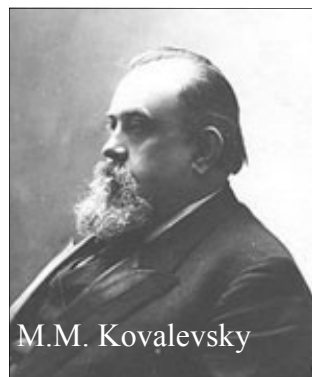
Slavophiles and Westernizers on *Sobornost*, Altruism and Solidarity (Middle 19th – Early 20th Century) *Dmitry Efremenko & Yaroslava Evseeva — Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences*

The contribution to studies of social solidarity by Russian left-wing thinkers of the middle 19th – early 20th century is widely recognized in today's world (our article published in the previous issue of the Newsletter was devoted to the topic).

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JOIN AN IMPORTANT NEW ASA SECTION

A section on "Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity" is in formation. Please consider joining us to participate in the activities and to work toward realizing the goals set forth in our Mission Statement.

How To Join:

The ASA website is www.asanet.org. From there go to "Membership Information," then "Join or Renew," and finally "Join a Section." We are on the list of sections: "Altruism, Morality and Social Solidarity (47)." Check to join the section, then go "Payment," which is only \$5.

So far we have 187 members, but we still need you to join our section before September 30, 2011 or we won't be recognized by ASA! Please take a moment and follow the instructions in the "How to Join" box to the left. Thank you!

Visit Our Section Homepage

Copies of the Section Newsletter and other documents are available on our Homepage:

<http://www.csun.edu/~hbsoc126/>

Mark Your Calendars!

Session for 2011 American Sociological Association Meetings In Las Vegas

Current Perspectives on Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity

Topic Index: altruism, morality, and and social solidarity

Resp: Elizabeth Armstrong

Organizer and Presider: Vincent Jeffries, California State University, Northridge

Papers in this session examine current research and theoretical development in the study of altruism, morality, and social solidarity. In the most general sense, this subject matter consists of intentions and actions to benefit the welfare of others. Examples are generosity, benevolence, philanthropy, intergroup cooperation, and universalizing solidarity. The subject matter also consists of ideas about good and evil and right and wrong. Both these interrelated phenomena span the micro-macro continuum, ranging from individuals, to forms and norms of interaction, to organizations and their normative cultures, and to the global social and cultural systems. This session introduces the study of altruism, morality, and social solidarity as a distinct field of sociological practice. The comprehensive nature and diversity of the field is reflected in the papers.

Confirmed Presenters:

- Civil and Uncivil Solidarities. Jeffrey C. Alexander, Yale University.
- Beyond Self-Interest and Altruism: Care as Mutual Nourishment. Paul G. Schervish, Boston College.
- Russian Solidarism: Past and Present. Dmitry Efremenko, Institute for Scientific Information on Social Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Cultural Models and Altruism. Stephen Vaisey, University of California, Berkeley.
- Empirical Research on Altruism and Generosity. Christian Smith, University of Notre Dame.
- Discussant: Edward A. Tiryakian, Duke University.

MISSION STATEMENT

Sociologists have long been concerned with how to build the good society. The section on altruism, morality, and social solidarity directly addresses this question.

In the broadest sense, the subject matter of altruism and social solidarity consists of activities intended to benefit the welfare of others. These activities span the micro-macro continuum, from individual, to interpersonal, to organizational, to global. They include phenomena such as generosity, forgiveness, unlimited love, virtue, philanthropy, intergroup cooperation, and universalizing solidarity. The subject matter of morality entails distinctions between good and evil, and between right and wrong. Such distinctions are an important aspect of each person's thoughts, actions, and moral judgments. They are also a component of all cultural systems, providing meanings that define for each collective some sense of the desirable and the undesirable. Norms regarding individual and intergroup relations are a part of these cultural systems. As a result, altruism and social solidarity are inevitably related to moral culture.

This foundational subject matter includes several general areas of theoretical development and empirical research. The first area is understanding the nature and variability of these phenomena, their forms and processes, and their anticipated and unanticipated consequences, at all levels of analysis. The second area is exploring the relationships that exist between altruism, social solidarity, and morality. This includes investigating the conditions under which cultural systems of morality vary, from mandating behavior harmful to others, to restricting concern for others to particular groups, to promoting a universalizing solidarity that potentially includes all persons and groups. The third area is the relationship between altruism, morality, and social solidarity and other sociocultural phenomena, such as the unequal distribution of power/authority and resources, the characteristics of social structures and of cultural systems, and the influence of different social institutions.

The intrinsic scientific, policy, and public relevance of this field of investigation in helping to construct "good societies" is unquestionable. The subject matter of the section gives scholars a unique opportunity to contribute to understanding the conditions necessary for a broad vision of the common good that includes all individuals and collectives.

Section activities are directed towards establishing the study of altruism, morality, and social solidarity as a recognized field of theoretical development and empirical research within the discipline of sociology. These activities include the following: providing for regular exchanges of information through the section Newsletter and the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association; formally recognizing outstanding theoretical, empirical, and applied work in the field of altruism, morality, and social solidarity through annual awards; and linking with other scientific groups working on genetic, psychological, and cultural aspects of these phenomena.

In doing so, we seek to develop and augment a community of scholars motivated to gain greater knowledge and understanding of altruism, morality, and social solidarity. We emphasize the importance of the investigation of the policy implications of this knowledge, and the dissemination of information to publics regarding aspects of altruism, morality, and social solidarity that will benefit individual lives, the social organization of society, and the prevailing culture.

Our Two Important Projects *(continued from page 1...)*

...it as a coherent and viable field within the discipline of sociology. Since the last edition of the Newsletter, the scope of our section has been expanded to include the study of morality. Therefore, our focus is now altruism, morality, and social solidarity. On the one hand, our practice of sociology is directed toward the study of actions and policies intended to benefit the welfare of others. On the other hand, this practice is also directed towards ideas of good and evil, and right and wrong. Both of these phenomena span the continuum from micro to macro. They are also inevitably interrelated. Our revised Mission Statement, which is in this Newsletter, identifies three major areas of theoretical development and research within this more comprehensive perspective. Surely, it is correct to say that our subject matter is among the most important sociologically. If we increase knowledge and understanding of altruism, morality, and social solidarity, and determine how this can be applied in techniques of transformation, we can make a major contribution to the lives of individuals and to the general society.

The second project is to change our status from section-in-formation to that of established section. This project is crucial primarily because its success can be viewed as a necessary condition for the continued progress of efforts to meet the challenge of establishing our field within the discipline. The formidable intellectual task of defining and developing a tradition of thought will be greatly facilitated by attaining the status of an established section within the American Sociological Association. This will give us a stable organizational base to develop an active and creative community of dedicated scholars.

When we become a section, a rewarding vista of opportunities will open for us. We will be able to hold periodic elections to elect a slate of section officers: chairperson, council members, and graduate student representatives. We will also be able to give awards for outstanding scholarship that will be formally recognized by the American Sociological Association: for example, career awards, book and article awards, and graduate student awards. Once we have advanced the section in this manner, we can turn our attention fully to our most fundamental task of scholarly work and its dissemination. We can also consider projects such as forming a Research Committee within the International Sociological Association, applying for grants for special conferences on altruism, morality, and social solidarity, and transforming our Newsletter into a regularly published journal. These are all exciting and worthwhile projects.

However, we must at this moment put first things first! To move from a section-in-formation to an established section we need to reach 300 members. Be aware and be certain: this is the end of the line! If we do not reach 300 members this year our section will be discontinued. We will lose our organizational status within the American Sociological Association. The task of developing and establishing the study of altruism, morality, and social solidarity within the discipline will become considerably more difficult.

So please consider this article as the announcement of the beginning of what needs to be a vigorous, concerted, and continuous campaign to recruit new members to our section. Timing is very important in this regard. We simply cannot expect to make a grand finish in September to reach our goal of 300 members. We need to begin now, and attempt to reach our goal by the middle of May, when the spring semester ends at most universities.

Continue on next page...

Our Two Important Projects *(Continued from previous page)*

After this time it will become more difficult to recruit new section members for the 2011 membership year. On the 10th of January we had 187 members. From this number we need to add 113 members to reach 300. From a different viewpoint, we need to increase last years' final section membership of 216 by about 40%. This is a difficult but certainly manageable project, provided we have sufficient membership participation in our recruiting effort. In early February I will be contacting all section members through our Section Listserv regarding this project. I will be asking for any suggestions you have about how we can achieve this goal of 300 members. I will also be asking for volunteers for a membership committee and the participation of many. This really is a "now or never" situation! Let's make it a "now."

The Need for Altruism and Social Solidarity as an Antidote to a Divided World

*Samuel P. Oliner, Director
Altruistic Personality and Prosocial Behavior Institute
Humboldt State University*

As an undergraduate student at a University in the city of New York when I brought up Pitrim Sorokin and his study of altruism, I was dismissed by the professor, who said that Sorokin is really a "philosopher of love" and not a sociologist, and love and caring was not a measurable variable in sociology, nor was it a discipline. Fortunately, today this idea of altruism, caring, compassion, social responsibility, and love is an idea whose time has come. We see this in the form of public sociology, that is to say sociology is getting involved with helping to alleviate social problems of society rather than writing articles that collect dust on professor's shelves. In a world still full of malaise, violence, poverty, and hatred, there is a desperate need for sociology and other social sciences to get involved with a study that has practical consequences on how to bring about a more caring society. In the last newsletter I mentioned that I published a book titled *Altruism, Intergroup Apology, Forgiveness, and Reconciliation*. Currently, I completed a book titled, *The Nature of Good and Evil*. In it I define what I mean by goodness, and its various manifestations. Goodness includes altruistic behavior, compassion, social justice, caring, volunteerism, and social responsibility for diverse others. The approach in this book is a review of relevant literature, but most importantly using anecdotes to illustrate what and why people do good things for others. In my discussion of evil I describe various typologies of evil, including radical and ordinary evil. Here too, I use examples of actual radical evil, which includes genocide as well as ordinary evil, simple bigotry and other manifestations of destructive human behavior.

From the Editors

Matthew T. Lee and Vincent Jeffries

As our Section-in-Formation continues to set newsletter records for both quantity, and we would argue, quality, the work involved in producing such newsletters can become overwhelming. Fortunately, in a spirit of altruism befitting of our Section, Vincent Jeffries has graciously agreed to co-edit this issue of the newsletter (which weighs in at 75 pages), and Joanna Lee has continued to offer her help with formatting and layout. Due to length, some material had to be kept out of this newsletter and will appear instead in a subsequent issue.

That assumes, of course, that there is a subsequent issue. As Vincent argues in his article on page 1, one of our important tasks is to ensure that the Section survives our September 30, 2011 membership deadline. If we do not have at least 300 members by that time, our Section will cease to exist. Please do what you can to recruit new members.

We hope that you enjoy this issue. There is a wealth of thought-provoking content inside which demonstrates that our Section is vibrant and beneficial to members. Long live the Section!

An Unusual Proposal to Increase Care in Society and to Decrease Gender Inequality

Paula England, Stanford University

On several dimensions, women, more than men, manifest behavior we might classify as altruistic or solidaristic: entering care occupations that involve helping others, taking primary responsibility for nurturing children, and disinclination to bargain self-interestedly against the interest of the other. Unfortunately for gender equality, all three of these things lead to lower pay. Care work pays less well than other work even net of educational requirements, as some of my research with Michelle Budig and Nancy Folbre has shown. Being a mother lowers women's earnings. This creates a real policy dilemma. Caring for others (whether for pay or outside of paid work) has social benefits that transcend the specific recipient of care. For example, a child who learns to read and to get along with others from a parent or teacher grows up to be more productive, less likely to commit crime. He or she grows up to be a better friend, spouse, or parent by virtue of the work of this parent or teacher. Given these positive externalities from caring or altruistic behavior, public policy should seek to increase the supply of such altruistic behavior. But when some are more altruistic than others, the altruists are disadvantaged economically. Thus, raising women's altruism is a questionable policy goal as the disproportionate participation of women in altruistic roles is already a source of gender inequality; in fact, lowering women's altruism would contribute to gender equality. Perhaps the best approach is to raise men's altruism. This increases the overall supply of altruism, while simultaneously decreasing gender inequality.

Editor's Note: This piece is a reprint from the last Newsletter due to an error in the title of the original article.

**SOLIDARITY, ALTRUISM AND GENOCIDE: A contribution to the section on
Morality, Altruism and Solidarity (December 2010)**

Continued from page 1...

...eds. Samuel Totten and Steven Jacobs (Transaction, 2002), from which this is largely extrapolated.

While studying at Columbia for my Ph.D. in sociology (1971), I found myself exploring the origin of the Amritsar massacre of 1919, and devised a theory to test the difference between defenders of the perpetrator (Gen. Dyer) and those who favored the sanction against him in debates in Parliament. Basically, I tested a theory based on revising Durkheim's concept of the collective conscience and solidarity (*Division of Labour* 1894) to understand how ethnoclass stratification and collective violence are related.

My key deductions were that "offenses against persons outside the universe of obligation will not be socially recognized and labeled as crime...[and that] collective violence is an offense against a class whose members are outside the universe of obligation" (Fein, *Imperial Crime and Punishment: The Jallianwala Bagh massacre and British Judgement, 1919-1920* (University Press of Hawaii, 1977). This was corroborated.

The concept of "the universe of obligation" was one but not the only basis of theories tested in *Accounting for Genocide: National Responses and Jewish Victimization During the Holocaust* (Free Press, 1979), winner of the Sorokin Award of the American Sociological Association in 1979.

One aspect of this book (not often remarked on in review) was not only accounting for national differences in rank of victimization but showing how defense of the Jews was more often effective when it was a collective defense, not based on individual altruism but collective movements (which I called "social defense movements") and churches which repudiated anti-Jewish discrimination early.

Further work on altruism includes a book based on interviews with heads of committees sponsoring Indochinese refugees, *Congregational Sponsors of Indochinese Refugees in the US, 1979-1981: Helping Beyond Borders* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1987), I had participated in this movement as a sponsorship developer employed by the Dutchess Interfaith Council (Poughkeepsie, New York) and head of a local sponsorship committee, New Paltz Citizens CAIR (Concerned About Indochinese Refugees).

The concept of solidarity, I found in my latest book, *Human Rights and Wrongs: Slavery, Terror, Genocide* (Paradigm Publishers, 2007) was integral to understanding the links between human rights, democracy and development - (chs. 7 & 8).

My own activities since then and that of my colleagues in the movement against genocide have been based not just on advancing scholarship but on seeking to prevent genocide. Assuming all people deserve to have their right to life protected.

LATEST NEWS FROM THE SCIENCE OF GENEROSITY INITIATIVE

J.P. Shortall

This past fall the University of Notre Dame's [Science of Generosity Initiative](#) completed the second round of its RFP competition, awarding \$1.4 million to nine research projects that will study the origins, manifestations and consequences of generosity. The winning projects were chosen from among 327 proposals by scholars in nearly all the social sciences and from around the world. The first round of the RFP competition was completed in the spring, when four projects received another \$1.4 million.

"In two rounds of competition, we received almost 700 research proposals, and these 13 projects gradually emerged as the most scientifically rigorous and promising we have seen. They are led by top-notch researchers and address a variety of important questions from diverse perspectives. I'm certain that we will learn a great deal about generosity from their work," says [Christian Smith](#), William R. Kenan Professor of Sociology and director of the generosity initiative.

Among the projects recently funded are:

- "Attachment Formation, Compassion and Generosity," by University of Kansas psychologist Omri Gillath, will look at how someone's sense of attachment security affects his or her compassion and generosity. This project employs attachment theory to investigate whether or not attachment security is one of the bases of generous behavior.
- "The Neural Circuitry Underlying Altruistic Behavior," by Stephanie Brown, assistant professor in the department of preventive medicine, State University New York, Stony Brook, will examine how altruistic behavior engages a suite of cognitions, emotions and neurophysiological circuitry that amount to a caregiving behavioral system that motivates parental and other forms of caretaking behavior.
- "Does Microfinancing Promote Generosity?" by Rohini Pande, the Mohammed Kamal Professor of Public Policy at the Harvard University Kennedy School. Pande will evaluate the impact of an influential development program—microfinance—on generosity in poor communities. The research on this project will provide evidence on how the introduction of microfinance affects the level of generosity in poor rural communities.

The initiative is also conducting its own primary data research project to understand what motivates as well as obstructs generosity. The project is using multiple mixed methods to seek to better understand the basic causal mechanisms that operate to generate, encourage and obstruct the exercise of generosity among people in a variety of settings.

For the purposes of this project, the researchers define generosity as *the virtue of giving good things to others freely and abundantly*. Generosity also involves giving to others not simply anything in abundance but rather giving those things that are good for others. Generosity always intends to enhance the true wellbeing of those to whom it gives.

One of the goals of the initiative is to help to create a coherent field of study around generosity and related topics, so researchers doing work on philanthropy, charity, volunteerism, fundraising, or organ donation, for instance, can find relevant research more easily than they could before. For this purpose, the initiative has created a website (generosityresearch.nd.edu) where visitors can find bibliographies, working papers, a Science of Generosity blog, and descriptions of current initiative research. They can also join an international network of generosity researchers and sign up to receive a regular electronic newsletter that provides its readers with news from the initiative as well as the latest on generosity research and researchers.

For more information, please contact JP Shortall at jshortall@nd.edu.

The Institute for Strategic Analysis of Foundations (INAEF)

Marta Rey, Director, INAEF

In January 2010 the Institute for Strategic Analysis of Foundations (INAEF) was launched in Spain with the goal of building useful knowledge about the organizational features and socioeconomic impact of Spanish charitable, nonprofit foundations. Charitable foundations amount to approximately half of nonprofit organizations currently active in Spain. Their significant growth in terms of number of new foundations created, resources available, levels of activity, diversity of public purposes pursued, and social visibility during the last three decades has translated into increased relative weight of this type of civil society organization within the third sector and the social economy. Charitable foundations have become not only relevant socioeconomic actors, but also research-worthy ones. The INAEF seeks to overcome existing barriers to systematic data gathering and analysis about this type of nonprofit, and to explore how different organizational models coexisting under the foundation legal formula contribute to social innovation and economic welfare in Spain.

The INAEF research project is launched in the context of to the lack of accessible, systematic and comparable data about philanthropy in Europe. This is the case despite its ancient tradition of private action for the public good, and the increasing importance of altruism and social solidarity for citizens' participation and welfare in contemporary societies; as it has been widely recognized from the realms of Sociology and other disciplines. While academic, practitioner and policy interest in altruistic behaviors of individuals and households on the one hand, and in philanthropic organizations on the other, has significantly grown during recent decades, empirical data on these phenomena are still scarce, scattered and non-systematic. This means a serious barrier against sustainable, multidisciplinary research efforts and also theoretical and methodological progress, particularly when compared to the advancement of the field in the United States; and of course prevents cross-country and historical comparisons.

This situation has been mapped for twelve European countries in the first publication by the European Research Network on Philanthropy (ERNOP, www.ernop.eu), entitled *The State of Giving Research in Europe* and focusing on individual and household giving. A similar problem exists regarding research on institutional philanthropy, that is even reinforced by the incredible diverse typology of organizations and legal frameworks that articulate private action for the public good across Europe. Spain is not an exception to this endemic lack of data. Public information about charitable nonprofit organizations (mainly foundations and public-benefit associations) is scattered around more than 60 registries and supervisory entities around the country, and the national accounting system does not either gather or provide specific information for the third sector.

The first objective of the INAEF project consists of building an information system for the sector, which increases the availability of data and enables sustainable data gathering about the estimated 8.000 active nonprofit foundations currently involved in public pursuing public benefit purposes in Spain, plus the c. 450 being created in average every year. In order to fulfill this objective, the founder and leading supporter of the project, the Spanish Association of Foundations (AEF, www.fundaciones.org), has forged a set of private-public partnerships. First, it has secured the support of a group of prominent foundations (Del Pino, Santander, Telefonica, ONCE, Areces, Botin) with a track record of involvement in capacity building for the nonprofit sector. Second, it has settled collaboration agreements with foundation registries and supervisory entities in order to exchange primary data and to share research results. And finally, this type of public-private partnership is being extended, in the project's current phase, to national statistical agencies, with the long-term objective of elaborating a satellite account for charitable nonprofit organizations.

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The Institute for Strategic Analysis of Foundations (INAEF)

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The second objective of the project is to produce the first report on the socioeconomic impact of the Spanish foundation sector. In order to fulfill this objective the Spanish Association of Foundations has assembled a multidisciplinary scientific committee and research team from three Spanish universities (A Coruña, Oviedo and Complutense of Madrid). The research team has been building a dataset upon diverse sources: the Association's database and foundation directory, on-line surveys to foundations, available primary and secondary sources, and the aforementioned public-private partnerships. The report aims to include basic descriptive organizational data (profile of individual or institutional founders, year of creation, supervisory entity, type of public benefit purpose, geographical scope of activities, main programs); characterize different types of human resources involved in their governance and management (employees, volunteers, board members); quantify population segments benefiting from their programs and main economic variables (income, expenditures, endowment and assets); and characterize different types of organizational arrangements. Effects of the economic crisis upon employment generated by the sector will be also preliminarily explored. It should be noted, however, that compared to the US, only a minor portion of the sector consists of pure grant-giving foundations. Most manage not their own programs in fields which range from international development to culture, or a diverse range of institutions and centers: hospitals, museums, R+D+i centers, universities and other educational institutions, social enterprises, businesses, public agencies, social services centers, etc. The Spanish foundation sector is characterized by a highly complex pattern of public-private partnership and competition, and compared to other European countries, shows a relatively high intensity in human resources (both paid and volunteer).

The third and last objective of the project consists of diffusing increased available data and analysis about Spanish charitable foundations with a double goal in mind: to provide incentives for academic research on philanthropic organizations under an international comparative perspective, and to improve the capacity of the sector to better serve society through reinforced accountability and transparency.

For more information about the research project see www.fundaciones.org/es/inaef or contact Marta Rey (martarey@udc.es), associate professor at the University of A Coruña, Spain.

Check out the European Research Network on Philanthropy for updates and the latest edition of their newsletter: www.ernop.eu/



Books of Interest

Fire in the Heart: How White Activists Embrace Racial Justice

By Mark R. Warren



Fire in the Heart

HOW WHITE ACTIVISTS
EMBRACE RACIAL JUSTICE

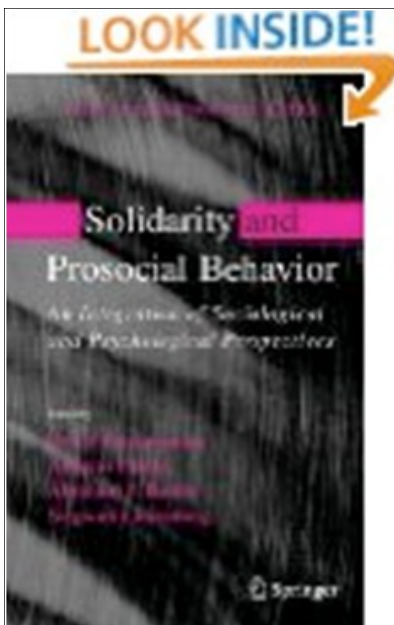
Mark R. Warren



Fire in the Heart uncovers the processes through which white Americans become activists for racial justice. This first study of its kind reports accounts of the development of racial awareness drawn from in-depth interviews with fifty white activists in the fields of community organizing, education, and criminal justice reform. The interviews demonstrate how white Americans can develop a commitment to racial justice, not simply because it is the right thing to do, but because they see the cause as their own. Warren argues that motivation to take action for racial justice is moral and relational and shows how white activists come to find common cause with people of color when their core values are engaged, as they build relationships with people of color that lead to caring, and when they develop a vision of a racially just future that they understand to benefit everyone—themselves, other whites, and people of color. The book also considers the complex dynamics and dilemmas white people face in working in multiracial organizations committed to systemic change in America's racial order, and provides a deeper understanding and appreciation of the role

that white people can play in efforts to promote racial justice.

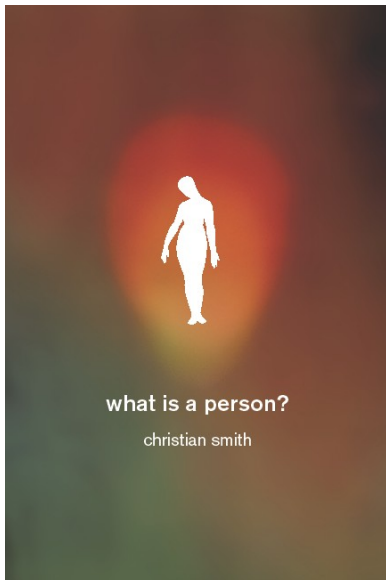
Book website: <http://mark-warren.com/fireintheheart/> Mark R. Warren is associate professor of education at Harvard University.



Solidarity and Prosocial Behavior: An Integration of Sociological and Psychological Perspectives (Critical Issues in Social Justice) by Detlev Fetchenhauer, Andreas Flache, Abraham Buunk, and Sigwaart Lindenberg is now available from Amazon.com.

More books of interest on
the next two pages!

Books of Interest (Continued)



***What is a Person?: Rethinking Humanity, Social Life, and the Moral Good from the Person Up* by Christian Smith**

The question, “what is a person?,” has been a perennial concern of philosophers and theologians. But, Christian Smith here argues, it also lies at the center of the social scientist’s quest to interpret and explain social life. In this ambitious book, Smith presents a new model for social theory that does justice to the best of our humanistic visions of people, life, and society. Seeking to overcome modernity’s fact/value divide, the final two chapters of the book address the basic questions of the human good and human dignity.

Finding much current thinking on personhood to be confusing or misleading, Smith finds inspiration in critical realism and personalism. Drawing on these ideas, he constructs a theory of personhood that forges a middle path between the extremes of positivist science and relativism. Smith critically engages the strong social constructionism, network structuralism, and variables paradigm in sociology.

Smith then builds on and beyond the work of Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, William Sewell, and Douglas Porpora to demonstrate the importance of personhood to our understanding of social structures. From there he broadens his scope to consider how we can know what is good in personal and social life and what a critical-realist sociology can tell us about human rights and dignity.

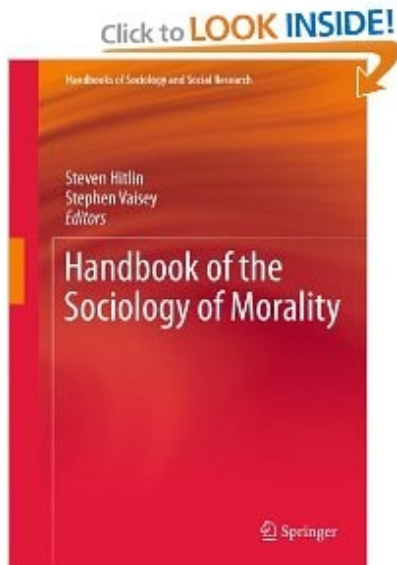
Innovative, critical, and constructive, *What Is a Person?* offers an inspiring vision of a social science committed to pursuing causal explanations, interpretive understanding, and general knowledge in the service of truth and the moral good. The book provides an informative introduction to critical realism and an application of a critical realist outlook to fundamental questions about human persons and actions, and social structures.

Reviews: “Smith has addressed a crucial and unanswered question in social theory and philosophy and has done so from an entirely original angle. Although sociology in the United States has long abjured any systematic discussion of ontological issues, many sociologists now realize that they cannot move forward without addressing the questions Smith raises here. In addition to this ontological turn, sociologists have also shown increased interest in alternatives to neopositivist sociological orthodoxy. Given a century of philosophical underdevelopment in the discipline, an author like Smith and a book like this one are more important than ever. *What Is a Person?* is destined to be something of a classic.”--George Steinmetz, University of Michigan

“This is an outstanding and important work of scholarship. I am confident *What Is a Person?* will be a landmark for the field; it will generate a good deal of contention, will be cited for many years to come, and will help influence the direction of social theory and the practice of sociology itself. Smith synthesizes a wide range of arguments, positions, theories, and assumptions in ways that are innovative, analytically powerful, and, finally, convincing. Yet the real originality of the book is in the structure of the larger argument, the cumulative weight of his critical but disciplined reading of this literature and, of course, the case he makes for a critical realist personalism as an alternative to various prevailing models. This is an extraordinary accomplishment.”—James Davison Hunter, University of Virginia

“*What Is a Person?* boldly raises the fundamental questions about the understanding of the person in social science that many thinkers either want to ignore or are content to say mindless things about. I know of no better example of a social scientist employing the resources of philosophy to deepen, clarify, correct, and enrich his own field. It is lucidly organized, philosophically sophisticated, written in clear prose, and takes account of an astounding amount and variety of literature. For me, a philosopher rather than a social scientist, Smith’s way of typologizing and critiquing the main options in his field was extraordinarily illuminating. It’s a terrific contribution to a topic of fundamental importance.”--Nicholas Wolterstorff, Yale University

“*What is a Person?* is a clear and comprehensive reconsideration of the meaning of human personhood as the central core of social structures. With breadth of intellect and balance of wisdom, Smith resets the frame of reflection for the most important discussions of the twenty-first century.”—William B. Hurlbut, Stanford University



Handbook of the Sociology of Morality

Dr. Steven Hitlin

Dr. Stephen Vaisey

Human beings necessarily understand their social worlds in moral terms, orienting their lives, relationships, and activities around socially-produced notions of right and wrong.

Morality is sociologically understood as more than simply helping or harming others; it encompasses any way that individuals form understandings of what behaviors are better than others, what goals are most

laudable, and what "proper" people believe, feel, and do. Morality involves the explicit and implicit sets of rules and shared understandings that keep human social groups intact. Morality includes both the "shoulds" and "should nots" of human activity, its proactive and inhibitive elements.

At one time, sociologists were centrally concerned with morality, issues like social cohesion, values, the goals and norms that structure society, and the ways individuals get socialized to reproduce those concerns. In the last half-century, however, explicit interest in these topics has waned, and modern sociology has become uninterested in these matters and morality has become marginalized within the discipline.

But a resurgence in the topic is happening in related disciplines – psychology, neurology, philosophy, and anthropology - and in the wider national discourse. Sociology has much to offer, but is not fully engaged in this conversation. Many scholars work on areas that would fall under the umbrella of a sociology of morality but do not self-identify in such a manner, nor orient their efforts toward conceptualizing what we know, and should know, along these dimensions.

The *Handbook of the Sociology of Morality* fills a niche within sociology making explicit the shared concerns of scholars across the disciplines as they relate to an often-overlooked dimension of human social life. It is unique in social science as it would be the first systematic compilation of the wider social structural, cultural, cross-national, organizational, and interactional dimension of human moral (understood broadly) thought, feeling, and behavior.

SOROKIN: FROM WAR TO ALTRUISM

Pavel Krotov — Sorokin Research Center

Seemingly paradoxical, Pitirim Sorokin's turn in his theoretical interests from empirical studies of social change toward a social utopia of creative altruism may have been partly a logical development of his studies and views on wars.

It was a distinct feature of Pitirim Sorokin, both as a sociologist and as a social philosopher, that there was an inseparable interweaving of his personal life with his research agenda. Indeed, his initial interest and first serious steps in sociology coincided with World War I and the Russian Revolution at the beginning of the twentieth century. Not surprisingly, therefore, that his following studies were related to the analysis and understanding of social change on a large scale. His "Leaves from a Russian Diary," "Sociology of Revolution" and less known works displayed theoretical reflections on his own experiences, including a "participant observation" of the Revolution and Civil War in Russia.

Beginning from 1918 questions regarding how people and social institutions change during war were constantly on Pitirim Sorokin's research agenda. These views on war went through substantial revisions, derived from new research data collected and from Sorokin's own theoretical development. In a book recently submitted for publication in Russia "From War to Peace: Pitirim Sorokin's Theory and Practice during World War II" we argue that the concept of creative altruism and the establishment of the Harvard Research Center for Creative Altruism were the highest points in Pitirim Sorokin's development of a theory of war and peace. In other words, Sorokin's interest in altruism gradually emerged and grew from his theoretical reflections on wars and international conflicts. Four discrete points can be identified in this reflection process that lasted almost half a century.

First is a perception of war as the uncontrolled outburst of the worst energy in individuals and society. Sorokin viewed wars as "the beast" that consumes the best intellectual and physical human capital in the society. War transforms each element in the society into destructive mechanisms and leaves a long-lasting scar on the post-war development of society. War begins and ends similar to a plague, follows its own rules, and stops when it saturates its hunger. Here, Pitirim relied on the Russian Revolution, which occurred in the midst of the World War I and rapidly transformed into a brutal Civil War. As a sociologist, Sorokin was puzzled by striking changes in the behavior of people he personally knew, and the immense hostility that overwhelmed the Russian society in very short time (Leaves from a Russian Diary, A Long Journey).

Second, was an actual empirical study of war dynamics in history and their impact on various countries (Dynamics, vol.3). This study was concluded with a result that technological progress does not make wars less feasible or less likely to occur. Economic, religious, or political factors alone cannot explain the fluctuation of wars in history. It is rather a clash of different value systems that increases the likelihood of wars. In "A Neglected Factor of War" he drew the attention of sociologists to the overlooked importance of sociocultural values in the fluctuation of wars in Europe. He defines two states in which the system functions. First is a state of balance, where all the elements of a sociocultural system are clearly defined and accepted, second is a state of "anomy", or chaos and uncertainty. In this state, society is highly differentiated into groups with antagonistic values. Such a state increases the likelihood of war. If such polarization of values occurs within the nation-state, then it increases the likelihood of civil war. If the clash of sociocultural values takes place between states, then it might lead to a war between countries. Sorokin saw in the ideas and values proclaimed by the Nazis, such as racism and a "new order" based on Nazi dominance, an inevitable antagonistic conflict with neighboring states.

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When several other states joined the Nazi's value system, the entire Western world moved to the verge of new war. Considering that the article appeared a year before the new World War II began it proved the accuracy of Sorokin's analysis.

The third stage was an observation of two world superpowers emerging, either with a threat to eliminate the entire humankind, or with a true possibility to establish conditions for peace without wars. Here Sorokin saw the moral education of elites as the way to turn the world away from sliding into a new catastrophe (Russia and the United States, p.8.). In the case of Russia and the United States, by demonstrating deep historical roots and similarities in sociocultural values between these two great peoples and nations, Sorokin hoped that leaders of these two countries, following the spirit of comradeship molded in the war against the Nazis, would use this unique historic opportunity to build a new world. In stating "the indispensable conditions for a lasting peace" he made an argument that later became one of the grounds of his research on altruism. Even now it sounds very contemporary: "We cannot make identical all the religious, ethical, and juridical norms, aesthetic values, or economic, and political organizations of peoples in diverse countries. But we can make them compatible by universalizing their basic norms of conduct. Without organization of a moral universe no lasting peace is possible, no matter what economic or political reforms are made" (Russia and the United States. p236.).

Thus, the ultimate evolution of Pitirim Sorokin's conceptualization of war and peace became a search for applied methods to generate altruism and altruistic behavior within the entire society. Finally he arrived at the point where "good neighbors" were considered to be the foundation for such a start to expand it to a larger scale. Sorokin wrote in "Altruistic Love," referring to the altruistic activities of "good-neighbors": "Great altruists alone cannot supply even the very minimum of love and mutual help necessary for any surviving society...it is furnished by thousands and millions of our plain "good-neighbors." Each giving a modest contribution of love, in their totality they produce an enormous amount of "love energy". Without this moral foundation of the deeds of the "good-neighbors" no society can be satisfactory" (cited from Weinstein, Jay). He characterizes "good neighbors" along these lines: "A quest for sympathy, understanding, and encouragement -- the desire to find a co-sympathizer in either despair or loneliness -- is just as strong in human beings as the need for food or clothing" (cited from Weinstein, Jay). According to Sorokin, there was no other alternative but value systems rooted in altruism and solidarity to create a possibility for peace without wars.

The benchmark between the analysis of wars and creating the new theoretical venue of sociology became World War II. It is very possible a significant role in this transition was played by Sorokin's family in their giving practical assistance within the framework of the Russian War Relief. Here, Mrs. Elena Petrovna Sorokin (1894-1975) has a special place. Born and brought up in Russia, Elena Sorokin (former Baratynskaya) joined her husband when he was banished from Russia in 1922. In Prague, where they lived for two years, Mrs. Sorokin began to work on her doctor's degree in cytology at the University of Prague. She later completed her studies at the University of Minnesota. On her own she continued research on cytology, formally being associated with the University of Minnesota, and later with Harvard, when Pitirim Sorokin was invited to establish the Department of Sociology there. In addition to Russian and English she spoke French, German and some Czech. In addition to her research, and bringing up two sons who were born in Winchester MA, she was very active in community life. As the Nazis invaded Russia in 1941, she fully devoted herself to assist the Russian people.

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As soon as the national organization to help Russian people was established in New York, she joined the board of the Boston branch of Russian War Relief. She also was one of the most active founding members of the Winchester committee of this organization, and later the Chairperson.

Although Pitirim was not an official member of the organization, several of the organization's program documents and mission statements have a very clear connection to his articles in the newspapers and the ideas in his scientific papers. The Russian War Relief activity aimed at establishing communication between ordinary Russian and American families. What is now called "targeted assistance" was the key principle of the relief. Three major programs of assistance were run by the Winchester (and Massachusetts) committees of RWR: warm cloth collection, emergency kits, and medical supply. The total value of assistance collected nation-wide during the 1943-1944 campaigns amounted to \$17,293,339.

No less important were attempts of the foundation's volunteers to establish direct relations between Russian and American families on a large scale in order to promote solidarity and friendship. Each campaign organized by the Russian War Relief emphasized the need to know who the donor is for each parcel, and for the donor to know the actual beneficiary. For this purpose, in each package that went to Russia, a card was inserted with a return address in the US. In fact, such a program had a great potential for generating what Pitirim Sorokin called common "sociolocultural values" based on a direct communication between people. Indeed, thousands of Americans were engaged in these assistance programs, as well as millions of Russians who received the personalized parcels. Yet, the Cold War, inspired by politicians soon after World War II, undermined these efforts.

This promotion of person to person ties between Americans and Russians is illustrated in the text of the following card sent to Elena Sorokin and received in the United States in 1944:

Dear Untie Lena!

We, women of Leningrad, have received a train car of your gifts and distributed them among the workers of chemical factories, i.e. gave them to the 10,000 of the needed. All of them are appreciative for your care and attention. The Russian "thank you" to the Americans!

name: Maria Tarabonova address: Leningrad 30, 6th Lane 10.

Practical assistance to ordinary Russians during the war, and the enthusiasm of thousands of ordinary Americans responding to a call to ease the sufferings of a country located on the other side of the globe, might have inspired Pitirim to search for a means to creating a better world among "good neighbors." This focus on neighbors was a major part of his early writing on altruism, and is further reflected in his basic orientation to programs of altruistic transformation beginning at the micro level then moving to the meso and macro levels.

All photos came from the forthcoming book by Pavel Krotov and Alexander Dolgov.

All documents provided by Sergei Sorokin from the family archives in Winchester.

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П.П.КРОТОВ, А.Ю.ДОЛГОВ

СЕМЬЯ СОРОКИНЫХ В БОРЬБЕ ПРОТИВ ОАШИЗМА

RUSSIAN WAR RELIEF, INC.
WINCHESTER COMMITTEE

Honorary Chairman: General
Mrs. Philip Sorokin, Vice Chairman
Catherine D. Sorokin, Secretary
John D. Sorokin, Treasurer

16 Calumet Road
Winchester, Massachusetts
Winchester 1022

Дорогой друг!
DEAR FRIEND:

Дорогая Елена!
Мы ленинградки получили вагон
защитных подарков и расфиделили среди
работавших в ленинградской промышленности, т.е.
роздали 10.000 нуждающимся.
Все они благодарят вас за вашу чуйкость
и внимание. Русское спасибо американцам!
Имя: Мария Макабанова
Адрес: Ленинград 30 6-я линия 10.

ЦЕНТР ИМЕНИ ПИТИРИМА СОРОКИНА

Man on right:
Pitirim Sorokin

Woman on left:
Sorokin's wife,
Elena.

This is a book jacket for the forthcoming book in Russian about evolution of Sorokin's theory of war and their participation in the Russian War Relief

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(Left)
Poster for
the warm
clothes
collection
in 1943
issued by
the cen-
tral office
of RWR
in NY.



(Above) Photo is from the RWR MEMO (Newsletter) vol.no.9 March 1944. Mary Pickford works as a waitress at a charitable events for the Russian Navy.

Family Kit included:

- (2) 1 lb boxes of sugar, preferably cube or table, if not available 2 lbs granulated sugar;
- (2) 2.25 oz packages dehydrated soup mix;
- (1) 14.5 can evaporated milk;
- (2) packages bouillon cubes for broth (10 cubes;)
- (1) 5.5 oz box sweet cookies;
- (1) 1 lb package of very hard candies;
- (1) small sewing kit;
- (2) bars white laundry or bath soap;
- (1) pair of knitting needles;
- (1) 2.5 yd. roll of 1-inch surgical adhesive tape;
- (1) 6 yd. roll of 2-inch gauze bandage;
- (1) package of cigarettes;
- (1) package pipe tobacco;
- (1) book cigarette paper;
- (1) Turkish hand towel;
- (1) pair of adult's warm work gloves.



In Washington, WPB Chairman Donald M. Nelson honors Stalingrad by presenting RWR kit to Mrs. Andrei Gromyko, wife of the Soviet Ambassador, for a Soviet family. Both examine the kit.

(Above) WPB Chairman Donald M.Nelson honors Stalingrad by presenting RWR Family Kit to Mrs.Andrei Gromyko, wife of the Soviet Ambassador, for a Soviet family. Both examine the kit. (Left: Items in Family Kit.)

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Introducing the Concept of Social Courage

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In all these situations there is an inter- and intrapersonal conflict, latent or manifest. No matter whether we are directly or indirectly involved (e.g. as a bystander), we have to ask ourselves: Can I, should I, intervene, speak out and enter into an open conflict, with risks often hard to calculate in advance? Am I strong enough to stand up for others and to follow my convictions – facing all the disadvantages solidarity and resistance may have? In my situation, can I “afford” to contradict my boss, my colleagues or friends and, as a possible consequence, to become an outsider? In short, in all these situations, social courage is required to assert oneself and to prevent harm from others.

1. The concept of social courage

What is meant by social courage? Social courage is a specific form of courageous action – not just for myself (e.g. like a bungee jump), but towards others and in public. What are typical situations, patterns of behavior, and motives when acting with social courage?

Social courage is a type of social action in *specific situations* which are characterized by the following features:

- an event, which violates the psycho-physical integrity and/or values and interests essential for a person or group;
- a conflict with others resulting from this violation;
- pressure to act, but also room for alternative action,
- an observing and/or participating public (i.e. more than two people are present),
- a real or perceived imbalance of power, e.g. the actor is in a minority/majority situation in a group, or in a position of subordination in a hierarchy, being dominated or dependent, which is often combined with a strong pressure to comply or to conform;
- risks, i.e. the success of actions with social courage is uncertain, disadvantages are likely and have to be accepted by the actor.

Social courage is *a specific type of social action* which takes place

- in specific situations (as defined above),
- in different social contexts and related publics,
- when a person or group voluntarily stands up for the legitimate, primarily non-material interests and/or the integrity or welfare primarily of other persons, but also of him/herself,
- following humane and democratic principles.

In many cases, help, solidarity and altruism are implied in actions of social courage. What primarily distinguishes social courage from these more general forms of prosocial behaviour or from courage in general, is the *specific character of the situations* where it is in demand: there is a conflict, there are risks or possible disadvantages, an imbalance of power, and interactions are public. Social courage is not limited to acute or single situations (“emergencies”) that unexpectedly require immediate action. Often, but not always, there is a “perpetrator/victim” situation.

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Social courage may also be required in situations in which dissatisfaction and pressure to act increase over time, e.g. on the job, in institutions, or in the community. If someone wants to act courageously in these situations, he/she usually waits for “the right moment and the right place” to articulate him/herself, alone or supported by others. In politics, concerning action in large publics, often no clear distinction is made between courage in general and social/civil courage in the specific sense as defined above.

Modes of action

We distinguish *three types of acting with social courage*:

1. *To intervene* in favor of others, in most cases in unexpected situations where some form of violence is threatening or used and when one has to decide quickly what to do and to act spontaneously, e.g. when somebody is harassed or attacked in a bus or in the street.
2. *To stand up* for important values and ideals, for other people’s rights or legitimate interests, in most cases without acute pressure to act, especially in organized contexts, e.g. on the job or in institutions.
3. *To defend primarily oneself* (but maybe indirectly also others), to withstand, to resist, to say “no”. In many cases, this means to protect yourself and to stand by one’s convictions against unreasonable demands, injustice, or aggression.

In most, but not in all cases, social courage is displayed by individuals. Usually smaller groups can also show social courage, mostly related to public affairs. Social courage is a quality of a specific type of social action, not a personality trait. It does not imply a permanent pattern of behavior. Acting with social courage can be spontaneous or carefully planned; it can be determined in a more rational, emotional or intuitive way. In many situations, fear and other intrapersonal thresholds have to be overcome. In most cases, people acting with social courage do so independently of their chances for success or external rewards. Or, in the perspective of an observer, social courage does not require reckless or heroic action or even blind sacrifice. As a rule, social courage means *non-violent action*. Yet, as an exception, there may be cases of self-defense or emergency situations where in order to safeguard higher ranking values, e.g. the physical integrity of a person, immediate intervention using force is necessary and legitimate as a last resort, i.e. if no alternative or help from outside are available.

2. Motivation and justification

Acting with social courage means standing up voluntarily, noticeably, and actively *for humane and democratic values, for the rights and/or legitimate interests* of individuals or groups. Consequently, “courageous” advocacy for xenophobia, authoritarianism and right-wing extremism, for hate, war or violence to solve social conflicts, should not be regarded as social courage. One may question the *normative option* implied in this definition. If one prefers a value-free definition, any acts of social courage for any goal against the existing will of any majority would be included in the notion. It would comprise, for example, the courage of an extremist who wants to substitute an authoritarian order for an existing democratic one; or the courage of prejudiced and intolerant citizens who consider all Muslims to be potential or real terrorists who should leave the country etc. However, as a concerned researcher, I follow the normatively oriented concept of social courage prevailing in German-speaking countries (“Zivilcourage”).

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Hence I am not interested in doing research on courageous, but non-democratic behavior.

If somebody acts with social courage, then he/she voluntarily and publicly takes responsibility for others, but also for him/herself. Very often altruistic care for others, *moral principles* (e.g. social justice) and *humanistic values* (e.g. personal dignity) are strong positive motives and prevail in acts of social courage. But they are not required *by definition* as the *only* motivation and justification. Social courage can be more defensive in character, in order to prevent harm from being done to others and oneself; or it can be more offensive, in order to promote or foster primarily the welfare of others, possibly even a larger group of people not known to the individual personally (Jonas 2009). Thus the *rights and legitimate interests* of those acting with social courage may be included. Social courage should be inclusive and universal, without the will to discriminate or suppress others. But in reality it is often restricted to one's own group or organization. Altruism, solidarity and general welfare or in general values of "self-transcendence" usually prevail in social courage. At the same time, acting this way usually goes with some "self-interest" to keep one's moral self-concept, a good conscience, or to follow the ethics of a group within a democratic framework. So there is always some personal satisfaction in helping (and avoiding the costs of non-helping). But there is *no dominance* of interests of "self-enhancement" (e.g. material benefits, professional advancement, power, support of voters, prestige, publicity). Financial interests (e.g. money/ income, goods, services), to pursue particularistic goals beyond democratic standards and procedures, or activities that are unfair and do harm to others, are excluded from this normative concept of social courage.

Social courage is principally motivated by *non-materialist motives*, values and interests. *Legitimate interests* are legally and morally justified goals. In democracies this means actions that are "good and just" according to generally accepted norms and principles, in particular basic values and human rights in their constitutions or in United Nations charters, ethical norms and unwritten rules based on an overwhelming consensus in society. Social courage implies the acceptance of the rule of law, tolerance and pluralism as central principles of democracy. As it is not always easy to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate interests, between democratic or non-democratic actions in conflict resolution, judgment will remain *controversial* in some cases, both in politics and science.

3. Social courage in different contexts

Social courage is a concept that has rarely been used in English. In German-speaking countries, the term "Zivilcourage" (*civil* courage) is predominant in politics and the media, in education and research. In Germany, however, the term "Zivilcourage" is mostly related to perpetrator-victim, emergency or violent situations, to conflicts implying aggressiveness such as bullying/mobbing, racism or right-wing extremism, often with a strong moral connotation (e.g. Jonas/Brandstätter 2004, Meyer et al. 2004/2007). If we want to stress the rights and duties of people as democratic citizens, some people speak of *civic* courage, similar to the Dutch "burgermoed" (van der Zee). I also used "Zivilcourage" in earlier writings (Meyer/Hermann 1999, Meyer 2004/2007). However, I now prefer the term *social* courage ("sozialer Mut"). It basically means the same but it covers a broader range of situations, as it is more directly associated with "normal" situations and non-violent conflicts, in everyday life and in society at large. So I propose to use the concept of social courage instead of civil or moral courage.

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In publications in English some authors (e.g. Staub 2003, 2005, 2006; Jonas 2009) speak of *moral courage*, or even more generally, of psychological courage (cf. Putman 1997). The concept of social courage is similar to Staub's understanding of moral courage, which he defined as the "courage to express important values in words and actions, even in the face of opposition, potential disapproval, ostracism, or a violent response." If there is no physical intervention, "it often requires only what may be called 'psychological courage'." According to Staub, it is moral courage only if the motivating "beliefs and values (including affective reactions like empathy) involve promoting human welfare." (all citations Staub 2005) I agree with this general normative restriction, but acts of social courage are not *necessarily or primarily* driven by *moral* values and beliefs, and they do not have to be purely and exclusively altruistic or prosocial. In rare cases, there can be other and "less noble" motives such as revenge, rage or offended narcissism. Staub's definition does not include legitimate interests whose advocacy are a major element of social courage in labor relations and politics. The term "moral" courage also tends to individualize, personalize and neglect the weight of social determinants such as situational factors, institutional and systemic contexts. In contrast to moral courage, the concept of social courage is bound to specific situations (as defined above). As *social* interaction in smaller or larger publics, it is also more *explicitly* linked to its structural contexts and understood as part of a responsible civil society. The term moral courage also tends to de-politicize social courage as a form of public action that often has political relevance and a background well beyond the ethics of individuals.

To sum up: social courage is *an empirical, theoretical and normative concept*. We may choose different adjectives for this type of courageous public action depending on what we want to stress: the general social, the civil (also non-military), the civic or the moral character of action in different situations and socio-cultural contexts. Yet, these notions are close enough to be reconciled in future discussions.

Although referring here mostly to Germany, I am convinced (and supported by international discussions) that both the concept can be fruitfully applied at least to most "Western type" democratic societies. However, it is an open question to what extent social courage with its normative implications is a *culturally bound* concept. Thus the limits between the private and the public sphere, of legitimate intervention, may be drawn in quite different ways, legally, morally or habitually. In many Asian countries people avoid "to loose their face" (or make others to loose it) by open conflict or e.g. to contradict a professor in the classroom. Last not least, conditions are very different *in authoritarian systems* where repression is strong, and to show social courage in public and against the norms of the regime means to take serious risks, in extreme cases, also to jeopardize one's life and that of others.

4. What fosters, what hinders social courage?

Obviously it does not go without saying to act with courage, i.e. to take risks mostly on behalf of others, in conflicts where important values or someone's integrity are violated. So we have to ask: Why do some people show social courage, but others don't, or at least much less than others? What fosters and what inhibits social courage? What does someone think and feel, how does he/she interact with others, and how is a decision to act (or not) reached? Which experiences, which motives and values cause people to show social courage? Are there differences in a person's behavior depending on the social context and the type of public?

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Current research and dominant approaches

In the English-speaking countries, little empirical research, whether quantitative or qualitative in method, has been done so far on social/civil/moral courage. The only exceptions are two special forms of social courage: whistleblowing and the kind of heroic courage that it took to rescue Jews from Nazi prosecution all over Europe since 1933 (e.g. Oliner/Oliner 1988, Fogelman 1995, Monroe 2006) John F. Kennedy's famous book titled "Profiles in Courage" (1955) deals with courage in elite politics, not in everyday life. There are some studies on "courageous resisters" at the grass roots level (e.g. McFarland et al. 2007). There has been, however, extensive research on all forms of (mostly) prosocial behavior for many years, in particular on altruism, helping and solidarity (c.f. as overviews e.g. Batson 1991, 1994, 1998; Bierhoff 2002; Eagly/Crowley 1886; Staub 1993, 2003, 2005) We not only draw substantial profit from this research, but also from some related works in social psychology (cf. for overviews in German: Jonas/Brandstätter 2004; as a synthesis of interdisciplinary research on social/civil courage Meyer 2004/2007) More recently, several empirical studies on "Zivilcourage" were done in Germany, focusing on young people, on problems of violence, bullying, xenophobia and right-wing extremism, or on factors supporting social courage as proven by trainings and seminars (e.g. Jonas/Brandstätter 2004, Labuhn 2004, Labuhn/Wagner/Dick/Christ 2004; Oswald/Frey/Greitemeyer/Fischer 2007; Strobl 2008, Zick/Küpper /Legge 2008; Zitzmann 2004; in English e.g. Fischer et al. 2006; Greitemeyer et al. 2006, 2007; Jonas 2009). In the following parts, I will combine findings from a pilot study with young professional adults (Meyer/Hermann 1999; for more details cf. Meyer 2009, in English) with some cautious generalizations from research in Germany mentioned above, but not cited here in detail. In terms of strictly quantitative empirical methodology, they may be regarded as partly confirmed, at least highly plausible, hypotheses, supported by the experience of many observers and trainers.

As to the analytical approaches taken by most studies on social/civil courage, all researchers agree that *contextual, situational and personality factors* interact in an intricate way. Larger historical and cultural contexts, and above all political, legal, social, and economic contexts, provide basic conditions for social interaction and the development of conflicts. Situations evoke reactions that are strongly influenced by personal dispositions (values, attitudes, motives, interests, capabilities and biographical experience in particular). Certain persons are more attracted by certain types of other persons and/or get more easily "drawn into" certain types of situations. Hence they have more opportunities to show social courage, or to fail to do so. In general, the factors that result from the actual situation seem to be more important than personality factors, which may be considered as a potential or predisposition that is more or less strongly activated in a situation. So far there is no coherent theory of acting with social courage. Concerning the *methods*, we have to be aware both of the strengths and the limits of experiments, vignette studies, surveys or qualitative interviews that are mostly used in research. As already known from Stanley Milgram's famous studies: the verbally proclaimed good will of people usually differs considerably from what they actually do when the "critical situation" actually occurs, and, as in this case, personal risks have to be taken. Actual behavior was studied so far only in experimental or quasi-experimental studies (e.g. role plays, artificially created situations in a bus), but not on a large scale.

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In addition, generalizations are difficult because of the vast variety of situations.

4.1. Political, economic and social contexts

So social courage can only be understood by looking into the specific contexts of interaction. The democratic character of the political system and its institutions, freedom of opinion, the rule of law, supportive moral norms, and a climate of tolerance in the national political culture are basic conditions for minimizing the risks of social courage, and for fostering it by education, the media and social practice. In our pilot study (Meyer/Hermann 1999), we found, supported by many observers of the situation in the workplace nearly all over Germany, that the difficult situation on the job market and the insecurity of how courageous behavior will be sanctioned at school and on the job were the most important obstacles for showing social courage and risky solidarity. Closely related are pressures to conform and relationships of authority that are effective in hierarchical institutions and in business. We talked to young people looking for their first job; but many others in Germany are also afraid of losing their jobs, and hence their social status, if they speak up. So they decide to keep quiet. As an important general factor, we also noticed culturally, legally and individually defined boundaries between the private and the public sphere as a major obstacle to courageous action, even when the physical or psychic integrity of a person was threatened.

The specific social contexts are structural frameworks (i.e. power hierarchies, formal and informal rules and roles, elites, corporate patterns), in which we then find a specific situational constellation, formed by particular persons and their interactions. Action is strongly determined by the participants' *subjective perception* of this social context. Particularly important are the room for action, legal provisions, hierarchies, the chances to exert some influence, and the internal "climate" of a company or at school. In interactions, the way bosses or elites use their power or how they are expected to, play a major role. In our study, room for courageous action at the work place was rated much smaller, sometimes zero, than in schools. There we found a large spectrum ranging from strong support by teachers and principals to a complete lack of solidarity, last not least, by peers in the classroom.

4.2. Social position and role

A person who perceives his/her position and role in a group or institution to be secure is more willing to voice his/her opinion or to speak up for others. Recognition by the peer group, as a result of one's performance or personal qualities, a high status and a feeling of superiority are important factors that foster social courage. Social courage is even more promoted if there is active support by others, or if one's status can be improved by such an action. Inversely, respondents were rarely willing to demonstrate social courage if they perceived their status to be weak or insecure, or if they were afraid of disadvantages (e.g. conflicts with colleagues, sanctions or exclusion from the group, or even losing their job). Formal and informal roles can also have positive effects. For example, the "official" role as a class spokesman at school provides a feeling of security and particular legitimacy when intervening. To be an informal "leader" or "counselor" in a group made some respondents more inclined to stand up for others.

Our respondents displayed many types of *conformity*, i.e. the inclination to adapt attitudes and behavior to societal norms or group standards, also demanding that others comply with them. However, depending on the social place, we observed significant variation in the willingness to conform, up to open rejection of courageous non-conformity.

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The willingness for (non-) conformity in institutional contexts such as the school and private companies is closely linked with the fear of disadvantages. Our respondents' main motive for conformist behavior was the desire to belong to and to be accepted by their reference group(s), e.g. peer groups. They tended to conform if they were afraid of being marginalized in the group because of non-conformist behavior, e.g. by standing up for others or principles that are "unpopular".

4.3. Situational factors

Many factors that we found in our study have also been observed in research on helping, altruism and conflict management. Crucial factors are to pay attention and to show concern for what happens to others, to feel at least partly responsible, and to be ready to act accordingly. Then the behaviour of spectators or bystanders has a strong impact on whether somebody intervenes and shows social courage or not: on the one side there may be diffusion of responsibility, pluralistic ignorance, or fear of disgracing oneself; on the other side there may be support ("active bystanders"), solidarity, or help from outside. A high degree of personal autonomy is favourable for social courage, but decisions are often the result of a shaky balance between autonomy and dependence on others' reactions. To understand this dynamic, two factors deserve some attention: characteristics of the addressees and violence.

Social or emotional closeness to a person or a group, particularly if regarded as victims, or to a troublesome problem, seems to be at least as important as the reaction or passivity of bystanders. Closeness means a close specific or general emotional and/or social bond with the person in need of support. For example, one knows him/her personally, or there is a feeling of belonging together and/or solidarity as a member of the same group, based on ethnicity, color, religion or nationality, or similar experiences, or, last but not least: common interests. This applies in particular to friends or a clique or one's own family, but also to close colleagues at work or in a sports club. Therefore, the "laws" of diffusion of responsibility and pluralistic ignorance need to be differentiated according to the specifics of situations, addressees, and group norms, and the degree of exclusivity of caring for others.

Generally speaking, *violence* is a major obstacle to courageous intervention. In our pilot study, we found people who experienced personal violence in the form of jostling, fighting and sexual harassment, or "just" intimidation by threats. Not surprisingly, the inhibiting threshold is higher the severer the actual or threatened violence is. Violence, however, is not such a strong obstacle for young men, if one's own *friends* are concerned. In contrast, courageous intervention became less likely, if *strangers* became victims of violence by strangers. In this case neither the perpetrator nor the victim is known. These situations occur primarily in the public sphere, in which anonymity is predominant. Here, few of our respondents said that they felt responsible for others.

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4.4. Personality factors

In many studies, we find that besides the probably predominant situational factors, the combination of personal capabilities, attitudes and motives, as well as the kind of socialization and biographical experiences a person had, are of major importance as independent variables to explain why some people take a risk and act with social courage and why others do not. (Nunner-Winkler 2002, Singer 2003; Oswald/Frey/Greitemeyer/Fischer 2007) When social courage is asked for in stress situations, perceptions, emotions and value orientations are probably more closely interlinked than in most other types of prosocial action, and they strongly affect each other (or even get mixed up). In which way, however, is still an open question. In many cases, there may be a kind of automatic, self-regulatory perception and (re-)action, as Jonas (2009) argues. The following list of capabilities or features of personality are, without a clear rank order, also indicative of efforts to foster social courage in education, in trainings on the job, and in the public arena of civil society and politics.

Personal, social and cognitive skills and capabilities

Especially conducive to social courage are the following personal, social and cognitive capabilities and skills. They function as individual resources, or as a potential that can be activated to show social courage, if a person is willing and able to do so:

- Self-confidence, felt inside and proved in interactions; a positive self-image, a sense of competence, efficacy, “ego strength”; belief in your decisions (“to do the right thing”).
- Awareness and the ability to take quick, decisive action; a repertoire of adequate reactions or strategies, particularly in situations of threat, risk and disadvantages.
- Strong moral beliefs and values (e.g. justice, equality, tolerance, freedom); moral sensitivity and indignation; caring, feeling responsible for others, concern for general welfare.
- Personal autonomy in groups and institutions, the ability to act in a non-conformist way.
- Empathy, compassion, sympathy, a personal closeness to a troublesome problem or conflict; to be able to see it from the perspective of somebody else.
- The adequate assessment of risks, advantages and disadvantages; and what you are ready to accept, both as “costs” of helping or non-helping; to be judicious and prudent.
- The ability for reflection and self-awareness, including personal fear or anxiety; the ability to admit fears, to keep control and to avoid asking too much of oneself or others.
- The ability to respond to conflicts in an appropriate and flexible manner, e.g. to assess a situation and one’s own competence adequately; the ability to calm down or to mediate; to know (and maybe having exercised) adequate strategies (e.g. of de-escalation).
- Communicative competence, the capability to articulate clearly and argue convincingly.
- Knowledge and awareness of rights, duties, rules and operating procedures.

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Motivation and value orientations: social courage as moral action?

Prosocial attitudes, altruism, democratic and humane value orientations; rational reasons and solidarity in the pursuit of legitimate interests; a sense of justice – all these serve to create motivation and readiness to act with social courage. Three *conditions* have to be met so that these dispositions can become effective as a main force in social courage as *moral* action:

- Values and principles have to be internalized so that they are an integral part of a person's *moral self-concept*, part of his personal identity or integrity which has to be kept intact, and that he/she would not allow to be violated without considerable psychic costs.
- Moral beliefs and attitudes usually need *moral feelings* to make people act. (Montada 1993) These can be: rage, indignation or anger about the violation of central values and/or a person's integrity; compassion, empathy, concern; blame of others; identification with actions and actors that are "morally right"; the pangs of conscience. We also observed a "negative" moral and emotional motive: to avoid the costs of non-helping, e.g. feelings of guilt and shame.
- A "*caring*" *morale* that underlies the readiness to take *responsibility* for others, and also for oneself, a commitment that can be somewhat emotional or more rational in character. Caring is stronger if a person is seen as a victim; moral responsibility is however refused if this person is perceived to be responsible for his troublesome situation by him/herself.

It is then an *empirical* question in which way and to what degree people who show social courage are *actually* determined by moral motives, or whether these are used only ex post facto as "good", socially desirable reasons to justify one's actions. Motivations can be *conscious or unconscious*. Some respondents cannot "explain" in detail why they acted as they did. For many it was "natural" to act this way, in the sense that "it went without saying" (just as many rescuers of Jews said after 1945). In general, *gender differences* in moral motivations tended to play a minor role. However, in some points, we did observe significant contrasts. Post facto men referred to common moral values whereas women rather hinted at moral feelings and connected them with a particular person. For young men the membership in a "clique" was more important than for women, who tended to stress the role of good bilateral relations. For young men the fear of losing their position within a reference group as well as professional and material disadvantages proved to be a stronger obstacle than for young women.

If positive action should be taken, it is obvious that its advantages have to outweigh the disadvantages, no matter how they are defined by the actor(s). It is a characteristic of social courage that those who demonstrate it, consciously or not, are willing to accept some short- or long-term disadvantages. On the one hand, there are many possible disadvantages: loss of time, other plans have to be postponed, other persons neglected; endangering oneself, getting hurt, at least all kinds of inconveniences. You may lose support in your reference group, or even become an outsider.

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If people stand up for others in organized contexts, and when they do not have to act spontaneously, those acting (or intending to act) with social courage usually weigh up advantages and disadvantages, and how to overcome their fears. In our pilot study, we found that fear or anxiety (“angst”) strongly inhibits social courage, but fear alone does not prevent it. It is not true that in all cases fear has to be overcome by courageous actors; some said they did not feel any fear. Having shown social courage, you cannot expect thankfulness, recognition or career advancement. But there may be rewards of a different kind: what may well count more for many is “to express compassion, to demonstrate knowledge and enjoy personal competence, to follow your conscience and be proud that you stick to your principles, receive recognition, to show solidarity, to put an end to an emergency and to be a model for others”. (Bierhoff 2004: 64)

Social background, socialization and biographical experiences

No one of the “classical” *social background* variables seemed to play an important role in determining whether a person shows social courage or not: neither age, sex or neighbourhood, nor class or status variables like education, income, profession or public prestige, did so. Gender differences and the effects of specific political or religious beliefs and organizational affiliations need further study. But there are quite obvious effects of socialization in the family and at school, and of the way biographical experiences are dealt with.

Most observers agree that the willingness and ability to defend oneself against injustice or to stand up for others are strengthened if young people developed trust in at least one parent and were taken seriously in the *family*. It is also important that they could voice their opinion, or were able to settle conflicts openly. Social courage was also strengthened if children or young people were allowed to act with independence and responsibility of their own, and if they were encouraged to stand up for themselves. The strongest effects were ascribed to models of social courage, especially those personally close to them. Someone who has learned to act with social courage at home or among peers, does not, however, automatically act the same way in hierarchically structured contexts such as the school or in a company. Here, the distribution of power, one’s own position, potential disadvantages, and chances of success, will be rather carefully assessed before acting with social courage. If parents are authoritarian and their children internalized strict guidelines of proper moral conduct, then they may show social courage out of a moral obligation, driven by a strong super-ego, but not because of an autonomous morale. More often they are not courageous enough to resist some unreasonable demands of authorities or the pressures of a majority in a group.

In our study, we also found that the way *biographical experiences*, positive or negative ones, are “digested” is an important factor for the readiness to care for others by showing social courage. Above all, we have to look at experiences with discrimination, humiliation, violence, and lack of solidarity. If such an experience is admitted and reflected upon, it may either result in an attitude like “everybody has to care for himself; don’t expect any help or risk-taking by myself or from others”.

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In contrast, a woman said: “Yes, when I think back to my childhood, I would have been glad if I had some support” – and later on showed courageous solidarity. We also observed cases, in which people who had negative experiences “turned around”, and in order to avoid future offenses, showed social courage in caring for others or to regain their self-respect.

Elsewhere I presented *two models* (Meyer 2009) that, in a very concentrated form, try to give an idea of the complexity of this type of public action. A process model reconstructs how *decisions* for courageous action are made; the factor model takes a systematic look at the determinants that influence behavior in conflict situations where social courage is asked for. It combines factors that we found in our pilot study with variables positively tested in later, mostly experimental studies or trainings (Oswald/Frey/Greitemeyer/Fischer 2007). Many of them are also known from research on helping, altruism, solidarity, and conflict management and may serve to generate further hypotheses and research designs. (cf. Bierhoff 2002, 2004)

5. Social courage as a public virtue

Social courage is an important characteristic of socially responsible citizens, and of a vigilant and “caring” (Staub 2006) civil society. Social courage is asked for in all spheres of social life as well as towards the state and power elites. Its “place” is both in the private and the public realm. Social courage is a public virtue, demanding and uncomfortable for the average citizen as well as for those in power. Non-conformists, people who contradict and stand up for “a right cause” (not grouseurs, fundamentalists or extremists), are not necessarily popular or rewarded by their bosses, and they are less likely to enhance their career. We therefore have to ask first: *Does a society actually want social/civil courage*, both at the top, among and towards elites, and at the grass roots level of citizens?

Social/civil/moral courage is a *key element of a democratic political culture*, of democracy understood as a way of life and a principle of social organization, not just as rules for the state and political decision-making. Not only in Germany are we confronted with demands to take social responsibility, to act and not to look away, when injustice happens on the job, on the bus, in schools and in the streets, but also in institutions like churches or political parties, in the community, and in the political arena at large.

Social/civil courage may have *a critical and promoting as well as a protective function*. (Jonas 2009) The more we get into public affairs, courage at least, if not social courage, is still needed for unpopular or non-conformist opinions and decisions. Courage is necessary for individuals who work within institutions to express criticisms of the powerful and their lack of social responsibility. Social courage becomes a particularly risky virtue for whistleblowers, investigative journalists who reveal public scandals, or for active politicians who disagree with the majority of their parliamentary group. In the last two decades, German society has been challenged by growing *violence* in the schools, as well as in the public sphere beyond. This violence is to found not only with younger people.

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German democracy also exhibits hidden or growing racism, and an increasing number of right-wing extremists, who are not only in the Eastern part of the country. A decade and a half ago, when we did our pilot study in Germany, we were alarmed by the lack of social concern and responsibility, e.g. in the schoolyards and in the streets. This may have changed to a certain degree during the last years, as there is a growing public consciousness, educational efforts, and roundtables to prevent violence on the local level. There are many efforts, e.g. by the police and in schools, to encourage and empower people to show social courage (Zivilcourage), predominantly in cases where people are attacked and need protection. Politicians and major parts of the population notice the dangers and consequences of inactivity if we give way to violence and intolerant ideologies. For many years, there have been special state programs, NGOs, and mass media that support personal responsibility, social courage and political participation to stand up for democratic values, against xenophobia and right-wing extremism in particular.

In the political realm, we sometimes also meet *civil disobedience* as a special form of non-violent public action. Civil disobedience can be regarded as collective social courage. But it also differs substantially from and goes beyond social courage as defined above in three major respects: (1) it usually aims at a larger public and wants to attract attention for some perceived bad or dangerous state of public affairs that needs a change of policy and public conscience; (2) in principle, it has to be non-violent, but it deliberately breaks rules and laws, usually carefully calculated and in a limited way, on behalf of higher ranking, overriding values, goals and interests; (3) actors are prepared to meet opposition by the public and the state, and they have to be ready to accept sanctions, including being taken to court. (Gugel 1996, Rawls 1999) Civil disobedience is a form of passive resistance that involves the state much more than most acts of social courage in social life, because it questions the rule of law. Consequently, the “higher legitimacy” that groups claim for acts of civil disobedience are often highly controversial in their legal, moral and political reasoning.

More and more citizens notice that it is enlightened self-interest, rather than abstract moralizing, when we ask for more social responsibility in everyday life. If a society truly wants to promote social courage in key sectors, it has to appreciate and publicly support the courageous intervention in favor of others, to create an atmosphere fostering “top-down” and “bottom-up” social courage at home, in school, and on the job, as well as in public administration. So we need to change structures, norms and behavior that create feelings of powerlessness and fear. Social/civil courage can be trained and learned in many regards. The author initiated a handbook (“Learning civil courage”, Meyer et al. 2004/2007) that combines scientific analyses, best practices in civil society, as well as tested designs and teaching materials for seminars and trainings in civic education, both for young people and adults. (see also Zitzmann 2004, Jonas/Boos/Brandstätter 2007).

Research in this field has theoretical and practical relevance for the growth, vitality and stability of any democratic political culture. A “culture of recognition,” productive conflict management, a supportive public, and personal morality would help considerably in preventing discrimination or even punishment of those who show social responsibility by social courage. Demonstrated, proven, and successful social courage is probably the most efficient way to encourage people to do the same. Some situations involve actual or virtual violence, but most do not. They are not spectacular and they do not require heroic action because of severe risks. Often it needs “only” a little more concern and courage.

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Slavophiles and Westernizers on Sobornost, Altruism and Solidarity (Middle 19th – Early 20th Century) *Continued from page 1...*

However, in order to comprehend both the evolution of the Narodniks and the Anarchists' ideas on solidarity and the further development of solidarity studies in Russia one needs to turn to the paradigm dichotomy of Russian social thought: to the ideological opposition of the Slavophiles and the Westernizers.

The term "Slavophilism" can be interpreted in the broad sense as a religious, philosophical and ethical trend in Russian social thought emphasizing the peculiarity of Russia's historical path and the key role of Orthodox Christian values. Starting with the last third of the 19th century, with the great impact on public opinion of Fyodor Dostoevsky's collection of non-fiction writings, "A Writers Diary," there came into use another term – "pochvennichestvo" (roughly *Return to the Soil*). The assertion of the term was manifested in parting with the original Pan Slavist illusions, and signified radicalization of Russian traditionalism.

In contrast to the Slavophiles, the Westernizers called into question the unique character of Russia's historical fate, and proclaimed a strategic orientation towards values and institutional practices of Western Europe. The early stage of the Westernizer movement became a peculiar ideological cradle for various currents of Russian socialism, as well as of Russian liberalism.

One of the key categories of Slavophilism and *pochvennichestvo* is the notion of "sobornost", i.e. "conciliarity", a spiritual community of many jointly living people. Etymologically, the said notion is connected with the word "sobor" which has both an ecclesiastic and a lay connotation. In the religious sense "sobor" is originally a temple utilized for service by the clergy of several churches. At the same time it is an institution that regulates Church life and thus dates back to the early Christian oecumenical councils. In the secular sense of the word, "sobor" meant an assembly of elected or appointed officials, summoned for solving certain problems. In the Russia of the 16th – 17th century the *zemsky sobor*, a grand council, played a very important role, to a certain degree comparable with the role of feudal Estates in Western Europe. For instance, the 1613 *zemsky sobor* enthroned a new dynasty, the Romanovs, while the 1649 *zemsky sobor* passed an important legislative code – the *Sobornoye Ulozheniye*, which secured the existence of serfdom in Russia.

One of the founding fathers of the Slavophil movement, Aleksey Khomyakov (1804–1860), connected the notion of *sobornost* with the idea of unity as expressed by the Orthodox Christians: "The Church is not a multitude of people in their personal individuality, but the unity of God's Grace, living in a great number of human beings subjected to Grace" (Khomyakov 1994, p. 5). In other words, *sobornost* is the consciousness of believers in their collectivity. According to Khomyakov, the Orthodox Church organically combines in itself the principles of freedom and unity, whereas the Catholic Church postulates unity without freedom, and in Protestantism, on the contrary, freedom exists without unity.

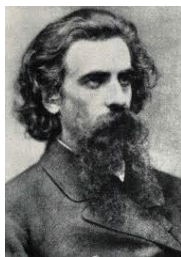


In the Russian society of their time the Slavophiles saw the *sobornost* ideal in the peasant obshchina. The latter recognized the [primacy](#) of collectivity, yet guaranteed the integrity and well-being of the individual within that collective. Konstantin Aksakov (1817–1860) actually identified *sobornost* with the obshchina, where, in his opinion, "personality was as free as in a choir".

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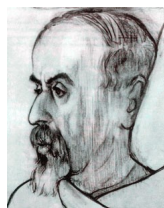
Slavophiles and Westernizers on Sobornost, Altruism and Solidarity (Middle 19th – Early 20th Century) *Continued from previous page...*

In the West civil relations were based on rationally understood interests of individuals. In contrast, at the heart of common accord, which the Slavophiles considered an essential attribute of the Russian *obshchina*, there lay values that were shared by all the people united by love. Later Nikolay Lossky (1870–1965) in his “History of Russian Philosophy” characterized the integral Slavophile *sobornost* formula as a “combination of freedom and unity of many persons on the basis of their common love for the same absolute values” (Lossky 1951, p. 26).



Slavophile ideas of *sobornost* made a profound impact on several Russian thinkers at the verge of the 19th and the 20th century, though in the strict sense of the word those thinkers cannot be placed among direct successors of the Slavophile line. For instance, Vladimir Solovyov (1853-1900) developed the idea of *vseedinstvo*, unity-of-all, a concept similar to that of *sobornost* and closely connected with his doctrine of Godmanship. Solovyov characterized the essence of the approach in the following way: “Recognizing the final goal of history as the full realization of the Christian ideal in life by all humanity... we understand the all-sided development of culture as a general and necessary means for reaching that goal, for this culture in its gradual progress destroys all those hostile partitions and exclusive isolations between various parts of humanity and the world and tries to unify all natural and social groups in a family that is infinitely diverse in make-up but characterized by moral solidarity” (Solovyov 1989, p. 617-618).

The term “sobornost” appeared again in the works of Solovyov’s follower Prince Sergey Trubetskoy (1862-1905). In Trubetskoy’s interpretation *sobornost* means a combination of the religious, moral and social element; it is regarded as an alternative to individualism and socialist collectivism. In Trubetskoy’s works the idea of *sobornost* quite clearly becomes part of the solidarity and altruism discourse. In one of his major works “On the Nature of Human Consciousness” Trubetskoy wrote: “Good will, which is the basis of morality, is called love. Any morals, based on principles other than love, are not true morals... Natural love is inherent to all living beings. Descending from its supreme manifestations in the family love of man, from animal herd instincts to elementary propagation processes, everywhere we find that basic, organic altruism, owing to which creatures inwardly presuppose each other, are drawn towards other creatures and establish not only themselves, but other creatures as well, and live for others” (Trubetskoy 1994, p. 587).



The notions of *sobornost* and solidarity draw even closer together in the works of Semyon Frank (1877-1950). Frank regarded *sobornost* as “an inner organic unity”, underlying any human communication and any community of people. However, unlike the Slavophiles, he did not solely identify *sobornost* with religious belief. He distinguished three forms of *sobornost*:

1. A conjugal-family unity based on love.
2. *Sobornost* in religious life as a communion through a common attitude towards this or that spiritual value. In the given context *sobornost* can be considered a counterpart of solidarity on the basis of joint service and a common belief.
3. *Sobornost* in the life of a certain multitude of people sharing a common fate – above all, a common past and common cultural and historical traditions (Frank 1992, p. 58-59). The latter aspect is to a considerable degree similar to E. Renan’s idea of nation, which he formulated in the famous Sorbonne lecture of March the 11th, 1882. Renan, as we know, identified a nation by the desire of a people “to have common glories in the past and to have a common will in the present; to have performed great deeds together, to wish to perform still more” (Renan 1996, p. 52).

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In the works of liberal representatives of the Westernizer tradition of Russian social thought the discussion of solidarity issues was less loaded with religious connotations. On the contrary, many of them were staunch followers of A. Comte's positivism, as, for example, was one of Russia's first professional sociologists, Evgeny de Roberti (1843-1915). His early sociological works were even condemned by the Holy Synod (the governing institution of the Russian Orthodox Church) and were withdrawn from libraries. As a result, de Roberti translated many of his further works into French and published them in France.

De Roberti developed a bio-social hypothesis of the origin of society, its key category being the notion of the *super-organic*, which is a product of the transformation of the organic form of energy into its superior form. The super-organic is equivalent to the rational, or cultured, stage of the development of mankind. On the basis of this hypothesis, de Roberti regards social evolution as a gradual transition from the organic stage of development to the super-organic one. In the moral sphere at the pre-historic stage of development humanity was in the state of "organic unity", i.e. biological egoism. Later, in the process of spiritual growth, man sought to pass on to the stage of the "super-organic multitude", its characteristic trait being the appearance of altruism, cooperation and solidarity. In other words, in de Roberti's conception moral behaviour is an integral feature of the super-organic stage of the development of human civilization.

The most renowned liberal sociologist in pre-revolutionary Russia was Maksim Kovalevsky (1851-1916). Arguing against the subjective method in sociology developed by Lavrov and Mikhailovsky, and the neo-Kantian opposition between the social and the natural sciences, Kovalevsky considered the fundamental sociological law to be the law of progress, which involves the growth of social solidarity. He regarded class struggle as a sign of immaturity or, conversely, as a symptom of the "degeneracy" of a given social structure. Kovalevsky defines the essence and nature of law proceeding from the principle of solidarity. According to Kovalevsky, law is a reflection of the requirements of solidarity and the idea of duty caused by it, this duty eventually making individuals assume responsibilities in order to preserve the "group interest" and the conditions of co-existence.

At the end of his scientific and political career Kovalevsky formulated his understanding of solidarity in close connexion with the ideas of individual autonomy: "However broad might be the view of their objective as expressed by social and political reformers, none of them can expect to see his plan fulfilled, unless the requirement of social solidarity – justice – is recognized in it along with the requirement of personal autonomy – the freedom of its physical and moral manifestations. This is why democratic Cesarism can only be a temporary and transient form, this is also why the so-called proletariat dictatorship does not contain a permanent solution, and only those forms of government can be firm political orders under which people enjoy freedom of self-determination to the same extent as the officials, i.e. on condition norms of law are observed, these norms in their turn being authority-compelling requirements of social solidarity" (Kovalevsky 1991, p. 293).

The issue of the correlation between law and solidarity is central to the creativity of an outstanding Russian philosopher of law, Bogdan Kistyakovsky (1868-1920). Reflecting on the distressing character of revolutionary processes in Russia, he laid the blame on both the Slavophiles and the Westernizers, for representatives of both currents displayed negligence with regard to law, and even found certain merits in the weakness of the lawful state in Russia.

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Slavophiles and Westernizers on Sobornost, Altruism and Solidarity (Middle 19th – Early 20th Century) *Continued from previous page...*

As Kistyakovsky wrote in the famous 1909 collection of articles on the Russian intelligentsia, “Vekhi” (“Milestones”), Aleksandr Herzen, the key-figure of the early Westernizer movement, saw in that a way to a quicker and easier overthrow of the regime in power, whereas Aksakov considered it to be another manifestation of Russia’s uniqueness: abstaining from law, the Russian people chose the path of “inner truth”. Ideas of justice were drawn in this country from fiction, not from legal treatises. In contrast, it was law, according to Kistyakovsky, that could provide an individual with both personal freedom and social discipline. The constitutional state emerges and develops to reflect people’s solidary interests. It unites people and promotes mutual solidarity, thus contributing to individuals’ personal growth. Kistyakovsky saw the ultimate embodiment of the lawful state in the socialist state, which would realize all the lawful principles declared: all citizens’ rights would be fulfilled, people would govern the country, and solidarity would reach its summit.

The profound divergence of the Slavophil and the Westernizer traditions of Russian social thought remains to this day. In the case of research on social solidarity, it finds expression in the fact that representatives of the Westernizers made an important contribution to the sociological analysis of the phenomenon in question, while the Slavophiles offered an ethic and religious understanding of solidarity as *sobornost*. However, both currents considerably influenced further development of the studies of social solidarity and altruism: Pitirim Sorokin, naming de Roberti his teacher, continued the Westernizer line, whereas later interpretations of *sobornost* (particularly in Frank’s works) made a profound impact on Sergey Levitski and other Russian solidarists.

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TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED SCIENCE OF MORALITY

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(Pages 38 — 57)

INTRODUCTION

Studying and understanding the bodily and neural mechanisms implicated in human social behavior should be of importance to social scientists interested in morality, altruism and social solidarity. People are the building blocks of these social phenomena, and scholarship points to individual functioning as critical to people's understanding and justification of moral activity (Howard and Renfrow 2003). Here, we take advantage of this Newsletter's receptive audience and challenge scholars (including ourselves) to consider the study of morality more broadly. Specifically, we call for an integrated approach, one that accounts for what sociology and social psychology do best—examining the social world (structure and culture) in relation to people, and what neuroscience (referring to the broad range of scientific research including but not limited to neurology, neuro-psychology, cognitive and social neuroscience) does best—examining individual functioning with reference to the immediate situational context. An integrated approach will benefit both fields: sociological theories can better attend to the cognitive and emotional mechanisms they suppose, and neuroscientific research can apprehend how the human mind works when individuals are embedded in their larger social worlds.

Social and neuro-sciences are fragmented and difficult to bridge for obvious reasons. But sociology and neuroscience implicitly agree that studying the moral world is scientifically interesting, empirically investigable, and serves practical purposes for broader audiences. As such, we invite researchers from social and bio-sciences to build from what we see as fundamentally complementary worldviews. To realize this vision of an integrated science of morality, a first step is interdisciplinary sharing, outlining—in decidedly comprehensible terms—some of each field's hallmark contributions and approaches. Only then can the pursuit of defining, conceptualizing, empirically examining, and eventually ameliorating social problems be realized. Our agenda here is to discuss our model of “outside-in” processes in an effort to explain how we see societal moral codes as becoming imprinted in the mind (as schemas), and used by people through emotional processes. In this paper, we will focus on the role of emotions in our model and in calling for integrated scientific investigations. We focus on emotions not so as to negate the centrality of cognitive processes, but because recent scholarship points to the under-theorized and empirically tested role of emotions in the human moral capacity.

We have five tasks at hand to fulfill our agenda and convey our ideas pertaining to an integrated science of morality. Our first task will be to briefly introduce and define moral schemas and emphasize their emotional quality, since emotions act as intermediary agents between macro- and micro-level social phenomena. Recent empirical work in neuroscience supports this position and points to the dominant role of emotions in human morality. As emotions are biologically as well as socially constructed, our second task will be to elucidate how human morality is constructed “inside-out” by outlining biological mechanisms, turning then to the theoretical explanations and empirical investigations of morality as it pertains to

the human mind. Then, our third task will be to focus on the social “outside-in” construction of morality by unfolding some relevant sociological theories of culture and structure. Having explicated the two-fold nature of human morality as biological and social, our fourth task will be to discuss partial middle-range theories in social psychology that provide avenues for integrated investigation. In conclusion, our last task will be to offer some brief comments that we see as introductions to our ideas, rather than as definite conclusions. Our hope is that this discussion can act as a catalyst to activate interest in future interdisciplinary scholarship.

EMOTIONS & MORAL SCHEMAS

In our attempt to construct a bridge between the ‘outside’ social world and the individual ‘inside’, we argue that moral emotions act as intermediaries between culture and social structure, the mind, and people’s moral activities. In order to explain this position, we must define terminology and expound upon the relationships between our phenomena of interest. We adopt Thoits’ (1989; see also Smith-Lovin 1995) conception of emotions. Accordingly, emotions are appraisals of situational stimuli, which are linked directly to changes in physiological states. They are expressively conveyed or displayed through means such as gestures, and cultural meanings are derived from the appraisals, physiological sensations or display of gestures of emotions. Emotions are a related subset of general ‘affect’ (Osgood et al. 1957), and are more biologically derived, fleeting states in comparison to enduring sentiments (Cooley 1964; Gordon 1981). Emotions, while rooted in neurological activity and psychological functioning, are shaped by the social structure and culture. Thus, the emotions we experience, and feelings we express (and disconnect between experiencing and expression), how we express them, the meanings we attach to our experience of emotions, and what emotions signal to the self and to others, reflect cultural meanings and structural arrangements. We use emotions to manage our worlds, to maintain our relations, and to instantiate and reaffirm shared social understandings.

Central to our argument is the concept of moral schemas. Moral schemas are based in cognitive psychology and implicate theories of culture and society. We use ‘schemas’ because the concept captures the duality of people’s embeddedness in the social universe and the social universe’s embeddedness in the human mind. We draw on Izard’s (2007, 2009) discussion of emotional experiences to anchor our conceptual bridge. Izard (2009) proposes that in the day-to-day world, peoples’ experiences are encoded and structured with reference to their emotions. Thus, our minds are always engaged in this rapid, non-conscious encoding process, storing information according to its emotive content (linking emotions and cognition). When experiences and understandings are grouped by their emotional character, what results are schemas, categorizations that are stored and available in future encounters. Emotion schemas generate future feeling-thought experiences and action-tendencies (see also Izard 2007). We see moral schemas as a particularly valued class of these schemas.

Moral schemas attend to and reference matters of good and evil, right and wrong. Moral schemas congeal around, in Hitlin’s (2008) terms, “bright lights and bright lines”, or the positive moral signposts we should be drawn towards and lines of activity demarcated as morally unworthy. Moral schemas are knowledge and emotion structures that represent objects and events and provide default assumptions about characteristics and relationships in people’s encounters. Moral schemas are encoded in the mind via emotions attached to our experiences and how we understand those experiences. The social and cultural world matters in that how we encode moral emotions (and thus moral schemas) depends upon the norms and values outlining appropriate feeling and expression, our structural positions, our interdependencies, and general obligations.

The moral world consists of shared sets of social norms distinguishing between right and wrong actions. Morality, from a sociological perspective, revolves around the evaluative cultural codes that specify what is right or wrong, good or bad, acceptable or unacceptable (Turner and Stets 2007). However, this does not mean that morality is purely socially constructed. While moral systems are created and affirmed in the cultural world and through social relationships, they also exist inside of people, in their judgments, thoughts, beliefs, and feelings (Smith 2003). Morality and moral evaluation belong to a fundamental class of phenomena unique to humans and their close ancestors. As such, we espouse this middle ground between nature and nurture, and make no claims regarding an origin-story of morality. We start with the basic assumption that in our social worlds and through our experiences with others, we feel and express moral emotions: emotions that motivate moral behavior and signal moral violations.

What makes moral emotions ‘moral’ is that they are related to the interests of those other than the agent; moral emotions are pro-social emotions. Several scholars have argued that moral emotions are characteristically different from primary emotions, an argument that does have empirical support (Moll et al. 2002; Damasio, 1994; Haidt, 2001). In neuropsychology, researchers distinguish between primary or first-order emotions (such as happiness, sadness, anger, fear, and disgust) and second-order (or moral) emotions such as variations of guilt and shame (Damasio 1994). Similar ideas permeate sociology in the early work of Goffman (1959) and in Scheff’s work (Scheff 1983, 1988; Scheff and Retzinger 1992), to name a few. We believe this sharp distinction is unnecessary, an argument that Turner and Stets (2007) take up. Depending on the situation and circumstances, various emotions are moral signals. In essence, the mark of whether an emotion is moral is not determined by the emotion that is experienced or expressed. Emotions are moral when they are attached to issues of right or wrong. That said, moral emotions are still attached to social scripts which detail how and why they are experienced or expressed (Russell 1991), possessing the same schematic character of emotions generally (Izard 2007, 2009).

Emotions act as both motivators and as signals. Behaviorally, moral emotions play a central role in processes and practices that are inclusive and exclusionary. In some instances, moral emotions are motivational drives that push people to act altruistically or for the benefit of the collective. At the same time emotions can also motivate exclusionary behavior including discrimination or inter-group aggression. But the place of moral emotions in inclusive and exclusive practices cannot be understood apart from peoples’ embeddedness in the social world and in their lived contexts. Because moral emotions implicate the interests of people other than the agent, and these emotions are stimulated when people interact with others, we must consider factors like specific social contexts (Moll et al. 2002), people’s role identities (Stryker 1980), considerations of social identities (Hogg and Abrams 1998), people’s relational and structural positions with others (Kemper 1978, 1981, 1991), and peoples’ understanding of the shared broader cultural framework (Hochschild 1979, 1983; Gordon 1981, 1989, 1990).

As we outlined in our first call for an integrated science of morality (Firat and McPherson 2010), moral emotions are encoded in internalized and individually configured cognitive and emotion schemas, schemas that are crafted in and understood through cultural repertoires (Hochschild 1979, 1983, 1988) and based on peoples’ positions in social structures (Kemper 1981, 1991). People come to know (if only implicitly) and use these schemas as they internalize norms and values of society. Schemas act as reference-guides for understanding how and what to think and feel, and how and in what ways to be expressive in a given situation or context. Schemas are expressed through practical action and reproduced through everyday micro-encounters (see Collins 1981). Albeit emotion schemas are structurally influenced constraints, moral emotions and sche-

mas aren't entirely external dictates; we possess them, and use shared understanding to manage our interactions with others and to manipulate others' impressions (Shott 1979; Hochschild 1983, 1988).

Schemas (and embedded emotions and cognitions) are socially produced through micro-encounters and in our experiences as being a part of groups (family or friends). Building upwards, schemas are shaped through participation in meso-groups (e.g., the company one works for and unobserved networks of relations), and finally through our embeddedness in macro-level structures (e.g., the society in which one lives and the institutional patterns one encounters). Thus, schemas exist through societies, cultures, relationships and experiences that make them fluid, dynamic configurations that change throughout the life course. However, it is important to reemphasize that these moral schemas, comprised of emotions and cognitions, are biologically rooted and evolutionarily hard-wired bodily mechanisms. Therefore, in the next section we turn our attention to the neurological underpinnings of human morality with a specific focus on emotions.

THE MORAL WORLD INSIDE AND OUTSIDE

Neuroscience—Biology and the Brain

Humans are very similar to other higher mammals in their ability to engage in social behavior (Adolphs 2009, de Waal 2000); what sets our species apart is a developed cognitive ability which includes a moral capacity, a capacity far more complex than is possessed by other higher mammals. This moral capacity is building and binding in nature, and contributes to our coexistence and proliferation as a species. Moral capacity gives humans a unique place in the ecosystem, as the heart of this capacity involves altruistic motivations (other-oriented intention and behavior) and social solidarity (a collective orientation towards the ends of group benefit). Moral capacity extends the horizon of consideration beyond self-preservation, leading to innovation and adaptation, and the harmonization of large groups despite individuals' divergent backgrounds and interests. However, this same capacity also puts humans in a dubious position of discriminating against each other, acting with aggression and hostility upon individual, group, and civilization-based differences, often because salient distinctions become attached to moral value or worthiness. These distinctions lead humans to make evaluations of inferiority and superiority, adding reason to and justification for our use of destructive powers. We are a moral species, but so too are we a species that enacts measures of domination and subjugation against our own, and in a manner like no other. We argue that a fuller picture of this human moral capacity can be ascertained if sociologists attend to work both from within and outside their disciplinary boundaries. Work in the field of neuroscience is opportunistically complementary.

At the turn of 21st century, the disciplines of psychology and neurology have experienced a 'moral revolution'. While 'morality' has always been a focus of attention for biosciences, this revival of interest, fueled by a core group of neurobiologists and neuropsychologists, has ushered in a new agenda and with a faster pace of investigation, placing the *science of morality* somewhere near the center. This moral revolution was partly sparked, at least in the neurosciences, by new tools such as functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (an advanced neuroimaging technology that measures neural activity and allows scientists to detect the brain regions activated during experimental tasks), and rooted in the 'affective revolution' of the 1980s. Traditional focus on behavior and cognition was supplemented with theoretical and empirical work on emotions. Over time, emotions have come to be recognized as an equal dimension of human morality in biological sciences (as they have in social-scientific inquiry). This moral revolution, and the contemporary study of emotions, emerged as a challenge and a critique to classical psychological theories of morality (e.g. Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg), which are charged with being overly cognitive and fallaciously universally applicable. These

theories are often referenced as emblematic of the 'rationalist approach' to morality. They argue that the progress of adult moral reasoning occurs through developmental stages, which ultimately and ideally yields conscious, calculated moral cognition based on internalized universal moral principles (Kohlberg 1969, 1971, Piaget 1965).

The new neuroscience of morality, as we've mentioned, seems to embrace the centrality of emotions—theoretically and empirically—in understanding human morality. This is not to say that the centrality of cognition in moral assessments has been supplanted by emotions and affect. Although conscious, rational processes relying on cognition are core to moral evaluations and assessments, emotional processes have a more pronounced role in human morality than previously believed (see Haidt 2001; Damasio 1994; Greene et al. 2001; Haidt, Koller, and Dias 1993; Moll et al. 2001; Moll et al. 2002). Scholarship shows that emotions evoke rapid, automatic and non-conscious cognitive appraisals of interpersonal events (Moll et al. 2002) and influence our value-relevant decisions, in addition to higher level moral reasoning (Damasio 1994). As such, emotions have a place not only in our daily interactions, but also in uncommon, consequential, and complex evaluations and assessments, many of which have bearing on decisions and actions that have a significant moral valence.

To better understand the theoretical debate between 'classic' views emphasizing rationality and the nascent approaches emphasizing emotionality, we should briefly detail the moral brain's topography and provide an account of the etiology of the moral mind. As scholars have come to understand things today, moral capacity in the human brain involves an axis tying together 1) the prefrontal cortex (the so called 'rational' brain that is known for its executive regulatory functions including conscious, planned, goal-oriented behavior), 2) temporal regions (primarily oriented toward the external world in receiving and processing auditory, visual and sensory input) and 3) the limbic structure (often suggested to be the emotional part of the brain) (Adolphs 2009; Casebeer and Churchland 2003; Damasio 1994; Moll et al. 2002, 2005). It is the union and interplay of these regions that is posited as responsible for both conscious reasoning and automatic processing in brain-based moral activity. More to the point, these regions of the brain are adaptively conjoined; 'the moral' brain involves both fast emotional processes and slow reasoning processes as key mechanisms involved in moral assessments, judgments, actions and pursuits.

What findings in neuroscience suggest is that emotional mechanisms play a more central role in moral decisions than previously understood. For example, in many empirical investigations, ventromedial prefrontal cortex (VMPC) —the brain region involved in emotional regulation-- emerges as key. Functional imaging studies demonstrate this region's importance in experiments where subjects are engaged in morally salient tasks (Greene et al. 2001; Moll et al. 2001). Similarly, studies of patients with brain damage to the VMPC show that brain impairment is linked directly to deficient moral and emotional judgment (Damasio et al. 1990). In total, these studies indicate, and new neuropsychological theories of morality reflect, that the significance of emotions in human morality has been grossly underestimated.

Regardless of the perspective and model one adopts, morality is unarguably a hot topic of inquiry in both neuroscience and psychology. While research in these disciplines is advancing rapidly (and garnering public media attention in the process), the field of inquiry is still in its infancy. Most studies of moral matters in neurobiology and neuropsychology are conducted in artificial settings and involve classic moral dilemmas, which depict extreme situations such as the "trolley" problem (pushing one person in front of a trolley to save a far greater number of people). These dilemmas, although practical for the purpose of an emerging subfield, don't represent moral dilemmas people assuredly encounter in their daily lives (Moll et al. 2005). Taking real

context and real culture out of the equation feels rather limiting. Moreover, advanced experimental techniques such as functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging, when capturing snapshots of the brain, fail to take into account the social environments within which the moral cognition or behavior occurs (Casebeer and Churchland 2003), as well as peoples' histories, to say nothing of the experiencing of moral emotions.

Of great concern is that most researchers have models that severely undertheorize 'context', or what we sociologists think of as social structure, culture and our relations with others. Research in cultural psychology does offer some promise, acknowledging that social structure and culture shape emotions, leading to observed cross-cultural differences in moral domains based on cultural understanding and socioeconomic status (Haidt et al. 1993). However, while there is tacit acknowledgement of the importance of 'culture' (for instance), there is still limited focus on how morality (and emotions) depends on cultural and situational context (Moll et al. 2005), and how this affects and is affected by brain and bodily mechanisms. In the end, we simply know little about what aspects of culture and structure matter in a neuroscience of morality.

Fortunately, it is here that sociology can offer significant insights, inform the neuroscientific examination of emotion (and cognition), and make a dutiful contribution towards an integrated science of morality. Stepping back further, neuroscientific and neuropsychological theories and research on morality seem to share some very basic but essential understandings with sociology on 'persons embedded in a social world'. These sciences' agree that people do not engage in daily social interactions with complete rationality; they agree that non-conscious processes and emotion have an important role in cognition and behavior; they agree that people are influenced by others; they agree that morality is bounded by, defined, and constituted through social structure and culture. As such, we next take up the contribution of sociology in building an integrated science of morality.

Sociology—Culture and Society

We assert that people draw upon, use, and interpret moral schemas in their moral activities via emotions. Although people's personalized experiences influence the schemas they hold, everyday moral schemas are socio-culturally constructed, understood, and internalized. Social structure constrains our perspectives and activities, and culture prescribes meanings and rules, all of which leaves an emotional imprint. As such, moral schemas are laden with structural and cultural elements via the mechanism of emotional encoding. Here, we will discuss how and in what ways moral schemas are structurally and culturally shaped.

We adopt Sewell's (1992) conceptualization of social structure as sets of mutually sustaining cultural schemas (the things people know) and resources (material and non-material that people use to enact structures) that empower and constrain social action. Social structures tend to reproduce habituated social actions, the macro-patterns of which are institutions (Douglas 1986) that are readily ascertained as objectified social facts (Berger and Luckmann 1966). The very nature of social structures as stable, dependable, and reproducible, provides the stable background for human activity, forethought and deliberation. These habitual, objectified patterns suggest that schemas for thinking, feeling and acting are largely shared by people, regardless of their individual differences and unique experiences. Moral schemas, in the same regard, are largely shared by people embedded in similar structural arrangements and subject to similar cultural forces. Practically speaking, we can think of these moral schemas as cultural conventions, recipes, principles, and habits for thinking, feeling and acting in the realm of moral activity.

Conceptually, culture's impact on moral emotion (and cognition) operates at multiple levels. At the individual level, people understand and use cultural resources through social interaction (Bourdieu 1990, Carley 1991, Swidler 1986); at the supra-individual level, culture is a stream of scripts, schemas, or logics with moral attributes. When people and groups share culture, they share beliefs, values, norms and ideals that provide approbation for culturally valued means and ends (e.g. DiMaggio 1997; DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991; Friedland and Alford 1991). Micro- and macro-influence provides first-order guidelines for how people themselves do and should feel, and do and should express their emotions. People also come to know second-order guidelines for how other people do feel and should feel; how people do express and should express themselves emotionally.

In our first call for an integrated science of morality (Firat and McPherson 2010), we spend considerable time reviewing conflicting perspectives in cultural sociology on 'how culture matters'. The short of that argument, discussed by Vaisey (2008), is that some researchers model people as internalizing culture, others see culture as something used by people to construct meaning from (and justify their experience and understanding) their social worlds (e.g. DiMaggio 1997; Sewell 1992; Swidler 1986, 2001; Peterson 1976, 1979; Kaufman 2004). A third camp (including Vaisey 2008) sees culture as both; culture reflected through the internalization of schemas as well as the active meaning-construction people undertake to define, shape, understand, and use these codes. We espouse the third approach. Culture matters both as externally derived, internalized sets of emotional messages, and as floods of emotionally-charged information we use to navigate our social worlds (see Martin 1992; Tilly 1992; Swidler 1986).

In the case of both structural and cultural theories, there is often a failure to explicitly connect structure, culture, and emotions. Since the mind acts to encode our interactions and encounters via their emotional components, and because we use emotional elements to draw upon moral schemas to assess action opportunities, we think the aforementioned connection is vital. Quite abstractly, and in regards to morality, theories seem to move in one of two directions. One perspective views emotions and emotional processes as defining and producing moral commitments, which in turn act as the seeds of cultural production and structural arrangements (Turner 2000). The second perspective, we would argue, views preexisting culture as filled with moral codes, and these codes, being prescriptive, general and translatable (and often brokered by the powerful), arouse emotions and encode experiences with categories of feeling (Turner and Stets 2006).

We view neither perspective as contraindicating the other, and both as critical to bridging sociological and neuroscientific understandings. In fact, the two can be merged into one sustaining system: humans have developed a biologically adaptive and evolutionary set of neurological and bodily activities which make moral evaluations and actions possible. Emotions, *in conjunction with* cognitions, are central features which drive the human moral mind. Emotions—feeling, experiencing, and expressing them—produce and invoke moral commitments by influencing peoples' perceptions and assessments of experiences. Existing cultural meanings and social structural constraints shape the experiences and understandings we encounter, and thus the emotions that people feel, the rules for feeling, what people can emotively express and when, and how people express them. As such, culture and structure, just as with cognition, pattern the elements of our emotive worlds. Embedded in cultures, and structural positions, our differential encounters define the blueprints for thinking, feeling and acting in our social worlds. When we encounter experiences, people, objects and activities, we draw upon the internalized and personally-adapted moral schemas through their emotive character to make sense of our worlds. Just as we draw upon past experience and understanding through emotional encoding, by arousing

emotions, we further encode (and recode) these experiences, people, objects and activities with emotional and moral significance.

Individuals, with different backgrounds and experiences, and unique personalities, attend to extraordinarily similar moral considerations because they're embedded in similar structures of relations and social networks (for arguments regarding the essential task of mapping concrete relations as sustaining categories of shared meaning, see Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994; Wellman 1983). We refer to these social relations as *culture carriers* and *schema transmitters* (Firat and McPherson 2010). On the macro-level, emotive elements of culture are carried by institutions (Friedland and Alford 1991; Douglas 1986; Berger and Luckmann 1966), networks (Powell 1990; Boorman and White 1976), and social movements (Rao et al. 2003; Rao et al. 2000; McAdam 1995). These carriers diffuse, activate, and differentially make available emotional considerations that people and groups thus come to internalize, know, and draw upon. At a micro-level, the emotive qualities of schemas are transmitted through social interactions (Kemper and Collins 1990; Collins 1981). We identify these macro- and micro-vehicles, the carriers of moral emotional schemas, to enhance the discourse between sociology and neuroscience. We've broadly specified 'by whom' or 'through what' schemas tend to be systematically adopted and used in patterned ways to explain how, despite their individuality and uniqueness, people tend to adopt highly overlapping moral positions.

Linking Ideas from Sociology

In our call for an integrated science of morality (Firat and McPherson 2010), we begin to speculate as to *how* moral schemas shape and influence people's assessments and actions. As a reminder, schemas—encoded emotionally—provide sets of beliefs, values, norms and prescriptions for how persons should think, feel, and act. Although no universally shared culture exists, people share culture and this explains our similar moral assessments and actions. We, as individuals, cannot attend all aspects of situations and the flood of cultural meanings, and tend to use cognitive heuristics to judge, assess, and make decisions (Tversky and Kahneman 1974). Just as humans use cognitive shortcuts, we use emotions as tools to encode our experiences and understanding, categorizing activity emotionally. Culture is filled with emotive language, discourses, and meanings which reflect and contribute to our schematization of emotional elements. Pertaining to the moral, emotional elements (positive and negative) define bright lights and bright lines (Hitlin 2008) of moral activities and dilemmas. These emotions act as signals, tagging issues, objects, persons and circumstances with moral valence. Emotions, schematized, act as moral guides. This presupposes that people are able to make sense, order, or simply attend to their complex cultural and structural worlds. Schematization of emotions aids peoples' efforts to make sense of their worlds.

Although there are any number of sociological theories which attend to this very matter, we briefly point to Alexander's (1988; Alexander and Smith 1993) notion of "cultural binaries" as useful for our sake. Alexander and colleagues suggest that culture is comprised of symbolic sets centered on general issues and shared categories of understanding. More importantly, these symbolic sets contain mechanisms for objectifying and explaining positions on issues. They are tools that pit issues in dualistic terms, as 'binaries'. Binaries simplify issues and circumstances by creating mutually exclusive (so to speak) categories. Dualistically organized, positions on moral issues (and moral action) come to be about 'good versus bad', 'right versus wrong' and 'clean versus dirty' (Alexander and Smith 1993). With attached emotive qualities, moral arguments are defined by emotional schematizing qualities. Emotions, in essence, then can signal attending positions in moral situations. As these authors imply, competence, acceptance, membership, and reward structures are all tied to proscriptive elements of cultural codes.

We cannot attend to all aspects of a broader argument here, such as what factors influence which schemas are activated, and the link between the elements of the situation and the specificity of signaling emotions. To name a few, the strength of relations, our social identities in relation to others, the familiarity and history of those relations, our propensity for self-interest, the nature of exchange, and the dynamics of power and status all influence the emotive quality of moral schemas that we draw upon in a given circumstance or situation. Invariably, we picture this moral mind to be a complex matrix of situational inputs that have an emotional character.

We also believe that theories are correct in implicating power and status, for example, as affording some actors the ability to shape and more readily propagate schemas (Hallett 2003). Lamont (1992, 2000) indicates that power provides some persons the advantageous position to use a broader cultural repertoire. Power and status justify and constrain the rights and legitimacy of persons to use particular cultural stances in moral dilemmas, and to draw upon emotively charged moral discourses. Power (a property of relations) and status structure the opportunities and availability of moral schemas that people understand and configure (e.g. Bourdieu's 1984 argument regarding available cultural capital). Just as power and status shape what people can use, Kemper (1981, 1991; Kemper and Collins 1990) believes that status and power differentially structure the emotional character of our experiences (which we will discuss below).

The fundamental building blocks of structure—power and status—influence which emotions are felt and expressed. Social structure constrains our relationships, differentially exposing people to classes of experience that are encoded schematically; structures shape the emotions we experience, how we come to encode (and recode) emotion and experience, creating moral emotional stratification. An integrated science of morality, attending to the reciprocal relation between the social environment and individuals (both people in relations and people's neurological and bodily activity), should dutifully attend to issues such as power and status. By doing so, scholars can attend to fundamental differences between groups of persons and their understanding of issues and perspectives on matters that are chiefly pro-social.

PURSUING AN INTEGRATED SCIENCE

A first step in our call is to convince scholars in sociology and neuroscience that each can contribute to the endeavor of the other. We've briefly discussed how some sociologists see culture and social structure as influencing people emotionally. We then extrapolated these ideas to issues of morality. We've also discussed how neuroscientists view the brain and moral mind as operating; we've explained how emotions contribute to people's neural and bodily functioning in matters of morality. As such, our next task is to briefly detail how sociology and neuroscience can, would, and should benefit from one another, and why collaboration might produce more fruitful empirical arguments (saying nothing of theories) than either field can do alone. We argue that in order to understand macro- and micro-sociological concerns in relation to the micro-neuroscientific foundations of human morality, we must draw upon subsets of our disciplines to create meaningful locales for building an integrated science. By incorporating neuroscience's theories and methodological tools, sociological theories positing emotional (and cognitive) mechanisms can fully empirically test their models. In doing so, we can advance our understanding of the relation between people and their social worlds. We see sociological social psychology as providing the theoretical and empirical tools for just such a task. In what follows, we offer a few potential avenues for integration.

Interaction Rituals. Collins (1981) argues that emotionally charged ritual activities are the micro-foundations of society. People tend to reproduce relations and routines, interacting with those who produce the

greatest emotional returns for them. Chains of micro-encounters generate the features of structure and culture via the emotional energies that fuel these and future encounters. These emotional energies are recognizable, commonly shared, and induce people to both attend to coalitional memberships and ‘we-ness’, and reinforce the pursuit of similar feelings in future interaction. In essence, our chains of interactions instantiate the schematic emotional encoding of moral matters, pushing us towards encounters that are emotionally familiar and rewarding. The ritual of interacting, and its schematic emotional qualities, produce differential degrees of solidarity in relations. However, evidence supporting the impact of emotional intensity, let alone the degree of solidarity created through the interaction rituals, remains sparse. Neuroscience might provide insight and contextualize the emotional mechanisms through which the interaction rituals are enacted. The body of empirical research on the neural mechanisms underlying empathy might be especially useful for this pursuit (see Hein and Singer 2008). Future investigations might examine if, and how, familiar interactions activate emotions thought to be pro-social, and how these emotions are related to moral assessment and action. An integrated science might better explain how people selectively incur individual costs—resources, time, physical peril, and resulting psychosocial states—in encounters with others with whom they already have vested emotional energies, and how they avoid other micro-encounters with persons and groups with whom their emotional energies are less staked or unfamiliar.

Power and Status. Power and status tend to be fundamental structural phenomena that organize interactions, expectations, and rewards. Recent work by Bianchi and Lancianese (2007), for example, demonstrates that positive sentiments produced in exchange processes can reduce the salience of status hierarchies. To Bianchi and Lancianese (2007), emergent sentiment for alters involves the accumulation of positive emotions derived from a history of beneficial exchanges between actors (activity induced in a minimalist experimental setting). We believe that these positive sentiments (garnered through successive positive exchange encounters) activate a process by which people place their shared similarities with others above signals of status difference that create valued distinctions. These encounters are instances where relative unknowns encode the positive emotional elements of their brief relations schematically. As Bianchi and Lancianese (2007) explain, shared activity and resulting emotional affinity suppress the power and prestige order and actors’ tendency to use hierarchically organized status information.

Via shared and positive emotional experience, we believe that the schemas to which these exchange encounters are attached locate the experience as similar to or in-line with actors’ existing relations with familiar others. Encounters like these, in which actors typically use status information to organize their expectations and behavior, are transformed by the emotional familiarity of acts of sharing and attachments of these familiar positive emotions to relatively unfamiliar partners. Perceptions of partners are transformed. Rather than being simply alters instrumental to favorable exchanges, alters come to be seen by actors as like friends, family, or as others belonging to the actor’s reference groups. Why this research is important is that these encounters, and rather simple behavioral demonstrations, seem to shape the affective ties between relatively unknown people, influencing the salience of characteristics and qualities used to create hierarchical values of status or worth. Neuroscientific inquiry might elucidate this process, supplying scholars with a richer understanding of how certain acts of exchange invoke familiar emotion-states, and whether and how similar emotions differentially reduce the salience or impact of status hierarchies that typically lead to behavioral inequalities. For example, our interest lies in whether actors schematically encode positive sentiments for unfamiliar exchange partners in a manner similar to activity with people who are already positively viewed others (from pre-existing relations). In doing so, scholarship can attend to ways and means to reduce status structures that lead to inequality produced in micro-encounters.

In an entirely different strand of research, Kemper (1981, 1987, 1991) argues that peoples' positions in power and status hierarchies impacts what emotions they experience and how they experience them. In essence, social structure differentially creates emotions that people experience and express (e.g. Kemper and Collins 1990; Kemper 1981, 1987). Kemper suggests that people have sustained experiences in kinds of structured encounters, and these predictably induce specific feelings. Thus, social structure shapes the emotional environment, which in turn contributes to the micro-reproduction of social order and group stability (Kemper 1991). Quite broadly, we believe that researchers in neuroscience would helpfully contribute to an integrated science by investigating the neural roots of power and status dynamics in interactions. More pointed, integrated investigations would advance our understanding of whether predictable affective states are produced in status and power relations, and if so, whether these affective states influence actors' decisions in moral dilemmas.

It could be that the dimensions (and relative influence) of power and status operate through schematized emotional states. Emotionally experiencing what is familiar (based on one's structural position), and schematically reproducing order through predictable emotional expression, might explain why people are willing to cooperate in unfair or unjust arrangements. Empirical work in sociology, like that of Lovaglia and Houser (1996), have argued that emotions might act back to sustain and reinforce status structures.

Future work tying neuroscience and the structural aspects of peoples' emotional lives might help us better understand what happens when people accumulate structurally constrained, consistent emotional experiences over time. Further, such work might begin to attend to the psychosocial byproducts of habitually experiencing and expressing the same sets of emotions that have been constrained by peoples' structural positions. Understanding the underlying neural processes might help researchers better attend to strategies that attenuate the schematic encoding of familiar emotion-states that contribute to the default reproduction of social order. In doing so, research might show how people can counteract power and prestige orders that produce the micro-foundations of the stratification system.

Exchange. Lawler's (2001) affect theory of social exchange argues that emotions are central to social exchange processes. Social exchange theorists, like Blau (1964), have long implicated exchange as fundamentally constitutional of social order. Different types of exchange—negotiated, reciprocal, generalized, or productive—produce differential levels of perceived “jointness” of tasks. According to Lawler (2001), people experience varying feelings based on whether or not the joint task of exchange is successful. In essence, some types of social exchange produce stronger affective feelings, laying the foundation for commitment, solidarity, and group cohesion (Lawler and Yoon 1993, 1996, 1998; Lawler, Thye and Yoon 2000).

We offer that people recognize or sense these emotions schematically, activating a basis of considerations beyond the actor, such as the subjective value of social units. This would support Lawler's (2001) idea that jointness and emotion objectify the exchange relation as valuable in and of itself. Various exchange theorists have examined the relation between exchange types, emotions and commitment (Molm 2003; Molm et al. 2007), with some conflicting predictions regarding which exchange types are likely to produce commitments through emotions. Neuroscience could advantageously influence our understanding of how people affectively respond to varying types of social exchange (a fundamental human social activity). For example, do different structural conditions schematically activate distinct emotions or emotional states in the brain, and how are those emotions differentially tied to moral perceptions and understandings of actors and the situation? Can neuroscience tell us about the relation between the emotions activated neurologically in exchange and whether they parallel the emotions that actors report (express) in sociological investigations? Nuanced understanding of

structure and qualitative dimensions of affectively-charged exchange might provide evidence as to how exchange processes can enhance our commitment to groups and willingness (or decisions) to put others' interests above our own (for the benefit of all parties involved).

Emotional Management. Hochschild's (1983, 1988) work on emotion and feeling rules implicates culture as providing schemas for feeling and acting. Individuals must manage emotional displays when sociocultural scripts generate discontinuity between what people feel and what they are forced to express—emotional impression management (Hochschild 1983; Thoits 1990, 1991). People are often caught in conflict between emotion ideologies, rules for feeling, and proscriptions for how to display those feelings (if at all).

Scholars would be keen to attend to the moral consequences of emotional management strategies, especially whether disconnect between feelings and expression disrupt the challenge of creating consensus, shared understanding, and collective buy-in. For example, when emotional management is needed, do people encode the emotion felt and the emotion expressed differently? What kind of brain activity ensues? Are there underlying physiological conditions activated? What implications does this have in a society where persons, unequally, are compelled to express their emotional states inconsistently with how they feel? The underlying neural roots of emotional impression management seem wide open, and have broad substantive implication for work, health, and gender stratification, as well as for scholars interested in ideas such as authenticity of self.

Identity Theories. Identity theories rooted in symbolic interaction posit that emotions play a central role in identity verification, with implications for the cognitive and behavioral strategies people enact in their relations with others. Identity control theory (Burke 1991, 1996), for example, argues that emotions act to signal to the self as to whether one's identities are being accepted by others. Similar arguments, albeit with different purposes and explanations, are found in variants like Stryker's structural symbolic interactionism (1980; Stryker and Burke 2000) and affect control theory (Heise 1977, 1979, 1989; Smith-Lovin 1990; Smith-Lovin and Heise 1988). The overall emphasis here is to consider how emotions are relevant signals for people in self and identity processes.

By incorporating the ideas and methods of neuroscience, scholars can better come to understand dynamic identity processes. The schematic quality of signaling emotions might trigger rather predictable patterns of cognitive and behavioral strategies (of identity maintenance and enhancement) that are counterproductive to the group and larger collective pursuits (even though they are productive for individuals engaged in normal identity processes). By uncovering the brain mechanisms underlying these identity and emotion processes, researchers might better understand how individuals can successfully validate their identities, or counteract the verification of negative identities, in support of other-oriented action and solidarity in groups. Neuroscience would aid this cause considerably. Given that the "black box" of inference lies in our ability to predict identity processes from more measurable manifestations, mapping emotions' role alongside cognition and behavior has obvious implications for identity processes as they pertain to moral activity.

Just as identity control and role-identity scholarship can be advanced, so too can work on social identities. Social identity theory (Hogg and Abrams 1988; Tajfel and Turner 1986) attempts to explain how people categorize themselves in relation to others, impacting people's understanding of their group relations and identities as part of these groups. People pay attention to any number of elements that act as the basis of group evaluations, and affective attractions (Hogg and Moreland 1993) or emotions act as signals of meaningful similarity with and difference from others. Cohesion and group activity (Hogg 2006; Abrams and Hogg 2004), one's willingness to act for the sake of others, depend upon identification with those others. Building on social identity theory, identification necessarily involves emotions, accessed and activated schematically. Emotions order and contribute to the subjective importance and value we place on certain relationships and groups. Emotions signal fundamental aspects of group importance, as well as make clear features of groups. Our commitment to groups, and the importance we attach to group pursuits, depends upon these affective elements of self and social categorization processes. Neuroscience would significantly help scholars attend to dimensions of attachment that produce the strongest feelings, especially the ways in which people can constructively ap-

peal to persons in attempting to organize collective action. For example, what emotions are activated by attachments to and identifications with varying groups? Can examinations of brain activity help us discern which elements of groups invoke the strongest and most impactful emotional identifications? How do actors differently categorize groups and is there a relationship between these categorizations and emotions mapped through brain imaging? In assessing these and other questions, scholars can better understand how actors identify with groups, both those that pursue constructive collective action, as well as those that jointly engage destructive tendencies (adversely impacting the individual members). At the same time, an integrated science might advance how groups manipulate emotional elements to bring about unhealthy and destructive attachments to dangerous collectivities in the first place.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

For this newsletter and in our call for an integrated science, our focus has been on ‘all things moral’. Laying out a series of ideas from the neurosciences and from sociology, we point to emotions as important components in the causal chain of human moral capacity. People experience emotions and express them; the sociocultural world structures our interactions and encounters, and shapes the meanings and messages we attach to our emotional lives. If the matrix of moral schemas we construct to make sense of our world and organize the important human experience are thought of as files, emotions are the file labels that encode experience and understanding, labels we use and reuse to order and reorder future moral encounters. However, our focus on morality does not mean that our proposed model or an integrated science is only useful in this moral realm. Morality captures our imagination, and is the focus here, for the simple reason that it matters at the most fundamental level of social existence.

One reason we see this integrated science as important is because issues that are moral—like acting altruistically and the creation and maintenance of social solidarity—don’t just matter for the sake of science illuminating how the world and people fit together. Issues of morality matter because they speak to our current and future existence as a species, to how we seem to help people in one instance and so negligently harm them in the next. Moreover, we view morality as more than just a shared set of ideas, values and beliefs distinguishing between ‘right’ and ‘wrong’; morality is dynamic and contained in a complex social system of power relationships, and embedded in political and economic systems. Thus, we hope that the ideas presented here on morality tap this multi-faceted reality.

The social psychological theories we just discussed are but a few initial locales we should consider ripe for collaborative science. Other theories and research programs seem equally intriguing as avenues for exploration, such as justice research (Hegtvedt and Killian 1999; Hegtvedt and Johnson 2000; Hegtvedt 2005), legitimation theory (Zelditch 2001), expectation states theory (Berger, Conner, and Fisek 1974; Berger et al. 1985; Berger and Webster 2006), and agentic personal identity construction (e.g. Snow and Anderson 1987), to name a few. As it pertains to our call for joint endeavors, the strength of sociology as a discipline lie in the diversity of its focus and the field’s recognition of a multi-layered social reality that impacts people. However, sociological theories focusing on the mechanisms through which the social world impacts the individual mind (and behavior) often stay at a theoretical level or fail to employ methodologies suited for testing the theories.

What neuroscience can offer to sociology is a clear understanding of what’s actually going on inside people. So much of our theorizing and discussion takes the social world to be infinitely variable and complex, while the person is infinitely unique but affected in very consistent ways. Sociology focuses on the social world and assumes the “black box” of personhood follows and responds. There’s no reason to doubt that understanding social dynamics is essential for understanding how the human mind works. But there’s also no reason to relax our consideration of the human mind if we are to really understand how the social world matters. Apprehending the brain regions associated with moral behavior will help clarify the underlying emotional and cognitive mechanisms at the core of many sociology theories. An integrated or collaborative approach shapes this bigger picture, parsing out the nature and nurture in the science of morality.

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Unlimited Love, Compassion and Forgiveness: Acts of Moral Exemplars

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Acknowledgements

This study would not have been possible without the financial support and generous help of the Fetzer Institute, who have patiently nurtured and extended this research to include the beginning stages of forgiveness.

I also want to express my appreciation to a group of faculty and graduate students who have aided me in various stages of this project. Some of the graduate students assisted with interviewing. Others did transcribing, reading and rereading of the interviews, and helped with the data analysis. I want to specially recognize the following people who have contributed generously and patiently to the progress of this study: Emeritus Professor Jack Shaffer, Patsy Givens, Bethany Weber, Farnad Darnell, Kristin Pitsenbarger, and Jenny Shayani. I also want to acknowledge the respondents, who generously took time to grant us interviews. I want to particularly acknowledge my current Polish research associate, Dr. Olaf Zylich, who along with others mentioned above, will continue to assist us with this broader research on apology and forgiveness. This research will take an international approach and we anticipate that it will result in the publication of a book.

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"We must develop and maintain the capacity to forgive. He who is devoid of the power to forgive is devoid of the power to love. There is some good in the worst of us and some evil in the best of us. When we discover this, we are less prone to hate our enemies. "

Martin Luther King. Jr.

Abstract

This research is an exploratory study that addresses the relationship between altruism, empathy and forgiveness. We hypothesize that respondents who score high on measures of altruism, spirituality/religiosity, empathy, social responsibility, and moral identity- are more likely to be forgiving and to help others. A second hypothesis is that respondents who score high on those same measures and who have been hurt or offended in some serious¹ way will be more likely to forgive those who have harmed them. We have reasoned that respondents who receive high scores, and who have been hurt or offended would be more altruistic and empathetic towards the harm-doers; this was confirmed from our data.

To test these assumptions, we gathered responses from 435 people (see appendix B1 and 2), including moral exemplars from our earlier studies, members of clergy, college students, and the general population (adults who are not moral exemplars, students or members of the clergy)². Some of the data was obtained by interviewing a sample of respondents, while other respondents completed a self-administered questionnaire. All of the respondents completed a forgiveness scale. We began this research eighteen months ago³ by interviewing a sample of moral exemplars to explore their motivations for showing compassion and acts of kindness. The moral exemplars have been nominated by 'expert nominators' on the basis of their reputation as contributors to their communities in many different ways. During the course of this research, we became interested in apology and forgiveness, and how the motivations of those who apologize and forgive relate or overlap with the motivation of moral exemplars. Thus, we extended the research on forgiveness to clergy, students, and the general population to compare their explanations for helping with those of moral exemplars and by doing so gained insight into the importance of apology and forgiveness in their lives.

We began the second part of this study by sending a forgiveness scale to moral exemplars, a group of clergy (Catholic Priests, Protestant Ministers, Rabbis, and Catholic Nuns), a group of undergraduate students from College of the Redwoods and Humboldt State University, and a group from the general population. We administered apology and forgiveness scales to all four groups and asked whether respondents have hurt or offended someone, and/or whether someone hurt or offended them in a serious way, which had long-term consequences.

We found that respondents who scored higher on altruism, empathy, and religiosity/spirituality, also scored higher on forgiveness. They were also more likely to try and convince people with whom they interact that apology and forgiveness are forms of helping and caring, and are a necessary prerequisite for reconciliation and healing damaged relationships. Although some studies show that 94% of American people think that forgiveness is a very important part of healing in the community, only about 48% have actually apologized and forgiven others. Our data shows that 92% of respondents have reported involvement in apology and forgiveness, stating that it helped restore good relationships with the harm-doer and also helped relieve their own pain and burden.

We organized this preliminary study as follows:

1) We discuss some attributes of moral exemplars ; 2) briefly review the stories of a few well-known moral exemplars to gain some insight about why they played such a positive and helpful role on the world scene, as well as focusing on the literature of apology and forgiveness; 3) present our data that explains why moral exemplars helped in different settings; 4) and present the data from clergy, students and general population, and compare it with the data of moral exemplars.

¹ When I refer to being hurt or offended in a serious way, I mean that the offense is significant enough to have long-term consequences.

² By general population I mean a non-random sample of adults who are not moral exemplars, students or members of the clergy.

³ With funding from Fetzer Institute.

Basic Concepts

At the start, I wish to define the basic concepts used because the relationships among them will be used throughout this paper. Stephen Post's (2003) definition on *unlimited love* is the most concise. He says, "In essence, unlimited love is an abiding other-regarding perspective and emotional attunement that affirms and serves all of humanity unselfishly and unconditionally, without any exception whatsoever." Also, an essay by John Templeton suggests that unlimited love is a form of love that rises above every conceivable limit to embrace all of humanity in joy, creativity, compassion, care, and generativity; it lies at the heart of all valid and worthwhile spiritual, religious, and derivative philosophical traditions. It is often associated with a divine presence that underlies the cosmos and makes life a meaningful gift. Indeed, the life of unlimited love probably begins with the sense that every life is a gift.

The concept of *forgiveness* is an important part of this paper. Forgiveness is the willingness to abandon the right to resentment, negative judgment, and indifferent behavior towards one who has unjustly injured us, while fostering the undeserved qualities of compassion, generosity, and even love towards the offender. (Enright 1998).

Apology is related to forgiveness. Apology is defined in various ways by several authors. The one that I have chosen as best for our purposes says that apology is to acknowledge and express regret for a fault or harm with the intention of making reparations to the person who was harmed and making a genuine promise to change behavior. Genuine apology does not make superficial excuses, but rather is a sincere attempt to ask the offended person for forgiveness in an attempt to restore harmony and reconciliation. Some apologies are not accepted because forgiveness cannot be offered.

Moral exemplars are defined as individuals who have made a moral commitment and who act on a regular basis to achieve "HESED" (Hebrew for loving kindness), justice and care for those in the community who are in need⁴.

Altruism is the act of helping a person or group in need who will benefit from it. Altruism is a voluntary act for which the helper/altruist does not expect any external reward. I divide altruism into two types: heroic altruism, which is voluntary and involves high risk to the helper, and conventional altruism, which is voluntary but does not involve high risk to the helper.

Overview of a Moral Personality

Philosophers, theologians and social scientists have had a long and persistent controversy about the nature of human behavior. Are human beings sometimes brutish and inhumane towards each other or do people internalize a tradition and ethic of caring for others? Are human beings selfish and unforgiving, or are they selfless and forgiving? What makes such moral exemplars as Mahatma Gandhi—passively resisting injustice and conducting hunger strikes for India's freedom—and Elie Wiesel—fighting for humanity, truth, and justice in a post-Holocaust world—act for what they believed in rather than ponder the issue and do nothing? What made the Pope ask for forgiveness for two thousand years of persecution of the Jews and other minorities? These and other questions are the focus of this part of the study.

⁴ See also Kohlberg, L. 1976. "Moral State and Moralization: The Cognitive Development Approach." *Moral Development and Behavior: Theory, Research, and Social Issues*, edited by T. Lickona. New York: Holt.

My own motivation for conducting this research has a longstanding background. Throughout all of my academic life, I have been primarily interested the nature of good and evil. By goodness I mean willingly taking a stand to put the welfare of others along side one's own welfare, apologizing and forgiving to those that have been offended or harmed, and helping others regain dignity and self-respect (Blumenthal 1999)⁵. By evil I mean acting to destroy or harm other human beings. Since September 11, 2001 we have been inspired to get involved with humanity on a local and global basis. Daily acts of ordinary goodness and the selfless heroism of people who care need to be recognized and celebrated. Media coverage of compassionate acts could make us feel generous and create in us the desire to do acts of goodness ourselves. Philosopher Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682) said that by being compassionate we make others' misery our own, and so, by relieving them, we relieve ourselves also.

According to Oliner and Oliner (1988), most personalities consist of a relatively enduring, internally determined predisposition, which underlies behavior. Use of the word personality here, as distinct from attitudes and values, reflects cognitive representation of appropriate behavior—a standard regarding what one should do. My emphasis is the affective components of personality manifested in emotions and behavior. The moral exemplars studied here reflect a component of behavior that has a predisposition to caring for and helping others. Looking at profiles of our moral exemplars, I find a number of common attributes developed over time as they grew, learned, experienced the world, and recognized the need for moral behavior. These attributes started in youth and were affirmed through witnessing the moral behavior of parents or other people of significance in their lives. It was through the acquiring and understanding of cognitive and affective behaviors, that they began their involvement in helping. This behavior consisted of choosing settings that bring forth their personality characteristics. For instance, Caspi, Bem, and Elder (1989), in their important article titled "Continuities and Consequences of Interactional Styles Across the Life Course," maintain that individuals sometimes channel themselves into environments that would give them an opportunity for further development along the road of helping. Also involved in developing the caring personality are individual interactions with others, which later enforce and trigger caring and prosocial behaviors, even including forgiving others who hurt or offended them.

In my recent study of helping behavior (Oliner 2003), I found a variety of self-reported explanations for helping. Among them are: efficacy and control, a desire to contribute to moral goals, a sense of self-esteem and feeling "I can do it," standing up for beliefs, love of people, resourcefulness, an ability to face challenges, spirituality/religiosity, and self-confidence in the moral rightness of their actions⁶.

Attributes of Moral Exemplars

According to Colby and Damon, moral exemplars:

1. have a sustained commitment to moral ideals or principles that includes a generalized respect for humanity, or a sustained evidence of moral virtue;
2. are in a position to act in accordance with their moral ideals or principles, implying also a consistency between actions and intentions, and between the means and ends of actions;
3. have a willingness to risk self-interest for the sake of moral values;
4. have a tendency to inspire others and thereby move others toward moral action;
5. have a sense of realistic humility about their own importance relative to the world at large, implying a relative lack of concern for their own ego.

⁵See also Staub, Ervin. 1989. *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.

⁶Other attributes include welcoming challenges to act on behalf of others; taking risks in their personal career, as well as taking risks in helping others; determination that he/she is on the right path; having respect for others; treating people with respect and caring; ability to set a moral tone; having a sense of integrity and confidence; able to take on difficult tasks; able to interact and get feedback from others; tend to be more rational and able to explain why he/she has taken this moral road.

To this list I would add a sixth characteristic:

6. Moral exemplars have accepted apology from and have forgiven those who have harmed them.

Anne Colby and William Damon (1992) who created the core list above, give us some empirical insight into the nature of moral heroes and an organized approach for looking at their motivations⁷. They've identified a four-step process of reciprocity in the social influence and moral transformation that occurs between the actors and their supporters, leading to an influential development that may exist throughout a lifetime. The four steps are: (1) there is an understanding and match of goals between the two parties, (2) there is communication and sharing of new information and knowledge, (3) the parties engage in new activities, which (4) results in adopting and broadening new moral goals⁸.

Although personality and charisma play an important role in creating moral change, the primary force is social support and communication which allows for feedback and development of the whole, thus benefiting the group and ultimately the cause. Positivity (including optimism, love, and joy) is also closely linked with morality⁹ because this quality is evident in the lives of most moral exemplars, as shown in this study and in Colby and Damon's sample. Moral exemplars do not blame others for their situation in life.

In moral exemplars there is a uniting of self and morality. "Among the noteworthy patterns are: (1) the exemplars' disregard for risk and their disavowal of courage, (2) their certainty of response about matters of principle, (3) their unremitting faith and positivity in the face of the most dismal circumstances, (4) their capacity to take direction as well as social support from the followers they inspire, and (5) the dynamic interplay between continuity and change in their personal life histories."¹⁰ These characteristics of moral exemplars lead to the interpretation that it is possible to have an individual personality and also be committed to a moral cause, and that there is no conflict between the two attributes. "Moral exemplars are both highly individuated persons as well as highly committed ones."¹¹

Further, Colby and Damon (1992) argue that there are two types of altruists (and for our purposes, moral exemplars): reformers and helpers. The reformer is oriented to correcting social injustices, while the helper is motivated by a desire to alleviate suffering. For most moral exemplars, then, this translates into a sense of humanity and feelings of solidarity and love for the 'other' —this love being a value, which is to be promoted¹².

Moral exemplars need not deny themselves life and comfort in order to be sensitive and helpful to others. They are not necessarily deprived, nor do they need to suffer physical or psychological pain. They may be psychologically healthy and have visions about a better world. By directing their personal goals entirely toward moral commitments and by defining themselves primarily through these commitments, the moral exemplars established a conceptual self-system that supported their natural moral inclinations at every turn. This is why we never observed the hesitation, doubt, fear, or uncertainty that is typical of a divided self."¹³

⁷See also Coles, Robert. 1989. *The Call of Stories: Teaching and the Moral Imagination*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin; Kohlberg, L. 1976. "Moral State and Moralization: The Cognitive-development Approach," in *Moral Development and Behavior: Theory, Research, and Social Issues*, edited by T. Lickona. New York: Holt; and Mill, John Stuart. 1990. *The Autobiography of John Stuart Mill*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

⁸Colby and Damon, Pp.14-15. See also Coles, Robert. 1989. *The Call for Stories: Teaching and the Moral Imagination*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

⁹Martin, Mike. 1994. *Virtuous Giving: Philanthropy, Voluntary Service, and Caring*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. See also Mill, John Stuart. 1990. *The Autobiography of John Stuart Mill*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday; Pietzner, Cornelius. 2000. "Perspectives on Philanthropy." Ethical Banking Conference. Basel, Switzerland, May 28. Retrieved July 23, 2001. <http://www.camphillsoltane.org/news/philanthropy.htm>; Staub, Ervin. 1979. *Positive Social Behavior and Morality: Socialization and Development*. Vol. II, New York: Academic Press.

¹⁰Ibid., Pp. 293

¹¹Ibid., Pp. 298.

¹²Colby and Damon, *Some Do Care*, Chapter 10.

¹³Ibid., Pp. 310.

Moral exemplars act in religious, political, environmental, social, or scientific areas where human plight is brought to the attention of the world. They are heroes who work for the betterment of humankind in science, medicine, human rights, education, the environment, and community action. They get involved in apology and forgiveness in order to heal themselves and those whom they may have harmed. Moral exemplars are not perfect individuals — however, they do have a moral compass, fortitude, and a fervent wish to serve their fellow human beings. They also provide a moral example for others to follow. Moral exemplars may or may not be famous, but they do work tirelessly in the pursuit of equitable treatment for people both in their own area and universally. They always work from a moral base. Most of the exemplars in this study are ordinary people who make a difference in the community by being there and acting on behalf of the welfare of others.

Love, compassion, spiritual transformation, forgiveness, and the true sense of neighborliness may be the best antidotes to a divided and troubled world. Millions of people yearn for a better society and many are willing to put forth the effort to achieve a more virtuous and compassionate world. And many people suffer the burden of being hurt or offended, or of having hurt others and yearning to forgive or be forgiven in order to lighten their psychological and physical load. These individuals and groups want to help repair the world, and they do. Aristotle maintains that goodness resides in activity: human goodness in human activities and goodness of activity is to explain all other positive virtues (Santas 2001).

The purpose of this research is to understand why respondents in this sample have devoted time and energy to actively helping in their communities. If we can do that we can delineate the ingredients that explain their altruistic and forgiving behavior.

Famous Moral Exemplars: What Can They Teach Us?

In order to understand why people exhibit compassionate caring and love, I will cast a wide net and review activities and life experiences of some famous and less famous exemplars. It is in their caring and compassionate behaviors where we discover their attitudes towards apology and forgiveness. Additionally, I shall review the literature of social scientists and religious leaders who have made profound observations about apology and forgiveness.

In the areas of **human rights** and **social activism**, there is no greater moral exemplar than Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi's persistent passive resistance helped liberate India from years of oppression, and his *Satyagraha* or 'Truth-force' -- acts of nonviolent resistance in the service of moral truth -- were among the most influential events of the 20th century. In 1948, India gained its independence largely through nonviolent resistance; Gandhi's ideology of nonviolent resistance on behalf of freedom and human dignity is his most durable legacy. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Nelson Mandela, and others emulated Gandhi's philosophy, and in their turn saved lives and gained freedom for the oppressed of their nations. This philosophy has been planted in the minds of people all over the world and is perhaps the most powerful and inspirational force in modern history. The following statement by Gandhi offer us deep insight into his world view:

Mankind is one, seeing that all are equally subject to the moral law. All men are equal in God's eyes. There are, of course, differences of race and status and the like, but the higher the status of a man, the greater is his responsibility.¹⁴

He said that he did not believe in the doctrine of the greatest good of the greatest number. The only real, dignified, human doctrine is the greatest good of all.¹⁵

¹⁴Brinkley, Alan. 1999. "The Peacemaker: India Won its Freedom Without Firing a Shot." *The New York Times Magazine*, April 18, Pp. 116

¹⁵Shepard, Mark. 1987. Pp. 1 in *Gandhi Today*. Arcata, CA: Simple Productions. See also: Ingram, Catherine. 1990. *The Footsteps of Gandhi: Conversations with Spiritual, Social Activists*. Berkeley, Ca: Parallax Press.

Unfortunately, Gandhi's dilemma was not knowing what to do when he found that his friends, relatives or countrymen refused to give up an immoral way of life, and when all his arguments in favor of the moral path proved futile. His answer was to invite suffering in his own body voluntarily to open the eyes of those determined to see no light (Jones 1976). Gandhi made intense moral appeals which he supported by his personal willingness to suffer. His perseverance and influence have been far-reaching, and his life and death have touched and inspired some of the world's most influential spiritual leaders who continue to spread messages of non-violent disobedience, of affecting social change through empathy, compassion, inspiration, and love.

A distinguished teacher has described the influence Gandhi had on one of his classes. During their investigation of Gandhi's service and humanity they also learned that he was human with human foibles and shortcomings. The students were inspired to learn that one man with many of the same human frailties they possessed, could rise to make such a profound impression on modern history. Gandhi, through his work, became a saint, and the students through their investigations, were more easily able to accept their own potential for the saintly within themselves (Bacon 1982). Gandhi preached that we should be or model the change we would like to see in society.

Martin Luther King, Jr. employed Gandhi's techniques to change the face of a segregated nation, (Washington 1992). Likewise, Nelson Mandela inspired South Africans to work persistently against centuries of racism, terrorism, and oppression in that country and on that continent (Aikman 1998). Similarly, Elie Wiesel survived his horrible experiences of the concentration camps during the Holocaust, and went on to work as an international peace activist trying to alleviate suffering around the world. Wiesel, a Nobel Peace Prize recipient, peacemaker, and moral exemplar, has said:

I think the greatest source of infinite danger in this world is indifference. I have always believed that the opposite of love is not hate, but indifference. The opposite of life is not death, but indifference. The opposite of peace is not war, but indifference to peace and indifference to war. The opposite of culture, the opposite of beauty, and the opposite of generosity is indifference. Indifference is the enemy, and the context is memory. As long as we remember, there is a chance; if we forget that, all that really matters is forgotten.¹⁶

Some people have called Wiesel a modern-day biblical prophet because he reminds us about injustice and the consequences of acts of immorality and cruelty. His message is that no matter where injustice takes place in the world, that place, then, becomes the center of the universe, and all thought must be focused there to alleviate suffering and restore justice. As a philosopher, historian, playwright and novelist, he raises his voice against injustice everywhere.

Wiesel believes above all that we must learn from the past and not repeat the same tragedies. As an outstanding voice on behalf of Holocaust victims, he has organized conferences on resolving hate through dialogue, and invited other Nobel Peace Prize winners such as Vaclav Havel and Nelson Mandela to participate. In doing this, he makes a statement to the world that a world with hate cannot survive—what is desperately needed is to purge ourselves of hate, bigotry, and violence.

In 1986, Wiesel won the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to sensitize humanity to its moral failings and shortsightedness. In his acceptance speech, Wiesel said that whenever human lives are in danger, when human dignity is in jeopardy, when men and woman are persecuted because of their race, religion, or political views, we must interfere.

¹⁶Oliner, Samuel P. 1993. "The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe." Presentation Paper: Prosocial Behavior Conference: University of Arkansas, Little Rock, Arkansas.

In his lectures, his primary emphasis was that we must remember the past in order not to repeat it, and he focused criticism on the tragedies of South Africa and Rwanda. Wiesel put his Nobel Prize money into the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity, and the funds are spent to create awareness of decency, compassion, and altruism around the world. Through his work, Wiesel has kept alive the names and the spirits of those that hatred would destroy, and in so doing, reemphasized kindness and remembrance. He has gone to virtually every spot where genocidal massacres have taken place to appeal to governments to stop these tragedies. He has provided people with truckloads of medicines and blankets. Wiesel says:

I've tried to do something with my life to help others do something with theirs. Helping others, that's the main thing. The only way for us to help ourselves is to help others and to listen to each others' stories.¹⁷

To this day he travels around the world bearing witness to violence and genocidal massacre in an attempt to sensitize people to these tragedies and to bring about peace. Whether to Bosnia, the former Soviet Union, Cambodia, or Kosovo, he asks the same question: "How can the world stand by?" Wherever there is evil, Elie Wiesel is there to speak out.¹⁸

Religious moral exemplars have always left their mark on the world; from Buddha to Jesus, Mohammed, the Dalai Lama to Mother Teresa, the values and morals of the religious have changed how we think and act toward our fellow humans. In the course of his life's work, the Dalai Lama has taught the world about compassion and forgiveness, which has endeared him to the hearts of millions. He maintains that, "The main theme of Buddhism is altruism based on compassion."¹⁹ As an approximate definition, he believes compassion is "...a mental attitude based on the wish for others to be free of their suffering and is associated with a sense of commitment, responsibility, and respect towards the other."²⁰ The type of attitude he is speaking of is a feeling that enables people, when faced with a choice, to choose another's welfare over their own (Dalai Lama and Cutler 1998). The development of this type of compassion is not an easy task; nevertheless, he understands that various means for its cultivation exist. He suggests that, "...one could begin with the wish that oneself be free of suffering, and then take that natural feeling towards oneself and cultivate it, enhance it, and extend it out to include and embrace others."²¹

He also states that empathy—the ability to appreciate another's suffering—is an important factor for the development of compassion.²² According to the Dalai Lama:

...once you encourage the thought of compassion in your mind, once that thought becomes active, then your attitude towards others changes automatically. If you approach others with the thought of compassion, that will automatically reduce fear and allow an openness with other people.

¹⁷Wiesel, Elie. 1995. Pp. 159 in *The Town Beyond the Wall*, Translated by Stephen Becker. New York: Schocken Books.; and Abramowitz, Molly. 1974. *Elie Wiesel: A Bibliography*. Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. See also: Pamplin, Robert Jr. and Gary K. Eisler. 1995. Pp. 146 in *American Heroes: Their Lives, Their Values, Their Beliefs*. New York: Mastermedia Limited. See also Ryan, Michael. 1990. "A Simple Deed with Awesome Power." *Parade Magazine*. August 19, Pp. 4-11; Brown, Robert McAfee. 1983. *Elie Wiesel: Messenger to all Humanity*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

¹⁸Human rights activists need not be old and one such young activist is Craig Kielburger, who established "Free the Children", an organization-committed to ridding the world of child labor and enslavement. See Terry, John and Donna Woonteiler. 2000. "An Interview With Craig Kielburger, Founder of Free the Children." *CYD Journal*, 1, 1.USA. Retrieved August 25, 2000. <http://www.cydjournal.org/2000winter/kielburger.html>.

¹⁹Hevesi, Dennis. 1989. "Man in the News; Prophet of the Middle Way." *The New York Times*, 6 October, p. A6.

²⁰Dalai Lama and Howard C. Cutler. 1998. Pp. 114 in *The Art of Happiness: A Handbook for Living*. New York: Riverhead Books. See also: Davidson, Dennis. 1999. "Words of Faith: Dalai Lama Teaches Love, Kindness." *The Desert Sun*; Brandon, David. 1976. *Zen and the Art of Healing*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Hevesi, Dennis. 1989. "Man in the News; Prophet of the Middle Way." *The New York Times*, October 6, p. A6.

²¹Ibid., Pp. 89.

²²Ibid., Pp. 2.

The Dalai Lama's contribution toward the promotion of global peace was formally recognized in 1989 when he won the Nobel Peace Prize. According to the Norwegian Nobel Committee, he was selected because in his campaign he "consistently has opposed the use of violence... and advocated peaceful solutions based upon tolerance and mutual respect in order to preserve the historical and cultural heritage of his people."²³

The Dalai Lama exhibits his love of humanity, kindness, a sense of humor, and warmth. He does not speak bitterly against the Chinese who oppressed his homeland; rather, he stresses human rights and the struggle to remain human and to preserve Tibetan cultural values. He has a great desire and need not only to hold onto faith and spirituality, but also to seek truth. He believes that truth leads to understanding, inspiration, and a full liberation from ignorance and the suffering that we impose upon each other; what is needed is world peace. Buddhists believe that suffering can then cease, and that lasting peace can be achieved—both peace of mind and peace in the world. "The path to such peace," the Dalai Lama says, "begins with the development of a calm abiding." He believes people need to have faith that they can achieve a more enlightened state of existence, even when the material world seems to deny such a possibility. There must be an on-going interaction between reason and faith, between analysis and the growing conviction that one can find ways to live for the betterment of all human beings.

The Dalai Lama also maintains that there is another aspect of spiritual wholeness—compassionate action. Just as reason and faith interact to enhance conviction, so too do reflection and action interact to determine our spiritual faith. He further maintains that all religious thought points toward loving kindness and to compassionate action. We must not believe that we are alone and isolated, independent operators in this world. Rather we must think that we are interdependent, and that we are woven together by spiritual life. If we can maintain faith and conviction that such an understanding is the foundation on which we build our lives, then it makes perfect sense for us to treat all human beings and all other living things with respect and love. He says:

Whether we succeed or not is a different question. What is important is that we try our best. At least we will have made an attempt to form a better human society on the basis of love—true love—and less selfishness.²⁴

Mother Teresa of Calcutta dedicated her life to helping the poor and afflicted in India. In Macedonia, where she grew up, statues and shrines of the Madonna and Child impressed her, and she became increasingly involved with the activities of the local Sacred Heart Church. One of the most influential Priests in her life was Franjo Jambernkovic, a Croatian who encouraged her. It was he who pushed her towards missionary work in India.

In 1928 she traveled to Ireland and entered the Order of the Sisters of Our Lady of Loretto, and was sent to Darjeeling, India for her training. She then studied for a teaching certificate at Loretto Entally in Calcutta, taking her final religious vows in 1937. Every time she left the convent and ventured out into the city streets, she was moved by the presence of the sick and the dying.

In 1946, on a train trip to Darjeeling, she received the call from God that transformed her life, and thus began her quest for permission to Minister to the sick and dying. In 1948 she was granted permission by the Vatican to leave her post at the convent. She founded the Missionaries of Charity in 1950, and a number of Nuns came to be trained and work with her. Initially, she believed that the Nuns should eat as meager rations as the poor on the streets, but was soon convinced that they needed more energy and, therefore, a more balanced diet, including protein, to keep up their strength.

²³Dalai Lama. 1989. Nobel Peace Prize Citation, 5 October. Oslo, Norway. The 14th Dalai Lama Acceptance Speech. Nobel Lectures, Peace 1981-1990, world Scientific Publishing Co., Singapore. <http://www.nobel.se/peace/laureates/1989/lama-acceptance.html>.

²⁴Davidson, Dennis. 1999. "Words of Faith: Dalai Lama Teaches Love, Kindness." *The Desert Sun*, 20 March, p. D6. See also Dalai Lama. 2001. *An Open Heart: Practicing Compassion in Everyday Life*.; and Dalai Lama. 2003. *Destructive Emotions: How Can We Overcome Them?* Narrated by Daniel Goleman. New York, NY: Bantam Dell; Rosenberg, Marshall B. 1999. *Nonviolent Communication: A Language of Compassion*. Encinitas, Ca: Puddle Dancer Press.

During the day the Nuns taught, and during the evening they cared for the poor in the slums of Calcutta. Their creed and purpose was as follows:

To fulfill our mission of compassion and love to the poorest of the poor we go: seeking out in towns and villages all over the world even amid squalid surroundings the poorest, the abandoned, the sick, the infirm, the leprosy patients, the dying, the desperate, the lost, the outcasts; taking care of them; rendering help to them; visiting them assiduously; living Christ's love for them; and awakening their response to His great love.²⁵

In 1952, she opened the Nirmal Hriday -- "Pure Heart" -- Home for Dying Destitutes in Calcutta, and subsequently extended her work onto five continents. In recognition of her efforts she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979. When she received the Nobel Peace Prize, Chairperson John Sannes said the following about her:

Can any political, social, or intellectual feat of engineering, on the international or on the national plane, however effective and rational, however idealistic and principled its protagonists may be, give us anything but a house built on a foundation of sand, unless the spirit of Mother Teresa inspires the builders and takes its dwelling in their building?²⁶

In 1990 she became ill and was forced to scale down her activities. After a long and selfless life, she died in 1997.

Environmental moral exemplars, such as Rachel Carson, Chico Mendes, and Julia "Butterfly" Hill, want to promote others to care for and be stewards of the earth. *Time Books* named Rachel Carson *the* pioneer for environmentalists and the environmental movement.²⁷ As a young girl, she had aspired to be a writer, but after taking a required biology course in college, she switched her major from English to science even though she feared doing so would diminish her chances for a writing career. However, her scientific training and her emotive passion for the natural world provided her with the content for her writing. This passion led her to receive a number of literary awards and write best-selling books such as *Under the Sea Wind*, *The Sea Around Us*, and her famous *Silent Spring*— a title she chose because the use of chemicals would eventually "...still the song of birds, and the leaping of fish in the streams," resulting in silent springs.²⁸ After Carson received her Master's in Biology, she gained knowledge and experience working for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. While there, she became concerned about the hazards of DDT and other pesticides used in agriculture. The chemical industry flexed its muscles and tried to block publication of *Silent Spring*. Some companies attempted to sue her for slander; others would spend millions in advertisements trying to discredit Carson. Their efforts failed. Carson's book was well written in a language the public could grasp and came at a time of increased interest in environmental issues.

The battles she fought were against big business, educated scientists, sexism, and even her own battle with cancer. She wrote to a friend, "The beauty of the living world I was trying to save has always been uppermost in my mind—that, and anger at the senseless, brutish things that were being done.... Now I can believe I have at least helped a little."²⁹ Helped a little indeed!

²⁵Microsoft Encarta. 1995. "Mother Teresa of Calcutta (1910-1997)." Retrieved June 16, 1999 <http://www.netsrq.com/~dbois/m-teresa.html>. p. 220

²⁶Ibid. Pp.196. See also Mother Teresa of Calcutta. Retrieved May 15, 1999. <http://www.netsrq.com/~dbois/m-teresa.html>.

²⁷Knauer, Kelly. 1996. *Time: Great People of the 20th Century*. NY: Time Books. See also: World Wide Web. White House Home Page. "Rachel Carson." Retrieved August 15, 2000. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/WH/EOP/OVP/24hours/carson/html>.

²⁸Ibid., Pp. 99.

²⁹Web site: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/WH/EOP/OVP/24hours/carson.html>

Though she died six years before Earth Day was celebrated, she is credited with having spawned many grassroots movements for saving Mother Earth and its creatures, human and non-human. Endangered species and water and air pollution issues were raised, all stemming from her call for awareness. Vice President Al Gore has said that had it not been for her books and her desire to understand what humans were doing to humankind and the environment, the environmental movement may have been delayed or not occurred at all.

The Brazilian Chico Mendes had a similar environmental consciousness and died fighting for the rainforest and its vitality—not only as the vast source of carbon dioxide for the planet, but as shelter for many diverse species and indigenous tribes. Specifically, he was the leader of rubber-tapping *seringueiros*, an indigenous group that had lived in the rain forest for over 100 years, ecologically sustaining themselves by tapping rubber trees, collecting Brazil nuts, and pursuing other activities to ensure a healthy lifestyle for them and their offspring. Mendes had organized a union—the Xapuri Rural Workers Union, consisting of rubber tappers and small farmers—which worked “against encroaching cattle ranchers who were incinerating the rain forest to create pasture and to profit from tax breaks and booming real estate prices.”³⁰ As part of his efforts, Mendes had convinced the Brazilian government to preserve 61,000 acres of rubber trees for “extractive reserve,” an area designated only for the purposes of sustainable harvesting of rubber, Brazil nuts, and other natural resources. The concept of the extractive reserve had been invented by Mendes and the tappers, then refined with some help from environmentalists and anthropologists. With the establishment of this and three other extractive reserves, Mendes had pulled off one of the most significant feats in the history of grass-roots environmental activism—and he had only known the word ‘environment’ for three years.³¹

As union president, Mendes had made trouble for many powerful stakeholders and businessmen, namely cattle ranchers and the owner of Brazil’s largest meatpacking corporation. Darly Alves da Silva, a rancher, had established a tradition of murder. Many attempts had been made on Mendes’ life, but one specific event when he prevented Alves from taking certain tracts of property and converting it into pasture for his cattle, was Chico’s downfall. One night in late December unknown men assassinated him. His funeral was held on Christmas Day of 1989.

Chico Mendes’ life and work are reflective of great leaders of revolutions and reform for the workers. It has been said, “He was to the ranchers of the Amazon what César Chavez was to the citrus kings of California, what Lech Walesa was to the shipyard managers of Gdansk.”³² Chico Mendes’ inspirational leadership in Amazonia is desperately needed again because the Brazilian government has not done much to save the forests. The *San Francisco Chronicle* states: “We cannot let Chico Mendes be forgotten. His struggle is everyone’s struggle, because justice for the people of the Amazon can benefit everyone’s future.”³³

Julia “Butterfly” Hill spent two years sitting on top of an ancient redwood tree she named ‘Luna’ to protest clear-cutting by a lumber company in northern California. These were her words when her feet touched the ground after these two years:

I understand all of us are governed by different values. I understand that to some people I’m just a dirty tree-hugging hippie. But I can’t imagine being able to take a chainsaw to something like this. ...I think before anyone could be allowed to cut down [a tree] like this they should be mandated to live in it for two years.³⁴

³⁰Reykin, Andrew. 1990. Pp. 4 in *The Burning Season: The Murder of Chico Mendes and the Fight for the Amazon Rain Forest*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.

³¹Ibid, Pp. 8-9

³²Editorial. 1998. “The Amazon Still Needs Chico Mendes.” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 December, p. A21.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Wilson, Nicholas. 2000. “We did It!” *Auto-Free Times*, Spring, p. 35.

By making Luna her symbol and gaining an agreement with the lumber company that it would never be cut down, she brought to the world's attention the plight of our forests. Her fight was to make the world aware of the clear-cutting of the old growth forests. These old growth redwoods – some existing for thousands of years – were being cut down within minutes. Clear-cutting practices demolish thousands of acres of trees to profit the timber industry. For Hill the clear-cutting was itself a concern, because the logging method caused the devastation of the environment around the clear-cut area. When rain falls, the slopes have nothing left to absorb it. This results in landslides and more disasters. Such was the peril of the little town of Stafford, which was demolished due to the clear-cutting of trees and the mudslides that followed heavy rains.

To Hill these trees were God's creations and needed preserving. She continues her fight for more sustainable cutting and planned cutting of second- and third-growth trees – those trees that are replanted or sprouted from seeds after an area is cut down. When we interviewed her, she said:

I took the project on because I had to make a stand against the raping of the forest unnecessarily. The human species can survive without having to cut down ancient forests. We should be recycling, reusing, being less wasteful, and while I am not against cutting down old trees, it should be done with an ecological plan in mind so as not to destroy everything around.³⁵

Being the daughter of an itinerant Minister, she considers herself to be a very spiritual person and was taught to take care not only of herself, but also to take care of others. This meant caring and seeing the connection between all living things. In her book *The Legacy of Luna*, she expresses, "I've always felt that as long as I was able, I was supposed to give all I've got to ensure a healthy and loving legacy for those still to come, and especially for those with no voice. That is what I've done in this tree."³⁶

I asked her if she was afraid during those two years in the tree. She responded that she had felt fear, anger, and disappointment. She cried and screamed. Initially, she was afraid to be on the top of the tree. She questioned whether she was doing the right thing. She was afraid of the lumber company security guards, the lumberjacks who harassed her by cutting down nearby trees which grazed hers, by noises in the night, including horns which kept her awake, and by being buzzed by company helicopters. But she said, "I had to conquer my fears...through prayer and the support of many, many people, I was able to prevail... I was able to carry on there... Besides praying, I did a lot of singing, so much so that even some lumberjacks would sometimes stop and listen. That is how I conquered my fears."

Since her tree-sitting experience, she has been honored as one of the "Most Admired Women of 1998" by *Good Housekeeping*, and *George* magazine has named her "One of the 20 Most Interesting Women in Politics." She has also helped to found the Circle of Life Foundation, created to promote sustainability and preservation of life. Julia's hope for the future is to sensitize people to what is happening in the environment particularly with the old growth forests and logging practices. She believes that each person who becomes sensitive can make a difference—by speaking out, recycling, and "taking on corporations who are involved in the unnecessary destruction of the environment." When the lumber company listened to her concerns, a harmonious relationship followed.

Moral exemplars who are Philanthropists donate money to charities and other causes. Their motivations include arousal caused by particular external circumstances. There is also a simple desire to help others—entailing an ethic of caring, sharing, and social responsibility.³⁷

³⁵Author's interview with Julia Hill, March 3, 2000.

³⁶Hill, Julia. 2000. *The Legacy of Luna: The Story of a Tree, a Woman, and the Struggle to Save the Redwoods*. San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins Publishers.

³⁷See also Martin, Mike. 1994. *Virtuous Giving: Philanthropy, Voluntary Service, and Caring*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press; Youniss, James and Miranda Yates. 1997. *Community Service and Social Responsibility in Youth*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press; and Brandon, David. 1976. *Zen and the Art of Helping*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Youniss, James and Miranda Yates. 1997. *Community Service and Social Responsibility in Youth*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press; Woods, Joan. 1998. "Philanthropic Tendencies." *The Independent Sector*, retrieved September 26, 2001: <http://www.horizinmag.com/takes/takes13.htm>.

The question arises, should philanthropy be motivated by pure altruism alone to be considered morally exemplary? Must philanthropy come only from an unselfish concern for others? Or is it ethically acceptable to mix in self-interest? While a caring relationship implies altruism, caring may not be the only motivating reason for altruistic acts. Our own well being can be an additional strong stimulus to social action; thus philanthropic giving can spring from a combination of altruism and self-interest. It is reasonable to assume that altruistic motivation must consist of some internal rewards for helping; and it should also be assumed that there is a relationship between justice and reciprocity in virtuous giving. The word justice implies fairness—striving to be fair to those in need—and is also understood to provide a reciprocal reward to the giver. But justice also means treating people as moral equals, especially in situations that involve competition or inequities of power and opportunity. Not everyone is able to transcend self-interest alone and there are some very wealthy people who do not find their way to contribute to the welfare of others.

One explanation of philanthropy is that it is a sign of mature moral development, and one expression of that maturity is found in volunteering. Philanthropists express values and gratify a sense of obligation to the community from which they have extracted much of their own wealth by giving back to the community.

The main conclusion I draw both from my interviews and from the literature is that philanthropy is a cooperative human activity requiring active involvement from both the givers and the receivers. This back-and-forthness, this reciprocity plays an important role in the positive results of good works.

Major events such as tragedies and crises motivate people to give to victims and survivors. In a recent study by the Association of Fundraising professionals, that group calculated the trend of philanthropy after major events (AFP News 2001).³⁸ More people gave in the year of a tragedy, such as 9/11, than the years before the tragedy. For example, the year before the Korean War there was a 1.3% increase in giving from the previous year. In the year the Korean War began the rate of giving jumped to 10.1%, and the year after the war began the rate of giving increased to 15%. The Oklahoma City bombing of 1995 showed there was only a 2.3% increase in total giving from the previous year; the year of the bombing showed an increase to 4.1% in total giving, and then the year following the bombing showed a jump to 11.7% in total giving.

Media can influence philanthropic contributions by emotional arousal. The United States experienced a horrific act of terrorism, leaving the World Trade Center in rubble and killing thousands of innocent people. Celebrities and the United Way held a telethon for relief aid for the victims and their families. Musicians and movie stars encouraged the public to give to the United Way, who in turn gave the \$150 million to victims and survivors (Associated Press 2001). Corporations and individuals sent money to the Red Cross, and over \$600 million was given to the Red Cross and United Way (Rawe, Julie 2001).

There may be occasions where celebrities are philanthropic for their own self-aggrandizement, but this does not seem to be the case here, for they appeared to be affected as much as the rest of the nation.

What common motives and drives made these moral exemplars act? Many of them came from loving and caring homes, all of them have experienced suffering, and all of them have become sensitized to the ills, cruelty and injustice in the world. Each has undertaken the burden of the oppressed and made strides toward healing the pain of the other, and all the while have worked to sensitize groups and nations to the consequences of injustice, indifference, and self-regarding behaviors. Individuals cited above are just a few of the outstanding moral exemplars at work in the world today. These have also shown that in their work they emphasize forgiveness as an important aspect of their moral path.

³⁸See also AAFRC Press Release “What Do Crisis Mean for Giving?” Retrieved October 5 <http://www.aafrc.org/press5.html>

Review of Literature on Apology and Forgiveness

Having briefly reviewed an area in which moral exemplars have acted to help others and restore some sense of justice and healing, I want to now focus on what others, including religious leaders and psychologists as well as philosophers, have said about apology and forgiveness.

The Pope's Apology

As a young man and a Catholic, Karol Wojtyla, known as Lolek, went to school with a Jewish friend, Jerzy Kluger, also known as Jurek. These two boys went through elementary and high school together and participated in many activities, including sports. They visited each other's homes and studied together. Both sets of parents were friendly to the boys.

Lolek had a sad early life. His mother, brother and, ultimately, his father died when he was very young. He was an outgoing young man who went to study at a seminary during a time when anti-Semitism was becoming active again in Poland in the 1930s. In 1939 the Nazis occupied Poland. Lolek studied in the seminary and belonged to a Polish underground organization. He also studied acting in a secret, underground Polish University that was prohibited by the Nazis during their occupation of Poland. He was angry and upset about anti-Semitism and the mass extermination of Jews in concentration camps such as Auschwitz, located about sixty kilometers from his town of Wadowice.

Lolek completed his seminary studies, became a priest and then a bishop in Krakow, and later became Pope John Paul II. During the war his Jewish friend, Jurek, and Jurek's father escaped to Russia and served in the Polish army in the Soviet Union. The rest of Jurek's family was destroyed in the Wadowice ghetto. Jurek and his father survived the war and settled in Rome. Thirty years later Lolek came to Rome as Pope John Paul the Second and he and Jurek renewed their friendship. As a result of this renewed friendship, Pope John Paul II established a memorial in his home town of Wadowice, the ghetto where he grew up. Jurek was invited for the dedication. These two men kept up a friendship, a friendship, which may have influenced the following events. On March 13th, 2000 Pope John Paul recognized the state of Israel by offering a concert in the Vatican commemorating the Shoah -- The Holocaust -- to which the Chief Rabbi of Rome and a number of Jewish congregates were invited. There were speeches and music. The 200 survivors in attendance wore special scarves made out of the uniforms of Holocaust prisoners. It was a great emotional catharsis. Toaff, the Chief Rabbi of Rome, and Pope John Paul embraced each other.

Later, the Pope visited the Synagogue for the first time in the 2000 years of history of the Jewish community in Rome. During the visit, Pope John Paul II called the Jews his elder brothers and subsequently wrote a number of letters condemning anti-Semitism. When the Pope visited Poland, he went to the execution wall at Auschwitz and knelt, and prayed for the victims. The Carmelite Nuns wanted to establish a convent in the Auschwitz camp, an idea the Jewish communities protested because they considered this extermination camp to be holy ground. Pope John Paul II convinced the Carmelite Nuns to move their convent several hundred yards away from the concentration camp. Finally, when he visited the state of Israel, he apologized to Jews for two thousand years of Christian persecution, and to Islam for the crusades and other abuses. He also apologized to Africans for slavery and colonization.

The Pope's perspective on apology was certainly affected by Christian teachings of love. He appears to believe and accept that Christianity, especially Catholicism, has harmed other peoples and faiths. John Paul's background, his experiences of tragedy and trauma, his close friendship with a Jewish boy, and his anger at anti-Semitic bullies at the high school in Wadowice give us insight into this Pope's personality and how he could come to make such public apology for the faith he guides (Svidercoschi 1994; Weigel 1999; O'Brien 1998; and Ray Flynn 2001). Let me share another story.

In January 1984, Pope John Paul II went to the Roman prison, Rebibbia, to forgive the Turkish Muslim, Agca, who shot him on May 13th 1981 (Morrow 1984). Agca was sentenced to life for the attempted assassination of the Pope. For twenty-one minutes John Paul sat with and tenderly held the hand that held the gun that was meant to kill him. The two talked softly. Once or twice, Agca laughed. John Paul II forgave him for the shooting. At the end of the meeting, Agca either kissed the Pope's ring or pressed the Pope's hand to his forehead in a Muslim gesture of respect. Lance Morrow (1984) tells us that it was a startling drama of forgiveness and reconciliation:

On one level, it was an intensely intimate transaction between two men. But if the Pope spoke in whispers, he also meant to proclaim a message to the world. The only other people in the cell were the Pope's personal secretary, two security agents – and a Vatican photographer and television crew... The Pope brought the photographer and the cameraman because he wanted the image in that cell to be shown around a world filled with nuclear arsenals and unforgivable hatreds, with hostile superpowers and smaller, implacable fanaticisms.

The Pope's Critics

While there are those who are grateful for the Pope's dramatic public apologies, some believe that he did not do enough. Rabbi Meir Lau, Chief Rabbi of Israel and a survivor of Buchenwald, was deeply frustrated by the Pope's failure to apologize for the Holocaust. He also criticized the Pope for mentioning the Inquisition and excluding the Wannsee Conference, which planned the destruction of European Jews.

Sister Donna Quin, Director of Chicago Catholic Women, said that she was less concerned about the language of apology than the ongoing policies that continue to affirm women's status as second class participants in the Church. If the Pope was sincerely asking for forgiveness, she asserted he would have to change the discriminatory policy of the Catholic Church against women's ordination.

Another critic, Rick Garcia, Director of Equality Illinois, a gay civil rights group, said that while he was deeply touched by Cardinal Roger M. Mahony's discussion of gay men and lesbians in his public apology, he was not at all surprised that the Pope did not recognize gay rights.

Reverend John Pawlikowski, professor of social ethics at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago says that he would have liked the Pope to have expressed regret for the centuries of anti-Judaic teaching that has been conveyed through preaching, catechizes and religious art.³⁹ And he wanted the Pope to state that some people who committed sins against Jews were leaders of the highest level. Many people felt that the Pope did not go far enough in his apology; he was neither inclusive nor specific, it was just a general apology that did not address many injustices perpetrated by the Church.

Refusal or Acceptance of Apology

There are offenses that are impossible for some people to forgive. After liberation, Simon Wiesenthal, a holocaust survivor, wrote in *The Sunflower* (1995) of an SS man who murdered Jews and then asked for forgiveness on his deathbed. Wiesenthal said he could not forgive because only the victims who perished can forgive him.⁴⁰

³⁹Barills, C. 2000. "Pope Issues Apology Over Catholic Misdeeds." *The Data Lounge*. Website Magazine. See also O'brian, Darcy. 1998. *The Hidden Pope: the Untold Story of a Lifelong Friendship that is Changing the Relationship between Catholics and Jews*. New York, NY: Daybreak Books.

⁴⁰Wiesenthal, Simon. 1995. *The Sunflower*. New York: Randomhouse; also see Rudolf Vrba. 1964. *I Cannot Forgive*. Vancouver, British Columbia: Regent College Publishing.

There has been some criticism of this attitude in the Christian community because Christianity says one should forgive a person who asks for it, especially from his deathbed. This distinction between the Christian and the Jewish traditional attitudes toward forgiveness will occur as we go forward in this discussion.

Anne Roiphe, in her book *Season for Healing* (1988) speaks about the difficulties of healing the pain caused by war in Nazi-occupied Europe. It is difficult to forgive, she posits, because all of the sixteen million Jews world-wide have lost a relative or friend to Nazi atrocities and European indifference.

Cultural Differences and Forgiveness

In Christianity the importance of forgiveness was first advanced by Saint Augustine in his book *The City of God*, but was virtually ignored by social science until the mid 1980's when it was rediscovered by a group of psychologists led by Robert D. Enright (1998), a researcher on forgiveness at the University of Wisconsin and Director of the International Forgiveness Institute.

Father Robert Friday, professor of religion and religious education at the Catholic University of America, says that forgiveness doesn't mean that you become a wimp and forgive without some demand for acknowledgement of responsibility. People are responsible for their acts.

In our culture, forgiveness may be relatively easier than in others because ours is a society that prides itself on melting disparate cultures together; but where ethnic identity remains strong and is fiercely perpetuated, the logic of the blood feud reigns, and it is infinitely harder even to think of forgiving. For a man to forgive his enemy would mean betraying and dishonoring the sacrifices of his father and grandfather, and great-grandfather. The fragmentation of ethnic/religious groups does not necessarily promote inter-group tolerance and forgiveness; rather it closes groups off from each other and promotes the logic of revenge. And ironically, in a sense, the greater the harm done, the more forgiving is necessary for establishment of humane relations between the harm-doer and the harmed.

The African-American population of Alabama accepted Governor George Wallace's apology for his racist acts during his 1982 re-election campaign, and ultimately voted for him in large numbers. The southern African-American population as a whole has displayed remarkable grace in forgiving the injuries of their past. Reverend Donald W. Shirver, president of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, thinks that the decision by descendants of black slaves to become citizens and active members of this society is a remarkable example of forgiveness. By and large, he maintains that blacks have had a steadier sense of belonging to the United States and of being true citizens than many of those who oppressed them. Atlanta's mayor, Andrew Young, thinks that we have shared the burden of guilt for past racial abuses and have moved toward reconciliation. And we've grown together as brothers and sisters and have prospered, mainly because of the ability to forgive and be reconciled.

According to Rabbi Neil Gillman, professor of philosophy at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the private impulse to forgive that was symbolized by the Pope's forgiveness of Agca cannot be translated into a public policy of reconciliation. Forgiveness should be tied to the ability to see a real change in the behavior of the harm-doer.

Since the Pope's apology in the year 2000, the dialogue between Jews and Christians has increased substantially. Jewish leaders, Rabbis, and scholars responded to the apology with a document, *Dabru Emet* (Speak the Truth) in November 2000. In this document, over 200 noted Jewish-American scholars responded positively because they feel the truth rather than distortions should be spoken.

This Jewish document included such statements as these: Jews and Christians worship the same God; Before the rise of Christianity, Jews were the only worshipers of the God of Israel; Christians also worship the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and creators of the Heavens and Earth; Jews and Christians seek authority from the same book, the Bible; Both Jews and Christians accept the moral principals (continued next page)

of Torah; The good relationship between Christians and Jews will not weaken Jewish practices; and finally, Jews and Christians must work together for justice and peace. Jews and Christians, each in their own way, recognize the unredeemed state of the world as reflected in the persistence of persecution, poverty, and human degradation and misery.⁴¹

Dabru Emet was a serious attempt at understanding that some Christian teachings have hurt Jews and Judaism, and that Jews in return have had a negative perception and attitude not only towards Christianity but also to the idea of a Jewish-Christian dialogue. The document strongly advocates ecumenicity, dialogue, cooperation, mutual respect, and an attempt to solve the hurts and pain of the world.

End of Part 1. To be continued in the next issue of the Newsletter.

⁴¹Dabru Emet: Its Significance for the Jewish-Christian Dialogue by Rabbi David Rosen from his address at the Dutch Council of Christians and Jews (OJEC) at Tilburg, the Netherlands 11/6/2001 and Dabru Emet: A Jewish Statement on Christians and Christianity 2000 First Things 107 Nov. 2000:39-41.