What's so Darned Special about Church Friends?

Robert D. Putnam
Harvard University

One purpose of my recent research (with David E. Campbell) on religion in America[1] was to confirm and, if possible, extend previous research on the correlation of religiosity and altruistic behavior, such as giving, volunteering, and community involvement. It proved straight-forward to show that each of several dozen measures of good neighborliness was strongly correlated with religious involvement.

Our Future is Just Beginning

Vincent Jeffries, Acting Chairperson
California State University, Northridge

The beginning of our endeavors has ended. The study of altruism, morality, and social solidarity is now an established section in the American Sociological Association. We will have our first Section Sessions at the 2012 American Sociological Association Meetings in Denver, Colorado, this August. There is a full slate of candidates for the ASA elections this spring, and those chosen will take office at the Meetings.

The Revival of Russian Sociology and Studies of Social Solidarity

Dmitry Efremenko and Yaroslava Evseeva
Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences

The article was executed in the framework of the research project Social solidarity as a condition of society transformations: Theoretical foundations, Russian specificity, socio-biological and socio-psychological aspects, supported by the Russian foundation for basic research (Project 11-06-00347a).

Contemporary studies of social solidarity in Russia are closely connected with the general process of revival in this country of professional sociology. The process in question began in the 1960s when there started to appear the first research groups and centers. In, 1968 within the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Institute of Concrete Social Research was created (now the Institute of Sociology). However, in those times the revival of sociology was weighed down with ideological dictates and state regulations.

From the Editor

Our sixth issue of *AMSS Forum* further solidifies our field of study by disseminating important news and scholarship on altruism, morality, and social solidarity. At over 100 pages, this is our most substantial issue to date. It includes exciting announcements about AMSS Section Awards (p. 3), our three Sessions at the ASA Annual Meeting (p. 2), our new Bylaws (p. 5), books of interest (p. 65), the third and final section of Samuel Oliner's book *Unlimited Love, Compassion and Forgiveness* (p. 68), and several project updates, announcements, syllabi, and articles. We continue to feature the work of graduate students, as well as scholars based outside of the United States. Altruism, morality, and social solidarity are central concerns of any social group, including cagefighters, according to Corey Abramson and Darren Modzelewski (see page 24). The entire issue deserves a close reading, but do pay special attention to Vince's article on establishing AMSS as a field of specialization (p. 50) and Robert Putnam's provocative essay on church friends (p. 1). Both authors invite future research and development and they raise issues of central importance for our field. On behalf of the Nominations Committee, which I chaired, I urge you all to vote in the election for Section officers. Please continue to help recruit new members (p. 13). And I hope to see you at the ASA Annual Meeting in Denver at the three AMSS Sessions. As always, my sincere thanks to my co-editor Vincent Jeffries and to my wife Joanna for her help with formatting.

–Matthew T. Lee, University of Akron

ASA Sessions in Denver, Colorado - August 2012

Section on Altruism, Morality and Solidarity Paper Session. Altruism, Morality and Social Solidarity: Envisioning Utopias
Scheduled Time: Friday, August 17
10:30am - 12:10pm

Section on Altruism, Morality and Social Solidarity Roundtable Session.
Scheduled Time: Friday, Aug 17
2:30pm - 4:10pm

Section on Altruism, Morality and Social Solidarity Business Meeting.
Scheduled Time: Friday, Aug 17
4:30pm - 6:10pm

For a complete listing of presenters and paper titles, please see page 9

We hope you can join us for the AMSS sessions at the ASA conference this year! Please note the session topics and times in the left hand column. Pictured above (from left to right) are presenters at the AMSS research sessions from the ASA Meetings last year:

Xenia Lazebnaya, Vincent Jeffries, Stephen Vaisey, Alexander Gofman, and Jeffrey C. Alexander

ASA Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity Section Scholarship Awards

I am pleased to announce the following section award winners for 2012. Congratulations to the honorable mentions and award winners, and special thanks to all the committee members for their work for the section. The awards will be handed out at the ASA meetings in Denver, Colorado in August.

--Jan E. Stets, *Awards Committee Chair*, *University of California, Riverside*

Distinguished Career Award

This award is given annually to a person who has made a number of significant contributions to the study of altruism, morality, and/or social solidarity over an extended period of time. It is intended to recognize a senior scholar's cumulative achievements.

WINNER: Christian Smith, *University of Notre Dame*

Committee Chair: Vincent Jeffries, *California State University, Northridge*

Committee Members: Bob Stebbins, *University of Calgary* and Kevin McCaffree, Graduate Student, *University of California, Riverside*

Outstanding Published Book Award

This award is given annually to the author(s) of a theoretical analysis, research monograph, or reader published in the last five years (2007-2011) that increases knowledge and understanding of altruism, morality, and/or social solidarity.

WINNER: Donald Black, *University of Virginia* for *Moral Time*, NY: Oxford, 2011.

Committee Chair: Robert Robertson, *Indiana University*

Committee Members: Stephen Vaisey, *Duke University* and Gary Adler, Graduate Student, *University of Arizona*

Outstanding Published Article Award

This award is given annually to the author(s) of a theoretical or research article published in the last three years (2009-2011) that increases knowledge and understanding of altruism, morality, and/or social solidarity.

HONORABLE MENTION: Robb Willer, *University of California, Berkeley* for "Groups Reward Individual Sacrifice: The Status Solution to the Collective Action Problem." *American Sociological Review* 74:23-43, 2009.

WINNER: Gabriel Abend, *New York University* for "Thick Concepts and the Moral Brain." *European Journal of Sociology* 52:143-172, 2011.

Committee Chair: Pamela Paxton, *University of Texas, Austin*

Committee Members: Ruben Flores, *State University, Higher School of Economics*, Moscow and Chad McPherson, Graduate Student, *University of Iowa*

Outstanding Graduate Student Paper Award

This award is given annually to the author(s) of a theoretical or research paper that increases knowledge and understanding of altruism, morality, and/or social solidarity and that has been presented at a regional, national, or international professional meeting in the two preceding calendar years (2010-2011).

HONORABLE MENTION: Matthew Hoffberg, *Cornell University* for Prosocial Values, Reciprocity, and the Mediating Role of Perceived Motives in Direct Favor Exchange."

WINNER: Margaret Frye, *University of California, Berkeley* for "Bright Futures in Malawi' New Dawn: Educational Aspirations as Assertions of Identity." *American Journal of Sociology*, May Issue, 2012.

Committee Chair: Steve Hitlin, *University of Iowa.* Committee Members: Robert Fishman, *University of Notre Dame* and Tao Lin, *Chinese University of Hong Kong*

Our Future is Just Beginning

We have accomplished a worthwhile task, and it is fitting for us to congratulate ourselves, and each other. At the same time, our work is just beginning. I believe there is among us a very high consensus regarding the importance of the subject matter of altruism, morality, and social solidarity. Certainly we could all agree that it is as important as any other in sociology. Some would even say it is among the most important. This presents us with great opportunities, as well as great responsibilities.

With these issues as a backdrop, to engage either the opportunities or the responsibilities most effectively, we must maintain and build the Section. It is the organizational base that facilitates building the study of altruism, morality and social solidarity into a major field of specialization. Along with this development, knowledge and understanding that can contribute to a better world can be transmitted to publics outside sociology. This is probably the most important goal of our endeavors.

I would like to suggest a possible vision of our future in terms of both general goals and projects that are means to reach them. Please see my article "Establishing and Building the Study of Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity as a Field of Specialization" in this issue of the Newsletter. There you will find ideas that you may agree with, and probably others that you do not! Hopefully, both will stimulate your thinking as you continue to formulate your own views regarding our future as an intellectual community.

I hope we can all meet to exchange ideas at the ASA Meetings in Denver.

Article I. Name

The Section shall be known as the Section on Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity.

Article II. Purpose

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.

Article III. Council and Officers

The principal governing body of the Section shall be the Council and the Elected Officers.

The Council will consist of six members, elected by vote of the section members. Council members in office 1, 2, and 3, respectively, shall each serve 2 year terms. Council members in office 4, 5, and 6, respectively, shall each serve I year terms.

Council shall also include three graduate student members. Graduate student members must be currently enrolled in a Ph. D. degree graduate program in sociology. Graduate student members office 1 shall serve a 2 year term. Graduate student members in office 2 ane 3, respectively, shall each serve a 1 year term.

The elected Officers of the Section shall be a Chair, Chair-Elect, Past Chair, and Secretary-Treasurer. The Chair-Elect shall serve in that position for one year, followed by one-year terms as Chair and Past Chair. The Secretary-Treasurer shall serve a three-year term.

These elected Officers shall not succeed themselves. The Chair, Chair-Elect, Past Chair, and Secretary-Treasurer shall sit on the Council as ex officio voting members, with the following specific duties: the Chair shall conduct Council meetings, the Chair and Chair-Elect shall co-chair the Program Committee, and the Secretary-Treasurer shall take and circulate minutes of Council meetings while keeping and presenting official documents and financial records of the Section.

If an elected office is vacated before the term is completed, the candidate with the next highest vote count is invited to fill the open position for the remainder of the term.

The Council may from time to time create other positions to manage Section affairs. The Chair will appoint members to such positions in consultation with other officers and subject to confirmation by the Council.

All regular members of the Section are eligible for election as Officers.

Article IV. Powers of the Council

The Council is vested with the power to carry out all necessary operations of the Section, acting as representatives of the members of the Section. To that end, it shall meet on the occasion of the ASA Annual Meeting and may meet at other times when more than half of the Council can be assembled, whether in person or through electronic means. The Council shall make decisions by majority rule of its assembled members.

Article V. Referenda

Questions to be brought before the Section membership for approval may originate with the Council itself (if requested by at least three Council members), by a petition of l0 percent of the Section membership, or by 25 members of the Section (whichever is less). Any resolution passed by the annual Business Meeting of the Section and not subsequently accepted by the Council shall automatically be submitted to a vote of the Section membership.

Article VI. Elections and Voting

The elections of the Section shall be carried out in concurrence with the American Sociological Association and coordinated with its schedule. Newly elected officers and Council members shall assume office on the day following the annual Business Meeting of the Section at the American Sociological Association's Annual Meeting.

Article VII. Nomination by Petition

Members of the Section may be nominated for any office by a petition of ten percent of the members of the Section, or 25 members of the Section, whichever is less. The choices of the Nominations Committee for each

office shall be made known to the membership at least 60 days prior to the deadline for receiving nominations by petition.

Article VIII. Committees

The section shall have the following standing committees: Membership, Program, Publications, Nominations and Awards. Other committees may be created from time to time by the Council.

Membership Committee members are appointed by the Section Chair for one-year terms. The Membership Committee shall consist of 3-5 members. They shall be responsible for a concerted and organized effort to recruit new members.

The Program Committee shall be chaired by the Section Chair and have at least three other members, one of whom shall be the Chair-Elect. Committee members shall be appointed for one year terms by the Chair. The committee shall develop sessions for the annual meeting of the ASA, in cooperation with the ASA Program Committee.

The Publications Committee shall be chaired by the Editor(s) of the Section Newsletter, who shall be appointed by the Section Chair. The Editor's term shall be three years, renewable for one or more years with the approval of the Council. The committee shall have at least three members, one of whom shall be the Editor(s) of the Section Newsletter. Committee members shall be appointed for three year terms by the committee Chair in consultation with the Section Chair. The Publications Committee shall produce the Section Newsletter to be distributed to all Section members two times a year through the American Sociological Association. It may also initiate and produce other publications, including a Section Journal, in line with the purposes of the Section, subject to the approval of the Council.

The Nominations Committee will be appointed each year by the section Chair, in consultation with the Section Council. The committee shall be chaired by the Past Chair. The Nominations Committee shall have at least five members. No member of the committee shall serve for more than two consecutive years. The Nominations Committee shall present at least two candidates for each office to be voted on by the members of the Section.

The Awards Committee shall be appointed by the Chair, its members serving one year terms. It shall be chaired by an elected Chair Elect, and consist of 5-7 members. Awards will be given yearly, or less frequently, subject to the decision of the Awards Committee. Awards shall be conferred only if the Committee determines works are nominated that merit an award intended to represent distinguished scholarship of a nature consistent with the nature and purpose of each each. The following awards will be considered:

1. Distinguished Career Award.

Awarded to an individual who has made a number of significant contributions to the study of altruism, morality, and/or solidarity over an extended period of time. The Distinguished Career Award is intended to recognize a senior scholar's cumulative achievements, from time to time.

2. Outstanding Published Book Award.

Awarded to the author(s) of a theoretical analysis, research monograph, or reader that increases knowledge and understanding of altruism, morality, and/or solidarity.

3. Outstanding Published Article Award.

Awarded to the author(s) of a theoretical or research article that increases knowledge and understanding of altruism, morality, and/or solidarity and has been published in a professional journal in the 3 proceeding calendar years.

4. Outstanding Graduate Student Paper Award.

Awarded to the author(s) of a theoretical or research paper that increases knowledge and understanding of altruism, morality, and/or solidarity and has been presented at a regional, national, or international professional meeting in the 2 proceeding calendar years.

The call for award nominees shall be made in the Newsletter and on the Section's information listserv. Self-nominations are acceptable.

Article IX. Membership

Any member of the American Sociological Association, without regard to the classification of membership, may become a member of the Section.

Article X. Dues

Dues shall be in accord with minimum requirements as set by the American Sociological Association. If Council and section members vote to begin to publish a section journal, "Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity Forum," the bylaws hereby provide for the additional dues assessed for a journal subscription without an amendment to the bylaws.

Article XI. Amendment of the By-Laws

Amendment of the Section By-Laws requires, first, discussion of proposed changes at an annual meeting of the Section; second, approval by a majority of the Council (including ex officio members); third, approval by the Committee on Sections and ASA Council; fourth, approval of a majority of those voting in a vote submitted to all Section members.

Section on Altruism, Morality and Social Solidarity Paper Session.

Altruism, Morality and Social Solidarity: Envisioning Utopias

Scheduled Time: Friday, Aug 17 - 10:30am - 12:10pm

Session Organizers: Matthew T. Lee (University of Akron) and Samuel P. Oliner (Humboldt State University)

Presider: Matthew T. Lee

In Search of a "Real Utopia": Formulating the Field of Alltruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity

*Vincent Jeffries (California State University, Northridge)

Towards A Public Sociology of Morality: Notes on the Crisis of Market Culture

*John Brueggemann (Skidmore College)

Using Normative Theory to Explain the Effect of Religion and Education on Volunteering

*Joonmo Son (National University of Singapore), John Wilson (Duke University)

Haitian and Ghanaian Liturgy and Prayer as Constitutive-Ends Practices

*Margarita A. Mooney (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

*Nicolette Denise Manglos (University of Texas at Austin)

From Personal Troubles to Institutionalised Expressions of Compassion: A Study of Charity Volunteers in the United Kingdom

*Ruben Dario Flores Sandoval (Higher School of Economics)

Discussant: Jerrald D. Krause

Section on Altruism, Morality and Social Solidarity Roundtable Session.

Scheduled Time: Friday, Aug 17 - 2:30pm - 4:10pm

Session Organizers: Matthew T. Lee (University of Akron) and Lawrence T. Nichols (West Virginia University)

Table 01.

Table Presider: Liza Steele (Princeton University)

Valuing the Welfare State: A Global Analysis

*Liza Steele (Princeton University)

Informal Volunteering in Cross-National Perspective

   *Christopher J Einolf (DePaul University)

Selling Virtue: Moral Discourse in Fair Trade Marketing

   *Mary Beth Finch (Northwestern University)

Theorizing Domains of Moral Review

   *Sorcha Alexandrina Brophy (Yale University)

Why Does Education Predict Giving and Volunteering? Resources, Values, Knowledge, Social Networks, and Trust

   *Christopher J Einolf (DePaul University), *Pamala Wiepking (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

Table 02.

Table Presider: Matthew T. Lee

Religious-Based Benevolence in the Eyes of the Beholder: Impediments and Possibilities for Real Utopias

   *Matthew T. Lee, Margaret M. Poloma

American Denominations and Christian Service: The Relationship Between Theology and Service

   *Jonathan B. Murphy (Harding Academy)

A Non-personal Politics: Mindfulness Meditation and the Politics of Personal Responsibility

   *Kaelyn Elizabeth Wiles (Grinnell College)

Can Modern Spiritualities Improve the Life of Women and Their Communities?

   *Ana L. Suarez (CEIL-Piette)

Table 03.

Table Presider: John P. Robinson (University of Maryland)

Deciphering Trends in American Volunteering

   *John P. Robinson (University of Maryland), *David Horton Smith (Boston College)

Generosity Trends in Online Donations

   *Noona Oh (Cornell University)

A Win Win: Helping the Poor to Help Ourselves

   *Robert C. Bulman (Saint Mary's College of California)

Gifts Among Strangers: Evaluating the Freecycle Network's Potential for Change

   *Sofya Aptekar (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity)

What You Give is What You Get? Exploring the Gendering of Reciprocity using Russian Data

   *Sarah Ashwin (London School of Economics), *Irina Tartakovskaya (Institute of Sociology, RAN, Russia), *Marina Ilyina (Institute of Comparative Labour Relations Research (ISITO), Russia), *Tatyana Lytkina (Institute of Socio-Economic and Energy Problems of the North, Komi Scientific Centre, Russia)

Table 04.

Table Presider: Alison Grace Cliath (California State University, Fullerton)

Collaborative Art for Collective Conscience: The SocialART Project

   *Alison Grace Cliath (California State University, Fullerton), *Daniel Penilla (California State University, Fullerton)

Some Major Bases of Human Social Solidarity: Interdisciplinary Expansion of the Scope of Relevant Variables

   *David Horton Smith (Boston College)

Altruism and Society Sui Generis: Countering Evolutionary Psychology with Durkheim

   *Jesse Carlson (King's University College), *Mervyn P. Horgan (Acadia University)

Rationality and Altruism Combine in Collective Bargaining: Union Concessions in the 2011 Wisconsin Uprising

   *Matthew Kearney (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Social Solidarity or Social Rules? On the Two Forms of Social Integration

   *Alexander Bencionovich Gofman (National Research University)

University of California, Riverside Hosts Workshop on the Science of Morality

RIVERSIDE, Calif. – Twelve of the nation's leading scholars on the science of morality met for a two-day, interdisciplinary workshop at the University of California, Riverside on Jan. 27-28, 2012.

The workshop was supported by the UCR Chancellor's Strategic Investment Fund.

The workshop was intended to begin a collaboration among the participating faculty – who include sociologists, psychologists, economists, philosophers and neuroscientists – leading to interdisciplinary work that will enable scholars and policy makers to better understand the moral person and moral behavior.

"You can't look at moral behavior or moral action from the perspective of one discipline or using one lens," said Jan Stets, UCR professor of sociology and organizer of the workshop. "You have to examine it from a variety of lenses because each lens offers important insights. The participating scholars will discuss where they see shortcomings in current research, and they will use that knowledge as a springboard to plan future work in this area."

"The discussion is timely," Stets said, "given the economy and moral lapses that were associated with its near-collapse. Prior to the economic recession, the science of morality was rapidly growing. When the economic downturn occurred, many lost their retirement savings, homes, and jobs, and the blame was directed at the irresponsible practices, even greed, of investment advisors and mortgage lenders, making the study of morality all the more important."

This interdisciplinary initiative is important, Stets said, "because we need a clearer, deeper, and broader understanding of morality. I don't think we can achieve this without engagement across the disciplines. If we can build upon the discoveries of earlier work and advance the study of morality in a compelling way, our contributions to science and to the public will be valuable and useful."

Participating scholars were:
• Dan Batson, professor emeritus, University of Kansas
• Peter Burke, distinguished professor of sociology, University of California, Riverside
• Jean Decety, Irving B. Harris Professor of Psychology and Psychiatry, University of Chicago
• James Konow, professor of economics, Loyola Marymount University
• Dan Lapsley, professor of psychology, University of Notre Dame
• Benoit Monin, associate professor of organizational behavior and psychology, Stanford University
• Darcia Narvaez, associate professor of psychology, University of Notre Dame
• Larry Nucci, adjunct professor, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Berkeley
• Stephanie Preston, assistant professor of psychology, University of Michigan
• Walter Sinnott-Armstrong, Chauncey Stillman Professor of Practical Ethics, Duke University
• Jan Stets, professor of sociology, University of California, Riverside
• Jonathan Turner, University Professor of sociology, University of California, Riverside

For more information: http://newsroom.ucr.edu/2835,

--*Jan Stets, University of California, Riverside*

Meta-Analysis on Altruistic Detection

Brent Simpson
University of South Carolina

Daniel Balliet (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam) and I are planning a meta-analytic review of the literature on "altruist detection."

We are interested in studies (including unpublished or forthcoming work) that measure the extent to which people can predict others' altruism or prosociality (including generosity, cooperation in social dilemmas, contributions to public goods, etc.). Specifically, we're interested in studies that have measured (or manipulated) a target actor's prosociality (level of helping, altruism, trustworthiness, cooperation, or public good contributions) and measured an observer's predictions or expectations of the target actor's prosociality. We are especially interested in studies in which the observer is asked to predict a target's prosociality based on a photograph or video of the target, or a brief or extended interaction with the target.

We would need information on the statistical relation between the target's actual behavior or disposition, and the observer's prediction for that behavior or disposition (e.g., r, F value, or t value, along with sample size) and some information about the study design (e.g., type of measure, relationship (if any) between observer and target, length of observer's exposure to target, etc.).

If you have (or know of) any data that may satisfy the above conditions or have any questions, please let us know.

Brent Simpson
Department of Sociology
University of South Carolina
bts@sc.edu

Section Homepage

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

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

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.

New Journal: American Journal of Cultural Sociology

Editorial Statement by Ron Jacobs
State University of New York, Albany

From modernity's onset, social theorists have been announcing the death of meaning, at the hands of market forces, impersonal power, scientific expertise, and the pervasive forces of rationalization and industrialization. Yet, cultural structures and processes have proved surprisingly resilient. Relatively autonomous patterns of meaning – sweeping narratives and dividing codes, redolent if elusive symbols, fervent demands for purity and cringing fears of pollution – continue to exert extraordinary effects on action and institutions. They affect structures of inequality, racism and marginality, gender and sexuality, crime and punishment,social movements, market success and citizen incorporation. New and old new media project continuous symbolic reconstructions of private and public life.

As contemporary sociology registered the continuing robustness of cultural power, the new discipline of cultural sociology was born. How should these complex cultural processes be conceptualized? What are the best empirical ways to study social meaning? Even as debates rage around these field-specific theoretical and methodological questions, a broadly cultural sensibility has spread into every arena of sociological study, illuminating how struggles over meaning affect the most disparate processes of contemporary social life.

Bringing together the best of these studies and debates, the American Journal of Cultural Sociology publicly crystallizes the cultural turn in contemporary sociology. By providing a common forum for the many voices engaged in meaning-centered social inquiry, the AJCS will facilitate communication, sharpen contrasts, sustain clarity, and allow for periodic condensation and synthesis of different perspectives. The journal aims to provide a single space where cultural sociologists can follow the latest developments and debates within the field.

We welcome high quality submissions of varied length and focus: contemporary and historical studies, macro and micro, institutional and symbolic, ethnographic and statistical, philosophical and methodological. Contemporary cultural sociology has developed from European and American roots, and today is an international field. The AJCS will publish rigorous, meaningcentered sociology whatever its origins and focus, and will distribute it around the world.

Our first issue will publish in the first quarter of 2013 but accepted articles will appear earlier online. Submissions will be anonymously reviewed.

For more information about AJCS, and to access our online submission system, please visit our website at www.palgrave-journals.com/ajcs/<http://www.palgrave-journals.com/ajcs/>.

Editors:

Jeffrey C. Alexander, Department of Sociology, Yale University, USA

Ronald N. Jacobs, Department of Sociology, University at Albany, State University of New York, USA

Philip Smith, Department of Sociology, Yale University, USA

Early "Science of Generosity" Findings

Since the last Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity newsletter, Science of Generosity researchers have begun to publish the early results of their findings, and the initiative has had several important opportunities to share the work it is supporting and conducting with the general public and philanthropic professionals. In the fall of 2011,Sci-Port: The Louisiana Science Center in Shreveport, Louisiana opened a permanent exhibit on the Science of Generosity. The exhibit features interactive portals that encourage viewers to learn about Science of Generosity research. It will be updated as results become available. Also in the fall, Science of Generosity director Christian Smith gave a talk about the Science of Generosity and its research to a New York City meeting of the Vanguard Charitable Endowment. About 150 attended the talk, which generated a lot of interest. Communications Director JP Shortall also gave a presentation on the initiative at a meeting of the Lake Institute Consultation on Faith and Giving Research in Indianapolis in September.

All four Science of Generosity first wave RFP winners have now published or presented early results in academic venues. James Andreoni, University of California, San Diego, published "The Power of Asking: How Communication Affects Selfishness, Empathy, and Altruism" and "Is Crowding Out Due Entirely to Fundraising? Evidence from a Panel of Charities" in the *Journal of Public Economics*; Nicholas Christakis, Harvard University, published "Cooperative Behavior Cascades in Human Social Networks" and "Dynamic Social Networks Promote Cooperation in Experiments with Humans" in *the Proceedings for the National Academy of Sciences*. He and his group also published "Social Networks and Cooperation in Hunter-Gatherers," the cover story in the most recent edition of *Nature.* Ariel Knafo, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, has published "AVPR1A Variant Associated with Preschoolers' Lower Altruistic Behavior" in *PlosOne*; Carolyn Warner, Arizona State University, presented "Religion and Public Goods Provision: Evidence from Catholicism and Islam" at the 2011 meeting of the APSA. Second wave RFP winner Bradford Wilcox, University of Virginia, has also recently published "When Baby Makes Three: How Parenthood Makes Life Meaningful and How Marriage Makes Parenthood Bearable," in the latest issue of the *State of Our Unions*.Articles about these early results have already appeared in *TheWall Street Journal, The New York Times, The Atlantic,* and *The Economist*.

To learn more about the most recent developments at the Science of Generosity Initiative, please visit generosityresearch.nd.edu, or contact JP Shortall at generous@nd.edu.

AMSS Dissertation Summary:
"Paying It Forward: A Testable Model of Strategic Altruism"
Kieran Bezila, Northwestern University

My dissertation research wrestles with the idea of rationality in altruism. This has been, and continues to be, a controversial topic. The traditional perspective on altruism primarily emerged from the combination of two theoretical streams: the rational choice stream of *Homo Economicus* and the Darwinian natural selection stream from evolutionary biology. Although these two streams have significant differences in their ontological foundations, they share a superficially similar view of humans as self-interested, personally-maximizing agents, which in turn has led them to share a deep suspicion and skepticism about altruistic behavior. This view has historically permeated into related social sciences such as psychology, from where it has had the most effect in shaping the diffusion of foundational attitudes about altruism.

As a result of these basic attitudes, until very recently, altruism was largely and popularly cast by academics and the public alike as an idiosyncratic behavior, which only occurs exceptionally in normal people (the unintentional hero who pulls someone from a burning house), and only occurs normally in exceptional people (such as Mother Theresa). Within this lens, altruistic acts are typically seen as anomalous, rather than normal, behavior, and as purely individual impulses, rather than social acts.

What causes some people to help others at a cost to themselves, without anticipating any clear future reward? Can such behavior be considered truly rational by standard definitions? If not, how is it best explained?

Economics, Psychology and Sociology have each attempted to answer these questions on their own terms, with a kernel of skepticism at the heart of every explanation. Economics has tended to question the purity of altruistic motivation, typically arguing that there must be hidden payoffs: altruistic people either gain personal emotional utility (a "warm glow") from their actions, or are trying to impress others. Psychology has tended to view altruism as a personal idiosyncrasy, a behavior that can be evoked from pre-existing 'helping-oriented' types given the right set of psychological triggers. Sociology has viewed altruism as emerging primarily from socio-structural conditions – contextual norms, socialization, and so forth – which influence individuals at socially-determined junctures to engage in performative behavior. Two overall frameworks have therefore emerged – altruism as more or less pure and seemingly irrational from an interest-maximizing perspective, or apparently altruistic behavior as disguised self-interested activity.

The contribution of my dissertation research is to offer a new, third alternative and framing to this debate – one that sidesteps the issue of "purity", and challenges the rational choice notion that altruism is suspect because it is apparently counter to individual self-interest, by turning it on its face. I argue that most of what has been identified as altruistic or giving behavior is, in fact, intentional pro-social behavior, and furthermore, this behavior can be considered rational according to basic definitions. Secondly, I address a major puzzle in the literature: Why does altruistic behavior appear to be both a factor of individual inclinations and social contexts? How are we to mediate between these two claims? I argue that both matter, but their effects are mediated by specific combinations of particular stakes and social configurations.

A major component of my theory is reconceptualizing altruistic and generous behavior as cases of prospective reciprocity – that is, seeing this behavior as an effort to inculcate a precedent and norm of cooperative, mutually-supportive behavior. Through altruistic and generous behavior, individuals act out the behavior and norms they'd like to see generally obtain in a specific context, with the idea that the establishment of these norms will stand to generally benefit them in the future. *Continued on next page...*

Thus, while altruists may not be seeking immediate, direct benefits from their behavior, they may be seeking general, indirect benefits. Perhaps they help others because if they are ever 'in that situation', (homeless, stranded, victimized – however unlikely that may actually be), they would like others to likewise help them. In this way, at least some altruistic acts can be conceived of as acts of prospective reciprocity – "paying it forward".

Specifically, the instrumental goal of altruistic and pro-social behavior is to encourage cooperation and to provide support for the social systems that allow for general, long-term, cooperative gains. This research argues that most altruism is "situated" or "situational altruism" – it occurs within the context of specific social circumstances with the aim of supporting normative, cooperative social arrangements. That is, individuals are more likely to be altruistic and generous in circumstances where they feel their behavior will be well-received and socially useful – especially in terms of encouraging others to 'pay the good deed forward'. This "pay it forward" strategy is unusual in that it trades concrete, immediate costs for uncertain, collective future payoffs.

In order to test these propositions, I conducted an experiment based on a modified version of a standard economics experiment: the public goods game. In a typical public goods game, participants are placed into small groups, usually numbering three or four individuals, and are endowed with a monetary equivalent in tokens or points. They face a decision each period of how much of this to invest in a common pot, without knowing what others are investing. The money invested is multiplied by some factor and then divided equally among players, and a new period begins.

There are opposed individual and collective optimalities to this game. For individuals, the optimal strategy is free-riding: it makes most sense to contribute nothing, hope that other players contribute something, and share in the public benefit anyway. For the group as a whole, the optimal strategy is cooperation: it makes most sense for everyone to contribute the maximum every turn, as the multiplication factor will assure that all benefit. In keeping with the theorizing presented above, I conceptualized altruism in a particular way – the willingness of individual players to be a generous first-mover in the game – make a generous contribution to the common pot without knowing what other players are likely to contribute. This can be seen as a positive precedent signaling for others to likewise be generous. I repeated the game for four periods over four rounds (sixteen total periods) to see how this interactional behavior evolves over time.

To this standard design, I added two complicating factors. First, I varied whether players are able to exercise a personally-costly option to punish free-riders (i.e., players may spend one of their own points/tokens to reduce another player's point/token total by three). Second, I manipulated the relatedness of groups and gave players individual trajectories through the game. In other words, I varied the level of group cohesion, by having a spectrum of relationships where some subjects, in a "highly-related" condition, play with mostly the same group of people throughout the experiment, while others, in a "complete stranger" condition, never play with the same people again, nor with anyone who may have been subsequently influenced by any of the people they have previously played with. Other players fall into either a "medium-high" or "medium-low" condition of relatedness between these two poles. Subjects are informed of the exact nature of their trajectory and the general composition of the groups they will be playing in at the start of the experiment, and at the beginning of each round. *Continued on next page...*

However, the experiment is played via computer, so subjects do not interact face-to-face and do not know the specific identities of anyone in their group.

288 subjects participated in 18 experimental sessions. While the data are still being analyzed, there are some interesting preliminary results. One hypothesis tested was that level of contribution should vary positively with increased relationship – those in more highly-related groups should consistently contribute more than those assigned to the "complete stranger" trajectory. While this was not fully borne out in terms of absolute value of contributions (those in the highly-related group did give significantly more than the stranger condition, but those in medium-related groups did not), when the propensity of each group to give zero as a contribution (completely free-ride) was analyzed, the results went in the direction expected – those in the stranger condition would free-ride the most, those in medium-related conditions would free-ride significantly less, and those in the highly-related condition free-rode the least of all (controlling for punishment in all cases).

In other words, the generosity and/or altruistic behavior of subjects could be varied by randomly assigning them into conditions of varying group relatedness – subjects were more willing to be generous first-movers, contributing to the common good, if they knew they were more likely to be grouped with the same people over time. The fact that subjects were increasingly likely to contribute something rather than nothing as the relatedness of their group increased suggests that subjects are investing in the future of their group and attempting to establish a precedent of cooperative behavior through their generosity. This 'situated altruism' is unlikely to reward them in the present period – they cannot see what each other has contributed until after the fact – but it may reward them in future periods, as others follow their example and decide to also be more generous.

These are preliminary results, and there is more to be discovered from this data, including attitudinal and behavioral correlates – questions about trust attitudes, religious values and charitable behavior, among others, were asked in a post-test questionnaire. However, I believe this presents intriguing evidence that a rational personal calculation of the utility of investing in generosity in a particular context may underlie some decisions to behave altruistically or generously. Altruism may have a rational, strategic dimension to it.

I will be presenting a paper on my dissertation research entitled: "Paying It Forward: A Testable Model of Strategic Altruism" to the Rationality and Society Section for their 'Rationality Meets Altruism' panel at the 2012 ASA meeting.

What's so Darned Special about Church Friends?

Religious Americans (regular church-goers, for example) give more to charity (including to secular charities), volunteer much more (including for secular causes), work more often to solve a community problem or press for local reform, join and lead community organizations more frequently, and are more likely to give blood, or return excess change to a shop clerk, or offer a seat to a stranger, or even allow a stranger to cut in front of them. Notably, the greater altruism of religious people extends well beyond co-religionists to the wider community.

Moreover, this correlation remains strong even with stringent controls for possible confounding variables—race, gender, income, education, marital and parental status, age, length of residence, personal sociability, political ideology, and so forth. And the differences in outcome are not small: compared to matched Americans in the bottom quartile of religiosity, Americans in the top quartile are two to three times more likely to engage in altruistic behaviors. The proposition that these correlations actually reflect causation became even more plausible when we deployed a three-wave (2006-2007-2011) panel survey, examining patterns of change in religiosity and in altruistic behavior. People who became more religious tended to become "nicer," while the reverse was not nearly so true. "Causation" is notoriously hard to prove, but within the limits of non-experimental research, something about religiosity seems to "cause" people to behave in a more altruistic fashion.

When we turned to explore *why* religious people became nicer, however, the plot thickened. Once we controlled for the simple frequency of church attendance (or more formally, attendance at religious services), nothing else seemed to matter. Denomination or religious tradition mattered very little, nor did intensity of belief in God or heaven or hell, nor the importance of religion in one's daily life, nor having a personal relationship with God, nor frequency of private religious observance, nor any of several dozen other measures of the theological or psychological dimensions of religion. It was only when we turned to measures of involvement in one's own religious congregation that the explanatory fog began to clear, for people with more close friends at church, or more involvement in small groups at church, or more discussion of religion with friends and family—what we generically termed "church friends"—were systematically more altruistic than other Americans. Moreover, this strong correlation between altruism and church friends persists robustly even under stringent controls for other factors—including the respondent's number of close friends in general. Having more friends is associated with altruism, but church friends matter a lot, even beyond that fact; church friends seem super-charged.

In short, virtually the entire pattern of correlations between altruism and religiosity could be reduced parsimoniously to the impact of church friends. Once we took church friends into account, nothing else seemed to matter—not belief in God nor personal devotion nor church attendance.

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[1]Robert D. Putnam and David E. Campbell, *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*, paperback edition with epilogue (Simon & Schuster, 2012). See that source for detailed documentation and citations supporting the generalizations in this essay.

What's so Darned Special about Church Friends?

In other words, devout people who sit alone in the church pews are not more neighborly than atheists who never attend church, and conversely, atheists with friends at church (acquired, perhaps, by attending church suppers with one's more observant spouse) were fully as nice as the most religious person in the room. And once again, our panel studies strongly suggested that the connection between altruistic behavior and involvement in religiously-based social networks—having "church friends"—was actually causal: After acquiring a new church friend, you tend to become more neighborly, and losing a church friend seems to presage less generosity. Something about "church friends" seems to produce altruistic behavior.

Meanwhile, another part of our research team was working on a parallel, seemingly unrelated problem: why religion seems to be associated with subjective well-being or "happiness." To our astonishment, this second, independent inquiry arrived at almost precisely the same conclusion about the importance of church friends: something about religion seems to cause people to become more satisfied with their lives, and that "something" turned out to be church friends.[2] Even though "happiness" itself is far from synonymous with altruistic behavior, its religious roots were virtually identical. Controlling for theology, church attendance, general sociability, and other demographic factors, gaining friends at church seems to make you both happier and nicer, and losing friends at church seems to have the opposite effects. Church friends produce happier, nicer people.

Could this striking pattern somehow be attributable to some bizarre peculiarity of our Faith Matters survey, which on all standard measures seemed to be of exceptionally high quality and nationally representative? Other members of our team went looking for other nationally representative surveys that included all the necessary measures, including most critically, measures of church friends. To our delight we found that the Panel Study of Religion and Ethnicity (PALS), directed by Michael O. Emerson and David Sikkink, fit the bill, and in a forthcoming paper we report that drawing on that survey, we were able to replicate our initial findings about church friends and altruistic behavior in all essential respects.[3]

In short, church friends seem, almost uniquely, to elicit the better angels of our nature. We don't know for sure whether a close, morally intense secular social network could have a similar impact on altruistic behavior, but we haven't found any such examples yet. The power of church friends, our data show, is more than the sum of being religious and having friends.

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[2]Chaeyoon Lim and Robert D. Putnam, "Religion, Social Networks, and Life Satisfaction," American Sociological Review, vol. 75, n. 6 (December 2010): 914-933. In one respect the pattern for happiness is slightly different from the pattern for altruistic behavior, for the happiness effect of church friends turns out to be concentrated among people for whom religion is an important part of their personal identity.

[3]Valerie Lewis, Carol Ann MacGregor, and Robert D. Putnam, "Religion, Networks, and Neighborliness: The Impact of Religious Social Networks on Civic Engagement," forthcoming.

So what's so darned special about church friends? We don't yet know, and we invite other experts on altruistic behavior to join us in finding out why. Here, to kick-start the conversation, are several possible explanations.

- Maybe we encounter church friends more often—at least once a week for regular church-goers. But if that is the explanation, then work friends should be even more powerful, and the evidence is pretty strong that they are not.

- Maybe church friends are more likely to ask us to do good deeds. (Preliminary analyses hint that being asked is part of the story, but only part.)

- Maybe we are more likely to accede to such requests when they come from church friends. But that would still leave the question "why is that?" Perhaps religious friendships feel more morally freighted than secular friendships.

- Maybe we have shared more emotionally charged moments with church friends—birth, death, marriage, and so forth.

- Maybe religious friends more often discuss morality and obligation than secular friends, so perhaps hanging out with religious friends gradually raises the salience of moral behavior.

- Maybe church groups encourage a kind of gentle competition in beneficence. Just as the best bowler on a team wins the highest status, perhaps church friends are engaged in a genteel competition for recognition as the "nicest" in the group.

We don't know yet why religious friends are so special, but our research strongly suggests that solving that puzzle would be an important step toward understanding altruistic behavior, even in a purely secular context.

The Philia That Undergirds Philanthropy…And Civil Society

Paul G. Schervish

Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center on Wealth and Philanthropy at Boston College

I view philanthropy as including all of our relations of care. Communicating this fresh understanding to those who study philanthropy, altruism, morality, or civil society could provide a deeper and perhaps unifying insight into the trait that undergirds all those realms of inquiry: the mutual nourishment of Aristotle notion of *philia*: friendship love or mutual nourishment.

This new understanding goes to the root of the meaning of philanthropy. It enables us to value but go beyond the conventional definition of philanthropy. According to the standard view, philanthropic donations are those tax-deductible gifts to organizations that meet the tax-code's definition of a charitable organization. Philanthropic volunteering is the donation of time and effort, to, or through, those same formally defined charitable organizations.

Although this conventional understanding has its place, there is a more profound and more compelling understanding of philanthropy that is important to conjure. This deeper meaning of philanthropy includes formal giving and volunteering, but allows you to bring to the table a more powerful, fulfilling, and meaningful understanding of philanthropy when your clients or donors turn their attention to allocating their resources for the care of others. It is our view that formal giving and volunteering are only one part of the financial or personal assistance we provide for others. And, going further, our financial and personal assistance is one part of the myriad of ways we put love into practice, for those both near and far.

So the deeper starting point for conjoining the realities of morality, philanthropy, civil society, and volunteerism, in addition to the range of related realities is to understand care as practical love and *philia* (pronounced fill-ee´-ah) as friendship love.

In regard to care, Jesuit philosopher, Jules Toner defines care as a particular expression of love. For Toner, love is the affective regard we have for another as an unconditional end, as someone ultimately valuable and never to be abused as means. Care, in turn, is the implemental or instrumental aspect of love. As such, care is agency that attends to others in their true needs. Figuring out just what the true needs of others are is never easy, but it is always the right question.

Based on this notion of care, I conceive such issues from philanthropy to the broader category of civil society as revolving around how to help people discover and enunciate the many ways they carry out care in their lives: care for their family, care for their friends, care for others across the globe, and, yes, care for themselves. As such, formal philanthropy and civil society in general emerge from and are properly conceived as grounded in all the ways we implement love in our daily practices of care.

We can come upon the deeper meaning of philanthropy and civil society from a second direction. The root meaning of philanthropy derives from the Greek *philia* and *anthropos*—usually translated a love of humankind. These two roots formed *philanthropeia*: a set of dispositions, decisions, and deeds of care formed ages before the world had any notion that doing good or being financially virtuous was tied to what today we call the nonprofit sector.

We seldom devote any attention to the particular kind of love denoted by *philia*, although we get a hint of the actual meaning of *philia* as *friendship love* when we refer to Philadelphia as the City of Brotherly Love. For Aristotle, friendship love is a relationship of mutual nourishment that leads to the virtuous flourishing of both parties. It is the primary virtue producing happiness for others and oneself.

The Philia That Undergirds Philanthropy…And Civil Society

Continued from previous page...

The experience and practice of *Philia* originates in the parent-child bond and extends outward in concentric circles from family to friends, associates, and even to those tied together in honest contractual relationships. Importantly, *philia* is connected etymologically to "species," indicating that such mutual nourishment is how we might define the nature of the human species.

It is this care and friendship that extends throughout every aspect of our lives that exists more fundamentally and more universally than the valuable addition to the care and *philia* that we understand today as formal philanthropy. Tracing the biographical story of ourselves and others about the care and *philia*, received and not received, sought and thwarted, is an exercise that engages us in the duality rather than the dualism of self and society. This points to a contribution by social scientists that leads to scholarly insight and bestows a benefit to respondents. This is to enter the concept of philia into our research; and for us to carry out interviews that prompt those we interview to unpack the consequential elementary realms of care and *philia* that they regularly exercise in daily life.

Personal assistance by individuals for family, employees, relatives, friends and others in their daily round is truly philanthropy, though none of this would be charted as formal giving or volunteering. The most energizing and respectful missing teaching about philanthropy may be to note, value, and measure the personal assistance of *philia*. In doing so, social science—by detailing how regular people regularly care—will learn the gracefulness, utility, and enrichment that already exists.

As we have found in our diary study of Boston Metro residents (http://www.bc.edu/content/bc/research/cwp/publications/by-topic/moralcitizen.html), the broad middle class, while contributing to formal philanthropy at the national average, contributed five times as much in money and goods—and multiple times the national average of formal volunteering— to persons in need, especially family members outside their household. Also not counted in formal philanthropy, and an additional indicator of the health of civil society, are the ties that bid immigrants to welcome newly arrived family and friends into their homes and the over $90 billion each year that they dispatch to family and friends back home, which we generally fail to measure as a foreign aid.

In the end, formal giving and volunteering are not the most generous thing people can do with their money and time, and are not as unambiguous measures of civil society as they are portrayed. Undergirding the legally or technically defined nonprofit sector and philanthropy is *philia*, something even more generative for the well-being of a society. Exploring the myriad daily acts of care and mutual flourishing, I conclude that our civil society is not a wasteland depleted of trust, connection, and care. Rather, it is a verdant pasture fed by a stream of hidden, quiet, and uncharted acts of philia, which appear more abundant and salutary the closer we look.

The Private Life of a Moral Community: The Exceptional and Mundane Rituals of Middle-Class Cagefighters

Corey M. Abramson and Darren Modzelewski
The University of California, Berkeley
Pages 24 to 29

"Human Cockfighting." In 1998 that was the label John McCain applied to the increasingly popular sport known as mixed martial arts (MMA) or "cagefighting." During the 1990's, this fledgling sport was criticized by pundits on both sides of the political aisle as an unnecessarily violent spectacle that appealed to the worst of human nature. In the new millennium however, cage fighting has been repackaged and sold to the American public as the combat sport of the future. Since the appearance of the reality show "The Ultimate Fighter" in 2005 which exposed this activity to an even broader audience, MMA has become one of the fastest growing sports in the United States. Recently, sports writers and journalists have argued that MMA (which is also sometimes called "ultimate fighting") has supplanted boxing as America's pugilistic pastime. Today, MMA's top athletes receive celebrity status, appear in movies, TV shows, and commercials. Mainstream media outlets such as ESPN and FOX cover these events and enter into lucrative partnership agreements with promoters.

In the mid 2000's, just as mixed martial arts was edging its way into the mainstream, my colleague and I were in the midst of conducting a participant observation study of cage fighters in 5 gyms on the east and west coasts of the United States. At this time (surprisingly to some), many of the participants in these gyms were college educated men and women from the middle-class (including doctors, academics, real estate agents, and teachers). These people made numerous sacrifices outside of the gym in order to continue cagefighting. They had to deal with the raised eyebrows of colleagues, the strain 20+ hours a week in the gym placed on romantic and family relationships, the chronic fatigue (which had an effect on their day-jobs), and the injuries that resulted from training and competing. We examined why these individuals, who had access to more traditional pastimes and sources of status, were so hooked by the gym. Certainly, these were not the inner city boxers or street corner men described by past ethnographers. So why did they do it?

Over the course of the next three years, we immersed ourselves in this world. We spent upwards of 20 hours a week in the gym, dealt with injuries of our own (including broken noses, cracked ribs, and torn ligaments), and experienced the interpersonal strains this activity involved. We even competed in cage fights ourselves. Our mothers were not pleased with us. In the process, what we observed was surprising. Contrary to both popular and scholarly accounts that cast "cage fighting" as violence run amok, we found that both the gym and the cage were highly organized and rule bound. The men and women who participated made sense of the activity not in terms of "violence," but community. Excessive aggression (either in talk or behavior) was not tolerated in the gym or after the match. Caring for ones' "training partners" and "gym mates" was not only encouraged, but expected.

In the midst of cagefighters, we found a world where people used seemingly peculiar practices to form a community that reinforced a brand of middle-class American morality. Rather than providing a "fight club" like rejection of American ideals, the gym and cage were typically seen by our subjects as spaces where the *individualism*, *voluntary community*, and *meritocracy* that underpinned their "moral world," were alive and well.

Our subjects deeply felt that in the cage and gym unlike the larger world outside, how they were perceived by others was the result of who they "really were". They saw the gym as a special place where like minded individuals could come together to act "authentically" (as they put it) in a way that reflected what they valued. The cage was seen as a place where they could test themselves against others to reveal "who they were" to themselves and others. The subculture held particular sway over its members because the middle-class participants felt that its ideals, status hierarchies, and daily practices more directly embodied the deeply embedded principles of middle-class morality and habitus than other elements of their lives. Ironically, what pundits lambasted (a n d l a m b a s t) as "the worst society has to offer," was in fact a classic American community (with all the inequalities and contradictions which this entails). This photo essay provides a window into this world, and a glimpse of how its peculiar rituals appear in everyday life.

The full academic article can be found here: http://rd.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11133-010-9175-8

Abramson, Corey M. and Darren Modzelewski. 2011. "Caged Morality: Moral Worlds, Subculture, and Stratification among Middle-Class Cage-Fighters." *Qualitative Sociology (March)* 34:143-175.

The Fight: The fight is all most spectators ever see—For fighters it is an important "test of self" to which the audience bears witness. This is true at both the professional (top) and amateur (bottom) level.

Training: The minutes spent in the cage are dwarfed by the long hours at the gym training the body and mind. Top: Two partners train in Brazilian ju jitsu. Bottom: "Working the bag"

Status: Sparring is one of many everyday rituals that influences the prestige a gym member holds in the community (right).

Coach: Coaches play a key role in the gym. They not only train the fighters, but serve as organizational caretakers who must settle dispute, articulate values, and maintain order (above).


Community and Camaraderie

For many of the fighters one of the prime appeals of cagefighting was the ability to be part of a tight-knit community that (viscerally) reinforced typical American ideals. Top: Two gym members talk after kickboxing practice. Left: The team poses for a picture after a submission grappling tournament.

Family Affair: Gym members often talk about the gym members as part of an extended family. On holidays and special events, it is not uncommon for children, spouses, and friends to congregate at the gym (left).

Gender: More men participate in MMA than women. However, women were not necessarily excluded. Many assumed prominent roles within the gym as fighters, coaches, and training partners (right).
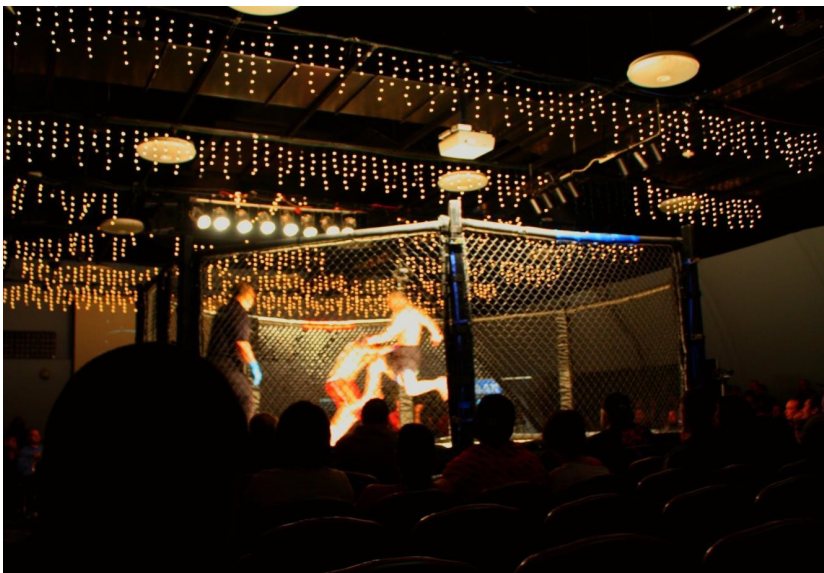
The Match: Although the lead up is long, the fight itself is often "nasty brutish, and short." Left: An amateur fighter gets knocked out in the first round by a flying knee.

After the Ritual: Once the fight is over, fighters are expected to let any animosities go. They hug and congratulate one another, return to the gym, and start the cycle anew. Left: Co-author Darren Modzelewski compares notes with an opponent. Bottom: Another day back in the gym.

Sociology 221

Selected Topics in Social Psychology: Morality

Spring, 2011

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Course Description:

This seminar approaches the topic of morality from an interdisciplinary perspective, looking at how sociological, psychological, and developmental processes shape individual experiences of morality. We will explore a number of topics, ranging from theoretical definitions to neurological work on how the mind operates. We will explore topics like moral judgment, moral develoment, emotion, intuition, and prosocial behavior. We will look at how social structure and culture shape, channel, and define moral codes and how individuals selectively draw on these influences to face the ambiguity of daily life. We will also look at these issues in occupational, criminal, and family domains, and as they develop along the life-course.

Prerequisites:

Graduate standing or permission of the instructor is required.

Course Requirements and Grading

One student will serve as discussion leaders each week. Leaders are expected to a short (1 paragraph) summary of each piece and develop 2-5 questions for discussion for each reading. Summaries should be posted on ICON by 5 P.M. on the Sunday before the seminar. Summaries, questions, and active oral participation will determine 40% of the final grade.

For a seminar to be beneficial to all involved, the participants need to come prepared to participate and actually participate. We should all be expected to chime in as we have constructive additions/critiques/questions to contribute to the group. The circulated discussion questions are a good place to begin, but not all that we should expect to discuss.

As you do the reading, keep track of strengths and weaknesses of each author's piece. What problems do they address? How well do they succeed? What questions/holes remain? If you disagree, what would persuade you? You need not agree with the authors, instructors, or fellow students. Feel free to challenge each other, and me. Just be respectful.

The second course assignment is to prepare an original research paper or proposal. I encourage you to use this paper assignment to develop a master's proposal, a master's paper, a dissertation proposal, a grant proposal or

a journal article; something that furthers your career development. Students will submit three drafts of this paper: a brief description of the paper, a first draft, and a revised final draft. These three drafts will determine 50% of the final grade. An additional 10% of the final grade will come from the two reviews you write for colleague's papers.

A 1-2 page proposal or outline of the paper is due February 22nd.

A rough draft of the paper is due by April 12th. This draft will be critiqued by two seminar participants, who will read the draft and offer a Areview@ of the manuscript, similar to submitting an article to a journal, discussing the paper=s strengths and weaknesses. I will also offer comments. Students should revise the proposal in light of reviewer comments and the instructor=s feedback. The final draft will include an additional letter detailing responses to reviewers' comments (why you did or did not follow their suggestions). Final draft of paper/proposal is due on May 6th.

Topic Schedule and Readings

[I]t is not clear to me...how any adequate philosophical analysis in this area could escape being also a sociological hypothesis, and vice versa. There seems something deeply mistaken in the notion enforced by the conventional curriculum that there are two distinct subjects or disciplines - moral philosophy, a set of conceptual enquiries, on the one hand and the sociology of morals, a set of empirical hypotheses and findings, on the other.

--Alisdair MacIntyre (1981), p. 70.

Week 1: Organization: How does Social Science Think about Morality? (January 18th)

• Smith, Christian. (2003) Pp. 3-61 in Moral, Believing Animals: Human Personhood and Culture. New York: Oxford.

• Haidt, Jonathan. (2007). "The New Synthesis in Moral Psychology." Science 316: 998-1002.

• Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey. (2010). "Back to the Future: Reviving the Sociology of Morality." Pp. 3-14 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

Optional:

• Hitlin, Steven. (2008). "Bright Lights and Bright Lines." Chapter One in Moral Selves, Evil Selves: Toward a Social Psychology of Conscience. Palgrave Macmillan.

• http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/09/magazine/09babies-t.html (article: "The Moral Life of Babies", NY Times Magazine, May 5, 2010)

• Harris, Sam. (2010). The Moral Landscape: How Science Can Determine Human Values. New York: Free Press.

Week 2: What Is Morality in Social Science? (January 25th)

• Calhoun, Craig. (1991). "Morality, Identity, and Historical Explanation: Charles Taylor on the Sources of the Self." Sociological Theory 9(2): 232-263.

• Kelly, Daniel et al., (2007). "Harm, Affect, and the Moral/Conventional Distinction." Mind and Language 22 (2): 117-131.

• Hegtvedt, Karen A. and Heather L. Scheurman. (2010). "The Justice/Morality Link." Pp. 331-360 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Powell, Christopher. (2010). "Four Concepts of Morality." Pp. 35-56 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Lukes, Steven. (2010). "The Social Construction of Morality?" Pp. 549-560 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Abend, Gabriel (2010). "What's New and What's Old about the New Sociology of Morality?" Pp. 561-584 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

FYI:

• Durkheim, Emile. "The Determination of Moral Facts" (pp. 35-62) and "Replies to Objections" (pp 63-79) in Sociology and Philosophy (New York: Free Press, 1953).

• Parsons, Talcott. "Pre-Modern Foundations of Modern Societies" (pp. 29-49) and "The First Crystallization of the Modern System" (pp. 50-70) in The System of Modern Societies (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971)

• Weber, Max. Author's Introduction and Chapters II, IV, and V in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (New York: Scribner's, 1958).

• Dewey, John. (1893). "Self-Realization as the Moral Ideal." The Philosophical Review 2(6):652-664.

• Shilling, Chris and Phillip A. Mellor. (1998). "Durkheim, Morality, and Modernity: Collective Effervescence, Homo Duplex and the Sources of Moral Action." British Journal of Sociology 49(2):193-209.

• Levine, Donald N. (2010). "Adumbrations of A Sociology of Morality in the Work of Parsons, Simmel, and Merton." Pp. 57-71 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. Springer.

• Fesmire, Steven. (2003). John Dewey and Moral Imagination: Pragmatism in Ethics. Bloomington: Indiana Press.

Week 3: Biology, Evolution and Morality. (February 1st)

• Staub, Ervin. (2003). "Basic Human Needs and Their Role in Altruism and Aggression." Pp. 52-67 in The Psychology of Good and Evil. Cambridge.

• Greene, Joshua et al., (2004). "The Neural Bases of Cognitive Conflict and Control in Moral Judgment." Neuron 44:389-400.

• Flack, Jessica C ., and Frans B.M. de Waal. 2000. "'Any Animal Whatever: Darwinian Building Blocks of Morality in Monkeys and Apes." Journal of Consciousness Studies 7(1-2): 1-29.

• Fehr, Ernst and Herbert Gintis (2007). "Human Motivation and Social Cooperation: Experimental and Analytical Foundations." Annual Review of Sociology 33:43-64.

• Turner, Jonathan H. (2010). "Natural Selection and the Evolution of Morality in Human Societies." Pp. 125-145 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Krebs, Dennis L. (2008). "Morality: An Evolutionary Account." Perspectives on Psychological Science 3 (3):149-172.

• Henrich et al., (2010). "Markets, Religion, Community Size, and the Evolution of Fairness and Punishment." Science 327:1480-1484.

FYI:

• Frankfurt, Harry G. (1971) "Freedom of the Will and the Concept of a Person." The Journal of Philosophy 68:(1): 5-20.

• Massey, Douglas S. (2002). "A Brief History of Human Society: The Origin and Role of Emotion in Social Life." American Sociological Review 67(1):1-29.

• Dennett, Daniel C. (2003). "The Evolution of Moral Agency." In Freedom Evolves. New York: Viking

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Week 4: Evil (February 8th)

• Zimbardo, Phillip. 2007, Chap. 10, "SPE's Meanings and Messages: The Alchemy of Character." FromThe Lucifer Effect. United States: Random House.

• Carnahan, Thomas and Sam McFarland. (2007). "Revisiting the Stanford Prison Experiment: Could Participant Self-Selection Have Led to the Cruelty?" Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 33: 603-614.

• Baumeister, Roy F. and Kathleen D. Vohs. (2004). "Four Roots of Evil." Pp. 85-101 in Miller, Arthur G. (Ed)., The Social Psychology of Good and Evil. New York: Guilford.

• Turiel, Elliot. (2002). "Subversion in Everyday Life." In The Culture of M orality:Social D evelopment, Context, and Conflict. United States: Cambridge University Press.

• Bandura, Albert. (1999). "Moral Disengagement in the Perpetration of Inhumanities." Personality and Social Psychology Review 3(3): 193-209.

• Stone, Michael H. (2009). "Introduction" to The Anatomy of Evil. United States: Prometheus.

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Week 5: Moral Cognition/Intuition (February 15th)

• Walker, Janet. (2000). "Choosing Biases, Using Power, and Practicing Resistance: Moral Development in a World Without Certainty." Human Development 43:135-156.

• Haidt, Jonathan. (2001). "The Emotional Dog and its Rational Tail: A Social Intuitionist Approach to Moral Judgment." Psychological Review 108(4):814-834.

• Vaisey, Stephen. (2009). "Motivation and Justification: A Dual-Process Model of Culture in Action." American Journal of Sociology 114(6): 1675-1715.

• Monin, Benoit et al., (2007). "Deciding Versus Reacting: Conceptions of Moral Judgment and the Reason-Affect Debate." Review of General Psychology 11(2):99-111.

• Narvez, Darcia. (2010). "Moral Complexity: The Fatal Attraction of Truthiness and the Importance of Mature Moral Functioning." Perspectives on Psychological Science 5: 163-181.

• Gigerenzer, Gerd. (2010). "Moral Satisficing: Rethinking Moral Behavior as Bounded Rationality." Topics in Cognitive Science 2:528-554.

FYI:

• Nado, Jennifer, Daniel Kelly and Stephen Stich. (2006). "Moral Judgment." In Symons, John and Paco Calvo (Eds.) Routledge Companion to the Philosophy of Psychology.

• Wainryb, Cecillia. (1991). "Understanding Differences in Moral Judgments: The Role of Informational Assumptions." Child Development 62:840-851.

• Tavris, Carol and Elliot Aronson. (2007). Chap. 1, "Cognitive Dissonance: The Engine of Self-Justification." in Mistakes Were Made (But Not By Me): Why We Justify Foolish Beliefs, Bad Decisions, and Hurtful Acts. United States: Harcourt.

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Week 6: Moral Emotions (February 22nd)

• Blasi, Augusto. (1999) "Emotions and Moral Motivation." Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour 29 (1):1-19.

• Tangney, June Price, Jeff Stuewig, and Debra J. Mashek. (2007). "Moral Emotions and Moral Behavior." Annual Review of Psychology 58:345-372.

• Hoffman, Martin L. (2000). Chapter Two, "Empathy, Its Arousal, and Prosocial Functioning." in Empathy

and Moral Development: Implications for Caring and Justice. United States: Cambridge.

• Schnall, Simone et al., (2008). "Disgust as Embodied Moral Judgment." Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 34(8): 1096-1109.

• Escobedo, Jessica R. and Ralph Adolphs. (2010). "Becoming a Better Person: Temporal Remoteness Biases Autobiographical Memories for Moral Events." Emotion 10(4):511-518.

• Wallach, Wendell and Colin Allen. (2009). Chapter 4, "Can (Ro)bots Really Be Moral?", in Moral Machines:Teaching Robots Right from Wrong. New York: Oxford University Press.

FYI:

• Horberg, E.J., et al., (2009). "Disgust and the Moralization of Purity." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 97(6):963-976.

• Haidt, Jonathan. (2003), "The Moral Emotions." Pp. 852-870 in Davidson, R J. et al. (Eds) Handbook of Affective Sciences. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

• Eisenberg, Nancy. (2000). "Emotion, Regulation, and Moral Development." Annual Review of Psychology 51:665-697.

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Week 7: The Development of Morality (March 1st)

• Kochanska, Grazyna. (2002) "Committed Compliance, Moral Self, and Internalization." Developmental Psychology 38(3):339-351.

• Hart, Daniel and Gustavo Carlo. (2005). "Moral Development in Adolescence." Journal of Research on Adolescence 15(3):223-233.

• Nunner-Winkler, Gertrud. (1998) "The Development of Moral Understanding and Moral Motivation." International Journal of Educational Research 27(7):587-603.

• Michalik, Nicole et al., (2007). "Longitudinal Relations among Parental Emotional Expressivity and Sympathy and Prosocial Behavior in Adolescence." Social Development 16(2):1-24.

• Kagan, Jerome. (1994). Chapter 4, "Establishing a Morality." The Nature of the Child. U.S.:HarperCollins.

• Svetlova, Margarita et al., (2010). "Toddlers' Prosocial Behavior: From Instrumental to Empathetic to Altruistic Helping." Child Development 81(6):1814-1827.

FYI:

• Smetana, Judith G. (1995). "Context, Conflict, and Constraint in Adolescent-Parent Authority Relationships." Pp. 225-255 in Hart, D. and M . Killen (Eds.) Morality in Everyday Life. Cambridge.

• Talwar, Victoria, and Kang Lee. (2008). "Social and Cognitive Correlates of Children's Lying Behavior."

Child Development 79(4):866-881.

Week 8: Morality and the Self: How Important Is It? (March 8th)

• Hardy, Sam A. and Gustavo Carlo. (2005). "Identity as a Source of Moral Motivation." Human Development 38: 232-256.

• Frimer, Jeremy A. and Lawrence J. Walker. (2008). "Towards a New Paradigm of Moral Personhood." Journal of Moral Education 37(3):333-356.

• Taylor, Charles. (1988). "The Moral Topography of the Self." Pp. 298-320 in Messer, S. B., L. A. Saas and R. L. Woolfolk (Eds)., Hermeneutics and Psychological Theory. New Brunswick: Rutgers.

• Batson, C. Daniel, Elizabeth R. Thomson, Greg Seuferling, Heather Whitney, and Jon A. Strongman. "Moral Hypocrisy: Appearing Moral to Oneself Without Being So." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 77 (3): 525-537.

• Stets, Jan E. (2010). "The Social Psychology of the Moral Identity." Pp. 385-409 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Aquino, Karl et al. (2009). "Testing a Social-Cognitive Model of Moral Behavior: The Interactive Influence of Situations and Moral Identity Centrality." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 97(1):123-141.

FYI:

• Stets, Jan E., and Michael J. Carter. (2005). "The Moral Identity: A Principle Level Identity." In McClelland, Kent, and Thomas J. Fararo (Eds.) Control Systems in Sociology. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

• Aquino, Karl and Americus Reed. (2002). "The Self-Importance of Moral Identity." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 83(6): 1423-1440.

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SPRING BREAK

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Week 9: Social Structure and Morality (March 22nd)

• Oishi, Shigehiro et al., (2007). "The Socioecological Model of Procommunity Action: The Benefits of Residential Stability." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 93(5):831-344.

• Lamont, Michelle. (1992). Chapter 2, "The Importance of Being Honest: Keys to Moral Boundaries." In Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and the American Upper-Middle Class. U.S. Chicago Press.

• Jaffee, Sara and Janet Shibley Hyde, (2000). "Gender Differences in Moral Orientation: A Meta-Analysis." Psychological Bulletin 126(5):703-726.

• Sayer, Andrew. (2010). "Class and Morality." Pp. 163-178 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Hennessy, Judith. (2009). "Morality and Work-Family Conflict in the Lives of Poor and Low-Income Women." The Sociological Quarterly 50: 557-580.

FYI:

• Sayer, Andrew. (2005). Chapter 6, "Moral Sentiments and Class." in The Moral Significance of Class New York: Cambridge.

• Schwalbe, Michael L. (1991). "Social Structure and the Moral Self." Pp. 281-303 in Howard, Judith and Peter C allero (Eds.), The Self-Society Dynamic. New York: Cambridge.

• Piff, Paul K., et al., (2010). "Having Less, Giving Moor: The Influence of Social Class on Prosocial Behavior." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.

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Week 10: Morality across Cultures (March 29th)

• Inglehart, Ronald and Wayne E. Baker. (2000). "Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values." American Sociological Review 65(1):19-51.

• Shweder, Richard A., Nancy C. Much, Manamohan Mahapatra, and Lawrence Park. (1997). "The 'Big Three' of Morality (Autonomy, Community, Divinity) and the 'Big Three' Explanations of Suffering." Pp. 119-169 in Randt, A. And P. Rozin, Eds.), Morality and Health. New York: Routledge. (This paper is long; feel free to skim the middle)

• Wainryb, Cecilia. (1993). "The Application of Moral Judgments to Other Cultures: Relativism and Universality." Child Development 64:924-933.

• Bader, Christopher D. and Roger Finke. (2010). "What Does God Require? Understanding Religious Context and Morality." Pp. 241-254 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Roger Finke and Amy Adamczyk. (2008). "Cross-National Moral Beliefs: The Influence of National Religious Context," Sociological Quarterly 49: 615-650

• Starks, Brian and Robert V. Robinson (2007). "Moral Cosmology, Religion, and Adult Values for Children." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 46(1):17-35.

FYI:

• Haidt, Jonathan, Silvia Helena Koller and Maria G. Dias. (1993). "Affect, Culture, and Morality, or Is it Wrong to Eat Your Dog?" Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 65(4): 613-628.

• Kondo, Dorinne. (1990). Chapter 4, "Circles of Attachment." In Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

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Week 11: Morality in American Life (April 5th)

• Nevitte, Neil and Christopher Cochrane. (2006). "Individualization in Europe and America." Comparative Sociology 5(2-3):203-230.

• Wolfe, Alan. (1998). Chapter 7, "Morality Writ Small." In One Nation, After All: What Middle-Class Americans Really Think About. United States: Penguin Books.

• Evans, John H. (2003). "Have Americans' Attitudes Become More Polarized?" Social Science Quarterly 84 (1): 71-90.

• Haidt, Jonathan and Matthew Hersh. (2001). "Sexual Morality: The Cultures and Emotions of Liberals and Conservatives." Journal of Applied Social Psychology 31(1):191-221.

• Baker, Wayne. (2010). "The Duality of American Moral Culture." Pp. 255-274 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Blair-Loy, Mary. (2010). "Moral Dimensions of the Work-Family Nexus." Pp. 439-453 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

FYI:

• Baker, Wayne E. (2005), Chapter 3, "Culture War." in America's Crisis of Values: Reality and Perception.Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

• Dill, Jeffrey S. and James Davison Hunter. (2010). "Education and the Culture Wars." Pp. 275-291 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Steensland, Brian. (2010). "Moral Classification and Social Policy." Pp. 455-468 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

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Week 12: Altruism and Deviance in Interaction (April 12th)

• Penner, Louis A.//Dovidio, John F.//Piliavin, Jane A.//Schroeder, David A. (2005). "Prosocial Behavior: Multilevel Perspectives." Annual Review of Psychology 56: 365-392.

• Sampson, Robert J. and John H. Laub (1993). Chapter 9, "Exploring Life Histories." In Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press.

• Matsueda, Ross L. (1989). "The Dynamics of Moral Beliefs and Minor Deviance." Social Forces 68(2): 428-257.

• Katz, Jack. 1975. "Essences as Moral Identities: Verifiability and Responsibility in Imputations of Deviance and Charisma." American Journal of Sociology 80(6): 1369-1390.

• Levine, Mark et al., 2005. "Identity and Emergency Intervention: How Social Group Membership and Inclusiveness of Group Boundaries Shape Helping Behavior." Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 32(4): 443-453.

• Turowitz, Jason J. and Douglas W. Maynard. (2010). "Morality in the Social Interactional and Discursive World of Everyday Life." Pp. 503-526 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Antonaccio, Olena and Charles R. Tittle. (2008). "Morality, Self-Control, and Crime." Criminology 46(2): 479-510.

FYI:

• Rawls, Anne. (1987). "The Interaction Order Sui Generis: Goffman's Contribution to Social Theory." Sociological Theory 5(2):136-149.

• Maynard, Douglas W. (1998). "Praising Versus Blaming the Messanger: Moral Issues in Deliveries of Good and Bad News." Research on Language and Social Interaction 31(3&4): 359-395.

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Week 13: Morality, Markets and Institutions (April 19th)

• Fourcade, Marion and Kearan Healy (2007). "Moral Views of Market Society." Annual Review of Sociology 33: 285-311.

• Jackall, Robert. (1988). "Introduction." and Chapter 5, "Drawing Lines." In Moral Mazes: the World of Corporate Managers. New York: Oxford University Press.

• Callahan, David. (1998). Chapter 4, "A Question of Character." In The Cheating Culture: Why More Americans Are Doing Wrong to Get Ahead. U.S.: Harcourt, Inc.

• Wherry, Frederick F. (2010). "The Sacred and the Profane in the Marketplace." Pp. 147-161 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Rawls, Anne Warfield. (2010). "Social Order as Moral Order." Pp. 95-121 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Heimer, Carol A. (2010). "The Unstable Alliance of Law and Morality." Pp. 179-202 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

FYI:

• Massengill, Rebekah P. and Amy Reynolds. (2010). "Moral Discourse in Economic Contexts." Pp. 485-501 in Hitlin, Steven and Stephen Vaisey (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Morality. New York: Springer.

• Paternoster, Raymond and Sally Simpson. (1996). "Sanction Threats and Appeals to Morality: Testing a Rational Choice Model of Corporate Crime." Law & Society Review 30(3):549-584.

• McCabe, Donald L., Janet M. Dukerich, and Jane E. Dutton. (1991). "Context, Values and Moral Dilemmas: Comparing the Choices of Business and Law School Students." Journal of Business Ethics 10(12):951-960.

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Week 14: Moral Exemplars: Who Are These People? (April 26th)

• Walker, Lawrence J. and Jeremy A . Frimer. (2007). "M oral Personality of Brave and Caring Exemplars." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 93(5):845-860.

• Haidt, Jonathan. (2006). Chapter 8: "The Felicity of Virtue." Pp. 155-179 in The Happiness Hypothesis: Finding Modern Truth in Ancient Wisdom. New York: Basic Books.

• Colby, Anne and William Damon. (1992). Chapter 10, "Positivity and Hopefulness." in Some Do Care: Contemporary Lives of Moral Commitment. U.S.: The Free Press.

• McAdams, Dan P. (1993). Chapter 7, "Identity, Malaise, and Faith." in The Stories We Live By: Personal Myths and the Making of the Self. New York: Guilford Press.

• Youniss, James, Jeffrey A. McLellan, and Miranda Yates. (1997). "What We Know About Engendering Civic Identity." American Behavioral Scientist 40(5):620-631.

• Walker, Lawrence J., Frimer, Jeremy A., and William L. Dunlop. (2010). "Varieties of Moral Personality: Beyond the Banality of Heroism." Journal of Personality 78(3):907-942.

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Week 15: (May 3rd)

Interact with Morality Workshop Guests: Schedule To Be Determined

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Guidelines for Writing Research Papers & Proposals

Introduction

The introduction should provide a general context for your paper. It tells what the paper will be about and the specific objectives of the research. It should do so concisely and without a lot of unnecessary detail. It should "grab" the reader's attention, so that s/he will want to read further.

Background

In the background section of the paper, you should provide a justification for why the research is worth doing, review and evaluate previous ideas and research on the topic, and the limitations of previous work. While the "Introduction" discusses the topic in more general terms, the "Background" section should delve into more of the "specifics" of the problem. If new concepts are being introduced, this is where they should be discussed; if specific hypotheses are being formulated, this is where they should be presented; if a specific set of theoretical ideas are the focus of the planned research, this is where they should be reviewed and discussed.

Data and Methods

This is the section in which you introduce the data you will use, identifying the target population, sample size, response rate, and mode of data collection. This is also where you identify the specific variables that you use in your study, what concepts they represent or how they tie into your theoretical framework, how you code the variables for your analyses, and the method you use for dealing with item missing data. The details and organization of this section will depend on what kind of data you are using to analyze your question (i.e. do you use a survey, an experiment, a content analysis, etc.). If you have questions about how to describe your data, come discuss it with me. The "Data and Methods" section should include an outline of the analyses you'll be presenting in the paper and a description of any unique or unusual methodological or statistical approach that you employ.

If there is any question about the appropriateness of the technique you use (e.g., if you use OLS regression with a dependent variable that is highly skewed), you should justify your choice of method and discuss any diagnostics and or/analyses you conducted to evaluate the sensitivity of your results to that method. If using survey data, you should note whether sample weights are used in the analysis and, if not, justify your decision for not using them.

Results

If you are writing a research paper, this section should present the results from your analysis, explaining important patterns to the reader and showing how the results relate to the ideas you developed. This section does not apply if you are writing a proposal, rather than a paper. (On the other hand, even a proposal can include some "preliminary" analyses in order to show that your data is appropriate for the questions you wish to answer. Feel free to include these in your proposal if you wish.)

Discussion/Conclusion

You should begin this section by reiterating the objectives and key hypotheses of your study. It's useful to guard against major criticisms by noting important limitations of your study. If questions are left unanswered by your analysis, you may want to note how these could be addressed, either in further analysis of the data or with new data.

II. Grading

- Grading of the research paper or proposal is based on the following categories:
- Originality of research question(s)
- Coverage and synthesis of the appropriate research literature (in the background section)
- Careful and thoughtful use of data and methods (and results, if applicable)
- Thorough discussion of how the analysis relates to the objectives of your study
- Grammar, clarity and organization of writing

Sociology 777: Evolution, Altruism, and Morality - Spring 08

Meets: Wed 4:00-6:30

Brent Simpson (320 Sloan, bts@sc.edu, 777-6848)

Office Hours: by appointment

Course Overview

This course covers theory and research on the biological and cultural evolution of altruism and related prosocial behaviors.

Requirements and Grading

There are four requirements: active class participation (15%), reading/reading comprehension quizzes (25%), the U(R)-turn lecture (15%), and the project development/NSF proposal (35%), and research project presentation (10%). Final grades will be assigned as follows: A = 100-90; B+ = 89-85; B = 84-80; C+ = 79-75; C = 74-70; D+ = 69-65; D = 64-60; F < 60.

Active Class Participation: I assume that everyone who takes course will 1) come to every scheduled meeting on time (barring very special circumstances), 2) have done all the assigned readings carefully and critically before we meet to discuss them (more on this below), and 3) bring questions and comments on the readings to class. As part of this latter requirement, each student will be required to submit *at least* one question about the readings for the group to discuss for that class meeting. The question should be submitted to me (via email) *at least* one hour before the class meets.

Readings: When doing the readings, please keep in mind the following questions: What are the key concepts, and how do they relate to concepts from the week's other readings, or previous week's readings (if at all)? What are the underlying assumptions of the arguments? Do the predictions follow directly from the assumptions? Is the empirical study an adequate test of the argument? Are there alternative explanations for the findings and, if so, how could we tease apart the various explanations? Are there any other problems to which the arguments might apply? In short, you should approach the readings critically, always thinking about ways to improve the research.

*Reading/Reading Comprehension Quizzes***:** I will regularly administer brief pop quizzes on the readings of the day. These will allow each student to continually monitor his or her performance over the course of the semester.

The *U(R)-turn lecture* is designed to 1) give you another excuse to prepare for your research project, and 2) let you share you enthusiasm and burgeoning knowledge of a given issue with the rest of us. For your *U(R)-turn lecture***,** you should pick a set of *key* readings on a given issue (a rough guide is 10 to 15 articles) and develop a lecture based on these readings. Your lecture should distill and clearly convey the key points and findings from the literature. You should raise questions for future work. Ideally, your presentation will generate research ideas. Others in the class should ask questions (for clarification or elaboration) during the U(R)-turn lecture.

Project Development and NSF Proposal. At the end of the semester, you will hand in an original research proposal (following the NSF guidelines for Dissertation enhancement proposals) that you have developed specifically for this course. (I.e., this cannot be a proposal or project you completed for another course or graduate program requirement.) The proposed research should make an original contribution to the evolution and altruism literature. This will involve identifying an important problem or question (either a new problem, or a problem in the existing literature) and proposing a solution to the problem. I will also accept an actual empirical study (a preliminary experiment, vignette, etc.), rather than an *NSF*-style proposal. This latter approach might involve any of the following

Detailing an important problem with an existing empirical test (experiment, participant/observer, survey, etc.), and designing and conducting a more valid test.

Conducting your own empirical study of new or existing (but previously untested) arguments (through a survey, vignette study, experiment, etc);

Conducting a computer simulation of a problem related to Evolution and Altruism.

I will give more details in the coming weeks about what does and does not constitute a viable project. The overarching requirement is that you build directly on material covered in this class to construct new explanations and/or test/apply existing ones in an important and original way. Each class member will present her/his final project to the class at the end of the semester.

Making the most of things

You should try to make all the above requirements work together and to your benefit. For example, always do the readings with an eye towards your final project. Ask yourself what questions are left unaddressed or unanswered by the research, or how could you turn weaknesses of the arguments or findings into a project of your own. Similarly, pick a topic for your *U(R)-turn lecture* that will help you in preparing your final project/proposal. Finally, consider using your final project for the course as an outlet for developing a paper for a presentation at a professional meeting, a publication, or a thesis/dissertation.

Readings

Required readings are below. Readings will either be placed in a box in the department mailroom for photocopying, or posted online for printing.

Proposed Course Outline

Week 1: Introduction to the Issues

Introduction to the Course

Week 2: Evolutionary Explanations of Altruism and Moral Behavior

Tooby and Cosmides. 2005. "Conceptual Foundations of Evolutionary Psychology." *Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology*.

Elliott Sober. 2002. "The ABCs of Altruism." In Post et al. *Altruism & Altruistic Love*

Krebs, 2005. "The Evolution of Morality." Pps. 747-771. *The Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology,* edited by David Buss

DeBruine. 2005. "Trustworthy but not lust-worthy: context-specific effects of facial resemblance." *Proceedings of the Royal Society B*

Supplementary readings

Burnstein. 2005. "Altruism and Genetic Relatedness." Pps. 528-51 in *The Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology,* edited by David Buss.

Kollock. 1998. "Social Dilemmas." *Annual Review of Sociology*

Krupp et al. 2008. "A cue of kinship promotes cooperation for the public good." *Evolution and Human Behavior*.

Week 3: Tools, Methods and Data Sources for Research on Evolution and Altruism

Simpson and Campbell (2005). "Methods of Evolutionary Sciences." *The Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology,* edited by David Buss

David P. Schmitt and June J. Pilcher. "Evaluating Evidence of Psychological Adaptation: How Do We Know One When We See One?" *Psychological Science*

Mesoudi, A. (2007). Using the methods of experimental social psychology to study cultural evolution. *Journal of Social, Evolutionary & Cultural Psychology, 1(2)*, 35-58.

Camerer and Fehr (2002). "Measuring Social Norms and Preferences using Experimental Games: A Guide for Social Scientists." *Working Paper: Institute for Empirical Research in Economics, University of Zurich*.

Week 4: Finding Altruists and Avoiding Egoists

Frank. 1990. "A Theory of Moral Sentiments." Pages 71-96 in *Beyond Self-Interest,* edited by J. Mansbridge.

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Weeks 11 and 12: U(R) turn lectures

Weeks 13 and 14: Project Presentations

Establishing and Building the Study of Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity as a Field of Specialization

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Pages 50 - 60

The study of altruism, morality, and social solidarity is an emergent field of specialization. These topics were of central concern in the founding and early years of sociology. However, they have been given scant attention by sociologists in the last 50 years, with the exception of the writings of some individual scholars. Interest in their study is now reawakening, along with an awareness of their interdependence. The nature of a coherent field integrating the study of these three phenomena has yet to be elaborated.

This article suggests several projects that will contribute to advancing the study of these phenomena, both separately and with respect to their interrelationships. The identity of these projects derives from analysis of the development and maintenance of schools of thought in both philosophy and sociology. Two works are of major importance. One is Randall Collins's (1998) comprehensive study of trends in philosophical thought throughout world history. The other is Edward Tiryakian's (1979) analysis of the importance of schools in the development of sociology.

Systems of thought in philosophy and in sociology can be viewed as schools. They usually begin as a small number of individuals organized around a particular set of ideas. If they succeed in attracting others and transcending generations, these schools become established traditions of thought (Alexander and Colomy 1992; Collins 1998; Tiryakian 1979).

There are differences between schools of thought and fields of specialization. A field is defined by its focus on a particular subject matter, such as altruism, morality, and social solidarity, within the much broader scope of the discipline of sociology. A field of specialization is much narrower in substantive focus than a major school of philosophical or sociological thought. Individuals working in a special field draw on a variety of theoretical schools and methodologies in their focus on a particular subject matter. Despite these differences, it is reasonable to assume that factors that contribute to the development and maintenance of schools, whether they be philosophical or sociological, would make similar contributions to a field of specialization.

This article is focused on applying ideas regarding the growth and maintenance of schools of thought to the development of the field of altruism, morality, and social solidarity. A review of existing literature in the field is not undertaken as part of the analysis.

FIRST PROJECT: IDENTIFYING THE FOUNDERS AND INTELLECTUAL HERITAGE

Theoretical schools in sociology develop around the ideas of a founder/leader. The ideas of this individual provide a different perspective from those current in the discipline. They also provide a basis for unity by formulating both a distinctive approach to the subject matter, and a mission to effect beneficial changes in the discipline (Tiryakian 1979). Major intellectual figures whose ideas are parallel and relevant to the focus of a field of specialization can impart the same benefits to work and progress in that field.

The ideas of three individuals, Emile Durkheim, Jane Addams, and Pitirim A. Sorokin, appear particularly important as foundational sources to the field of altruism, morality, and social solidarity. The distinctive nature of their individual thought is complementary, and furnishes a basic foundation for the integration of these areas of investigation. Their ideas provide a comprehensive and inspirational heritage for theoretical development and research programs. Viewed as one system of thought, their ideas span and integrate the diverse subject matter of the field and the manner of its practice. All three theorists also saw their scholarly work as a basis for improving the lives of individuals and the characteristics of the sociocultural order. Hence their ideas are relevant for developing approaches to both the application of sociological ideas in policy, and for dialogue about sociological knowledge and understandings with various publics.

The study of social solidarity, and the barriers and paths to its realization, was a central focus of Durkheim's writings. His interests included the emergence of solidarity in social interaction, the role of social institutions such as the division of labor and religion in influencing solidarity (Durkheim 1957; 1960), and sociocultural conditions such as anomie and egoism that are antithetical to solidarity (Durkheim 1951). His delineation of the nature and components of morality, and his emphasis on its theoretical and practical importance, established the foundation for the sociological study of morality (Durkheim 1953; 1961). Durkheim (1951:35) believed "the progress of a science is proven by the progress toward solution of the problems it treats." This conviction that science should benefit society was manifested in his efforts to change and improve the French educational system (Turner, Beeghley, and Powers 2007:255-256). Durkheim's life and his sociology are recounted by Lukes (1973).

While sociology in the United States was developing into a recognized discipline in the period from 1885 to 1930, a form of sociological practice known as settlement sociology was of major importance. The foremost theorist and leading researcher in this sociology was Jane Addams (Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley 2002:14). The basic motives and philosophy of the settlement are based on three suppositions. First, the entire "social organism" needs to be made more democratic, going beyond basic political participation. This includes extending full "fellowship" to all races, ethnic groups, immigrants, classes, and ages (Addams 2002a:45-49). Second, the social energy and the benefits of civilization should be made available to all. Third, basic religious ideas and the philosophy of Leo Tolstoy (Addams 2009:116-123) contribute to the supposition that "love is the creative force of the universe" (Addams 2002a:24). Love unites people, and can be embodied in society (Addams 2002a). This philosophy was manifested in sociological practice by systematically gathering empirical data with the intent of identifying and understanding problems. On this basis, informed efforts and legislation could be initiated to provide amelioration. Addams research illustrating this combination of description and consideration of policy includes studies of domestic labor (Addams 1896), trade unions (Addams 1899), municipal administration (Addams 1905), recreation in cities (Addams 1912) and sex trafficking (Addams 1914). Because of basic changes in society, a new social ethics is needed in these areas (Addams 2002b). Addams advocated a theory and approach that stressed linking the practice of sociology to a moral purpose. This moral focus involves improving the lives of people and uniting communities by instilling the idea of a "neighborly relation" in place of the disconnection of urban life (Lengerm and Niebrugge-Brantley 2002:15-16). Mary Jo Deegan (2005) has described Addams thought and her work in relation to sociology at the University of Chicago.

The writings of Pitirim A. Sorokin include a general theory of solidarity and antagonism (Sorokin 1947), a typology of social relationships that reflects these forms of interaction, and an extensive historical analysis of revolution and war (Sorokin 1947; 1957). Sorokin's explorations in the study of morality include a historical analysis of the ethical systems of culture and their effects on solidarity (1947; 1957; 1998a), and a consideration of the relation between power and morality (Sorokin and Lunden 1959). Sorokin's publications on altruistic love (Sorokin [1954] 2002) and on reconstruction (Sorokin 1948) founded the modern scientific study of altruism during the 1950's. Sorokin believed that knowledge about how to create a "harmonious universe" is limited. Therefore, "the historical moment has struck for building a new applied science or a new art of amitology - the science and art of cultivation of amity, unselfish love, and mutual help in interindividual and intergroup relationships." The development of the knowledge for this science is "the paramount need of humanity"(Sorokin 1998b:302). Throughout his career Sorokin wrote for both the scholarly community and the general public, combining description and analysis with programs of reconstruction (Jeffries 2005). Johnston (1995) has written a full account of Sorokin's life and ideas.

SECOND PROJECT: FORMULATING CORE IDEAS

Sociological schools derive their identity from the innovations that are characteristic of their core ideas. These innovations typically include some view of how the school can move sociology to a higher level of excellence. They also provide a sense of purpose to the schools followers (Tiryakian 1979).

The most basic innovation of the emergent field of altruism, morality, and social solidarity is the collective effort to reinvigorate and promulgate the study of these phenomena within the discipline of sociology. Recent

writings by Alexander (2006; 2011), Efremenko and Evseeva (2012), Hitlin and Vaisey (2010), Oliner (2011), and Smith (2003; 2010) show this trend has now begun, and can be expected to continue.

A sense of purpose, based on potential contribution to sociology and the general society, are inherent in the subject matter. There can be no question that altruism, morality, and social solidarity are sociologically important. Their range of variation and forms are significantly implicated in individual lives and sociocultural structures and processes of various types. Knowledge and understanding of these phenomena is also important in contributing to the general social welfare. Valid scientific information regarding how the positive manifestations of altruism, morality, and social solidarity can be more fully realized could benefit individuals and various publics engaged in efforts to contribute to the common good.

In formulating core ideas for the field, the terms altruism, morality, and social solidarity are used as foundational concepts that potentially include a variety of somewhat diverse but interrelated phenomena. Altruism in the most general sense signifies the intent to benefit another in some manner. Generosity, benevolent love, forgiveness, volunteering, unlimited love, virtue, philanthropy, and altruistic love are all examples of phenomena that manifest this general orientation. Each ranges on a continuum from low to high.

Morality refers to ideas about proper and improper, right and wrong, and good and evil (Hitlin and Vaisey 2010:5-6). Such ideas are a component of the psyche of every individual, and also part of the culture of groups of different types. Systems of morality can vary in many respects. Moral principles can be considered obligatory, or simply recommended. They may require or prohibit. The content of ideas considered as moral can differ widely.

Solidarity refers to the characteristics of interaction between individuals, or the relations between groups. In either case the essential characteristics are the ability to engage in cooperative activity, and a sense of unity and bonding. Solidarity can be manifested in a wide variety of interactions and intergroup contacts. Some phenomena that seem particularly relevant to the field are organizational philanthropy, intergroup forgiveness, global altruism, and the degree and nature of solidarity in intergroup relations in civil society.

It is important to recognize that altruism, morality, and social solidarity can all involve actions and consequences that are negative, in the sense that they harm others. Altruistic behavior undertaken with the best of intentions can harm those it is intended to help (Oakley, Knafo, and McGrath 2011). On a sociocultural level, Durkheim (1951) has examined how excessive altruism can be pathological. Morality can mandate suppressing, dominating, enslaving, or exterminating others (Alexander 2011:9-10). Likewise, solidarity can produce in-group coordination and out-group antagonism that can lead to conflict that results in harming others, even to the extent of atrocities. Such actions are perceived as, and may actually be, "especially harmful and evil" (Collins 2012:2-3; See also, Sorokin 2002:461-464). All these negative results have numerous examples throughout history and in the contemporary world.

Carefully discerning the nature, range, and forms of altruism, morality, and social solidarity is a fundamental innovation. It is also an important foundation for studying the interrelationships among these phenomena.

THIRD PROJECT: CONSTRUCTING SYNTHESES OF THEORY AND OF PRACTICE

The practice of sociology is directed toward the search for truth. This entails gaining accurate knowledge and understanding of what actually exists. Developing creative systems of thought is an important part of ascertaining and advancing truth (Collins 1998:33). The historical study of philosophical thought shows that such creativity involves formulating a synthesis that incorporates and makes compatible existing ideas. They are selected and molded into a coherent and comprehensive new system of thought. An effective synthesis also correctly anticipates the most important foci for future scientific activity (Collins 1998:33,131-133).

These characteristics of synthesis can be applied to the study of altruism, morality, and social solidarity. Three types of synthesis can be considered: synthesis of interrelationships; synthesis of the sociology of the good; and synthesis of sociological practice.

Synthesis of Studying Interrelationships

The first level of synthesis is to move from the study of altruism, morality, and social solidarity as separate subjects to systematically investigating their interrelationships. There appears to be a very complex and pervasive relationship between morality and solidarity, with great variance in consequences. Alexander (2006; 2011), Fein (1977:203-212; 2007:1-14), and Sorokin (1957:414-429,436-473; 1998a) have all contributed important insights regarding this relationship. Their work provides a strong and empirically based starting point for further conceptual formulations, theoretical development, and empirical research. Likewise, altruism appears related in different ways to both solidarity and morality, with a varying range of consequences. The distinctions between ingroup and outgroup, and between inclusion and exclusion, are evidently of major importance in these variations.

Synthesis of Studying the Good

A second level of synthesis is to develop a perspective that emphasizes the sociology of the good. Wright's (2010) model for sociological analysis is foundational in this synthesis. It derives from the assumption that sociology has a moral purpose (Wright 2010:10). This purpose is approached through an analytical model that moves from the analysis of pathological conditions, those that harm people, to exploring preferable and realizable alternatives that promise greater opportunities for the good. The final component of the analytical model involves exploring the means of movement from negative conditions that harm to the preferable alternative.

The development of a sociology of the good has been suggested by Bell (2009:95-96). In the most general sense, good can be defined as the actualization of positive potentials. Good can range from minimal to the highest possible development of these potentials (Aquinas 1981:663; 1993:4,41). In the realm of sociology, this idea of good is specified in reference to some aspect of culture, society, or personality (Jeffries 2012). Thus in Wright's model the good is identified as justice, expressed in two forms, social and political. The former entails human flourishing through the availability of means to develop capacities and talents, the latter opportunities for people to participate in decisions that affect their lives.

A fundamental question for the field of altruism, morality, and social solidarity is how these core concepts can be formulated to signify the maximum good. Following Wright's (2010) model, these concepts can then become the objects of theoretical development and research to study how the personal, social, and cultural states they indicate can be more fully realized.

Sorokin (2002:6) maintains that altruistic love, the giving of self for the welfare of the other, epitomizes the idea of goodness with respect to individual personality. This love "is a life-giving force, necessary for physical, mental and moral health" (Sorokin 2002:xi). In a similar vein Oliner (2011:129-161) defines goodness in general as caring for others. He maintains this basic attitude can be manifested in various forms, such as volunteering, benefitting oppressed groups, gratitude, apology, and forgiveness. Sorokin's (2002:15-35) dimensions of love provide a potential measure of the degree of altruistic love: (1) intensity, the sense of importance and level of interest and activity; (2) extensity, the scope of individuals and groups included; (3) duration, the length of time of love; (4) purity, the extent to which the welfare of the other is of concern; (5) adequacy, the subjective intent and the objective consequence, with benefitting the other indicating adequacy in both instances (Sorokin 2002:15-35). The high range on these dimensions indicates maximum altruistic love.

The study of morality involves the study of systems of ideas. In terms of a sociology of the good the focus is upon the content of a moral system that appears most likely to produce and maintain maximum altruism and a universalistic solidarity. The moral system Sorokin (1947:99-102) describes as the culture associated with familistic relationships provides a potential enumeration of components. Familistic relations are an ideal type in Sorokin's formulation. The normative system and pattern of interaction the ideal type identifies is not restricted to family relations, and, moreover, is not characteristic of many families. The familistic normative system as an ideal type is as follows: predominately solidary, generally high intensity, long duration, inclusive in extensity, emphasizes the "oneness" of individuals in the system, and mandates an "unlimited ethical motivation" (Sorokin 1947:99 -100) of concern for the other. Such norms are defined as obligatory in most instances, rather than simply

recommended.

In conceptualizing the maximum good in social solidarity, a solidarity that unites and does not divide is called for. Alexander's (2006:43-44) concept of "universalizing social solidarity" meets this criterion. This solidarity transcends particularistic loyalties and interests. Rather, this is a solidarity that entails a feeling of connection to a community that, in principle, includes "as full members every grouping and individual composing it" (Alexander 2006:44). Addams' description of the neighborly relation also expresses aspects of this universalizing solidarity. In this solidarity individuals "live side by side with their neighbors until they grow into a sense of relationship and mutual interests" (Addams 2002a:26). This relation is "grounded in a philosophy whose foundation is the solidarity of the human race, a philosophy which will not waver "(Addams 2002a:26). It is a solidarity in which "it is natural to feed the hungry and care for the sick, it is certainly natural to give pleasure to the young and to minister to the deep-seeded craving for social intercourse that all men feel" (Addams 2002a:27).

Valid scientific generalizations are based on replication. By focusing attention on the most positive forms of altruism, morality, and social solidarity, here viewed as the study of the good, valid knowledge and understandings can more rapidly and effectively be developed.

Synthesis of Holistic Practice

The third level of synthesis is developing a comprehensive mode of practice that maximizes the contributions of the field of specialization. These contributions entail two interrelated areas, the contributions to knowledge and understanding, and the contributions to the general social welfare.

The holistic model of sociological practice formulated by Burawoy (2005) provides the most effective means to realize these two goals. In general this model has been overlooked in the focus of attention on public sociology. Yet, it is far more important in terms of its potential to advance sociology (Jeffries 2009:1-2). Basic components of the model are four forms of practice: (1) professional: theoretical schools, models, concepts and research techniques and programs; (2) critical: the debate about the purposes of sociology and its directions, including formulating a "conscience" that identifies existing evils and a "moral vision" (Burawoy 2005:10,16) of possible goods; (3) policy: formulating, evaluating, and implementing means to realize specified ends; (4) public: communication and dialogue about sociological knowledge and understandings with different publics.

These different forms of practice are reciprocally interdependent. They can correct and enhance each other, and the optimum productivity and creativity of sociology can be obtained from this close interdependence (Burawoy 2005:15). Ideally, the forms of practice interact, disciplining and directing the course of theoretical and research endeavors toward the highest level of performance. The utility and validity of this holistic four sociology model has been demonstrated with respect to ongoing research projects (Cornell 2009; Hu 2009; Leonard 2009) and to fields of specialization (Howard-Hassmann 2009; Kleidman 2009).

A field of specialization that encompasses this model of sociological practice is maximizing both advancement as a science and contributions to human welfare. The synthesis of the forms of practice is reached in terms of the field of specialization, thus potentially attracting sociologists who may specialize in any of the four modes of practice.

Synthesis and Success

Tiryakian (1979:222) defines a successful school of sociology as one that has a sufficient degree of impact that it cannot be overlooked in the history of the discipline. The same criterion can be applied to a field of specialization. A parallel achievement is that the topical focus of the field cannot be overlooked in an account of the discipline. The aforementioned three syntheses each make a unique and important contribution to the validity, comprehensive scope, creativity, and sociological and public relevance of the study of altruism, morality, and social solidarity. Together, they can contribute to making these topics a central concern of sociology that will shape the discipline in future years. A comprehensive research agenda derives from this foundation.

PROJECT FOUR: DEVELOPING SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PROGRAMS

Theory and research interact in the development of schools of sociology. The approach to reality characteristic of a school forms the basis for research programs. Validation of the ideas advanced by the school can be provided by this research (Tiryakian 1979:217). A school's research programs can also serve to demonstrate its greater theoretical and research potential in comparison to that of other perspectives (Alexander and Colomy 1992:40; Tiryakian 1979:217). This same interaction between core ideas and research is important in furthering the growth and recognition of the field of altruism, morality, and social solidarity.

Research on Core Ideas

The most fundamental research involves examining the causes, and the consequences, of altruism, morality, or social solidarity studied as separate phenomena. At this point in time, the most research literature is probably on altruism. Psychologists have done most, with added contributions from evolutionary biology and religious studies in more recent years (Post, Johnson, McCullough, and Schloss 2003). Work by sociologists has been more limited. A distinctly sociological research perspective has not been elaborated (Jeffries, Johnston, Nichols, Oliner, Tiryakian, and Weinstein 2006). Most of the research on morality has also been done by psychologists. Solidarity has not been a major research area in sociology in recent years.

The range and different forms of each of these phenomena need to be carefully studied. The study of morality as a cultural phenomenon would be greatly advanced by an empirically based typology of moralities (Alexander 2011:10-11). The major components of moral systems need to be identified, and their variances ascertained. Such a typology should be especially oriented toward the degree of extensity of solidarity mandated in moral codes, and the inclusion/exclusion stipulation associated with moral norms of care and responsibility.

In the broadest sense, factors influencing altruism, morality, or social solidarity can be identified as cultural, social, or as attributes of personality. Cultural values and norms, structural factors such as stratification, and the major institutions can all influence these phenomena.

For example, Durkheim (1960) considered how the economic system influences the nature and problematics of maintaining an effective solidarity. Focusing on culture, Durkhein (1951) analyzed how a pronounced egoism involving excessive individualism can weaken family and religious bonds of solidarity. Alexander (2006:44) has noted that culture requires an effective balance between collectivism and individualism to foster a universalizing solidarity. In a complementary cultural analysis, Bellah and associates (1985) maintain that varieties of the cultural value of individualism must emphasize both individual freedom and social responsibility to ultimately contribute to social solidarity.

Research on Interrelationships

Research programs that examine the relationship between altruism, morality, and social solidarity are particularly significant. These phenomena are clearly interdependent. One approach is to study them as a closed system of three components. Alexander (2006:38) maintains that a universalizing solidarity depends on a continuing discourse on morality. Likewise, Sorokin (1947:119-131, 507-522; 1957:414-434) concludes that a viable solidarity that does not also generate out-group antagonisms is dependent on a significant degree of absolutism in an ethical system that emphasizes altruistic love, helping, and the Golden Rule. Knowledge regarding the influence of the moral code and system of solidarity on levels of altruism, particularly with respect to the dimension of extensity, need to be studied.

How personality, social, and cultural factors influence the three component system is another major area of research. For example, in small groups such as families, one person can influence the profile of the system through consistent everyday interaction. On the societal level, external factors such as intergroup conflict, power-holders' policies and actions, natural disasters, and economic fluctuations can initiate changes within the altruism, morality, and social solidarity system.

Research on the Good

An empirically based sociology of the good would involve research on maximum altruism, familistic morality, and universalizing solidarity. The personality, social, and cultural systems associated with these phenomena need to be elaborated. Examples of this kind of work are case studies such as Oliner's work on the altruistic personality (Oliner and Oliner 1988) and on moral exemplars (Oliner 2003), and Sorokin's (2002:377-455) studies of the culture and moral system of altruistic communities.

Research and the Holistic Model

A successful research program ideally yields scientifically valid findings that are important both sociologically and to the general social welfare. The holistic model of practice developed by Burawoy (2005) provides for enhancing both these outcomes. In addition to emphasizing scholarly excellence, the model also brings into consideration the sociological importance of topics chosen for research, their practical implications, and their potential contributions to the common good. Consideration of these topics influences the research endeavor from start to finish, and includes the communication of results to publics outside of sociology.

PROJECT FIVE: BUILDING AND SUSTAINING COMMITMENT

The core ideas of a theoretical school are the foundation for the commitment of its followers (Tiryakian 1979:217). The same should hold for those doing scholarly work within the scope of ideas that give a field its identity. The formulation of core ideas, the three syntheses, and research programs give this identity to the field of altruism, morality, and social solidarity. To build this field commitment must be generated and sustained for an extended period of time.

Commitment to core ideas involves the motivation to work long hours in formulating and disseminating these ideas. The concept of emotional energy (Collins 1988; 1998) has clear implications for the practical problem of developing and maintaining commitment. In the most general sense, emotional energy is "the individuals' motivating force" (Collins 1988:361). The emotional energy that underlies the productivity and creativity of intellectuals is "the surge of creative impulse that comes upon intellectuals or artists when they are doing their best work. It enables them to achieve intense periods of concentration, and charges them with the physical strength to work long periods of time" (Collins 1998:34).

Weber (1946:135-139) presents a somewhat similar account of motivation and scholarly productivity in his analysis of the vocation of science. Science advances through the generation of ideas that are correct. Though inspiration is decisive in this achievement, the scientist can take steps to "entice" the idea. Answers must be searched for with "passionate devotion." If "very hard work" and enthusiasm are "jointly" practiced, the best chance for a correct idea emerging is created (Weber 135-136).

Generating emotional energy/enthusiasm and commitment to the study of altruism, morality, and social solidarity is enhanced by the focus of the field. The sociological and practical importance of the subject matter is a powerful source of motivation to dedicated and time consuming work. Valid scientific information on these topics can have a significant impact on individuals' lives and the common good.

Interaction rituals are another important source of emotional energy (Collins 1998:20-46). In the most general sense, an interaction ritual occurs when individuals are in contact, share a similar mood or emotion, and consciously direct attention to a given action or object. Out of such interactions agreement on core ideas and bonds of solidarity can be generated. The core ideas become shared symbols that are invested with emotion. A sense of membership and of shared moral obligation can emerge from such interactions.

For intellectuals, interaction rituals with these characteristics can generate the emotional energy that sustains the long periods of solitary work necessary for scholarly productivity and creativity (Collins 1998:20-46). Additional benefits of such interaction rituals are the transmission of cultural capital, and new awareness regarding possible sources of additional intellectual development (Collins 1998:71-74).

A recent study by Parker and Hackett (2012) provides further evidence of the importance of emotional energy, interaction rituals centered on scientific work, and social bonding with other researchers. Their study of a group engaged in original research in the environmental sciences found these factors contributed to "sufficient motivation, confidence, and commitment to conceive, pursue, and communicate novel ideas" different from the prevailing scientific traditions (Parker and Hackett 2012:21).

Collins' (1998) theory and its application in analyzing the development and longevity of schools of philosophy suggests the need for creating interaction rituals that can contribute to the advancement of the study of altruism, morality, and social solidarity. The most constant and readily available setting is the yearly Section activities at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting. These include Section Sessions, in which papers are given and ideas exchanged, the Council and Business Meeting, and the Section Reception. Regular participation in these activities can reinforce individual commitment to scholarly work. It can also develop a sense of belonging to an active intellectual community dedicated to studying a shared subject matter. Regional sociological meetings and specialized conferences pertaining to the field in some manner can also contribute to this result. The ASA section newsletter, Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity Forum also plays an important role in communicating ideas, the cultural capital of the field, and a sense of an active and creative scholarly community.

PROJECT SIX: BUILDING AND EXTENDING THE ORGANIZATIONAL BASE

No school of sociological thought can be developed and maintained over time without an organizational base that furnishes the necessary resources (Tiryakian 1979; Turner and Turner 1990). A field of specialization has similar requirements, though they are probably broader in scope and more diffuse geographically.

The field needs recognition within universities and within the discipline at large. A first step is simply awareness of its existence as a field of academic and scholarly endeavor. The American Sociological Association now formally recognizes the field as "Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity." This means individuals can list it as an area of specialization in their ASA personal records. It also facilitates individuals listing it as one of their areas of specialization in the annually published Guide to Graduate Departments.

Courses must be taught to bring recognition and practitioners to the field. Separate courses in altruism, morality, or social solidarity on the undergraduate and particularly graduate levels contribute to this end. Ideally, courses will also develop that present these three topics as a coherent field of study. Parallel with the development of such courses is the offering of these topics as areas of specialization for graduate students. This is particularly important at major research universities that train the majority of future faculty.

CONCLUSION

The field of altruism, morality, and social solidarity is a sociocultural system in an early stage of development. To survive and develop over time into a major ideological system, a sociocultural system must possess three characteristics. They are: the system must be important both in a meaningful and a practical sense; it also must address a genuine need of some group or society; and, finally, the system should be related to some "perennial reality and value" (Sorokin 1947:584-585).

The field of altruism, morality, and social solidarity possesses these characteristics. The subject matter of the field is meaningfully important by its very nature. Altruism, morality, and social solidarity are first order sociological phenomena in the sense that they powerfully affect the lives of individuals and the shape and direction of societies. The practical value of increasing the positive forms of these phenomena is evident. With respect to a genuine need, the social world needs greater knowledge and understanding of the causes and consequences of these phenomena, the means to increase their positive forms, and the potential benefits of this increase for the lives of individuals and for the general society. Finally, by developing a focus on the positive forms of these phenomena, a viable sociology of the good can be developed. This is a sociology that studies the nature and causes of the perennial value of goodness in its individual, social and cultural forms.

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The Revival of Russian Sociology and Studies of Social Solidarity

For instance, the leading sociologist Yuri Levada (1930–2006) was persecuted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the fact that his lectures on sociology, which he read at the Faculty of Journalism of Moscow State University, contained "serious ideological errors". In 1969 Levada was stripped of the title of professor, and the Institute for Concrete Social Research was subjected to political cleansing. Twenty years later, during Gorbachev's perestroika, Levada began to work in a new research center – VTSIOM, the All-Russian Centre for the Study of Public Opinion. There he led a project studying the phenomenon of the "Soviet Person". This study continues to this day, under the leadership of Levada's disciples and followers. Levada and his colleagues came to surprising conclusions regarding the essence of Soviet society which, over decades, was proclaimed by official propaganda as the model of a collectivist society. According to Levada, the "Soviet Person" is an isolated person, raised in a closed society where estates and other forms of social stratification were forcibly destroyed. Soviet society, in fact, had a huge deficit of solidarity, and only small enclave groups (family, friends, colleagues) could be a resource for human survival (Levada 2011).

The interpretation of Soviet society proposed by Yuri Levada allows us to explain why the political and economic transformations following the collapse of the Soviet Union eventually led to social atomization. The cultural trauma as the flipside of social change (Sztompka 2000) in the case of Russia proved particularly profound due to the lack of mechanisms of social cohesion and solidarity, independent of state institutions.

It should be pointed out that the attention of Russian sociologists in the 1990s and 2000s was largely focused on the social conflicts caused by the post-communist transformations. Less attention was paid to issues of social solidarity. In particular, Vladimir Yadov and some of his colleagues from the Institute of Sociology studied the formation of new solidarities deriving from the conditions of reforming the social system. Basic for the project was V. Yadov's concept, according to which solidarity rests on two components – solidary consciousness and solidary behavior. Yadov interprets social solidarity as a problem of individuals' self-identification in the social space. Thus he emphasizes the link between the processes of identity formation and the presence of common interests and values, on the one hand, and solidarity, on the other. As behavioral manifestations of solidarity, Yadov considers willingness to cooperate in order to protect interests understood as common, and performing solidary actions, if such commitment is based on personal choice (Yadov 1998). However, considering the problems of modern Russian society, Yadov regards as necessary the formation of a "national solidarizing ideology" (Yadov 2001, p. 17).

Russia's leading expert in the field of environmental sociology, Oleg Yanitsky, focuses on solidarity caused by risks. Following the concept of reflexive modernization, Yanitsky reckons that the answer to the challenges of the risk society is the emergence of risk solidarities which can be solidarities of risk producers as well as those of risk consumers. This division largely reflects the specific feature of the post-Soviet transformations when a sharp division into "winners" and "losers" became apparent. According to Yanitsky, solidarity of risk producers is a community of people that forcibly "privatizes" national resources and society' structures reproduced, including the social order. Solidarities of risk consumers emerge as a means of protection against potential threats; they are created from below and are altruistic in character (Yanitsky 2004). The latter, therefore, differ from Durkheim's interpretation of solidarity as a consequence of the division of labor. Yanitsky points out that solidarities of risk producers and those of risk consumers are quite stable, but they are not absolutely invariable.

In general, however, current studies of solidarity in Russia are still fragmented and unsystematic. Awareness of this situation has prompted a number of researchers from the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences, the Institute of Sociology and the Higher School of Economics to launch a new project of comprehensive studies of the phenomenon of social solidarity in the Russian context. The project «Social solidarity as a condition for society transformations: Theoretical foundations, Russian specificity, socio-biological and socio-psychological aspects» is supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (project leader is Dmitry Efremenko).

The basic premise of the project consists in the fact that solidarity is a kind of society "fabric" ensuring the stability of social structures of any scale. At the "cellular" grassroots level solidarity is prerequisite to any social change. Otherwise society starts to fall into decay. In this sense, the question of the nature, character and state of solidarities, their current "temperature" is of critical importance if we consider prospects of social development in Russia. From the point of view of the theory the project involves a comprehensive analysis of social and sociobiological aspects of social solidarity. While considering contemporary Russian society in the context of notions of reflexive modernization, the project participants intend to reveal the relationship between the functioning of the mechanisms of social solidarity and the processes of production and consumption of social risks. The participants in the project also suggest that the mechanisms of social solidarity themselves undergo considerable changes, some of the social transformations of Russian society resulting in partial dysfunction (blocking) of solidarity mechanisms, the rise of anomie and the weakening of basic trust. Along with this, a synergy of social transformations and processes of the development of the global information society leads to the emergence of new types of solidarity, including solidarity within virtual network communities. Identification of the updated mechanisms of social solidarity at the stage when the crisis is being overcome, and the social order stabilized, allows us to draw conclusions regarding long-term sustainability of the latter. It also allows conclusions regarding the ability of civil society to act as a scene for coordinating divergent interests, or, in Jeffrey Alexander's terms, forming a "universalized social solidarity" (Alexander 2006, p. 44).

At this point we can refer to some of the intermediate results of the project which are particularly relevant in the contemporary Russian socio-political context. Political protests of representatives of the urban middle class, speaking out in December 2011 against the alleged rigging of parliamentary elections, demonstrated the potential of civic solidarity. No doubt, in late 2011 and early 2012 there came into effect a new mechanism for political mobilization, its basis being network structuring of civil society. In the first phase of our project we analyzed cases of civil solidarity relating to 2010. Those cases serve as evidence of the formation of new types of solidarity, based on network communication and making a major impact on current political processes in Russia.

In the summer of 2010, in European Russia, a severe heat wave occured. It lasted for two months, resulting in very strong wildfires that partially or totally destroying some 150 settlements. Around the middle of summer, when the situation was becoming catastrophic, citizens, independently of state structures, started gathering in groups for extinguishing forest and peat fires, victim assistance and other collective action. Grassroots mobilization took place partly on the initiative of environmental non-profit organizations (NPOs), but in many ways it was an independent decision of the citizens who communicated with each other through social networks. Significantly, the motive for cooperation and joint actions was not only an altruistic desire to help the victims, but also a protest against the inefficient actions of the authorities in the conditions of an ecocatastrophe.

The Revival of Russian Sociology and Studies of Social Solidarity

In fact, the reaction of civil society to the fires of the summer of 2010 was unprecedented in its mass character; it demonstrated the willingness of a significant number of members of social networks to participate in voluntary humanitarian action and charity (Yanitsky 2011).

The analysis carried out by the participants in our project (Usacheva 2011) has shown that the networks of civic solidarity formed in the summer of 2010 underwent some transformations after the emergency situation had been overcome, but remained mobilized. Those virtual network communities acquired specific corporate features – their own code, rules and regulations. Some of the community participants reduced their social activity, but many activists continued to volunteer in the summer of 2011, when again help was needed in putting out fires arising in forests, reserves and other protected areas. The virtual communities in question are still in force, having expanded their scope of work and becoming in a broad sense communities of emergency response (e.g. activities of the "pozar-ru" community became even wider; in the middle of 2011 it had 1,200 members).

According to Oleg Yanitsky and Olga Usacheva, the activism of the summer of 2010 was determined by both altruistic motives and a desire for a kind of personal "benefit" because the activists gained immense life experience and increased their social capital (Yanitsky 2011, Usacheva 2011). The production of this form of social capital is a civil society resource to be used in the future for more effective and rapid mobilization, increasing capacity of individuals and groups, etc. (see Diani 1992). It is yet to figure out to what extent particular social networks were involved in the political protests at the turn of 2011–2012, but there is no doubt that the mere emergence of those networks became an apparent symptom of the rise of civic activism in contemporary Russia.

In conclusion, we would like to emphasize that the growing interest of Russian sociologists in issues of solidarity, altruism and morality also reflects an international trend. The latter was vividly manifested by the formation in 2011 in the American Sociological Association of a new research committee, "Altruism, Morality and Social Solidarity". Several researchers from Russia took part in the preparations for the institutionalization of the given committee. Aleksandr Gofman and Ksenia Lazebnaya (National Research University – Higher School of Economics), and Pavel Krotov (Pitirim Sorokin Foundation) participated in the ASA Congress in Las Vegas in August 2011. In turn, the participants of the Russian research project referred to earlier regard as highly important the assistance of our American colleagues Vincent Jeffries, Matthew Lee, Jeffrey Alexander and others. We wish to express to them our appreciation as well as hope for further cooperation.

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Vladimir Yardov

Yuri Levada

A Quest for Humanity: The Good Society in a Global World
by Menno Boldt

A Quest for Humanity is dedicated to realizing a global 'Good Society,' defined in terms of a world grounded on principles of liberty, social justice, and equal human dignity. In this ambitious work, Menno Boldt analyses the process of globalization in regard to complex dynamics involving spheres of power, jurisdictions of authority, and dysfunctional responses by national elect bodies. At the same time, he critically assesses the prevailing Western notion that Western democracy and constitutional human rights are the exemplary and essential governing and social-relational doctrines for global social order.

Boldt advances a new theory of the history of globalization that posits expanding social-relational interdependence as a deterministic process. This process is facilitated by the convergence and sharing of knowledge and understanding that are economically, politically, socially, and psychologically joining diverse peoples around the world. Based on the ideal of universal and equal human dignity as an absolute principle and ethical foundation, *A Quest for Humanity* expounds a model of global moral social order and ethical principles by which humankind can govern and conduct its collective and individual relations in a way that affirms every person's potential for humanity. Menno Boldt is a professor emeritus in the Department of Sociology at the University of Lethbridge.

For more information visit:
http://www.utppublishing.com/A-Quest-for-Humanity-The-Good-Society-in-a-Global-World.html

The Miracle of Altruism by Valerio Merlo

Valerio Merlo is an Italian scholar in Sociology. He has written many books about Rural Sociology. In 2011 he published a book on Sorokin as Sociologist of Love. The book is titled Il miracolo dell'altruismo umano. La sociologia dell'amore di P. A. Sorokin ("The miracle of Human Altruism: Sorokin's Sociology of Love"), Rome, Armando Editore.

The content of the book can be divided into four sections. The Introductory chapter presents a brief biography of Pitirim A. Sorokin. The First Part examines Sorokin's theory of altruistic and creative love. Differences between "social altruism" of Comte and "ethical altruism" of Sorokin are highlighted.

In the Second Part we are introduced to "Amitology", defined (by Sorokin) as an applied science that would increase altruism and cooperation in society. The Author presents the suggestions of Sorokin to encourage individual and sociocultural "altruization".

The last chapter (Conclusions) dicusses the Sorokinian concept of "sociological integralism" as a new scientific approach for the social sciences.

In Italy Sorokin was known as the Author of Social Dynamics and Social Mobility. Only recently The Ways and Power of Love was translated in Italian. The goal of Merlo's book is to undestand the thought of Sorokin not only as social scientist but also as social reformist and educationist.

For more information, see: http://sorokinfoundation.org/publications/80-merloonsorokin.html

The Nature of Good and Evil by Sam Oliner

"Samuel P. Oliner's exploration of The Nature of Good and Evil is informed by his grasp of history, his mastery of sociology and the authority of his own experience as one who as a young child of the Holocaust experienced the nature of both good and evil when he was rescued by a Polish non-Jew at the risk of her life. In this work, by concentrating on the Holocaust, the Armenian and Rwandan genocides, Oliner has further solidified his well deserved reputation as a scholar of insight and discernment into an area often left to philosophers and theologians and he has enriched our vocabulary to comprehend both good and evil while enlarging our moral imagination. A valuable contribution to the field, an even more valuable contribution to moral discourse in our age of atrocity, he allows us to Understand the Many Faces of Moral and Immoral Human Behavior."
--*Michael Berenbaum, The Berenbaum Group*

Review of "The Nature of Good and Evil" by Samuel Oliner

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While some see concepts such as good and evil as beyond the realm of science, Oliner's presentation of these concepts provides a systematic way of looking at both moral and immoral behavior. This book should be of great interest to all within the Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity section as well as those concerned with cases of state-sanctioned violence. It should also be of interest to those who which to approach these problems through an interdisciplinary perspective. Oliner includes work from sociology, social-psychology, psychology, philosophy, history, and more.

The book is largely a review of existing literature pertaining to both moral and immoral behavior. As the title describes, it explores both good and evil. The evil that Oliner is concerned with however, is not generally evil behavior on an individual level. Instead, he is concerned with what he defines as radical evil, which "involves actions of more than one person that the vast majority of humans would find reprehensible, such as genocide, ethnic cleansing, and race-based oppression" (p. 15). This focuses on violence at an institutional level. However, this definition is based on intentional actions and leaves out more covert forms of institutional violence such as poverty or environmental degradation. While Oliner touches on various cases of these types of radical evil, his focus is on three specific events in the past century. These are the Holocaust, the Armenian genocide committed by Turks at the beginning of the 20th century, and the systematic slaughter of Tutsis in Rwanda during the 1990's.

Oliner's analysis of these events looks at both individual and broader macro level factors that contributed to these genocides. At the psychological level for example, Oliner demonstrates how evil leaders such as Saddam Hussein or Adolf Hitler may have suffered from mental illness because of traumatic experiences during their childhoods. Cultural factors, such as a history of European anti-Semitism, also played a part. Those killed were dehumanized and made into the "Other" while the state not only legitimated the killings, but also created a routine mechanism for killing. This emphasis on planning and routinization can be seen not only in the efficient bureaucracy of Nazi Germany, but also in the death squads in Rwanda that had to be organized extremely well in order to kill off nearly one million people with machetes and blunt instruments.

But the people directly engaging in these activities were not the only problem. Those who looked on and said nothing served to further legitimate these evil actions. Looking at how bystanders, as individuals, institutions, and foreign nation-states, silently allowed this to happen serves to awaken us to the fact that by doing nothing, people are contributing to these acts of radical evil. Understanding how doing nothing is actually helping to promote evil helps to highlight the importance of social solidarity and altruism as areas of research. Reaching out to help (beyond one's in-group) is a value worth promoting so that these massacres do not occur again.

Evil is not the only topic under analysis in this book. Oliner also demonstrates many acts of heroism, resistance, and striving for greater good as a counterpoint to these great evils. Goodness is defined as "the state or quality of being good, specifically virtuous, kind, generous, and benevolent" (p. 131) which exists on a continuum just as evil does: from everyday heroes who work in their communities to foster a better world, to those who risked life and limb during the aforementioned genocides to resist the regime and help innocent victims. The people who engage in these benevolent acts, both great and small, serve as heroes and exemplars to the rest of society. They promote what Oliner outlines as key components of goodness. Empathy, social responsibility, trust, and forgiveness are just a few of these components that help steer people towards loving and altruistic acts and prevent them from becoming complicit bystanders that unwittingly support immoral behavior.

Overall this book provides an insightful and interesting review of these concepts of good and evil. It shows that these are not beyond the reach of science and provides what I believe to be a good example of what value-oriented research can achieve. Focusing on great acts of harm, such as genocide, is extremely important. More often these forms of evil are overlooked in the history books, or as we can see in the case of the Armenian genocide, they are completely denied by their governments to this day. Understanding how events like this occur and how we can promote resistance helps us to prevent them from happening again. Defining and demonstrating what is good allows us not only to prevent evil, but to reshape institutions in ways they can promote good. As Peter Maurin said we want "to make that kind of society where it is easier for men to be good." For those wishing to get a better understanding of how altruistic and moral behavior ties into resisting acts of great evil, I would highly recommend this book.

This leads me to my two points of contention I have with the text. First, I would argue for the inclusion of covert forms of institutional evil, such as poverty, exploitation, or environmental destruction as types of radical evil. This is mainly because these things continue to be seen as "normal" aspects of our social system and finding new ways to problematize them may help refocus the uncritical lens from which many people approach them. My other point of contention is the need to be more skeptical of our social institutions that inhibit peoples' ability to do good, such as a capitalist economy or a bureaucratic state. Oliner does say we should incorporate these values of love and altruism into our education system (p. 190) and that no single approach will work on its own, but I think the analysis would have benefited from the inclusion of more examples of what we can do to create the "Good Society." Having heroes and promoting goodness on an individual level is very important, but we must also work to undermine hierarchy and domination at a broader level. Goodness must be cultivated along with justice. This is supported by Oliner's closing statement. "Education, moral role-modeling, love, caring for diverse others, respect, and social and economic justice for all may be the antidote for a divided world" (p.193). How we get there remains to be seen, but this book provides us with some valuable starting points.

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Part 3.

(Part I and Part 2 are in previous issues of this newsletter.)

Learned Caring Norms

As we develop into adults, many of us come to an awareness that we have been given a heritage of caring for others. Many of the respondents learned their caring behavior from others within their cultural and social upbringing, from the extended or immediate family, religious group or the community. Sixty-eight percent of moral exemplars and 77% of the clergy were motivated by learned caring norms to act on behalf of the community in which they live. Clary and Snyder's (1991) functional analysis of volunteerism identified that when the behavior was based upon a concern for others in need, humanitarian values, or a desire to contribute to society, it was described as serving a value-expressive function.[1] Christina Sinisi (1993) in her comprehensive dissertation deals with the motivations underlying volunteerism, and she found that parental nurturance and example, and parents' discipline style is associated with children's volunteering; mother's volunteering was a significant predictor of her children's volunteering.

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[1]Clary, E. Gil and Mark Snyder. 1991. "A Functional Analysis of Altruism and Prosocial Behavior: The Case of Voluntarism." Pp. 10, 119-148 in *Review of Personality and Social Psychology*, edited by M. Clark. London: Sage Publications, Inc; Krebs, Dennis L. and Frank Van Hesteren. 1992. "the Development of Altruistic Personality." P 142-169 in *Embracing the Other: Philosophical and Historical Perspectives on Altruism*, edited by Pearl. M. Oliner, Samuel P. Oliner, Lawrence Bacon, Lawrence A Blum, Dennis L Krebs and M. Zuzanna Smolenska. New York: New York University Press.

A Priest who works with homeless men and women learned from his mother the values of caring and compassion, helping anyone in need, and being inclusive of all people:

> I learned from my mother's openness, compassion, courage; she was one of those women who always responded to a poor man at the door and always welcomed the new and unwelcomed neighbors into the community. (Respondent 025)

Expectations from one's spiritual community can be a forceful external motivating factor, as can be seen by the example of this female clergy member who volunteers her time and spiritual strength to help those parishioners who might languish alone. She says that:

> In my particular Protestant Church, we're assigned a care member. It would be someone who is an adult in the community who feels that because they don't have family connections or friends they need contact or a visit, or phone calls, and people taking care of their emotional or spiritual needs. (Respondent 012)

A woman who teaches inmates at a prison facility was raised in a culture of sharing and giving, and was influenced by her family to do the right thing towards others. She now incorporates that in her life, as she testifies:

> My parents have always been very caring people. I don't think they have been necessarily involved in sort of formal volunteer work, but they have always given as much of their time and everything to other people. We always had people in our home, always opened up our home for them, especially back in Sudan for people who are on the street and things like that. And so remembering that as a young child I think has definitely influenced me to see that as a very normal part of someone's life. (Respondent 031)

Another exemplar, a philanthropist who heads a foundation providing mental health assistance adds:

> I learned how to love, how to both give love and how to receive love. I learned equality of every man and woman, that none of us are better than anyone else, that life isn't fair and there is a lot of unfairness, and inequality. (Respondent 033)

A Native American activist and writer shared how her upbringing led her to care for others:

> Through reading and writing, and other kinds of history, and in working to raise my brothers, I have learned things that required enormous patience. My parents had twins and they gave me one of them. They said, 'We have a well baby and baby that is kinda sick,' which was the case. They said, 'The well baby is yours.' So at age 5, I became the baby's mother. I mean I really thought that I was now the mother of the oldest twin and

then together we were kinda co-parents of my brother's younger twin. I never really looked at them as siblings. So my parents really were teaching all sorts of lessons by doing that. (Respondent 045)

This social worker and teacher was raised with the attitude of helping those in need and not expecting anything in return. He states:

> If there was someone who didn't have a place to stay, my mother would go and find the family a place to stay; sometimes they would live with us. At the end of the Second World War, there were lots of single men who were just riding the railroad cars all over California and every evening there would be seven or eight of those men who would come in the nice weather. My mother and grandmother would fix them dinner, feed them and give them a place to sleep either in the bunkhouse where my uncles stayed or in a little area there that was a covered area with a little trellis over the top. They'd fix them dinner at night and fix them breakfast in the morning. When children were in trouble or anything, my mother was always the one that was there. When people in our community died, my mother would fix a family dinner for everybody plus then the day after the funeral she would go and they would fix a large dinner for everybody.

He also remembers his father's kindness:

> My dad ran a grocery store and he just had policies that were incredible. Like when poor people would come and they didn't have money for food they would say, 'Can we charge food and pay you later?' He would say, 'Let's do it this way, let's give you the start, how about I give you food and if you get money you can come and pay me later, but you never feel like you are obliged.' (Respondent 054)

A Minister who grew up in a small Midwestern town speaks of his upbringing and culture of providing community support:

> In a small Midwestern rural community, you helped where there was a need. It was one thing that if people were in need; the neighbors came and helped. I've heard many stories of someone being sick and they couldn't get their fields planted so the neighboring farmers would come with their tractors and planters, and come and plant their field for them, or harvest it. So there was really that kind of community where you really helped one another. So I think that's one of the things that I learned and was taught that you're respectful, courteous, and you're helpful. (Respondent 014)

A woman who volunteers at the Jewish Community Center in San Francisco maintains her Jewish values:

I adopt Jewish values and so I don't see myself in terms of a small framework; I see myself as a participant in the world community. (Respondent 019)

A doctor in Humboldt County who offers medical care to people in need says:

I was raised with a kind of egalitarian idea. Also, I have a very loving family and a very expressive family. As I get older, I feel it's more and more important to be part of a community and part of a family, and that taking time to build and sustain those kind of relationships, and honoring those relationships as priorities in other decisions that are made, is important. Sometimes young people don't figure that out for a while. So, I think to me, I think of myself as being in a network or in a circle of people, and I help people. I help my friends when they need help and they help me. (Respondent 003)

A female clinical psychologist was raised with a sibling who suffered brain damage during birth; she grew up learning patience and love from her family:

From my mother, what she taught me was an enormous amount of patience in the face of difficult life situations that she was handed. One of the features in the family was my brother, the brother under me, and this was a major shaping factor in my life. When he was born, in the delivery process, forceps were used. He was brain damaged and never achieved an IQ level probably higher than 1. He lived to be 22. So, we wound up raising a profoundly retarded sibling my entire life, and I think that certainly had negative and positive effects on me in many, many ways. One of the things I learned from her was her ability to just care for this young boy in a very loving and patient way. Even if she went bonkers with the rest of us, she was really pretty accepting of what had befallen her; she accepted her fate that way. (Respondent 024)

This next woman, a rape crisis volunteer in Boston, believes that we learn from each other, and it is in the community where we learn about helping and where we join with others toward a common goal:

I don't believe we are all the same. My notion of connectedness is that we are all human beings. It is learning to be part of the "we" which is bigger than all of us and something we create together. And that is not a loss of individuality. We are working toward a common goal and our capacity to create a sense of connection isn't the work of helping others, but of joining others; joining in a shared vision that we are all needing to move into. There is never an, 'I'm not there, you're not there.' If you aren't there, we're not there. It is so fundamental to the model. (Respondent 035)

A medical doctor who established a home for impoverished people with AIDS shares his insight into learning from others and giving back:

Yeah, because when people who are very different with very different needs come together, people find that they can meet other peoples' needs. And even people who don't think that they have needs discover that people who might look like they have a lot of needs can help them in ways. So that you, like at our home, our Joseph's House,

we are working with men who clearly have some very deep needs with their AIDS and dying and poverty, and yet every person that works there would say that they are transformed by those relationships with those 'needy men.' And so by living in a community with people that are sort of from across the economic and social spectrum, people find their needs being met in a very rich way. (Respondent 055)

This man, a lifelong volunteer, shares his enthusiasm for helping with others in his community:

That's one neat thing about this community - an experience that I've had is that I've developed this huge circle of people I keep in contact with and seem to have a commonality of views with…. (Respondent 009)

This woman lives in an area surrounded by giant redwoods, and she spends much of her time making sure that the often-neglected environment is cared for:

I spend most of my energy on trying to improve the community within which I live, and the way I see it needs improving or I would like to see it improved is by a better connection to the environment, and by being better stewards of the environment. For me personally, I spend my energy on trying to make…trying to ensure this very special and unique place we live in, Humboldt County, is going to be somewhat protected and taken care of. And that we are just not going to destroy this place. So it's on the environment that I spend most of my energy; my mental energy, my spiritual energy, and my physical energy. (Respondent 034)

An academician has applied her degree to improving the 'real world.' She is the director of a residential education center for hardcore ex-felons and drug addicts in the San Francisco Bay Area. She describes her father's influence:

He had the ability to reflect to anyone in his presence how terrific that person was. So you would spend time with him, and you would leave thinking, 'God, I'm good.' I didn't know that I was learning it at the moment. It wasn't until I was older and stepped back and analyzed it. But what I did know was that he was just incredibly good, incredibly kind, incredibly loving. (Respondent 052)

A community volunteer for more than thirty years with the League of Women Voters and Little League says:

We were fairly poor growing up, and the most important lesson I learned was that we always had something to share – it didn't matter how poor or rich we were. We had time to share, we had food; whatever we owned we could share.

She continues:

There is a scripture in the Bible that says, 'To whom much is given, much is required,' and I think I have been given much. So it has been important that I give back and give back in an important way, and give to my community and to my people – the people around me; and to give when asked when it's been something I believe in. I believe in many community projects and I believe strongly in educated public so they can make good decisions, which is why I belong to the league. Libraries have always been important to me; I grew up in a family that used libraries. There are teachers in my background, and I'm married to a teacher, so that's just such an important part of society, and that seemed like a good place to put my energies. (Respondent 047)

A volunteer chaplain learned a sense of rightness and helping from his parents:

My mother taught me, I think, to be gracious and respectful to all people. My father taught me to be levelheaded, to be honest, forthright, to be moral. My father has a great sense of doing what's right. My mother was an intuitive and just could sense other people, and if they needed to be listened to, she listened. If they needed to be helped, she helped, but not in big ways, in ways that made people seek her out for years. (Respondent 048)

This woman is a community organizer and expert witness for battered women. Her learning came from her parents, particularly her mother:

From my mother I learned that the violence of war becomes embodied and that it affects every structure in the system, especially the belief system. She was in Kampon when the Japanese invaded, and she saw a tremendous amount of atrocities during the war. So, I believe that violence has deep cellular consequences. I learned that just because you work hard doesn't mean that you succeed. She certainly worked hard but the social system didn't really care about a single mom with three kids. But I learned that if you just keep taking care of what needs to be taken care of, that you choose your life, you can survive. (Respondent 053)

A male clergy member feels that some important aspects of caring norms are:

To be honest, to tell the truth, you know. And to be generous, to be giving of your life and not to count the costs. Both Mom and Dad would tell us that they measured each one of us individually and when they would have their occasions, when they would get angry, both Mom and Dad would take us aside, and kind of talk to us without condemning us. They would tell us that it is okay to have those feelings (anger), but to clarify that we cannot act on those feelings right away, to take a deep breath and for 20 seconds meditate, and things like that. Twenty years later when I read one of the Dalai Lama's works I appreciated that. (Respondent 064)

A Catholic Nun talks about her mother's teachings:

My mother gave me a strong sense of being a support of one's neighbor and not defining

neighbor narrowly, but in the broadest sense. (Respondent 067)

Another Catholic Priest said that his father taught him values of caring for other people, and hard

work:

My father worked very hard and cared for others. He expected the same from other people.

(Respondent 079)

A Rabbi said that what influenced him most was the teaching of the great Hebrew scholar and Rabbi,

Hillel, and his "silver rule":

Do not do unto another what you would not want them to do unto you. People tend to
think of the 'Golden Rule' as something that is sort of universal and I stress that there is
a difference between a 'prestrictive' morality and a 'prostrictive' morality. Whereas in
the prostrictive it says, "You don't do this, you just don't" and the prestrictive says, "Do
this." Do unto others has a whole different flavor to it from my perspective.
(Respondent 082)

Commonality

By commonality, we mean that one has a lot in common with other human beings, and that they are

children of the same God, irrespective of color, race, or gender. So, a person who strongly adheres to a sense

of commonality does not separate himself or herself from diverse others, but feels a common bond. This char-

acteristic was reflective of 65% of moral exemplars and 79% of clergy who felt they had some commonality

with other groups. John Gai, Professor of Social Work at Humboldt State University, believes that while all

people are capable of volunteering, individuals who have a sense of spirituality and a feeling of commonality

with all of humanity are more likely to volunteer. In other research regarding helping and commonality, Tur-

niansky and Cwikel (1996), in a study of 160 members of an Israeli kibbutz found that the motives for helping

were based on socialist and egalitarian principles. Adams (1991), examined 159 articles published in 19 popular

magazines between 1980 and 1989, which focused on motivations for volunteering and charitable giving. He

finds that Americans make charitable gifts because they want to help other people, especially people with whom

they share communities.

As a corporate director of a foundation, this man tries to get money for all underprivileged people in society and sometimes works *pro bono*. He shares humanity with others rather than specific group identities:

> In the context of servicehood, it's not for money, it's not for ego, and it's in the strength of knowing that my role as one of many persons is involved in trying to improve the well-being and the condition of humankind. While I am a Hispanic, I am mindful and committed to the notion that we cannot forget the people left behind regardless of their race, color, religious preference and so on. (Respondent 018)

This man helps kids get a second chance, and is earnest about his work, not just with kids, but human beings in general:

> As far as knowing more about me, I want to emphasize one simple thing, and that is you cannot mass-produce human beings. Social programs fail because they look for a formula. There is no formula; each person is individual and has to be treated that way. Anything else and you dehumanize them in both your own mind and theirs. There's not a magic answer – each person is different, and unless you keep that in mind, you'll never succeed. And I think politicians who are looking for 5-minute sound bites or 5-second sound bites do more harm than good simply because they create programs that do more to hurt the persons' self-esteem than help them. These are not victims; these are not homeless. These are human beings. (Respondent 030)

This teacher approaches altruism in a more practical than an ideal sense, and feels complete by doing what she can:

> I don't really care if anybody knows what I do, but I do feel that I couldn't live with myself if I…I know I can't capture and help every stray animal, and I can't help every kid that needs help, or help every person in the world, but what little I can do, then I feel I have done what I was supposed to do. And I feel people come to you for a reason. Everybody teaches you something. Not only do you help them, but they also help you. (Respondent 016)

This director of a Native American development council encourages the native people to retain their culture while they find some commonality with the dominant culture. He says:

> I guess my overall goal is to…encourage American Indian people to stay committed to their traditions and values, to learn their language and to know about their family and

their sacred geography, but to still be able to participate actively in dominant society. (Respondent 041)

A Catholic Priest said:

When asked,' How do we reduce polarization and prejudice and discrimination regarding the other, the outsider?' He responded, 'With friendship, respect, love and trust.' (Respondent 070)

Two other Priests added:

You must be willing to be stretched, and that doesn't mean that everyone has to join the Peace Corps, but look for opportunities where you may be with persons who may be of a different culture, religion, and nationality. Allow that experience to transform you. (Respondent 067)

I have been here in this parish for almost twenty years and I think that there is a spirit of tolerance present here, which I can really see between our two different cultures. We have a very active, visible Hispanic culture. We say Hispanic mass and I do see, not only in our Church community, there is more acceptance of each other, tolerance towards different approaches to life. But I really see that in the part of the community at large, that there is a greater respect and appreciation for our migrant farm workers then there was when I first got here. That is indicated by how much support we're getting in providing them with decent housing. (Respondent 065)

Empathy

Empathy is feeling another person's emotional or physical pain. The empathic person has experienced pain and wants to relieve others of that pain (Koenig 2001; Koenig 2002). We found that 55% of moral exemplars and 73% of the clergy were motivated to become active in the community on the behalf of others. The desire to help others is generally a strong motivating factor in various other avenues of help, including volunteerism, generally, and particularly volunteerism in the hospice institutions. The strong desire for clergy to help others might be expected since they have been socialized to be more empathetic and compassionate in their profession. Empathy was an important variable in other research of volunteers and social workers. Allen and Rushton (1983) reviewed nineteen studies of community mental health workers and found them to be more empathic. Omoto and Snyder's (1990) study of AIDS volunteers found a correlation between an individual's personal characteristics as the primary motivation for volunteering, and those with value-expressive

functions of nurturance and empathy as their main motivation. Dancy and Wynn-Dancy (1995), in a study of the elderly, found that several features were embodied in the act of caring, including a level of knowing, patience, courage, trust, and hope. Intrinsic to the concept of genuine caring is the volunteers' ability to empathize, empower, and engage with the geriatric client. Omoto and Snyder (2002) approach the psychology of volunteering, and specifically AIDS volunteers within the AIDS community. They found that often times the volunteers feel a sense of humanitarian obligation and concern for those with AIDS. Empathy was found to be an important variable in studies of mental health workers, AIDS volunteers, and volunteers for the elderly.

We asked Lorey Keele, a former member of the Humboldt County Human Rights Commission with much experience as a supervisor with volunteers, why some people volunteer. She believes that people feel that they have a gift to offer; the gift that comes in giving and forgiving; that they have channeled their compassion, passion, and empathy in a particular way, or they feel that they can do that.

A Pastor in Humboldt County, who maintains a Parish and works with the campus ministry at Humboldt State University, stresses doing as the Bible states:

> If my purpose for being here is out of compassion for you or vice versa, then I am going to be here for your benefit. And, if you're hungry, I am going to feed you. If you are lonely, I'm going to give you company. (Respondent 001)

A professor and activist in Marin County helps immigrants with legal problems. He says:

> I think there's a natural empathy for people that needs to be cultivated. (Respondent 007)

A woman who directs a literary project helps people who are trying to understand who they are:

> I try to understand better where they come from and how they look at things, and what's reasonable for them, instead of judging people according to what's reasonable for me. (Respondent 017)

A Lutheran Minister and foster father expresses it this way:

> Putting yourself in another person's shoes and walking their path brings understanding. (Respondent 022)

A nurse and artist feels that empathy is part of her identity:

> I think one of the things I enjoy so much about my work is being with people who are going through terrible circumstances and being able to try and bring joy to their time

spent with me, even if it's just a tiny glimpse. Even if I only see somebody for a minute, if they've had a terrible day, if they go away feeling better, to me that's a privilege to have been able to do that. I think that that's a big part of who I am. (Respondent 049)

A social worker and professor helps the community and wants others to extend their love and help if and when they can. He says:

I would say my ultimate goal would be to be present to people when they are struggling. To help them find in themselves the inner strength and in their families, and the systems, which in part have the strength to heal and to support them while they do that. I hope to let them experience being cared for and loved unconditionally and to help them find the ability to extend that love inside themselves to others. (Respondent 054)

Empathy can grow as one works with and learns about diverse populations. This clinical psychologist emphasizes the need for empathy and caring. She says:

What I have done has certainly shaped and enlightened my awareness of how people have suffered and how people are in need of compassion, response, and real concrete help. (Respondent 024)

A rural medical doctor who offers medical care to people in need shares parts of her personal life and upbringing that guided her in her reasons for helping. She elaborates:

There are a lot of pieces to that. The piece of being an adopted child, the piece of being a child of a chronic pain patient – hearing complaints of how doctors were not filling the healthcare needs of the community – constantly growing up; a piece of knowing what homelessness is like, knowing poverty personally; of knowing what it means to be an abused spouse. Those are all pieces.

She continues…

The goals of the clinic are to help a homeless family that comes through the door, not only with medication in their physical needs, but also with housing and mental heath and essentially teaching people to be constructive members of society, I think that is, for me, a moral issue. Because immorality to me is turning your back and saying "that's not my problem," "I don't know any homeless people," or "they're just lazy." Washing one's hands of it or saying "I would never be there. I am safe." I have seen all kinds of fill in the blank notions as to why one could be safe from these terrible things that happen to other people. But the reality is that we are not. We all could be there, so it is essentially caring for one's fellow human beings. (Respondent 038)

To give of one's time, talent, or money may stem from walking a mile in another's shoes, or it may come from an intellectual understanding of where those shoes have been. This empathic trait of shared feeling

is part of this volunteer who does what she can at any time, and can connect on a level that others have yet to experience:

> Well, the man who was sitting outside of Payless with his hand out and his eyes cast down, and I put 50 cents into his hand, and I held his hand for a second and looked into his eyes, and he looked at me in a way that conveyed that no one had held his hand in a long time. (Respondent 053)

A Catholic Priest told us of his mother's valuable influence:

> The greatest lesson my mother ever told me was that to be so kind that everybody who is not kind to you made their unkindness absolutely ridiculous. It has to do with forgiveness and compassion. It is the only revenge that is permitted to a Christian. It is not revenge unless it is done pompously or arrogantly. When I see people carrying around anger and resentment I just feel sorry for them. That anybody should spend so much of their life and energy wasted on such a useless resentment…And their talents wasted. They are probably some of the most talented people I know, and yet they have wasted it in so many ways. (Respondent 085)

A male Rabbi states that:

> Empathy is a real attempt to be accepting and to have reverence of the others, no matter how different they might be from us. (Respondent 078)

A Catholic Priest said that he has learned to care for other people and wants to accommodate people's real needs…loving your neighbor as yourself is one of the precepts that he has acquired. (Respondent 070)

Another Catholic Priest said that he was greatly influenced by saints:

> …people like the Pope and Mother Theresa, these people giving of their lives. Talk about altruism, right? That's all there is, twenty- four hours a day for these people. Can you imagine what it is like to live in the slums of Calcutta? Faith and altruism are ultimately linked to these people. It's not just humanitarianism; it's more than that. (Respondent 080)

Efficacy

Efficacy, or the sense that one has confidence and is skilled in what they are doing, was a motivating factor in 42% of moral exemplars and 49% of clergy. A number of subjects express self-confidence and are

willing to accept the challenge of helping**.** Past research on efficacious motivation was done in Allen and Rushton's (1983) study of mental health workers, who were found to be self-efficacious and emotionally stable, with higher internalized standards of morality and more positive attitudes towards themselves and others.

One Nun said that she has come to appreciate and accept challenges and that she is not easily swayed by public opinion. Rather, she feels that she wants to do what is right. (Respondent 069)

A volunteer and genealogist expresses her positive outlook for why she does what she does:

I guess I would say the most important message is that it isn't material goals to

seek but to strive for whatever the best is in you, with your particular gifts that God or life has given you or your talents; to try and bring them out in you. And as long as you're alive there's still time to get these talents to come out, and in that way you'll probably be happiest and you can help other people around you. (Respondent 012)

This doctor states that she can only do so much for the community and must be satisfied with it:

One person can only do so much. I can't solve any of those problems, and I think what we really need to have is a single payer health care system for everyone in the country like all the other developed countries in the world have. I can't bring that about on my own. So, I just can do what I can do and be satisfied with that. I don't have any illusions that I could accomplish all those things by myself. (Respondent 003)

Efficacy is not only about one's confidence in doing the required work, but also includes confidence that good deeds will help one to grow as a human being. This doctor, who cares for the homeless with AIDS, says he benefits personally from the work he does:

The great benefit of doing this work is the personal growth that I get as a human being, to where I benefit more than anybody else benefits from this work. So, I learn something, I am inspired, I am excited. The rewards and the personal growth are the greatest part of this whole thing. (Respondent 060)

This martial arts instructor identifies with his accomplishments and helps others to set their goals. He shares his thoughts:

To be consistent; to never give up; to set a goal and achieve it, no matter what and that's what a lot of my life has been. My wife will make comments to me – she says, 'You set your goals too high.' And I tell her that, 'No, I don't set my goals too high. I set them as high as I can so I can achieve as much as I can.' I look at my life as a drop in the scheme of things; it's gonna be here, and it's gonna be gone. (Respondent 039)

A clinical psychologist/criminologist shares the challenges she faces helping ex-felons become successful:

Most of my energy at Delancy Street goes to believing in people who don't believe in themselves, don't believe in society, don't believe in hope; and as a matter of fact whose energy go in totally the opposite direction. They really are fairly destructive, they're self-destructive for sure, and they're angry and hateful, and fairly destroying anything anybody else has. And most of my energy goes to the tug of war to teach them how to hope, and believe, to become good, and to climb a mountain, to try to make things better, and to help other people; instead of take from them, to give to them. And that underlies every single thing I do every day. (Respondent 052)

This Humboldt County volunteer, involved for over thirty years in establishing recycling centers, working for Girl Scouts and The League of Women Voters, has a sense of efficacy based on talking and taking action:

I think my philosophy is about fairness and integrity. It's an acceptance of differences. It's a wise use of my abilities and my resources. In the past, when my income has been higher, it's been important for me to use that wisely to help people when necessary, to help other people. And to be the kind of person that I want people to see. I don't want to be a person that people would say, 'Well she says such and such, but she does this.' To me that would be detrimental to my feeling about myself; I would feel very guilty if people didn't see who I was, that they saw something different, or I tried to present something different. That wouldn't fit. (Respondent 042)

A Priest has the following advice for young people on how to be a useful member of society:

Be truthful with yourself. Develop skills and self-confidence. Have personal honesty. To have integrity requires honesty about your own feelings and to know who you are and what you are about and that you are competent. (Respondent 070)

Apology and Forgiveness

During the research on moral exemplars, I became interested in apology and forgiveness and the role they might play in the exemplary and the helping life. I hypothesized that there is a relationship between empathy, altruistic behavior, and forgiveness. So, I contacted my sample of 60 moral exemplars and asked them to complete a forgiveness scale questionnaire. I then expanded the sample to include Priests, Nuns, Ministers, and Rabbis. Moral exemplars scored 87% while clergy scored 92% on forgiveness.

Apology and forgiveness is an important two-sided coin. As defined above, apology means that the offender feels, acknowledges and expresses regret for a harm committed and expresses an intention to make reparations to the person harmed, and also makes a genuine promise to change his or her behavior. Forgiveness is the willingness to abandon one's right to resentment, negative judgements, and indifferent behavior to one who has unjustly injured the victim, while fostering the undeserved qualities of compassion, generosity, and even love towards the offender. Forgiveness sometimes occurs without apology because the harmed person is so motivated. Sometimes apology is given but forgiveness was not forthcoming because the harmed individual could not forgive the hurt.

In expressing the importance of apology and forgiveness, a male Rabbi said:

> Before forgiveness, there needs to be a recognized apology, contrition, an assurance that further offenses will not take place and that the offender understands the pain they have caused others. Apology is absolutely important if it is followed by genuine reparation, remediation, and reconciliation. Otherwise, it remains just words. (Respondent 071)

A Catholic Priest said:

> …if apology or forgiveness doesn't happen, I think that it just creates war and barriers, and the relationship will not go anywhere besides perhaps diminish. So I think it is vital to all human relations. (Respondent 063)

Another Catholic Priest, in emphasizing the importance of apology, in particular, the Pope's apology said:

I was very proud. It was inspiring, really. It raised the bar when he said that we have been arrogant, hurtful and cruel to others. (Respondent 074)

A Rabbi, also speaking in some detail about the necessity of apology said:

I encourage people to cultivate a capacity of forgiveness so that if by some miracle the person who hurt you shows up, or makes a phone call, which can happen, that you have the capacity to forgive…I oppose the opposite, which would be holding onto the anger, nourishing the anger, feeling the hurt, and trying to keep the feeling of hurt alive. (Respondent 083)

A Nun said that an apology is very important because:

I feel that if you hurt someone and if you still have to deal with the individual, whether you live with them or work with them, you cannot have a relationship or means of communication that are going to be in a positive way, if you don't first reconcile with the harm doer. (Respondent 069)

A Protestant Minister, who maintains that apology and forgiveness is very important, said:

People will not be able to live in nurturing, sustaining, and trusting relationships without an avenue for apology and forgiveness. (Respondent 207)

Another Rabbi said that apologies are crucial between groups and individuals. They demonstrate that attitudes can change and repair can occur. (Respondent 112)

And a Catholic Priest added:

I believe that apology and forgiveness is the only option we have in order to achieve peace. (Respondent 089)

This Protestant Minister emphasized the importance of apology and forgiveness when he said:

An apology may soften the heart of the offending party. This opens up further to conversation,

which leads to better understanding between two parties and may lead to mutual forgiveness. (Respondent 105)

Dr Andrew Weil, "The Healer MD," encapsulates and summarizes the powerful gift of forgiveness in an article regarding the upcoming new year. He says:

> As one year ends and another begins, you may wish to take stock of your mental health. Are you holding onto any anger and hurt from the past that's interfering with your emotional well-being? If so, perhaps one of the best gifts you can give yourself is the ability to forgive. Long a tenet of many religions, forgiveness is now being studied in scientific circles. And there's good evidence that it's a powerful healing agent for body, mind, and spirit. I've noticed that people who are able to forgive say it lifts a psychic burden and offers a profound sense of relief and inner peace.[2]

Next we turn to our presentation of our research on apology and forgiveness.

Over the summer of 2003, I interviewed three Kentucky Religious Communities who apologized to African Americans for participating in slavery. In 2001, as part of a wider effort by Catholics worldwide to repent for the mistreatment of others, the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Sisters of Loretto, and the Dominicans of Saint Catherine, decided to look at the past in order to confront "the enduring sin of racism." Slaves had cleared the land and built the Church in the early 1800's, and these communities had historically – prior to 1860 -- had sisters come to the convent with slaves as dowries. The Sisters regret that their communities did not do more to oppose the system of slavery, and they struggle to understand the role that slavery played in their past. The Nuns also acknowledged that racial segregation has existed in their orders. The apology took place at a Church in Bardstown, Kentucky, and was attended by nearly 400 people. The Dominicans of Saint Catherine also apologized for the burning of African-American Churches in the United States by issuing a statement in 1996 proclaiming…"to promote the dignity of persons…transform unjust structures…and work against the violence that alienates and marginalizes."

The African-American community in Kentucky accepted the apology of the three religious communities. Elaine Riley, an African-American Nun, said, "We hear you, we have listened to your stories, and we

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[2]Wiel, Andrew. Dr. The Gift of Forgiveness. Self Healing: Creating Natural Health for your Body and Mind. December 2003. Pp1. See Also: Smedes, Lewis B. 1984. *Forgive: Healing the Hurts We Don't Deserve.* New York, NY: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc.

humbly accept your apology." She cautioned that there are steps to be taken in the healing process and that a close connection must be established with the African-American community.

Deacon James Turner also accepted the apology, stating, "May God of all understanding forgive you and grant you peace." A communal promise to continue fighting against racism was pledged. Other members of the African-American community rejoiced in the power of the apology, offered forgiveness and commented on how all of their ancestors, black and white, were "Crying tears of joy in heaven." The three orders have since established scholarships for minorities in their high schools and colleges, and continue to make efforts to bring racial diversity to their various boards, especially on the local level. For more than a year after the service, racially mixed groups from the reconciliation service continued to meet regularly. The primary focus continues to be eradicating racism on many societal levels.

Another example of apology took place in Humboldt Country in Northern California on May 4th, 2001. On this day a group of clergy approached a Native American tribe, the Wiyot, and its council in order to apologize for racism and oppression, but most specifically for a massacre that took place February 25th, 1860, on Indian Island. They offered a signed statement of apology, which said,

"Recognizing that the land upon which we gather was once Wiyot tribal land, as was this whole Arcata/Eureka area, we consider it a supreme honor to have you here tonight as Native hosts to this conference. We have become increasingly aware in recent years of the history between our peoples. To say 'We are sorry' for the past injustices and atrocities, including the Indian Island Massacre, seems so little to offer, so miniscule when compared with the horrific nature of what your people suffered. But sorry we are indeed. We choose not to hide behind the excuse that 'These were sins of prior generations.' We recognize that the community and Church leaders of our race, though they did not all agree with the wickedness involved, did precious little, if anything, to find the guilty parties or bring them to justice. Little if anything was done to make amends or restitution.

Although we cannot represent our entire race, we of the Christian Churches in our community acknowledge to you our guilt and humbly ask for your forgiveness. We empathize with you and your desire to own Indian Island again and to build a center of remembrance for the lives of your people that were so brutally destroyed. Tonight we present to you the first fruits of our commitment to partner with you in buying the land and building that center. With hearts full of love for you and desire for your full restoration as a people, we present this gift of $1,000.00. And we pledge our ongoing intention to pray for you and to work with you in this endeavor until its completion."

Since that date, the churches and others have raised more funds and have donated them to the Wiyot tribe in order to purchase Indian Island. This apology and request for forgiveness is a hopeful example of what we hope is a trend for groups, both religious and political, to attempt to try to restore relations between people harmed by their forebears. While apologies to native peoples in several countries took place before the dramatic and well-publicized apology by Pope John Paul II, the Pope's apology has given impetus to others to apologize.

United States Catholic leaders, such a Cardinal William Keeler, gave apology following the lead of Pope John Paul II. Cardinals Mahony of Los Angeles, and Law of Boston, apologized on behalf of the Church for sexual abuse, racism, anti-Semitism and the mistreatment of women and homosexuals. Bishops in Colorado and Oakland, as well as the Archbishop of Santa Fe sought pardon from the American Indians and others for missionary actions during colonization. They said that it is all part of the Church's observance of a Jubilee Year, meant to coincide with the 2,000[th] anniversary of the birth of Christ. In Jewish tradition, jubilee years were marked by acts of grace such as forgiving debts and releasing prisoners. The Church admits to having not led the way to social justice at times when the government sanctioned slavery, segregation, and gender inequality. It is all part of an effort toward a building of inter-religious and ecumenical relationships. Some apologies were too little, some too late, but others were welcomed and viewed as positive steps toward gradual social change.

Next, we describe the sample and some statistical findings.

In this study, 435 respondents were asked about forgiveness. The sample consists of 4 groups: 60 moral exemplars, 77 clergy members (Catholics Priests and Nuns, Protestant Ministers, and Conservative and Reform Rabbis), 242 students (from Humboldt State University and the College of the Redwoods), and 56 respondents from a general population sample who are neither moral exemplars, students nor members of clergy. Of the total sample of respondents, 32.9% are older than 45 years of age, while 67.1% of total respondents are younger than 45 years of age. This study includes 51.4% males and 48.6% females. It is clear that the sam-

ple is skewed towards younger respondents, and that a broader, more balanced sample will help clarify and confirm these results.

We then compare the data on moral exemplars with the new research with 77 members of the clergy. We used moral exemplars and clergy for comparison because we had the most complete data and we wanted to see how they relate on the motivating dimensions listed above.

Next, we describe the important relationship between the first eight motivating dimensions and forgiveness, which is the most recent variable in the study.

I began by asking if respondents had been hurt or offended in a serious way by someone in the recent past, 92.8% of all respondents answered in the affirmative. By category, approximately 86% of the moral exemplars had been hurt or offended by someone in the recent past; only 67.7% of clergy members had been hurt or offended by someone in the recent past; 97.9% of students and 98% of the general population sample admitted to being hurt or offended in the recent past. This suggests that an overwhelming percentage of the population has been hurt or offended in a serious way by someone in the recent past.

Moral exemplars were not asked the following four questions because we did not have the opportunity to interview them using the later interview schedule. When asked if the offender had asked for forgiveness, 69.7% of the total sample answered yes, while 30.3% answered that the offender had not asked them for forgiveness. The clergy samples reported that only 16.7% of the offenders asked for forgiveness, while 83.3% of clergy members claim that there has been no attempt made to ask for forgiveness. Of the total student sample, 76.5% of the respondents had been asked for forgiveness by the offender, while 23.5% had not. Approximately 83.3% of the general population says that the person who hurt them asked for forgiveness, and 16.7% did not.

When asked if the respondents have hurt or offended someone in the recent past, 91.7% of the total sample answered in the affirmative. Approximately 67.2% of clergy say that they have hurt or offended someone in the recent past. Approximately 96.3% of the students admit to having hurt or offended someone in

the recent past.

When asked whether the offenders in our total sample had asked for forgiveness for hurting or offending others, 94.2% of the total sample answered, "Yes." About 95.2% of the clergy said that they have asked for forgiveness. Approximately 93% of students say that they have asked for forgiveness, and 98.1% of the general population sample answered that they have asked for forgiveness.

When asked how important is it for an offending person or group to apologize to the offended person or group, 94.2% of the total sample agreed that apology is either very or mildly important. In detail, 91% of the clergy believe that apology is very important, and 96% of the student sample and 96.4% of the general population sample believe that apology is either very or mildly important.

A thirty-item likert[3] scale on forgiveness was administered to the sample. Groups included: moral exemplars, clergy, students, and the general population. For this aspect of the study, Catholic Priests and Protestant Ministers were included in the sample of clergy. However, a mean forgiveness score for Conservative and Reform Rabbis was calculated using Berry and Worthington's (2001) 10-item likert scale rather than the 30-item scale.[4] Respondents chose responses from the following categories: Strongly agree, Mildly agree, Mildly Disagree, Strongly Disagree, and Don't Know. For the purpose of computation, responses of "Don't Know" were identified as missing data. Responses to 25 of the 30-items were then compiled to give an overall forgiveness score. Based on a range from one to 100, a mean forgiveness score of 77.26 was identified for the entire sample. A mean forgiveness score was then calculated for each group of respondents. Scores above 77.26 indicate that a group is more forgiving than the total sample. Conversely, a score below 77.26 would indicate that the group is less forgiving in comparison to the overall sample.

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[3]Unfortunately, I discovered later that the thirty-item forgiveness scale may have been more useful, hence, we adopted the thirty-item after the initial research.
[4]The Enright Forgiveness Inventory (EFI) User's Manual. Robert D. Enright, Ph.D., Julio Rique, Ph.D., Catherine T. Coyle; Ellen Idler, Ph.D. Multidimensional Measurement of Religiousness/Spirituality for Use in Health Research: A Report of the Fetzer Institute International Institution on Aging Working Group. October 1999. pp.35-37; Jack W. Berry and Everett L. Worthington, Jr. Virginia Commonwealth University. Dispositional Forgivingness: Development and Construct Validity of the Transgression Narrative Test of Forgivingness (TNTF).

Using the overall forgiveness mean, clergy were well above the average mean of 77.26, scoring 85.05, while moral exemplars scored 83.38. The general population sample scored 81.77, which suggests that they also are more forgiving than average. Interestingly, Humboldt State University and College of the Redwoods students fell below the average calculated mean, with a mean forgiveness score of 73.88. This suggests that students may in fact be less forgiving than moral exemplars, clergy members, and even the general population sample. Could this lower mean score be a result of other factors, like age or educational level?

In comparing age to forgiveness, it was found that those who are 45 and older have a mean forgiveness score of 81.28, while those under the age of 45 have a forgiveness mean of 74.33. This may suggest that those respondents who are 45 years of age and older may in fact be more forgiving than those under the age of 45. In taking this a step further, 77.6% of moral exemplars, 89.2% of clergy members, and 71.4% of the general population sample are older than 45 years old, whereas only 7.8% of student respondents are 45 or older, while 92.2% of student respondents are younger than 45 years old. This analysis indicates that the student sample may be less forgiving because most of them are younger than 45 years old. This generally supports the notion that younger generations are less forgiving than their elders. The results of our tests of significance based on comparisons of age and forgiveness (.000), indicate the observed relationship is statistically significant. It would be useful to be able to follow the younger respondents and see if their measure of forgiveness increases with age and maturity.

When looking at forgiveness in relation to gender, one may suspect that females are more forgiving than males. However, upon further statistical analysis, results show that female and male forgiveness means are very similar, with females having a mean forgiveness score of 76.61, and males having a mean forgiveness score of 75.36. These results suggest that gender does not have any bearing, or significance, on forgiveness. As indicated by our tests (.376), the relationship is not statistically significant.

Lastly, we looked at how forgiving the total sample is related to education level. Respondents were asked to identify the highest level of education attained. Categories presented included: Some College, College BA or BS, Postgraduate, and an Advanced Degree. Those with some college experience posted a mean

forgiveness score of 73.90, while those with a college BA or BS had a mean forgiveness score of 79.77.

Those with a graduate degree had a mean forgiveness score of 86.17 and those with an advanced degree had a mean forgiveness score of 81.90. Analysis of the level of the respondents' education and forgiveness (.000) indicates that the relationship is in fact statistically significant, and cannot be attributed to sampling error.

When looking at overall sample frequencies, 79.9% of respondents strongly or mildly agree that they can forgive a friend for almost anything and 92% of respondents strongly or mildly agree that people who apologize and truly want reconciliation should be forgiven by those they have hurt. Of the total sample, 97% of respondents believe that forgiveness helps to begin the reconciliation process, and 96.2% of respondents believe that when you forgive, you take an important step toward mending and rebuilding the relationship between the offended and the wrongdoer.

Other findings were that women in this sample were less impressed with the Pope's apology because he did not say anything about women's access to the Priesthood. Younger and more educated Priests and Nuns appear to be more liberal and feel that apology and forgiveness is a very important step toward healing pain, and the sooner we begin to get consciously involved in this process, the better it will be for the harmed and the harm doer.

Conclusion

This preliminary and exploratory research examines the characteristics and motivations of people who help others. Social scientists have found that altruistic behavior is motivated by religiosity/spirituality, empathy, compassion, social responsibility, and other factors reported above in this study. The literature also shows a positive association between altruism and forgiveness, prayer, and physical and mental health.[5]

[5]McCullough, M., et al. 1999. Religion and the Forgiving Personality; Hales, Dianne. 2003. Why Prayer Could be Good Medicine; Duncan, S. 2000. Family Matters: Forgiveness is Healthy; Jampolsdy. 1999. Forgiveness: The Greatest Healer; Helmich, R., et al. 2001; Augsburger, David. 1970. *The Freedom of Forgivenes.*. Chicago: Moody Press; Dawson, John. 1994. Healing America's Wounds. Ventura, Ca: Regal Books; De Quincey, Christian. "Data and the Divine." *Ions Neotic Science Review* 65, September - November 2003, p. 16-19. Forgiveness and Religion; Canale, Joseph R. 1990. Altruism and Forgiveness as Therapeutic Agents in Psychotherapy; Green, Daniel R. 2003; Gobodo Madikizela, Pulma. 2003. *A Human Being Died that Night*. NY: Houghton Mifflin Company; Hemlick, Raymond G., S.J. and Rodney L. Perersen, eds. 2001. Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Religion, Public Policy, and Conflict Transformation. Philadelphia, PA: Templeton Foundation Press. Forgiveness: Faith, Practice, and Psychological Findings; Duncan, Steve. 2000. Forgiveness is Healthy; O'Connor, Eileen. 1999. Forgiveness Heals the Heart, Research Hints; McCullough, Michael E. and Everett L. Worthington, Jr. 1997. Interpersonal Forgiving in Close Relationships; McCullough, Michael E., Kenneth I. Pargament, and Carl E. Thoresen. 1999. Forgiveness: Theory, Research, and Practice; Lederach, John Paul. 1999. *The Journey Toward Reconciliation*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press. Wuthnow, Robert. 1993. *Acts of Compassion: Caring for Others and Helping Ourselves*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

I decided to pursue this association empirically by using a forgiveness scale and an open-ended questionnaire, and expanded the sample of moral exemplars to include clergy, college students, and a general population sample for comparison purposes.

I want to summarize briefly some salient factors that this research can confidently put forth:

The literature, as well as our data, shows that there is a relationship between helping and forgiveness.

Those who score high on altruistic behavior are more likely to forgive those that harmed them.

There is a positive relationship between empathy, love, social responsibility and forgiveness.

Moral exemplars, including clergy, scored higher on forgiveness than the younger members of our sample, specifically students.

Of the total sample, 97.9% said that they have hurt or offended someone and 91% reported that some-one had hurt or offended them. Eighty three percent have asked for forgiveness and 91% stated that they have forgiven someone.

The table below shows you the scores of both clergy and moral exemplars, and how they compare on the motivating variables.

Table 1 Comparison of the Scores of Moral Exemplars and Clergy on the Nine Variables

	Moral Exemplars	Clergy
Religiosity/Spirituality	87%	96%
Social Responsibility	80%	89%
Identity and Moral Goals	77%	89%
Self-Esteem	73%	81%
Learned Caring Norms	68%	77%
Commonality	65%	79%
Empathy	55%	73%
Efficacy	42%	49%
Forgiveness	87%	92%

We were also interested to see how our sample responded to the Pope's dramatic apology in various venues to groups of oppressed peoples. Ninety-three percent of respondents said that they knew about the apology, while 94.2% of respondents agreed that the Pope's apology was a very positive act on behalf of the Catholic Church. I was also interested in the views of Rabbis and how they perceive Jewish-Catholic relations after the Pope's apology. Seventy-five percent said that the relations had greatly improved and, in fact, they reported that the relations between Catholics and Jews have never been better.

The overall impression that we get from this research is that a number of people have reached a stage in contemporary civilizations where they feel something must be done about our indifference, neglect, and ir-responsibility to others. We agree with Sorokin (1954), Oliner and Oliner (1988), Stephens (1991), and Post (2003) who maintain that altruism can be 'manufactured' when people in organizations, schools, churches, convents, temples, and mosques help, not only to organize and provide the opportunity to care, nurture, for-give, restore harmony, and support others in need - but also nurture and support those who are helpers and care-givers. Forgiveness can also be 'manufactured' with the help of apology. The power of apology and for-giveness is a loving prosocial act that lifts pain and heals the hurt.

It is encouraging to see that during the past 20 years, researchers have begun to focus on institutional caring and forgiveness, and more recently, on *intergroup forgiveness*. Since forgiveness responds to genuine apology, it is also encouraging to see that political and religious leaders, as well as heads of governments, are beginning to apologize to peoples they have harmed or hurt.[6] The reader will recall the two examples of the Kentucky Nuns, who apologized to African Americans and the Humboldt County clergy, who apologized to the Wiyot tribe for the 1860 Indian Island Massacre.

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[6]On September 13, 2003, in Eureka, California, a group of Angelical/Protestant ministers apologized to Native Americans. The essence of the apology was the expression of regret about the massacre of 1860 on Indian Island. They apologized for their forefathers, choosing not to hide behind the excuse that this wrongdoing was of prior generations, and therefore not their responsibility.

Recently, we interviewed a small group of African American individuals in Kentucky who were recipients of the Nuns' apology and Native American descendants of the Wiyot tribe. Both groups were greatly appreciative that at last someone has recognized their historical pain.

Helping others makes one feel good, and satisfies the need for reconciliation and affiliation. People realize that they are not alone, and that they have much in common with the rest of humanity. Stories of volunteerism, and examples of apology and forgiveness show that helping others is important not only to the recipient, but equally important to the caregiver.

What are the implications of this research? It is well known, but not well publicized, that a greater number of people would be willing to help in different ways if we sensitized them to the great need for help, forgiveness and reconciliation with their relatives, friends and neighbors (Engel 2001). But the question remains of how to encourage all people to become involved with humanity. I am optimistic that there is a trend toward caring and that political leaders, civil leaders, educators, and clergy will be able to recruit people to help others and teach them the great benefits of helping, apologizing, and forgiveness. Schools, communities, the workplace, the family, and all religious institutions[7] can do more to encourage and model the benefits of reconciliation, and provide opportunities for people to help each other reconcile and resolve their painful hurts. Research has shown that people who have been encouraged to help have internalized the ethic of caring for others, and that there are positive benefits of volunteering and caring, not only to society, but also for the caring person, as well as helping with moral development in the forgiver (McCullough et al. 1999).

Many people care and forgive, and seek ways to unload their burden and mend the rift between themselves and those who hurt them. The ethic of caring and the nurturance of humanity can be taught to all people of all ages. Caring, love, and forgiveness is a timely and a necessary area of study because people in many places around the world are hurt and suffer from humiliation, anger, and the desire for vengeance.

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[7]All major religions encourage forgiveness but each defines forgiveness differently.

It is possible to encourage conflicting groups to heal the pain and recognize each other's need for respect, fairness, justice and love, and because it is possible, we must do it.

Like other exploratory research in this area, our study has limitations because of sample size and non-randomness. Due to the nature of the concerns that have arisen from our research, we propose to extend our study to include a broader and more inclusive sample population, and a cross cultural perspective using the *identical instruments*, both qualitative and quantitative, to conduct our study. We anticipate that the research that we have just undertaken on apology and forgiveness in Poland[8] and the United States, which will include a broader sample of recipients of apologies, will throw a broader light on the nature and implications of forgiveness in human relations in an international setting.

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[8]Directed by Dr. Olaf Zylich at the Polish Academy of Science and the Graduate School of Social Psychology in Warsaw.

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Appendix A - Sample and Methods The sample in this research is expanded from the original, which dealt with the 60 moral exemplars from various locales. The moral exemplars, a non-random sample, were chosen using 'the reputation approach' as well as expert nominators who referred us to individuals they thought were making an important difference in their community. Respondents were interviewed in the United States. Initially we contacted them by a letter in which we explained that the interview would take an hour and a half or longer. We interviewed many of the respondents on the telephone and others were interviewed face-to-face. All interviews were taped. I was the principal researcher and conducted many of the interviews. Two qualified graduate students with experience interviewing and with further training from me assisted in the interviewing. An additional sample of moral exemplars completed a questionnaire and returned it to us in a self-addressed stamped envelope.

The questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions and some close-ended questions, focusing on gender, age, educational attainment, occupation, race and ethnicity, income, political affiliation, parental influence, the influence of others, and religiosity, whether the respondents were ever hurt or offended, or whether they had ever hurt or offended someone, and some questions on apology and forgiveness. We were primarily interested in their motivations and what influenced them to help. At a later date, when this sample of 60 moral exemplars was almost completed, we mailed the respondents a 30-item questionnaire dealing only with apology and forgiveness, which they completed and returned to us in a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Qualitative Results (Inter-rater Reliability)

After we transcribed the qualitative data (narratives), we decided to quantify it. In order to accomplish this, three coders were used in this process. To determine our coders' inter-rater reliability, we reasoned that

if, for any exemplar, a motivational category had been checked either zero or three times, then there was complete coder agreement. If a particular exemplar received a zero in the *Religiosity* category, there was complete agreement that *Religiosity* was not a significant motivational factor in this person's exemplary act. If *Religiosity* was checked three times, this indicates to us that all of the coders agreed it was a salient factor motivating this person to be engaged in exemplary acts in their community. To report our inter-rater reliability, we combined the percentage of times that either a zero or three had been entered for each of the nine motivational categories. We found there was approximately 90% agreement between the raters. In other words, if they all agreed that empathy was an important factor, then there was 100% agreement between them; and similarly with the other categories listed. Hence, we derived our qualitative data from the inter-rater reliability factor. Additionally, from the scales, or the quantitative data, we were able to determine the attitudes towards altruism, empathy, self-esteem, religiosity, social responsibility, etc. From the scales we used objective statistical analysis and methodological approaches to make some generalizations.

By combining the data, now a sample of 435 respondents (60 moral exemplars, 77 clergy, 56 general population, and 242 students), that is both quantitative and qualitative, we were able to draw salient conclusions. The narratives that we have included in this research are indicative of these categories that we have described in the body of this paper.

I wanted to gain further insight into apology and forgiveness, and so obtained data from 77 respondents consisting of a non-random sample of clergy, including Priests, Ministers, Nuns, and Rabbis because they deal with these positive processes in their profession. Some interviews were face-to-face, others were by telephone, and all were tape- recorded. Yet others were sent a modified interview schedule as well as a forgiveness scale to which they responded in a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Besides the clergy, I also surveyed 56 respondents from the general population who were neither clergy nor students, nor identified as moral exemplars. Finally, I was interested in college student responses to questions on apology and forgiveness. We administered the forgiveness scale questionnaire only to 242 students from two Northern California colleges, College of the Redwoods and Humboldt State University, which

tapped information about whether they had ever hurt or offended someone and whether they had asked for forgiveness. We were also interested to see whether they had ever been offended and if the offending individual had asked for forgiveness.

As stated above, the first part of the data was derivative of the narratives that we quantified. The second source of our data was derived from five scales that quantitatively measured and assessed the motivations of the respondents. The scales used were: (1) *Diversity/Commonality Scale* (developed by Oliner and Oliner, 1988), which measured how much the respondent had in common with their own and other race and ethnic groups (e.g., African Americans, Latino Americans, Native Americans, etc.); (2) *Social Responsibility Scale* (developed by L. Berkowitz and K. Luterman, 1968), which measured the respondents' behavior and attitude toward being socially responsible; (3) *Self Esteem Scale* (developed by M. Rosenberg, 1965), which measured a respondent's self esteem; (4) *Altruistic Personality Scale* (developed by J. Phillippe Rushton, R.D. Chrisjohn, and G. Fekken, 1981), which assessed how often the respondent acted altruistically in certain situations; (5) *Daily Spiritual Experience Scale* (DSE) (developed by Lynn G. Underwood, 1999), which draws upon the respondents' spiritual connection to others and creation in general; published in Multidimensional Measurement of Religiousness/Spirituality for Use in Health Research: Report of the Fetzer Institute/National Institute on aging working Group. October 1999; and (6) *The Traits of Forgiveness Scale* (developed by Jack W. Barry and Everett Worthington, 2001).

This research, then, is a preliminary and exploratory one and there will be additional samples added which will have a cross-cultural component and where we will primarily focus on apology and forgiveness. The cross-cultural component part of this research is currently in progress in Poland where the data is being collected under the supervision of my co-investigator, Dr. Olaf Zylich, of the Department of Psychology at the Polish Academy of Science and the graduate school of Social Psychology, both located in Warsaw. Combining the data collected in Poland with the data collected in the USA will enable us to make cross-cultural comparisons.

Appendix B1

<div align="center">

QUESTIONNAIRE

Attitude Survey

Moral Exemplars

</div>

Section A: Background Questions

1.   Respondent's ethnic background

     ____ (1) White (European American)

     ____ (2) African American (Black)

     ____ (3) Native American (Indian)

     ____ (4) Latino (Mexican American, Cuban, Puerto Rican, Central American, South

       American)

     ____ (5) Asian American (Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, Pacific

       Islander)

     ____ (6) Jewish American

     ____ (7) Other (please specify)_____

2.   Age   ____

3.   Place of Birth _____

4.   Gender   ____ (1)   Male

       ____ (2)   Female

5.   Number of Siblings   (a) Brothers _____

            (b) Sisters   _____

6.   Highest educational level you have attained

  ____ (1) Less than high school

  ____ (2) Some high school

  ____ (3) High school graduate

  ____ (4) Some College

  ____ (5) College BA or BS

  ____ (6) Postgraduate College

  ____ (7) Advanced Degree

INT: ASK ONLY IF R IS COLLEGE GRADUATE

What did you major in? _____

8.   Your Occupation _____

9.   Are you married?

Do you have children?

When you were growing up, what was your:

11.   Mother's Occupation _____

12.   Father's Occupation _____

13.   What is your religion?

Protestant	____	(1)
Catholic	____	(2)
Jewish	____	(3)
Islamic	____	(4)
Buddhist	____	(5)
Hindu	____	(6)
American Indian	____	(7)
New Age	____	(8)
Other	____	(9)
No Religion	____	(10) Skip to 12b
Refused	____	(11) Skip to 12b

13a.   Do you consider yourself to be very religious, somewhat religious, not very religious?

13b.   Do you consider yourself a spiritual person?

14.   What is your political party affiliation?

Democrat	_____	(1)
Republican	_____	(2)
Other	_____	(3)
(please specify) _____		
None	_____	(4)
Refused	_____	(5)

15.   What are the most important lessons about life that you learned from your parents?

The following questions are about your Moral Objectives or Goals

16.   What would you say you spend most of your energy on at this time in your life?

17.   How long have you been involved with this helping activity?

18.   Regarding the activities that you mentioned above, <u>what are your goals</u>?
19.   Which of these goals would you consider essentially <u>moral goals</u>?
19a.   You've mentioned a number of goals, objectives, and values. Do these (or some of these) contribute to your sense of <u>who you are as a person</u>?

The next questions are about <u>Moral Action</u>

What have you done in the past to try to achieve these objectives, and what are you currently doing?

Can you tell me about an incident in your life where you weren't sure about the right course of   action? How did it become clear to you what to do?

What does the phrase 'moral courage' mean to you? Would you say that you demonstrated moral courage when you faced the difficulties you described?

22a.   What does <u>love</u> mean to you? How would you explain the meaning of love to another adult?

22b.   Are there <u>different kinds of love</u>? Could you explain?

22c.   What does the word <u>altruism</u> mean to you?

22d.   Do you know people who are altruistic?

Finally, tell me about the <u>Developmental History and Influences</u> of your life.
23.   Are there **incidents** that have changed your beliefs? Did this alter how you behave?

23a.   What things or activities is your spouse/partner currently involved in?

23b.   Did you try to impart these activities/values to your children?

24.   <u>Apart from particular people</u>, were there other things that influenced you, e.g. books, films, particular experiences, etc?

25.   Could you enumerate for me what you think have been your greatest successes?

26.   Have you felt that you have been an influence on others?

If you were asked to give a speech to a group of high school or college students or adults, what would you consider as the most important message to leave them?
28.   Who are the men/women that you most admire, and why?
29.   Is there anything else that I should have asked regarding your activities, values and beliefs?

The Altruistic Personality and Prosocial Behavior Institute

Samuel P. Oliner, Ph.D.

Please fill out the following scales, insert into the enclosed self-addressed envelope, and mail it to us.

Please be sure to fill out BOTH SIDES OF EACH PAGE

Section A: Intergroup Attitudes/Perceptions

1. People sometimes think that they have something in common with others. Do you think you have much in common, something in common, not very much in common, or nothing in common with people from each of the following groups? PLEASE CHECK THOSE ITEMS THAT REFLECT YOUR VIEWS.

	Much in Common (1)	Something in Common (2)	Not Very Much in Common (3)	Nothing in Common (4)	Don't Know (5)
White European American	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
African American	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Native American	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Latino American	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Asian American	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Jewish American	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Section B: Scales

PLEASE PLACE AN "X" IN THE BOX THAT BEST REPRESENTS YOUR OPINION

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Dis-agree (3)	Strongly Disagree (4)	Refused (5)	Don't Know (6)
1. Every person should give some time for the good of the town or country. (SR)						
2. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others. (SE)						
3. It is the duty of each person to do the best s/he can. (SR)						
4. At times, I think I am no good at all. (SE)						

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Disagree (3)	Strongly Disagree (4)	Refused (5)	Don't Know (6)
5. I take a positive attitude about myself. (SE)						
6. I feel that I have a number of good qualities. (SE)						
7. All in all, I am able to do things as well as most other people. (SE)						
8. Letting people down is not so bad, because you can't do good all the time for everybody. (SR)						
9. I wish I could have more respect for myself. (SE)						
10. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure. (SE)						
11. I feel very bad when I have failed to finish something I promised I would do. (SR)						
12. People would be a lot better off if they could live far away from other people and never have anything to do with them. (SR)						
13. I feel I do not have much to be proud of. (SE)						
14. It is no use worrying about current events or public affairs; I can't do anything about them anyway. (SR)						
15. I certainly feel useless at times. (SE)						
16. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself. (SE)						

	Never (1)	Once (2)	More than once (3)	Often (4)	Very Often (5)	Don't Know (6)
17. I have helped push a stranger's car out of the snow. (AP)						
18. I have given directions to a stranger. (AP)						
19. I have made change for a stranger. (AP)						
20. I have given money to a charity. (AP)						
21. I have given money to a stranger who needed it (or asked me for it). (AP)						
22. I have donated goods or clothes to a charity. (AP)						
23. I have done volunteer work for a charity. (AP)						
24. I have donated blood. (AP)						
25. I have helped carry a stranger's belongings (books, parcels, etc.). (AP)						
26. I have delayed an elevator and held the door open for a stranger. (AP)						
27. I have allowed someone to go ahead of me in a lineup (at Xerox machine, in the supermarket, etc.). (AP)						
28. I have given a stranger a lift in my car. (AP)						
29. I have pointed out a clerk's error (in a bank, at the supermarket) in undercharging me for an item. (AP)						
30. I have let a neighbor whom I didn't know too well borrow an item of some value to me (e.g., a dish, tools, etc.). (AP)						

	Never (1)	Once (2)	More than once (3)	Often (4)	Very Often (5)	Don't Know (6)
31. I have bought 'charity' Christmas cards deliberately because I knew it was a good cause. (AP)						
32. I have helped a classmate who I did not know that well with a homework assignment when my knowledge was greater than his or hers. (AP)						
33. I have voluntarily looked after a neighbor's pets or children without being paid for it. (AP)						
34. I have offered to help a handicapped or elderly stranger across a street. (AP)						
35. I have offered my seat on a bus or train to a stranger who was standing. (AP)						
36. I have helped an acquaintance move household. (AP)						
37. I experience a connection to all life. (DSE)						
38. I find comfort in my religion or spirituality. (DSE)						
39. I feel deep inner peace or harmony. (DSE)						
40. I feel God's love for me, directly. (DSE)						
41. I am spiritually touched by the beauty of creation. (DSE)						
42. I feel a selfless caring for others. (DSE)						

Appendix B2   30 Item Forgiveness Scale

Please assist us by completing the following survey:

		Strongly Agree	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
		4	3	2	1	5
1	It is easy for me to admit that I am wrong.					
2	I feel that apologizing for hurting someone will lead to healing the relationship between the offender and the offended, or harmed, person, or group.					
3	I am able to make up pretty easily with friends who have hurt me in some way.					
4	I have forgiven myself for things that I have done wrong.					
5	I have forgiven those who hurt me.					
6	If I hear a sermon, I usually think about things that I have done wrong.					
7	I often feel that no matter what I do now I will never make up for the mistakes I have made in the past.					
8	I try to forgive others even when they don't feel guilty for what they did.					
9	I can never forgive and forget an insult.					
10	People who apologize and truly want reconciliation should be forgiven by those they have hurt, be it a person or a group.					
11	I like to apologize to the people I have hurt or offended.					
12	Forgiveness helps to begin the reconciliation process.					
13	I feel I have much in common with those I have hurt.					
14	When you forgive, you take an important step toward mending and rebuilding the relationship between you and the wrongdoer.					
15	When you forgive, you remove a burden that has been weighing you down.					

Survey continued on next page

16	Forgiveness helps you to go on with your life instead of holding onto the past.					
17	Forgiveness makes you a better person and improves your overall mental and emotional health.					
18	I feel I have much in common with people who help others.					
19	I believe that when people say they forgive me for something I did they really mean it.					
20	I have been hurt by people who never apologized to me.					
21	I find it hard to forgive myself for some things that I have done.					
22	I often feel like I have failed to live the right kind of life.					
23	I can forgive a friend for almost anything.					
24	If someone treats me badly, I treat him of her the same.					
25	People close to me probably think I hold a grudge too long.					
26	I feel bitter about many of my relationships.					
27	Even if I forgive someone, things often come back to me that I resent.					
28	There are some things for which I could never forgive even a loved one.					
29	I think forgiving someone who hurts you is a form of helping them.					
30	Those people who hurt others miss out because they lose relationships.					

More surveys continued on next page

Marlowe and Crowne Social Desirability Scale

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you.

_____ 1. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.

_____ 2. I have never intensely disliked someone.

_____ 3. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.

_____ 4. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.

_____ 5. I sometimes feels resentful when I don't get my way.

_____ 6. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even

       though I knew they were right.

_____ 7. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.

_____ 8. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.

_____ 9. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.

_____ 10. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.

Appendix B3

APOLOGY-FORGIVENESS SURVEY

Transcriber's Name:Interviewer's Name: Respondent's Name: Respondent No: Date of Interview:

1.   Respondent's ethnic background:

2.   Age:

3.   Place of Birth:

4.   Gender:

5.   Number of Siblings:

     (a) Brothers:

     (b) Sisters:

6.   Highest educational level attained:

7.   What did you major in?

8.   Additional occupation?

9.   Mother's Occupation:

10.   Father's Occupation:

11. Religion:

12. Father's Level of Religiosity:

13. Mother's Level of Religiosity:

14. What does it mean to be a religious person?

14a. What does it mean to be a spiritual person?

What are the most important lessons about life that you learned from your father?

15a. From Mother?

15b. From Siblings?

Growing up, did you see yourself as emotionally close to your mother?

16a. Growing up, did you see yourself as emotionally close to your father?

17. What are the most important lessons about life that you learned from your religious leaders?

18. What are the most important lessons about life that you learned from other important people in

your life?

19. As a priest, I know you have been asked many times to give a speech to a group of high school or college students, or other adults, what do you consider to be the most important message to leave with them?

20. Who are the men/women that you most admire, and why?

21. Have you ever been hurt/offended by someone?

21a. If yes, in what way?

21b. Had they asked for forgiveness?

21c. Have you forgiven them?

21d. Why/Why not?

21e. What were the results?

Have you ever hurt/offended someone?

22a. If yes, in what way?

22b. Have you asked for forgiveness?

22c. Why/Why not?

22d. What were the results?

Survey continued on next page

The following questions are about the recent apology made by (CHECK APPROPRIATE SPACE BELOW):
The Government: ___ **(Go to 23)** **The Pope:** ___ **(Go to 24 - *priests only*)**

Other: ___ **(Go to 23)** **Who?**_____

23. *To what group was the apology made?*
23a. *What prompted the apology?*
23b. *Under what conditions was the apology made?*
23c. *Was the information disseminated among others in your group/order (if Nuns)?.*
23d. *Did your church take any steps to disseminate this information to your broader community?*
23e. *If yes, what steps were taken?*
23f. *Since the apology, what changes have you noticed in the behavior of those among your group, as well as those who were apologized to?.*
23g. *Since the apology, have your attitudes and/or behaviors towards the group apologized to changed?*
23h. *If yes, in what ways?*
23i. *Did you notice any changes in the behavior of the group apologized to?*
23j. *If yes, what sort of changes?.*
24. Did you hear about the Pope's apology to the Jewish people?
24a. If yes, how did you hear about it?
24b. How was the apology made?
24c. In your opinion, what prompted the apology?
24d. Did you hear about the Pope's apology to other groups (the Crusades, slavery)?
25a. To what group was the apology made?
25b. If yes, how did you hear about it?
25c. How was the apology made?
25d. In your opinion, what prompted the apology?
26. How did you react to the apology?
27. Since the apology, have your attitudes and/or behaviors towards the group apologized to changed?
27a. If yes, in what ways?
28. Did you disseminate the apology to your parishioners/convent?
28a. If yes, how did your parishioners respond to this apology?
29. Did your church take any steps to disseminate this information to your broader community?
29a. If yes, what steps were taken?
30. Since the apology, have you noticed a difference in the behaviors and/or attitudes of your parishioners toward the group apologized to?
30a. If yes, what sort of changes have you noticed?
     Did you notice any changes in the behavior of the group apologized to?
31a. If yes, what sort of changes have you noticed?
     In your opinion, how important is apology in human relations?
33. In the future, are you planning on getting involved in the area of apology, forgiveness, and reconciliation?
     Why or why not?
34. Have you had an occasion to discuss with others some aspects of Jewish-Catholic relations?
35. Is there anything else that I should have asked you about this topic, as well as your activities, values and beliefs