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# 심리학석사학위논문

Help not Wanted:

Effect of Pure Altruism Beliefs on

Reactions to Being Helped

순수 이타성에 대한 믿음이 도움을 받을 때의 태도에 미치는 영향

2019년 8월

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# Help not Wanted: Effect of Pure Altruism Beliefs on Reactions to Being Helped

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이 논문을 심리학 석사 학위논문으로 제출함 2019 년 6월

서울대학교 대학원 심리학과 사회심리전공 김 성 진

김성진의 심리학석사 학위논문을 인준함

의 원 장 (인) 부위원장 (인) 위 원 것 이 것 (인)

**Abstract** 

The present research investigated the effects of pure altruism beliefs,

beliefs regarding how purely selfless an action must be in order to be

called altruistic, on reactions to being helped. Although the possibility of

purely altruistic behaviors has been studied extensively by philosophers

and psychologists alike, relatively less attention has been paid to lay

theories about what altruism really means. Three studies examined the

relationship between lay people's pure altruism beliefs and their reactions

to being helped. The results revealed that participants with high pure

altruism beliefs were less likely to show positive reactions to being helped

and that the effect of pure altruism beliefs was most pronounced when the

helper was described as an altruistic person.

**Keyword**: pure altruism, prosocial behavior, helping behavior.

**Student Number**: 2017-29649

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Is it possible for humans to be truly altruistic in their behaviors? On the surface, the answer seems obvious. Not only do we help our friends and acquaintances every day but also our news and popular media coverage abound with stories of heroic sacrifices. In May 8, 2019, a student named Kendrick Castillo gave his life trying to stop a gunman (Turkewitz, Healy, & Mazzei, 2019). In April 16, 2007, professor Liviu Librescu sacrificed his life trying to protect his students during the Virginia Tech shooting incident (O'Connor, 2007). If we travel further back in history, we have figures like Maximilian Kolbe who volunteered to die in another man's place in a Nazi's camp during World War II (Yucatan Times, 2018). When facing such actions, how can one possibly doubt the existence of altruism?

As if evincing the existence of altruistic behavior, a plethora of research in psychology dealt with the topic of altruism. For instance, many studies have attempted to discover factors that give rise to prosocial behaviors. Organizational psychologists have been trying to determine factors that predict prosocial behaviors within organizations (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986; O'Reilly III & Chatman, 1986; De Drew & Nauta, 2009). Others have looked at both situational and individual-level determinants of prosocial behavior in more general contexts. For situational factors, Levine et al. found that group membership plays a key role in shaping helping behaviors so that in-group

members are more likely to be helped than out-group members (2005). Mathews and Canon's study indicated that surrounding noise levels can affect helping behaviors (1975). Participants exposed to loud noise were less likely to provide help than those exposed to smaller noise. At the individual differences level, factors such as collectivism and extraversion were discovered as significant predictors of prosocial behavior (Moorman & Blakely, 1995; Smith & Nelson, 1975). DeWall et al. also had a say in the matter as they proposed that self-regulatory energy is necessary for helping behaviors (2008). Unless all those researchers have been chasing shadows, altruism must be real.

Doubtless, helping behaviors are frequently observed in our society and they surely do exist. However, complications begin to arise when one closely examines what people mean when they call an action altruistic. For instance, although his action was definitely prosocial, can we still consider Kendrick Castillo altruistic if he was trying to impress other students? What if someone helped another person and gained significant benefit as a result? Is that action still altruistic? When facing such questions, some people would say yes while others say no. The current study investigates whether individual differences in answers to such questions lead to significant differences in responses to help.

#### Motivation and altruism

Imagine that a person named Jack noticed another person named Jill struggling to keep herself from drowning in a deep pond. Expecting that it will give him a good reputation and that there may be a possibility of material rewards from the saved person, Jack dives into the pool and saves Jill. In a case like this, although Jack's action itself was prosocial, some may be reluctant to say that Jack's behavior was a truly altruistic one. At the very least, most people would willingly agree that Jack deserves less respect than someone who would have helped Jill without any expectation of personal rewards.

As in the above case, when a seemingly altruistic action seems to have its roots in selfish or egoistic motives, people often refuse to give credit to the actor (Carlson & Zaki, 2018; Newman & Cain, 2014). After all, why should we praise someone who helped others so that he could benefit from it? One of the most famous arguments supporting this line of reasoning was presented by Emmanuel Kant in his discussions of what makes a morally worthy person.

According to Kant, motivations underlying actions are the only appropriate criteria by which we should judge a person's moral worth. Believing that it was motivation, not consequence, that determined an actor's moral worth, Kant separated motivation by moral duty from other motivations

such as motivation by self-interest, sympathy, happiness, and so on (Johnson & Cureton, 2019). He claimed that only the actions motivated by moral duty can grant the status of moral worth to the actor. Therefore, according to Kant's theories, even if an action brought good consequences (someone in danger was saved), the actor does not deserve to be called worthy if it was done for selfish reasons (wanting to build positive reputation or looking for material rewards). Although Kant's arguments were not about actions per se but about the moral worth of persons performing those actions, it is perfectly applicable to the discussions of seemingly altruistic actions (Kant, 1785/1998).

Indeed, many lay beliefs reflect similar attitudes regarding motivations behind helping. Previous research revealed that seemingly altruistic actions were considered less praiseworthy when there were signs of selfish motives or evidence of personal benefits gained through them (Lin-Healy & Small, 2012; Lin-Healy & Small, 2013). In other words, common beliefs regarding altruism often demand purity in both action and motivation. If one accepts such ideas that even the motivational states of the actors must be selfless for an action to be called altruistic, the question about the possibility of altruistic actions becomes much more difficult to answer.

## Possibility of altruistic motivation

Thus, the problem of the possibility of altruistic actions is inevitably

linked with the problem regarding the possibility of altruistic motivation. Skeptical people advocate egoistic perspectives about altruistic motivation, believing that all our motivations are fundamentally selfish. Optimists believe that some of our prosocial behaviors stem from truly altruistic motivation. A philosophical view that supports egoistic conceptualization of altruism, called psychological egoism, offers a stringent claim that all of our ultimate desires are egoistic and therefore, there is no such thing as true altruism in humans (May, 2011). Bentham and Hobbes are two prominent philosophers who endorsed this position. In *Leviathan* (1651/1994), Hobbes explicitly stated that "... and of all voluntary acts, the object is to every man his own good; of which, if men see they shall be frustrated, there will be no beginning of benevolence or trust, nor consequently of mutual help" (Ch. XV). In other words, people would never engage in acts of benevolence, trust, help, and so on if they saw no good in it for themselves. Similarly, Bentham argued that humans are motivated only by their selfish concerns when he claimed that "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do" (Bentham, 1781/1970). While maintaining egoistic perspectives, Bentham argued for a very specific type of egoism that characterized pleasure as the ultimate guide of human behaviors.

David Hume, an optimist, disagreed. In making an argument against psychological egoism, he referred to our common sense by stating that "To the most careless observer there appear to be such dispositions as benevolence and generosity" (Hume, 1751/1970). By establishing that altruism's existence is more sensibly acceptable than its absence, Hume attempted to move the burden of proof from supporters of altruism to supporters of psychological egoism. In other words, he argued that it is natural to accept altruism's existence unless supporters of the view provided a definite proof of its absence. Other philosophers such as Joel Feinberg criticized psychological egoism on grounds that its claims are "unfalsifiable" and therefore such arguments cannot be considered empirical (2008). Although most philosophers are reluctant to accept Hobbes and Bentham's strong forms of psychological egoism, there is no perfectly conclusive argument against the view and the debate is still not settled.

Psychologists have been investigating the issue of altruistic motivation as well. On one side stands supporters of egoistic perspectives on altruism. For instance, Cialdini et al. argued that developmental internalization processes turn altruistic behaviors into a type of an internal self-reward and that selfish motives exist even in empathy-based helping (Cialdini et al., 1981; Cialdini et al., 1987). Bar-Tal also argued that altruistic behaviors are associated with

feelings of self-satisfaction (1976).

On the other side of the debate stand defenders of altruism. Hoffman presented empathy as a basis for altruism and argued for its independence from egoistic or self-serving motives. (1982). Batson has separated prosocial actions motivated by empathy from prosocial actions motivated by other "selfish" reasons, thus making an argument for the possibility of altruism. Batson distinguished empathically evoked altruistic motivation from two forms of egoistic motivations (reward-seeking/punishment-avoiding motivation and arousal-reducing motivation). By showing that each motivation operates through different causal pathways, he claimed that empathically evoked altruistic motivation can be considered altruistic (Batson, 1987; Batson & Shaw, 1991).

#### **Importance of definition**

So which side has the upper hand in this debate? Are humans capable of altruistic actions, like Batson argues? Or are we enslaved by egoism so that even the most seemingly altruistic actions fundamentally stem from selfish motives? There is no definite answer yet and a conclusive answer seems unlikely. At present, the most sensible answers we can give seem to be either that there exists a mixture of both (Feigin, Owens, & Goodyear-Smith, 2014) or that the answer depends. If so, what does it depend on? Among many things,

it depends heavily on how the term altruism is defined.

Psychological egoists argue that an action can never be altruistic because for an action to be considered altruistic, it should not only be helpful in nature but also have its roots on purely selfless motivation. In other words, they tend to hold a very stringent definition of the term so that only the noblest of all actions, if such an action is possible at all, deserve the glorious title. In such usage of the term, a single drop of impurity, whether it is impure motivation or personal benefits, is enough to taint an otherwise altruistic action, labelling it selfish.

On the other hand, Batson seems to hold a relatively lenient definition of the term. According to his conceptualization, an action can be considered altruistic insofar as it was motivated by empathic concern for others and its ultimate goal was to benefit the help-recipient (Batson, 1987). Therefore, according to Batson's definition of the term, an action may be called altruistic even if it led to some side effects that resulted in the benefit to the actor or if there were some impure motives coexisting with the ultimate motive to improve another person's welfare.

However, Batson's conceptualization would not meet the standard for many believers of psychological egoism. In the lexicon of the skeptics, an action Batson calls altruistic may be called ultimately egoistic for two reasons. First, even if an actor was acting with an ultimate goal of making another person better off, the actor was still doing what he wanted to do and satisfying one's own desires. Second, such a definition leaves room for other impure motives or factors to be included in the action, which would lead egoists to dub the action selfish. Depending on which definition of altruism one accepts, one might conclude that true altruism is possible in humans or that humans cannot help but be egoistic.

#### The present study

An effort to pin down the best definition of altruism is likely to be futile. It is unlikely that there will be a consensus regarding which conceptualization of the term is most appropriate. However, we can learn from the differences. Individual differences in how stringent a definition one endorses can help us paint a better picture of people's attitudes towards altruism and its subsequent effects.

Indeed, just like philosophers and psychologists, lay people often differ in their definitions of altruism although such definitions are rarely stated explicitly. Some people hold very high standards for altruism, considering only the purest of actions to be altruistic. The case of businessman Dan Pallota provides a telling example. Pallota's fund-raisers had collected significant amounts of money to be used for charitable purposes. However, when it was

revealed that Pallota was making significant amount of profit in the process, he was heavily criticized for collecting personal benefits through charity programs even though his actions were very prosocial and provided necessary help to the needy. Eventually, his company collapsed (Kristoff, 2008). Those who criticized Pallota for collecting profit while doing good deeds held high standards of altruism. On the other hand, others who likely held lenient standards of altruism likely lamented Pallota's failure because they considered he was engaging in prosocial behaviors after all.

Despite abundance of previous research on altruistic behaviors and altruistic motivation, few if any studies have explicitly examined "what people mean" when they call an action altruistic and how it affects their judgments and behaviors. In other words, lay people's individual differences in how they define altruism has rarely been studied.

A concept that accounts for individual differences in standards of altruism is the *belief in pure altruism*. Belief in pure altruism represents the degree to which people are willing to accept seemingly prosocial actions as acts of altruism. If someone endorses a high belief in pure altruism, it means that the person believes that an action must be *purely selfless* (in both action and motivation) in order to be considered altruistic. Individuals with more lenient standards about altruism hold weak beliefs in pure altruism, calling

an action altruistic even when there were some *impure* intentions behind seemingly altruistic actions or some profits were gained through the actions (Choi, Kim, Kim, & Choi, 2019). For instance, if someone returned a lost wallet and received small compensation for it, someone with high pure altruism beliefs would deny that the action was altruistic while someone with low pure altruism beliefs would call the action altruistic.

There are stable individual differences in pure altruism beliefs and such differences correlate with people's moral judgments and behaviors. Results of a previous study have shown that individuals with high beliefs in pure altruism make less favorable evaluations of others' good deeds, are less approving of prosocial companies, are more cynical towards helpers who gained benefits through helping, and are less likely to engage in prosocial behaviors themselves (Choi et al., 2019).

Those results, although quite informative, are limited in that the participants were making evaluations about a third party who did not affect them directly. However, in many instances, we are participants, rather than observers, of help-receiving interactions. The current study is an attempt to extend previous results to more common contexts and examine the effects of pure altruism beliefs when people themselves were recipients of prosocial behaviors. Specifically, the current study investigates how people's reactions

to being helped are affected by their degrees of pure altruism beliefs.

Several previous research on reactions to being helped indicate that contrary to common beliefs, recipients of help often show negative reactions to being helped. For instance, Nadler and Fisher found that people receiving help often show negative reactions because of threat to self-esteem and perceived control (1986). Gross, Wallston, and Piliavin argued that receiving help can be a negative experience for the recipient because it can send signals of inadequacy or give feelings of indebtedness (1979). Newsom also found that older adults receiving caregiving services often react negatively to provided care (1999). However, people's beliefs about altruism was not previously investigated as a predictor of reactions to help. Here, I offer individuals' beliefs in pure altruism as a potential determinant of recipients' reactions to help.

In the present study, a negative relationship between pure altruism and reactions to being helped was expected for three reasons. First, participants with high pure altruism beliefs will show negative reactions because they doubt the *intentions* of the helpers. Endorsement of strong belief in pure altruism is an indication that a person tends to think that even seemingly altruistic behaviors are fundamentally based on egoistic motives. Previous findings in psychology have shown that help recipients' reactions are sensitive

to their perceptions of helpers' intentions (Ames, Flynn, & Weber, 2004). Therefore, when someone offers a helping hand, a person with strong pure altruism beliefs will be more likely to show skepticism about the helper's true intentions and show negative attitudes towards the helper.

Second, participants with high pure altruism beliefs will show negative reactions because they view the helpers' *actions* less positively. Previous research indicates that participants with high beliefs in pure altruism make less favorable evaluations of others' good deeds (Choi, Kim, Kim, & Choi, 2019). When two people perceive the same action and one calls it altruistic while the other calls it egoistic, one will naturally show more negative reactions than the other.

Third, participants high in pure altruism beliefs will show negative reactions because they think prosocial actors *already received some rewards* from helping. People who endorse egoistic account of altruism often claim that those engaging in prosocial behaviors are doing so to satisfy their own desires even if no material profit is gained. In the world as understood by skeptics, prosocial actors are already receiving internal rewards by engaging in such actions (Cialdini et al., 1987). Thus, it seems reasonable to expect that participants with high pure altruism beliefs will think that rewards were already given to the helpers in the form of emotional benefits and in turn feel

less compelled to show positive reactions towards the helpers.

The relationship between pure altruism beliefs and reactions to being helped was tested in three studies. In study 1, relationships between pure altruism beliefs and initial reactions to receiving help were investigated. Study 2 was conducted to demonstrate behavioral implications of the findings in Study 1. In Study 2, relationship between pure altruism beliefs and participants' willingness to repay the received favor was examined. Finally, Study 3 was designed to test whether the relationship found in Study 1 depends on the helper's moral character. Participants were divided into three conditions in which the help-giving person was described as altruistic, selfish, or neither. The effect of pure altruism beliefs in each condition was examined.

#### Study 1

In Study 1, effect of pure altruism beliefs on participants' immediate reactions to being helped was tested. Based on previous results showing that those high in pure altruism beliefs tend to view others' prosocial behaviors less positively (Choi, Kim, Kim, & Choi, 2019), I hypothesized that participants with high beliefs in pure altruism would show relatively negative reactions to being helped compared to participants with low beliefs in pure altruism. Because high beliefs in pure altruism is an indication of high standards for altruistic behaviors, participants with high pure altruism beliefs will be less

likely to view and react to the situation in positive manners.

#### Method

**Participants**. 197 participants were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Participants with duplicate IP address and location coordinates were removed in the screening process. 159 remaining participants (84 male, 75 female;  $M_{age} = 37.41$ ,  $SD_{age} = 12.58$ ) were included in the final analysis. All participants were given monetary compensation.

#### Measures.

Pure Altruism Beliefs. Participants' pure altruism belief levels were measured with the Pure Altruism Scale developed in a previous study by Choi, Kim, Kim, & Choi (2019). The scale consists of 10 questions measuring participants' beliefs regarding their standards about when an action can be considered altruistic (e.g., "Helping others to build a positive reputation cannot be considered altruistic", "Helping others to feel good about themselves in not altruistic"). Participants responded to the items with a Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). Participants' responses to 10 items were averaged to yield a composite pure altruism score. The full scale is provided in the Appendix A.

Help-receiving situation. Each participant read three vignettes

describing situations in which they faced a small difficulty and someone offered to help them. First vignette described a situation in which several assignments were given to the participants at a company and their fellow employee offered to help them with the work. Second vignette described a situation in which participants had to move several boxes to a different building and their fellow student offered to help them. Last vignette illustrated a situation in which participants got lost in a campus and someone offered to help them find the way. Complete vignettes can be found in the Appendix B.

Dependent Measures. After each vignette, five questions were asked to measure participants' reactions in the given situation. First, participants were asked how likely it was that they would accept the offer. Second, they answered how genuine they thought the helper's intentions were. Third, they were asked how grateful they would feel about the help. Fourth, the participants' positive impressions of the helper in the scenario was measured by averaging their responses to whether each of the five adjectives (warm, competent, likeable, honest, kind) were adequate descriptions of the helper. Lastly, participants' negative impression of the helper was measured by averaging their agreements with five negative adjectives (selfish, cunning, unreliable, mean, shady) to describe the helper. Each item was measured with a 7-point Likert scale.

**Index construction.** Three questions measuring participants' self-reported likelihood of accepting help, estimated genuineness of the helper's intentions, and amount of felt gratitude were combined to yield a single index measure of participants' immediate reactions to being helped ( $\alpha = .84$ ).

Cynicism. Because participants' individual differences in their general trust levels about other humans can significantly affect how they respond to proposed helps, participants' cynicism levels were included as a control variable. Cynicism was measured with the Cynical Distrust Scale (Everson et al., 1997). The scale, derived and modified from Cook-Medley's Hostility Scale (Cook & Medley, 1954), consists of eight items measuring participants' trust about humans in general (e.g. "It is safer to trust nobody") measured in 4-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (completely agree) to 3 (completely disagree). The scores were reversed in the analysis so that high score indicates high cynicism. The resulting scores could range from 0 to 24 where high score indicated high cynicism.

Life Satisfaction. Furthermore, participants' levels of life satisfaction were controlled based on previous research findings showing that happy people are more likely to respond to others' requests (Isen & Levin, 1972). In order to account for the effect of such positive outlooks, participants' happiness levels were measured with Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et

al., 1985). The scale consists of five items about their satisfaction with life (e.g. "The conditions of my life are excellent") measured in 7-point Likert scales.

**Demographics.** Participants' age, gender, and political orientations were included as demographic variables. For political orientations, economic and social political orientations were measured separately as two different variables. Each was measured in a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1(very liberal/left) to 7 (very conservative/right).

#### Procedure.

The entire survey was administered online through Qualtrics. Participants initially responded to Pure Altruism Scale, Cynical Distrust Scale, and Life Satisfaction Scale. Afterwards, three vignettes described above were presented to the participants. After each vignette, participants answered questions about their likely reactions in the situation and their evaluations of the helpers. Finally, participants filled out demographic information.

#### Results

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics and correlations among main variables. Initial support for the hypothesis can be observed in the correlations. Pure Altruism Beliefs were significantly correlated with participants' immediate reaction ( $\beta$  = -.24, p < .01), positive impression of the helper ( $\beta$  =

-.29, p < 0.01), and negative impression of the helper ( $\beta$  = .20, p < 0.01).

Next, multiple linear regression analyses were used to determine relationships between pure altruism beliefs and reactions to the help while controlling for possible confounding variables. In each analysis, demographic variables, cynicism, and LS were included as controlled variables.

Table 01 (Study 1) Means, standard deviations, and correlations with confidence intervals

Variable	М	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Pure Altruism	3.56	1.02								
2. Positive Impression	5.59	1.02	29**							
3. Negative Impression	2.09	1.29	.20**	44**						
4. Immediate Reaction	5.60	0.93	24**	.71**	37**					
5. Life Satisfaction	4.80	1.57	05	.26**	01	.06				
6. Cynicism	11.82	5.28	.28**	37**	.38**	25**	24**			
7. Age	37.41	12.58	06	.20*	23**	.19*	04	29**		
8. Poli_e	4.01	2.00	.05	.03	.11	02	.19*	.13	.02	
9. Poli_s	3.79	2.04	.11	.07	.11	.03	.23**	.10	.06	.82**

*Note. M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. The confidence interval is a plausible range of population correlations that could have caused the sample correlation (Cumming, 2014). \* indicates p < .05. \*\* indicates p < .01.

#### **Immediate Reactions.**

Regression analysis was used to determine whether participants' pure altruism beliefs can predict their positive impression of the helpers. Participants' pure altruism beliefs significantly predicted their immediate reactions when they were offered help. ( $\beta$  = -.18, p = .02). In accordance with my hypothesis, the higher the participants' pure altruism beliefs, less positive their immediate reactions towards the help-receiving situations were.

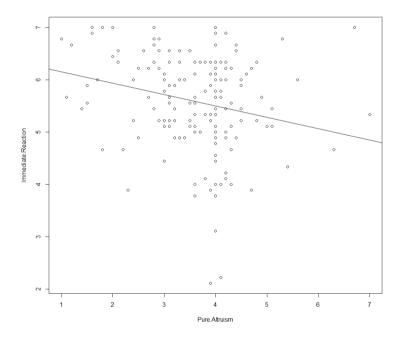


Figure 1. The relationship between pure altruism beliefs and immediate reactions to help

#### Positive impression.

Regression analysis was used to determine whether participants' pure altruism beliefs can predict their positive impression of the helpers. Participants' positive evaluations of the helper's character was significantly predicted by their pure altruism beliefs ( $\beta$  = -.21 p < .01). The higher the participants' pure altruism beliefs, less positive their evaluations of the helper's character were.

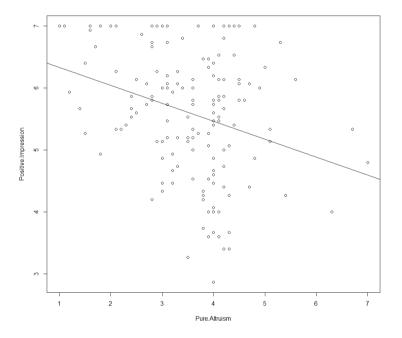


Figure 2. The relationship between pure altruism and positive evaluation of the helpers

## **Negative impression**

Regression analysis was used to determine whether participants' pure altruism beliefs can predict their negative impression of the helpers. Although the direction of the effect was in the predicted direction, relationship between pure altruism and negative evaluation was not statistically significant ( $\beta$  = .19, p = .20).

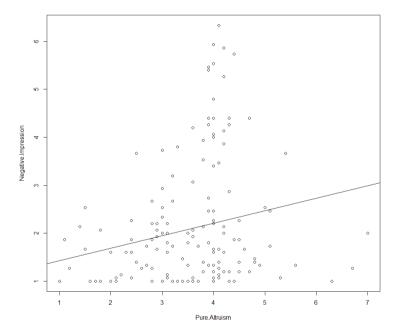


Figure 3. The relationship between pure altruism beliefs and negative impression of the helpers

#### Discussion

In study 1, significant relationship between pure altruism beliefs and participants' reactions was observed. Participants' pure altruism belief levels significantly predicted their reactions towards being helped and their positive evaluations of the helper's character. In accordance with my hypothesis, participants with high pure altruism beliefs were less likely to show positive immediate reactions and less likely to make positive evaluations of the helpers. Pure altruism beliefs did not significantly predict negative evaluations of the helper's character although the observed relationship was in the predicted direction. This may be because participants were generally reluctant to attribute negative characteristics to the helpers ( $M_{neg.\ impression} = 2.09$ ).

The results of Study 1 imply that when someone offers a helping hand, reactions of the help-recipient may significantly depend on his/her personal beliefs about what counts as altruism. Study 2 was conducted to extend this result and examine if such attitudes lead to behavioral intentions to return the favor.

#### Study 2

Results of Study 1 show that when offered help from someone, participants' pure altruism beliefs can predict their immediate reactions and positive evaluations of the helpers. However, significance of such findings hinges heavily on whether such attitudes actually lead to subsequent behaviors. Study 2 was conducted to examine whether participants with high pure altruism beliefs would show less likelihood of behaviorally reciprocating the favor they received.

A negative relationship between pure altruism beliefs and behavioral intentions was predicted. The results of study 1 indicate that pure altruism is associated with negative reactions to being helped and relatively negative perceptions of the helpers. Based on previous research indicating that evaluations of the helpers can affect their subsequent behavioral intentions (Ames, Flynn, & Weber, 2004), it is expected that negative attitudes observed in Study 1 will lead to less behavioral intentions to repay the favor.

#### Method

**Participants**. 69 participants were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Participants with duplicate IP address and location coordinates were removed in the screening process. 56 participants (26 male,

30 female;  $M_{age} = 40.25$ ,  $SD_{age} = 12.58$ ) were included in the final analysis. All participants were given monetary compensation.

#### Measures.

**Pure Altruism Beliefs.** Participants' pure altruism beliefs were measured with the Pure Altruism Scale used in Study 1.

*Help-receiving situation*. Slightly modified versions of the three vignettes from study 1 were used in study 2. At the end of each vignette, it was explicitly stated that the proposed help was accepted and received.

Dependent Measures. After each vignette, five questions were asked to measure participants' reactions in the given situation. First, participants were asked how strongly they felt the need to repay the favor. Second, they reported the likelihood with which they would recommend the helper for a prize-receiving position. Third, the participants were asked to imagine noticing the helper in the vignette facing a small predicament and reported the likelihood with which they would return the favor by helping. Fourth, they reported the likelihood with which they would defend the helper from negative rumors. Lastly, they reported the likelihood of paying forward the favor by helping someone in a predicament similar to the situation they were asked to imagine experiencing in the vignettes. All answers were measured with 7-point Likert

scales.

*Index construction.* Participants' responses to five different questions across three scenarios were combined into a single index of their behavioral intentions to repay the favor ( $\alpha = 0.94$ ).

Changeability. In the current study, most of the questions measured participants' imagined behavioral responses some time after the help-receiving interactions. Thus, participants' beliefs about whether people can change over time may affect their responses. In order to account for this possibility, participants' beliefs about whether people can change was included as a control variable. Levy et al.'s Implicit Person Theory Measure was used to assess participants' beliefs about people's changeability (1998).

*Life Satisfaction*. Life Satisfaction was measured with Satisfaction with Life Scale used in Study 1.

**Demographics**. Age, gender, and political orientations were measured in the manner equivalent to that of Study 1 and included as demographic variables.

#### Procedure.

The procedure was equivalent to that used in Study 1. The entire survey was administered online through Qualtrics. Participants initially responded to

Pure Altruism Scale, Implicit Person Theory Scale, and Life Satisfaction Scale. Afterwards, three vignettes described above were presented to the participants. After each vignette, participants answered questions about their likely reactions in the situation. Finally, participants filled out demographic information.

#### Results

Table 2 presents the descriptive statistics and correlations among the main variables. Significant negative correlation between pure altruism and behavioral intentions provide initial support for my hypothesis that pure altruism beliefs will significantly predict the behavioral intentions of the participants ( $\beta = -.49$ , p < .01).

Table 02 (study2)

Means. standard deviations, and correlations with confidence intervals

Variable	М	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Pure Altruism	3.67	0.91						
2. Changeability	3.84	1.02	09					
3. Behavioral Intention	5.62	0.97	49**	.35**				
4. Life Satisfaction	4.59	1.41	.00	17	.13			
5. Age	40.25	13.57	.03	.16	.33*	.06		
6. poli_e	3.62	1.83	.07	28*	13	.10	.05	
7. poli_s	3.71	1.77	.16	03	04	05	04	.73**

*Note. M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. The confidence interval is a plausible range of population correlations that could have caused the sample correlation (Cumming, 2014). \* indicates p < .05. \*\* indicates p < .01.

## **Behavioral Intentions**

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine the relationship between pure altruism beliefs and behavioral intentions while controlling for other variables. Pure altruism beliefs significantly precited the participants' behavioral intentions to repay the favor ( $\beta$  = -.78, p < .001). Participants with high pure altruism beliefs were less likely than participants with low pure altruism beliefs to show intentions to behave in ways that repaid the favor.

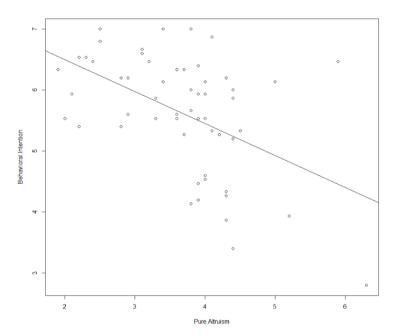


Figure 4. The relationship between pure altruism and behavioral intentions to return the favor

## Discussion

Study 2 revealed that participants with high pure altruism beliefs indeed show less behavioral intentions to repay the favor. This result complements the results of study 1 by showing that pure altruism beliefs can predict not only immediate reactions but also potential reciprocal behaviors after the interactions.

## Study 3

Study 3 was designed to examine the breadth of the findings in Study 1 by investigating a potential boundary condition of the relationship between pure altruism beliefs and reactions to being helped. I predicted that surface moral character of the helpers in the vignettes would significantly affect the relationship between pure altruism beliefs and reactions to being helped. Specifically, I hypothesized that the effect of pure altruism on reactions to being helped will be most pronounced when the helper is described as an altruistic person and become less conspicuous when the helper is described as a selfish person.

Research has shown that people are often reluctant to perceive altruistic motives in others' good deeds even when there exists evidence pointing otherwise (Critcher and Dunning, 2011). I expected this effect to be stronger for those with high pure altruism beliefs because they are typically more

reluctant to consider others' good deeds as altruistic. In other words, participants with high pure altruism beliefs will refrain from showing positive reactions even when the helper is described as an altruistic person. On the other hand, when the helper is explicitly described as a type of a person who helps others in order to benefit from them (i.e., selfish), the effect of pure altruism on reactions to help will diminish because people with both high and low pure altruism beliefs will perceive the person to be not altruistic.

Indeed, proponents of egoistic perspective often argue that even seemingly altruistic helping behaviors are selfishly motivated. For instance, Cialdini et al. argued that helping behaviors based on empathy, which is often considered selfless, can be explained by selfish motivations (1987). This provides another reason why the effect of pure altruism will be most significant when the helper is described to be altruistic. Because people with high pure altruism will view seemingly altruistic (i.e. receiving no benefit) helping behaviors as having selfish motivations such as relieving one's own feeling of guilt or feeling good about oneself, they might view helpers as already having received their rewards and feel less need to praise them. Such effect will not be observed when the helper is described as a selfish person.

#### Method

Participants. 200 participants were recruited with Amazon's

Mechanical Turk. Participants with duplicate IP addresses and location coordinates were removed in the screening process. Remaining 175 participants (78 male, 97 female;  $M_{age} = 38.47$ ,  $SD_{age} = 13.87$ ) were included in the analyses. Monetary compensation was provided to all participants.

#### Measures

*Pure Altruism Beliefs*. Participants' pure altruism belief levels were measured with the Pure Altruism Scale identical to the one used in previous studies.

Help-receiving situation. Vignettes similar to those used in study 1 were presented to the participants with additional information about the helper's character. Participants in control condition read information about the helper that is unrelated to morality (e.g. "the person likes pepperoni pizza"). Participants in selfish condition were told that the helper engaged in prosocial behaviors and benefitted from it (e.g. doing volunteer service to make money). Participants in altruistic condition were told that the helper engaged in prosocial behaviors without receiving any benefits (e.g. returning a lost wallet and refusing to receive compensation). All vignettes can be found in the Appendix B.

Dependent Measures. After each vignette, five questions were asked to

measure participants' reactions in the given situation. The questions were identical to the ones asked in study 1.

*Index construction.* Three questions measuring participants' self-reported likelihood of accepting help, estimated genuineness of the helper's intentions, and amount of felt gratitude were combined as a single index measure of participants' immediate reaction to being helped ( $\alpha = 0.8$ ).

*Control Variables*. Scales equivalent to those used in Study 1 were used to measure cynicism, life satisfaction, age, gender, and political orientation.

#### **Procedure**

The entire survey was administered online through Qualtrics. Participants initially responded to Pure Altruism Scale, Cynical Distrust Scale, and Life Satisfaction Scale. Participants were then randomly assigned into three conditions. In each condition, participants were given three vignettes to read. In altruistic condition, participants read vignettes about situations in which they were offered help by some who previously engaged in a prosocial behavior without getting anything in return. In selfish condition, participants read the same vignettes except that in those vignettes, helpers were described as having previously engaged in prosocial behaviors in order to receive benefits. In control conditions, neutral information about the helpers such as

their favorite food or their major in college were provided. After reading the vignettes, participants responded to questions about their likely reactions in the given scenarios. After the vignettes, the participants filled out demographic information and monetary compensation was provided.

## Results

Descriptive Statistics and correlations among the main variables can be seen in Table 03. Pure altruism was significantly correlated with participants' positive impression about the helpers ( $\beta = -.19$ , p < .01). Pure altruism belief's correlations with immediate reaction and negative impression were marginally significant. ( $\beta = -.13$ , p = .08 and  $\beta = .12$ , p = .10, respectively)

#### **Immediate Reaction**

Regression analyses were performed in each condition to assess the relationship between pure altruism and immediate reaction for each. As predicted, the relationship was most pronounced when the help-giving person was described as altruistic (Figure 5). In altruistic condition, participants' pure altruism beliefs significantly predicted their immediate reactions in help-receiving situation ( $\beta$  = -.34, p < 0.01). The relationship was not significant in the control condition ( $\beta$  = -.16, p = .14) and the selfish condition ( $\beta$  = -.03, p = .73).

Table 03 (Study 3) Means, standard deviations, and correlations with confidence intervals

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Pure Altruism	3.70	0.92								
2. Positive Impression	5.50	0.88	19**							
3.Negative Impression	2.27	1.21	.12	49**						
4. Immediate Reaction	5.57	0.88	13	.78**	50**					
5. Life Satisfaction	4.43	1.55	.13	.27**	.00	.24**				
6. Cynicism	9.62	3.83	.16*	14	.14	20**	40**			
7. Age	38.47	13.87	.01	.13	27**	.20**	.01	25**		
8. poli_e	3.76	1.78	.03	08	.11	05	.18*	04	.16*	
9. poli_s	3.57	1.92	.03	01	.11	02	.18*	.00	.17*	.82**

Note. M and SD are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. The confidence interval is a plausible range of population correlations that could have caused the sample correlation (Cumming, 2014). \* indicates p < .05. \*\* indicates p < .05.

An initial ANCOVA analysis was performed to examine the interaction between condition and pure altruism beliefs. The results showed marginally significant condition \* pure altruism interaction (p=0.106). When interactions between pure altruism beliefs and conditions were examined for each pair of conditions, marginally significant condition \* pure altruism interaction was observed between altruistic and selfish conditions (p=0.053), suggesting that the effect of pure altruism was stronger when the helper was described as behaving altruistically compared to when the helper was described as behaving selfishly. The interactions were nonsignificant for other pairs.

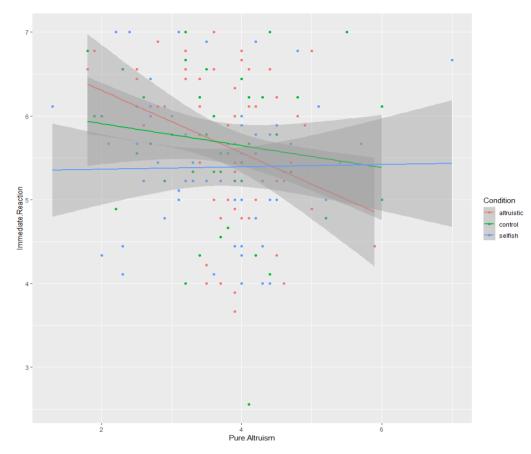


Figure 5. Relationship between pure altruism beliefs and immediate reactions to help (by condition)

# **Positive Impression**

Regression analyses were performed in each condition to assess the relationship between pure altruism and positive impression for each. As predicted, the relationship between pure altruism and positive impression was most pronounced for participants in altruistic condition. Participants' pure altruism beliefs significantly predicted their positive impressions of the

helpers in the altruistic condition ( $\beta$  = -.63, p < .001). The relationship was not significant in the control condition ( $\beta$  = -.28, p =.11) and marginally significant in the selfish condition ( $\beta$  = -.29, p =.08).

No statistically significant condition \* pure altruism interaction was observed in predicting positive impressions.

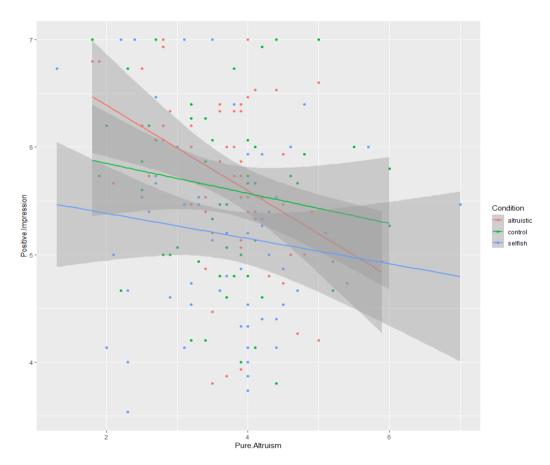


Figure 6. Relationship between pure altruism beliefs and positive impression of the helper (by condition)

## **Negative Impression**

Regression analyses were performed in each condition to assess the relationship between pure altruism and negative impression for each. Participants' negative impression of the helpers was not significantly associated with pure altruism beliefs in any condition ( $\beta$  = .45, p = .17;  $\beta$ = .20, p = .43;  $\beta$  = .21, p = .34 for altruistic, control, and selfish conditions, respectively). No significant interaction was observed between condition and pure altruism beliefs.

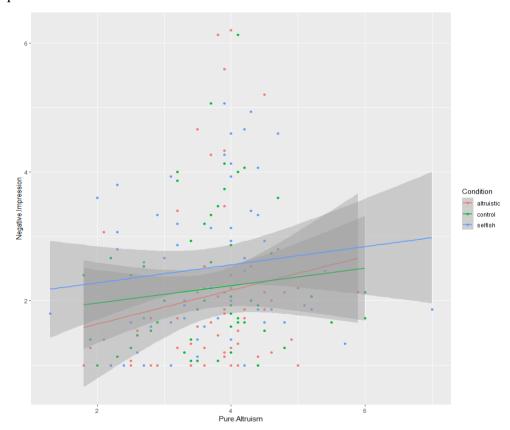


Figure 7. Relationship between pure altruism beliefs and negative impression of the helpers (by condition)

#### Discussion

The patterns observed in the results of study 3 were in accordance with my hypothesis. Relationship between pure altruism beliefs and both participants' immediate reactions and positive character appraisals were observed most strongly when helpers in the scenarios were described as behaving altruistically. This pattern provides tentative support for the idea that people with high beliefs in pure show skepticism even towards those who engage in prosocial behaviors outwardly.

Moreover, marginally significant interaction of condition and pure altruism beliefs was observed between altruistic and selfish conditions when predicting immediate reactions to help. This result implies that participants' pure altruism beliefs act more strongly against their reactions to being helped when the helper is seen as a prosocial actor compared to when the helper is seen as a selfish actor. It seems that skeptics of altruism do not let their guards down even when the helper seems to be an altruistic person.

#### **General Discussion**

Helping behaviors often act as an adhesive that holds societies together and they can be observed everywhere around us. However, despite its ubiquity, the meaning of the word 'altruism' seems to differ from person to person and as a result, people differ significantly in their judgments of other people's seemingly altruistic behaviors. Specifically, stable individual differences exist in people's pure altruism beliefs, beliefs regarding their internal standards about which acts can be called altruistic. People with low pure altruism beliefs hold permissive standards of altruism so that somewhat *impure* helping behaviors are considered altruistic. On the other hand, those with high pure altruism beliefs endorse strict standards of altruism so that only the purest of actions can be called altruistic.

Extending on previous research that revealed the relationship between participants' pure altruism beliefs and their judgments of others' seemingly prosocial behaviors (Choi, Kim, Kim, & Choi, 2019), the current study investigated the effect of pure altruism beliefs on participants' reactions when someone offered to help them.

Three studies tested the relationship between pure altruism beliefs and reactions to being helped. Studies 1 and 2 addressed how participants' appraisals of the situation and their consequent behavioral reactions to being

helped differed by their beliefs in pure altruism. Study 3 investigated a boundary condition that might make the effect of pure altruism on reaction to being helped stronger or weaker. Participants were divided into three conditions with different descriptions of the help-providers and the effect of pure altruism beliefs in each condition was examined.

Combined, the results of the present study provide support for the hypothesis that people with high pure altruism beliefs are less likely to show positive reactions to being helped. Study 1 revealed that participants with high pure altruism beliefs were less likely to show positive initial reactions to being helped and made less positive evaluation of the helpers. Results of Study 2 indicated that participants with high pure altruism beliefs show not only less positive attitude but also less intention to behaviorally return the received favor. Study 3 showed that the negative effect of pure altruism beliefs on reactions to help was more pronounced when the helper was described as a seemingly altruistic person who engages in prosocial behaviors without getting any external benefits compared to when the helper was described as an egoistic person who engages in prosocial behaviors with selfish goals in mind.

This result implies that people with high pure altruism beliefs are more likely than people with low pure altruism beliefs to show skeptical attitudes towards seemingly altruistic individuals. Because high pure altruism is

associated with negative attitudes and skepticism towards prosocial actors (Choi, Kim, Kim, & Choi, 2019), participants with high pure altruism beliefs show relatively negative attitudes towards seemingly altruistic helpers compared to participants with low pure altruism beliefs.

The current research makes contributions to two different fields of research. First, literature on helping behaviors have been focusing primarily on determinants of helping behaviors and its effects on actors while relatively less attention has been paid to the receiving end of the helping behaviors (Fisher, Nadler, and Whitcher-Alagna, 1982; Liu & Loi, 2017). When investigated, internal variables associated with self-esteem have been the focus of such studies (Fisher et al., 1982; Nadler & Fisher, 1986). The current research expands the scope of literature on helping behavior by presenting a new predictor that affects people's reactions to being helped.

Second, the current study contributes to the literature on altruism. Previous research on altruism has focused a lot on whether altruism is possible or not but there has not been a conclusive answer yet (Feigin, Owens, & Goodyear-Smith, 2014). The results of the current study hints at a possibility that a new paradigm focusing on lay beliefs about what it means to be altruistic may be necessary in order to get a clearer picture of the dispute.

Results of the current study has implications in our daily lives as well.

Pervasiveness of helping behaviors makes understanding of helping behaviors an important topic for everyone. By investigating the interplay between people's internal standards of altruism and their reactions to being helped, the current study can help us broaden our understanding of daily helping interactions. It is possible that endorsing low beliefs in pure altruism (i.e. lenient standards of altruism) will have positive effects on both the helper and the recipient. A recipient with low pure altruism beliefs will be able to receive help when needed more often than a recipient with high pure altruism beliefs. From the perspective of the help providers, it will be better to help the person with low pure altruism beliefs since such a person will be more likely to return the favor.

There are several limitations to the current study. The first limitation is that the study used vignettes instead of actual behaviors to examine people's reactions to being helped. Although imaginary scenarios are widely used to study people's behaviors, some psychologists have suggested that there can be pitfalls in using self-report results to talk about actual behaviors (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977; Baumeister, Vohs, & Funder, 2007). Studies using participants' actual behaviors will be necessary to thoroughly grasp the relationship between pure altruism beliefs and reactions to being helped.

Second limitation of the current study is that there may be certain

confounding variables that have not yet been addressed in the study. For instance, previous studies in helping behavior indicate that threat to self-esteem can significantly affect recipients' reactions to help (Fisher, Nadler, & Whitcher-Alagna, 1982; Nadler & Fisher, 1986). Future research investigating how pure altruism beliefs interact with participants' sense of self-esteem will contribute significantly to our understanding of the factors affecting reactions to help.

The third limitation is that the connection between Study 1 and Study 2 was not explicitly tested. Although the hypothesized relationship between the results of study 1 (tests of immediate reaction) and the results of study 2 (tests of behavioral intentions) was such that participants' reactions to help-receiving situations would affect their behavioral intentions later on, two studies were conducted separately and the mediating effect of participants' immediate reactions on their subsequent behaviors was not examined in the current research. Further study examining this mediating relationship will help us obtain more precise understanding of the effects of pure altruism beliefs on reactions to being helped.

The final limitation of the study is that the vignettes used in the study presented only the situations in which the help-giving was relatively easy. If the presented situations were more difficult situations that required significant

sacrifices from the helpers, participants' overall reactions to help would have been more positive and the difference based on pure altruism belief levels among the participants may have been masked by the effect of task difficulty. In order to ensure the comprehensiveness of the current findings, future studies examining the pure altruism beliefs' interaction with task difficulty will be necessary.

#### Conclusion

The current research offers a new insight into a previously undiscovered determinant of what makes some people respond more positively to help than others. Participants with high standards of what counts as an altruistic action were less likely to show positive reactions to being helped than participants with more lenient standards. Moreover, the relationship between pure altruism beliefs and reactions to being helped was manifest most strongly when the help-giving person was described as a seemingly altruistic person. To someone with cynical attitudes about altruism who believes that no action can be called truly altruistic, it does not matter if the help provider is an altruistic person or a selfish person. In such a person's worldview, everyone, no matter how altruistic the person seems on the surface, is hiding their true face.

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sacrificed-his-life-for-his-fellow-man-during-ww2/

- 1. Helping others to build a positive reputation cannot be considered altruistic.
- 2. Helping others to feel good about themselves is not altruistic.
- 3. Helping others to avoid feeling guilty for not helping cannot be considered altruistic.
- 4. Helping others to gain actual benefits (e.g., return of favor or tax benefits, learning experience, or business contacts) is not altruistic.
- 5. Helping others to fulfill their duty as members of a society cannot be considered altruistic.
- 6. Even if one is helping others in order to receive praise, helping in and of itself is altruistic. ®
- 7. Helping others so that one can feel good about oneself can be considered altruistic. ®
- 8. If one is helping others to avoid feeling guilty for not helping, it is nonetheless an act of altruism. ®
- 9. Even if one is helping others in order to gain actual benefits (e.g., return of favor or tax benefit, learning experience, or business contacts), it is still an act of altruism. ®
- 10. Helping others as a way to fulfill one's responsibility for the society should still be considered altruistic. ®

## Appendix B

## Study 1

## Vignette 1)

Please for a moment imagine that you are an employee at a prestigious consulting company. One day, your boss assigns seven different assignments for you to complete within a week. According to your approximation, most of the assignments are simple and easy. You might even be able to finish them quickly if you work efficiently. Nevertheless, you are slightly annoyed at the prospect of dealing with them.

As you are pondering how to effectively manage all seven challenges, you notice Sam, one of your fellow employees (with whom you are not very closely acquainted), walking by. Noticing your pile of work, Sam offers to help you with them.

#### Vignette 2)

Please for a moment imagine that you are a college student residing in a dormitory room. One day, the corner of the dorm where you live catches fire and that part of the building can no longer function properly. You now have no choice but to move to an empty room in another dormitory building. Since the dormitory you will be moving to is not very far, the process of packing and moving can be managed on your own. However, there are several heavy boxes to carry and you will have to move back and forth several times to finish your move. You are displeased at the prospect of the move.

As you are working in your room packing, you notice Jackie, one of your acquaintances at college (with whom you are not very close), walking by your room. Noticing your pile of boxes, Jackie offers to help you with the move.

# Vignette 3)

Please for a moment imagine that you are a new transfer student at a college who has been there for only two weeks. Your new school has a somewhat large campus and you are still not very comfortable finding your ways around the campus. One day, you get lost while trying to get to a building located in a relatively secluded area of the campus. You know that you will

be able to find the building if you walk around for a while. Nevertheless, you would like to reach your destination quickly if possible.

While wandering around, you notice Alex, a student who is taking the same class as you. You two are not very close but you know each other's names. Noticing your frustration, Alex approaches you and offers to help you find your way.

## Study 2

## Vignette 1)

Please for a moment imagine that you are an employee at a prestigious consulting company. One day, your boss assigns seven different assignments for you to complete within a week. According to your approximation, most of the assignments are simple and easy. You might even be able to finish them all in a single day if you work efficiently. Nevertheless, you are slightly annoyed at the prospect of dealing with them.

As you are pondering how to effectively manage all seven challenges, Sam, one of your fellow employees (with whom you are not very closely acquainted), notices your pile of assignments and offers to help you with them. You accept the offer and Sam helps you.

## Vignette 2)

Please for a moment imagine that you are a college student residing in a dormitory room. One day, the corner of the dorm where you live catches fire and that part of the building can no longer function properly. You now have no choice but to move to an empty room in another dormitory building. Since the dormitory you will be moving to is not very far, the process of packing and moving can be managed on your own. However, there are several heavy boxes to carry and you will have to move back and forth several times to finish your move. You are displeased at the prospect of the move.

As you are working in your room packing your things in preparation for the move, you notice Jackie, one of your acquaintances at college (with whom you are not very close), walking by your room. Jackie, noticing your boxes and bags, offers to help you with the move. You accept the offer and Jackie helps you with the move.

## Vignette 3)

Please for a moment imagine that you are a new transfer student at a college who has been there for only two weeks. Your new school has a somewhat large campus and you are still not very comfortable finding your ways around the campus. One day, you get lost while trying to get to a building located in a relatively secluded area of the campus. You know that you will be able to find the building if you walk around for a while. Nevertheless, you would like to reach your destination quickly if possible.

While wandering around trying to find your destination, you notice Alex, a student who is taking the same class as you. You two are not very close but you know each other's names. Alex, noticing your frustration, offers to help you find the way. You accept the offer and Alex guides you to your destination.

## Study 3

## Vignette 1)

Please for a moment imagine that you are an employee at a prestigious consulting company. One day, your boss assigns seven different assignments for you to complete within a week. According to your approximation, it will be possible for you to complete the assignments within the week but you will have to exhaust yourself a little bit (not getting enough sleep, etc.) in order to do that. You feel annoyed at the prospect of working through them.

#### → Selfish condition

As you are pondering how to effectively manage all seven challenges, one of your fellow employees notices your pile of assignments and offers to help you with them. You are not very close with the person. One thing you know about the person is that he is participating in a service program twice a month to help the elderly and disabled. He receives decent payments for the work.

#### → Altruistic condition

As you are pondering how to effectively manage all seven challenges, one of your fellow employees notices your pile of assignments and offers to help you with them. You are not very close with the person. One thing you know about the person is that he is participating in a volunteer service program twice a month to help the elderly and disabled. He receives no payment for the work.

#### → Control condition

As you are pondering how to effectively manage all seven challenges, one of your fellow employees notices your pile of assignments and offers to help you with them. You are not very close with the person. One thing you know about the person is that his favorite food is pepperoni pizza.

# Vignette 2)

Please for a moment imagine that you are a college student residing in a dormitory room. One day, the floor you live in catches fire and that part of the building can no longer function properly. You now have no choice but to move to empty rooms in other dormitory buildings. Since the dormitory you will be moving to is not too far away, all the packing and moving can be managed on your own. However, there are still some big boxes to carry and you will have to move back and forth several times in order to complete your move. You are displeased at the prospect of the move.

#### → Selfish condition

As you are working in your room with your last packages, one of your fellow students notices your pile of boxes and offers to help you with them. You are not very close with the person. One thing you know about the person is that he is a member of the on-campus UNICEF group, an organization designed to help needy children around the world. He rarely participates in the group's activities although he included his group membership in his resume.

#### → Altruistic condition

As you are working in your room with your last packages, one of your fellow students notices your pile of boxes and offers to help you with them. You are not very close with the person. One thing you know about the person is that he is an active member of the on-campus UNICEF group, an organization designed to help needy children around the world. He actively participates in most of the group's activities without getting much in return.

#### → Control condition

As you are working in your room with your last packages, one of your fellow students notices your pile of boxes and offers to help you with them. You are not very close with the person. One thing you know about the person is that he is majoring in psychology.

## Vignette 3)

Please for a moment imagine that you are travelling on a foreign country on your own. While travelling, you unfortunately get lost and cannot find your way back to your hotel. Because the town you are visiting is not very big, you are confident that you will be able to find your hotel after some hours of wandering around. However, you feel tired after all the sightseeing and want to go back to your hotel room as soon as possible.

#### → Selfish condition

As you are wandering around trying to find your way back home, someone approaches you and offers to help you find your way if you are lost. You notice that he is a waiter at a restaurant where you had lunch. When you were having lunch, you saw him picking up a wallet dropped by a passerby and returning it to its owner. When he was offered compensation for the action, he readily accepted the payment.

#### → Altruistic condition

As you are wandering around trying to find your way back home, someone approaches you and offers to help you find your way if you are lost. You notice that he is a waiter at a restaurant where you had lunch. When you were having lunch, you saw him picking up a wallet dropped by a passerby and returning it to its owner. When he was offered compensation for the action, he refused to accept it.

#### → Control condition

As you are wandering around trying to find your way back home, someone approaches you and offers to help you find your way if you are lost. You notice that he is a waiter at a restaurant where you had lunch. When you were having lunch, you saw him chatting with some of his fellow employees.

# 국문 초록

타인의 이타적인 행동에 대한 평가 및 판단은 종종 개인이 가진 이타성에 대한 기준에 따라서 달라지곤 한다. 하지만 이러한 중요성에도 불구하고 이타적인 행동의 정의에 대해 사람들 사이에 나타나는 차이에 대해서는 상대적으로 연구가 덜 이루어져 왔다. 본 연구에서는 특정 행동이 동기 및 행동에 있어서 얼마나 순수해야 이타적이라고 할 수 있는지에 대한 믿음, 즉 순수 이타성에 대한 믿음이 도움을 받는 상황에서의 태도에 미치는 영향을 알아보았다. 연구 1 과 2에서는 순수 이타성에 대한 믿음이 높을수록 도움을 받는 상황에 대해 덜 긍정적으로 반응하며 도움을 되갚고자 하는 의도도 덜 드러내는 것으로 나타났다. 연구 3에서는 이러한 효과가 도움을 주는 사람이 이타적인 사람으로 묘사되었을 때 더 강하게 드러난다는 결과가 나타났다.

주요어 : 순수 이타성, 도움 행동, 이타심

**학** 번:2017-29649