EMPATHY AS AN ANTECEDENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE BEHAVIOR

A Thesis by MATTHEW STEPHEN CARTABUKE

Submitted to the Graduate School at Appalachian State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS

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APPROVED BY:
James Westerman Chairperson, Thesis Committee
Shawn M. Bergman Member, Thesis Committee
Brian Whitaker Member, Thesis Committee
James C. Denniston Chairperson, Department of Psychology
Max C. Poole Dean, Cratis Williams Graduate School

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Abstract

EMPATHY AS AN ANTECEDENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE BEHAVIOR

Matthew Cartabuke

B.A., Florida State University

B.S., Florida State University

M.A., Appalachian State University

M.B.A., Appalachian State University

Chairperson: Jim Westerman, Ph.D.

This paper examines empathy as an antecedent to perceptions of societal fairness as

measured by four different business variables. These include concern for the Occupy Wall

Street movement, social justice fairness, corporate social responsibility, and socially

responsible attitudes. Previous research on empathy has consistently demonstrated that

empathy is an antecedent to both altruistic and prosocial behavior. In addition, research has

demonstrated that empathy is related to ethical behavior in business students. Building upon

this foundation, this study examines empathy as a construct and the hypothesis that empathy

is an antecedent for social justice fairness perceptions. Demonstrating that empathy is linked

to social justice variables would have important implications in the selection and

development of business students and business academic programs. Moreover, after the

recent business scandals in the wake of the 2008 financial collapse, selecting ethical leaders

who possess the trait of empathy will become increasingly important in the future as these

leaders will embrace social justice initiatives.

Keywords: empathy, social justice, ethical behavior

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Foreword

This thesis is written in accordance with the style of the *Publication Manual of the*American Psychological Association (6th Edition) as required by the Department of

Psychology at Appalachian State University.

Empathy as an Antecedent of Social Justice Behavior Matthew S. Cartabuke Appalachian State University

Empathy as an Antecedent of Social Justice Behavior

A recent article in *Forbes* magazine underscores the importance of empathy in business behavior by recognizing that, in order for teams to function, one of the most important qualities an employee can have is empathy. The author even refers to empathy as a changemaker in business (Boyers, 2013). Despite this observation, current business leaders may be lacking in empathy, which leads to violations of ethics and social justice principles. In the wake of the financial collapse of 2008, many questions have arisen regarding whether business practices were ethically and socially just and responsible. Business leaders were criticized for lacking compassion and not expressing remorse for the havoc created at an individual and societal level. This perceived violation of social justice by corporations has resulted in movements like Occupy Wall Street and the minimum wage protests. This has also encouraged a debate about CEO pay. "Every spring, the major business publications announce the top-paid executives in the country. Without fail, this sparks a flurry of articles detailing stockholder disgust with CEO pay and vitriolic demands that something be done" (Milkovich, Newman, & Gerhart, 2011, pp. 480-481).

A recent op-ed sums up the current state of empathy in business well: (1) those who self-identify themselves as lower-class identify with a larger in-group; (2) the idea that suffering is a prerequisite step before compassion can take place; and (3) that even moral emotion itself is not randomly distributed across social classes, with moral emotion, especially compassion, being more common among those who self-identify as lower-class (Fitz, 2013). Fitz's conclusions are based on studies conducted by Stellar, Manzo, Kraus, and Keltner (2011), in which they investigated class-based differences in dispositional compassion and its activation in situations wherein others are suffering. In the highly

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competitive, dynamic, and volatile nature of today's businesses, having leaders who possess the trait of empathy will become increasingly important to meet the demands that organizations will face in the future such as sustainability by an increasingly knowledgeable customer base who holds organizations accountable. Current research has also shown that empathy levels are actually decreasing among U.S. college students (Konrath, O'Brien, & Hsing, 2011). Previously, research on empathy has been relegated to the realms of social and personality psychology; however, recent studies have begun to look at empathy from a business perspective, including its link to ethical business behaviors. Ethical business behaviors often overlap with social justice issues, such as issues related to environment sustainability and distributive justice. This study seeks to further this research on both empathy and social justice and examine the relationship between the two. A socially just society is one that is built upon equality and solidarity and recognizes the value of human beings. Violations of social justice have caused friction in society. For example, the "One Percent" documentary highlights the increasing gap between the wealthy elite and the overall population ("The one percent", 2007). This has raised important issues regarding equity and fairness in the way organizations conduct business and the way they treat their employees.

Therefore, it is important to examine empathy as an antecedent to perceptions of societal fairness, which is social justice. Keeping in mind that empathy has been demonstrated to be an antecedent to both altruistic and prosocial behavior, one would expect empathy to be related to perceptions of societal fairness as well. It can be assumed that those who hold social justice attitudes would also engage in behaviors related to social justice and if they were in business would influence their organization to embrace social justice

initiatives as well. This is because attitudes are a strong predictor of future behavior (Kraus, 1995).

If empathy can be linked to social justice variables, this would have important implications in the selection and development of business students and business academic programs. Perhaps, in the future, business and universities will consider selecting students based on empathy. By selecting students based on empathy, universities could ensure that future business leaders are more ethical and more concerned with equity in society.

Additionally, business schools and organizations could use training to increase the empathy of their students and leaders, respectively. These leaders would be less likely to violate the rights of others and promote social justice. As organizations select these leaders, social injustice might be mitigated by proactive measures such individuals would endorse to reduce the inequities that currently afflict society. Therefore, demonstrating that empathy is an antecedent to social justice behavior is a crucial and necessary step to reducing injustice in society and promoting equity. A key stakeholder and contributor to reducing injustices in society are organizations and businesses, both large and small.

Before examining the relationship between empathy and social justice, a definition of empathy will be provided, and an examination of empathy from various perspectives will be presented. Next, constructs that are both related to and distinct from empathy will be examined. Previous research has linked empathy to a variety of important outcomes including altruism, pro-social behavior, and ethical behavior. Building upon this foundation, the author will examine empathy as an antecedent to perceptions of societal fairness as measured by four different business variables including concern for the Occupy Wall Street

movement, social justice fairness, corporate social responsibility, and socially responsible attitudes.

What is social justice?

Social justice has a long and varied history. The concept of social justice actually dates back to ancient Greece and Aristotle. Aristotle had two main tenants of social justice. The first, distributive justice, concerned the interactions between people with respect to rights, positions, powers, and other benefits. The other tenant, rectifactory justice, concerned private transactions between individuals (Nussbaum, 1992). Distributive justice would become a foundation for the modern idea of social justice. The modern concept of social justice emerged during the 1840s in Britain and France as industrialization began to take hold. Injustices committed by employers against their employees were questioned, as were inequalities among social classes. Some of the fundamental principles of society were challenged; the idea of social justice emerged that suggested that society could be changed at its very core to become more equitable to all (Barry, 2005). Over time, the concept of social justice expanded beyond labor relations to include any aspect of society that was unequal or unfair. Social justice sanctions a distribution of opportunities, rights, and resources that strive to correct systematic inequities that occur in major social institutions (Miller, 1979). In this way, social justice is often thought of in conjunction with distributive justice. In fact, social justice and distributive justice are often used interchangeably (Miller, 1999). Social justice can be viewed as institutionalized arrangements by society that permit each person to contribute fully to their own and society's well-being. Miller (1999) states three assumptions that are associated with social justice: (1) that society is bonded with determinate

membership forming a web of distribution, (2) that the institutions that distribute justice can be understood, and (3) that there is a way to change the institutional structure.

One of the more popular theories of social justice is posited by Rawls (2001). This theory primarily is concerned with "justice as fairness." Rawls supports the idea that social justice is generally related to distributive justice and the distribution of opportunities, rights, and resources among members of society. Rawls also includes the obligation to take care of less well off/disadvantaged in his definition of social justice. Therefore, social justice is part of a social contract. Rawls postulates that all people under the social contract have "equal liberties" and this must be achieved before allowing equal opportunity. Rawls argues that people will "play by the rules" so long as the conditions are fair. This is necessary because public support is required for social justice initiatives to take hold. Much like the general social justice theory discussed previously, equality is the main idea behind Rawls' theory. At its core, Rawls argues that the basic necessities must be available to all members of society.

Miller (1999) also provides an interesting view of social justice. Miller attempted to articulate the principles that people actually use when judging whether or not society is just. Miller adds that the context of the situation equally as important as people's judgments. Miller specifically states that social justice can be assessed by determining how resources are allocated to people by social institutions. Whether something is just or unjust depends on how it is distributed within society. In Miller's view, social justice has been achieved when people treat one another as equals in a manner that is not self-interested or egocentric. Miller's theory focuses on the concepts of need, desert, and equality. Need has to do with lacking basic necessities or being in a constant state of threat of being harmed. Desert is the idea that individuals should be rewarded based on how well they perform. Equality refers to

the idea that society regards each person as equal and that rights should be distributed equally.

Among these various theories of social justice, at their core, they trace their origins to Aristotle's fundamental idea of distributive justice. Later formulations would take the foundation laid by Aristotle and apply creative and innovative modifications. For example, Miller (1979) used social justice to refer to the distribution of opportunities, rights, and resources, thus expanding on this idea of distributive justice as an obligation to correct the inequality of distribution. Rawls' (2001) definition of social justice echoes that of Miller, but imparts an ethical imperative for individuals to act equitably as part of the social contract.

Social justice is important because it has to do with equity in society. Social justice involves attempting to reform institutions that are inherently unfair or biased. Social justice involves restoring or gaining equality for disadvantaged groups. Often issues of social justice have to do with ethical and/or human rights violations. Therefore social justice is important and beneficial to society, as it attempts to correct broad issues that disproportionately affect certain groups. As Miller (2003, p. 71) points out regarding current economic disparities, citizens believe: 1) the gap between the rich and the poor today is too large; 2) the minimum wage is not a living wage; and 3) the amount of money being paid to those at the top is too excessive and they have not earned it. An article by Piff, Stancato, Côté, Mendoza-Denton, and Keltner (2012) found that upper class individuals were more likely behave in unethical ways and endorse unethical behavior by breaking driving laws, taking goods from others, telling lies in negotiations, and cheating. If business leaders who mostly belong to the upper class are not concerned with social justice, individuals look to political institutions to correct perceived inequities or pressure the business itself to reform.

Recently, when President Obama appointed Sonia Sotomayor to the Supreme Court, he discussed the idea of the current "empathy deficit" and that he wanted to choose a judge 'with that quality of empathy, of understanding and identifying with people's hopes and struggles' (Szalavitz, 2009). The implication is that Obama recognizes that influential decision makers need to possess empathic qualities. Empathy can be thought of as trust in one another. Research by Zak and Knack (2001) has shown that countries and regions where there is little trust tend to lag in economic development and growth. In other words, the level of trust strongly predicts poverty. Their research found that the highest trust and economic growth occurred in Scandinavian countries while the lowest trust occurred in Brazil.

Zak and Knack (2001) believe that it is not a systematic difference between countries and cultures that provides these results. Instead they point to the setting in which a transaction takes place. They built a model which demonstrated that the degree of trust in a country is inversely related to the transactions costs associated with enforcing an investment contract. In their model, trust depends on the social environment (how similar or dissimilar are those in a transaction and how strongly social norms are enforced); the legal environment (how effectively contracts are enforced by formal institutions); and the economic environment (as incomes rise, people will behave as if they trust others more because their time cost to investigate their trading partner rises; conversely, as income inequality rises, it is more likely that one's trading partner will be untrustworthy because there are differences between exchanging parties, and therefore incentives to cheat are greater). Zak and Knack's (2001) model accounted for 76% of the variance in the cross-cultural country data. Their research also demonstrated that societies that are more homogeneous have higher trust because social ties between parties who are similar usually serve to informally enforce

contracts. For similar reasons, societies that are fair (less economic discrimination) have higher trust.

Additionally, strong formal institutions, such as those found in the United States, can also promote trust even in a heterogeneous society like the United States. As economist David Madland (2011) points out, "Studies across U.S. states, of the United States over time, and across countries all find that societies with a strong middle class and low levels of inequality have greater levels of trust of strangers." This evidence is corroborated by the work of Rothstein and Uslaner (2005). Furthermore, as Zak, Borja, Matzner, and Kurzban (2005) demonstrated, as trust decreases transaction costs increase. Lack of trust functions as a tax on transactions, which in turn inhibits economic growth as a result. Clearly levels of empathy in a society have serious potential implications for economic growth. Dincer, Oguzhan, Uslaner (2010) found that a 10 percentage-point increase in trust increases the growth rate of GDP by 0.5 percentage points. International studies have also confirmed this finding (Jordahl, 2007). Furthermore, William Easterly's (2007) research found that when comparing across countries, inequality actually suppresses economic growth. If empathy is related to social justice, an increase in empathy could lead to more concern for social justice, which could spur economic growth.

The variables used in this study include concern for the Occupy Wall Street movement, corporate social responsibility, socially responsible attitudes as well as a measure of distributive justice that examines societal fairness. This is consistent with the literature mentioned previously. All of the literature cited from Aristotle's original idea to Miller (1999) and Rawls' (2001) modern ideas of social justice seem to converge on the concept that social justice should be thought of as distributive justice. In this study, social justice is

thought of as distributive justice, which refers to an equitable distribution of rights, properties, privileges, and resources among the members of society. These can also be thought of as the modern embodiment of social justice and social justice attitudes. The Occupy Wall Street movement's goal is to correct the perceived income gap between rich and poor, which is represented in their slogan, "we are the 99%," which represents the fact that the top 1% of the population in the world controls half of the world's wealth (OXFAM, 2014). Distributive justice is reflected in this variable because the goal of the movement is to achieve income equity through a more equitable distribution of wealth. Related to the concept of distributive justice is corporate social responsibility (CSR), which is a multidimensional construct encompassing commitment to society, employees, customers, and the government. In other words, the definition of stakeholder is expanded beyond a company's financial and ownership stakeholders to include society and the environment. Therefore, it is linked to distributive justice by examining the extent to which corporations benefit the environment as well as society. One way to achieve these benefits includes contributing to social programs that help achieve distributive justice. People who hold socially responsible attitudes are willing to accept responsibility for their actions and accept the consequences of their behavior and are those who are trustworthy, dependable, and fulfill their obligations to the group. It is linked to distributive justice because those who hold socially responsible attitudes would feel a stronger sense of obligation to the group and therefore have a desire to make their actions affect the group in a positive manner. One way to accomplish this is to achieve greater equality of outcomes for all members of the group. The last measure and depedent variable used in this study is societal fairness. Since this measure uses a scale of distributive justice, it is self-evident that this measure is a reflection of distributive justice.

The variables used in this study are macro-level variables looking at macro-level social justice concerns. The variables utilized in this study take a broader, philosophical view and focus. In other words, these variables extend beyond the limited scope of the organizational justice construct traditionally found in business literature and provide a more comprehensive and holistic view of social justice than that provided by the more limited construct of justice. Currently, research has not examined the link between social justice and empathy, allowing this study to make a unique contribution to the business literature.

What is empathy?

Feeling empathy is defined as reacting to another's feelings with an emotional response in kind (Damon, 1988). As such, empathy encompasses other-oriented feelings congruent with the perceived welfare of another individual. Thus, empathy can be thought of as an emotional state (Batson, Turk, Shaw, & Klein, 1995; Hodges & Meyers, 2007) resulting from an ability to recognize the emotions that are experienced by others; empathy can reduce the perceived distinctions and differences between one's self and others. One must recognize the perspective of others in order to understand and "experience" their emotions. Thus, in order to recognize emotions experienced by others, one must be able to perceive and effectively take another's perspective and take into consideration how others will be affected by one's choices. Batson, Batson, Todd, Brummett, Shaw, and Aldeguer (1995) summarize these two conditions as necessary and sufficient for the induction of empathy: 1) perception of other's needs, and 2) adoption of the other's perspective.

As a corollary, Funder and Harris (1986) found empathy to be highly correlated with self-monitoring, which is the ability to be aware of one's effects on others. Self-monitoring is an important constituent of empathy because being able to understand how one's actions

affect others is a necessary antecedent to choosing a course of action that has a positive or a negative impact on a person or group. If those low on empathy have diminished self-monitoring, one may surmise that they will not care about how their actions adversely affect others. Batson, Turk, Shaw, and Klein (1995) demonstrated that empathy was associated with valuing the welfare of another individual. They specifically found that similarity between individuals and direct manipulations of inducing perspective-taking led to increased valuing of another person's welfare and, in turn, led to increased empathy when the person was in need. These results suggest empathy is an important component in valuing the welfare of others. It appears that more empathy leads to a greater valuing and concern for others, while little empathy leads to diminished valuing and concern.

In contrast to the view of empathy as an emotional state, some researchers view empathy as an ability or disposition. Rushton (1986) demonstrated that empathy may be heritable (self-reported empathy in male and female mono-zygotic and di-zygotic twins indicated an overall Falconer's heritability of 68%). This research suggests empathy as a personality trait and suggests it be added to the Big Five basic personality factors of openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and emotional stability/neuroticism (Caprara, Barbaranelli, & Comrey, 1995). These results suggest that perhaps empathy is at least partially heritable, and individuals are predisposed to empathic states. This study utilizes the dispositional view of empathy.

Goodman (2000) suggests that empathy can be thought of as a personal relationship someone has with an individual from an oppressed group and that they can relate their own experiences to the experiences of others; they feel a sense of connection or "we-ness." Kohn (1990) similarly explains that empathy allows us to connect with others and care about those

we see as different. Hoffman (1989) describes prosocial activism as a sustained action in the service of improving another person's or groups' life conditions by working with them or by trying to change society on their behalf. He explains that this focuses on understanding that the person belongs to another social group and is experiencing distress. Goodman (2000) also notes potential constraints on empathy, and states that individuals may be less likely to experience empathy if their own needs feel more pressing than those of others, if the victims are seen as accountable or deserving of their fate, if others are seen as too different from themselves, or if a situation feels too psychologically threatening. All of these views (emotional response, dispositional, and group identity-based) still support the fundamental idea that empathy involves perspective taking, that empathy involves the ability to react to another's emotional response with congruent feelings, and that another's condition is valued. However, this study takes the view of empathy as a quasi-personality trait with dispositional components. In other words, empathy in this study is measured and treated as a trait.

What empathy is not. Empathy and its relationship to other contemporary constructs

In an effort to further clarify the construct, empathy has been viewed as a distinct and separate construct from narcissism and as a similar but slightly distinct construct from emotional intelligence. The term narcissism is derived from the Greek myth of Narcissus, a hunter renowned for his exceptional beauty. In psychological terms narcissism consists of feelings that one is superior or special, entitled to special or preferential treatment, that one is allowed to exploit others, and involves having grandiose perceptions or fantasies about how great oneself is (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Emotional intelligence is the ability to perceive emotions, to use emotions to access and help with thought processes, to understand emotions and have knowledge of emotions, and to regulate emotions to promote growth (Mayer &

Salovey, 1997). Researchers in both industrial-organizational psychology and business have extensively researched emotional intelligence and narcissism.

Narcissism is a personality construct that is considered to be distinct from empathy. A factor analysis conducted by Munro, Bore, and Powis (2005) supports the hypothesis of separate dimensions for narcissism and empathy. Their results demonstrated that empathy was positively correlated with emotional intelligence, extraversion, open-mindedness, and compliance with others and negatively correlated with aloofness. Compared with the narcissism factor, the empathetic relationships factor involves more positive relations with altruism, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and low psychoticism. The narcissism factor was related to disagreeableness, aggressiveness, aloofness from others, sensitivity to rewards, and anxiety. This supports the idea that narcissism and empathy have separate and distinct dimensions. However, they are not total opposites as the areas where they differ do not overlap completely. It can be expected, therefore, that the antecedents of empathy and narcissism will lead to very different behavioral outcomes.

In an examination of empathy and its relationship to emotional intelligence, Schutte, Malouff, and Bobik (2001) found that those individuals who scored higher on emotional intelligence also had higher scores on empathetic perspective taking and self-monitoring in social situations, suggesting that empathy is a component of emotional intelligence. Note, once again, that perspective taking and self monitoring are both related to empathy as a construct. Although, emotional intelligence appears to be related to overall empathy, in and of itself, it is not a measure of empathy. Emotional intelligence consists of four branches: perceiving emotions, facilitating thought, understanding emotions, and managing emotions (MSCEIT; Brackett & Salovey, 2004). Although Schutte, Malouff, and Bobik (2001) found

some overlap with empathy, the overall scale was created to look at the intersection of emotion and intelligence, not empathy specifically. It is possible to have significant emotional intelligence but, in the absence of the necessary components including valuing individual welfare, lack significant empathy.

Positive outcomes of empathy.

Empathy has been established as an antecedent to many positive outcomes including altruism, prosocial behavior, and ethical behavior. Altruism is considered to be a selfless behavior that is performed to benefit another without the expectation of receiving rewards or avoiding punishments. Empathy appears to induce altruistic motivation to help others. Batson, Duncan, Ackerman, Buckley, and Birch (1981) tested this relationship by having subjects watch another female undergraduate receive electric shocks and then giving them an opportunity to help her by assuming the remaining shocks. Levels of empathetic emotion (low vs. high) and ease of escape (easy vs. difficult) were manipulated. Subjects feeling a high degree of empathy for the victim were ready to help, whether escape was easy or difficult, demonstrating that empathy leads to altruistic motivation. Increasing the other's welfare is both necessary and sufficient to attain an altruistic end-state goal. If behavior is altruistic, then the goal of reducing the other's distress can only be achieved through their assistance, which supports the empathy-altruism hypothesis. Removing the effects of perceived attractiveness or the likability of the victim, somewhat surprisingly, did not influence the motivation to help.

Toi and Batson (1982) provided further evidence of support for the empathy-altruism relationship. Subjects in a low-empathy experimental condition helped less when escape was easy. This indicates that such subjects had an egoistic goal of reducing their own distress.

Subjects in a high empathy condition were very likely to assist the victim even when escape was easy, indicating that their behavior was directed toward the altruistic goal of reducing the distress of the person in need. In other words, more empathy increased the likelihood of helping, regardless of escape condition, suggesting altruism. The findings of this study support the relationship between empathy and outcomes that involve selflessly caring for and assisting others.

Empathy has also been associated with general prosocial behavior. Prosocial behavior (of which altruism is a factor) is defined as voluntary, intentional behavior that results in benefits for another (or society). Eisenberg and Miller (1987) examined the relationship between empathy and prosocial behaviors using a variety of experimental induction procedures and manipulations. Low to moderate positive relations were found between empathy and prosocial behavior and cooperative/socially competent behavior.

Research also indicates that empathy is related to ethical behavior. Ethical behavior is considered to be behavior that is morally correct, the latter depending on the moral principle or imperative that is to be maximized. Brown, Sautter, Levente, Sautter, and Bearnes (2010) examined empathy and narcissism as moderators of ethical decision making in business students. Findings demonstrated that empathetic and narcissistic personality traits were significant predictors of ethical decision making (even when controlling for age, gender, and GPA of the students).

To summarize, empathy leads to higher valuing of the welfare of those in need; those higher on empathy are more altruistic and demonstrate enhanced levels of prosocial and ethical behavior. Considering this, it is interesting that little research has been performed

examining the relationship of empathy to social justice. The next section will explore the hypothesized relationship between empathy and social justice.

Empathy and social justice.

If empathy is related to altruism, prosocial, and ethical behavior, it would seem reasonable to conclude that empathy would also be related to concern for social justice issues. Participants experiencing empathy may be more likely to support social justice issues, as they represent facets of society that are unfair (in some cases immoral), and may be motivated to correct these inequities.

The relationship between empathy and altruism suggests that those who are highly empathetic will be selfless, more likely to value others and help them, more likely to see the need for change, and more likely to embrace social justice issues. Less empathetic individuals will not be as concerned with social justice issues because they cannot easily identify or relate to others' perspectives. If empathy leads to prosocial behavior, individuals higher on empathy will be more interested in promoting social justice, as social justice represents a form of prosocial behavior (and they will want to address inequalities that exist in society). Finally, ethical behavior is important as social justice can also be considered an intrinsic component of the stakeholder model of ethical behavior (Freeman, 1984). Social justice involves the consideration of environment, community, and society combined with principles of fairness and equity. Empathetic business leaders are more likely to model ethical decisions reflecting broader stakeholder profiles and engage in ethical behaviors that are more consistent with social justice issues.

However, research to date has not examined the relationship between empathy and concern for social justice issues. If empathy is an antecedent for ethically and socially

responsible behavior, this would underscore the importance of the potential for empathy as a selection tool and training opportunity for future business leaders. If there is a failure to take empathy into account, the selection or development of business leaders may lead to unfavorable social and corporate justice outcomes including reduced corporate social responsibility. This study asserts a positive relationship between empathy and perceptions of societal fairness as measured by concern for the Occupy Wall Street movement and social justice fairness and business fairness as measured by corporate social responsibility and socially responsible attitudes. A negative relationship between empathy and distributive justice is expected as those who are high on empathy will see less equity in the distribution of rights and benefits within society. Each of these dependent variables can be thought of as different expressions of social justice. The Occupy Wall Street movement's goal is to correct the perceived income gap between rich and poor. Hence their slogan, "we are the 99%," which represents the fact that the top 1% of the population in the world controls half of the world's wealth (OXFAM, 2014). Therefore, they are trying to promote equity by bringing attention to and hopefully reducing the current income gap. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is a multi-dimensional construct encompassing commitment to society, employees, customers, and the government. It is linked to social justice by measuring the perception of how corporations are socially responsible. The socially responsible attitudes scale (SAR) is designed to discriminate between groups with high or low socially responsible behavior. In other words, it discriminates between those who are willing to accept responsibility for their actions and accept the consequences of their behavior. It also examines trustworthiness, dependability, and sense of obligation to the group. It is linked to social justice because those who are concerned with social justice would feel a stronger sense of obligation to the group

and a stronger understanding of how their actions affect the group and a desire to make their actions affect the group in a positive manner. As mentioned previously, distributive justice as originally conceived by Aristotle would become a foundation for the modern idea of social justice. Distributive justice is concerned with the interactions between people with respect to rights, positions, powers, and other benefits and the desire that all of these are equally distributed among all people. Social justice is related to distributive justice because it represents the inequality in the distribution of rights and powers and a desire to correct these inequalities. The hypotheses tested are:

H1: Empathy will have a positive relationship with concern for the Occupy Wall Street Movement.

H2: There will be a positive relationship between empathy and attitudes as measured on the corporate social responsibility scale.

H3: There will be a positive relationship between empathy and the socially responsible attitudes scale.

H4: There will be a negative relationship between empathy and perceptions of distributive justice.

Method

Participants

This study was approved by the IRB on October 2, 2012 (Appendix A). Ethical principles were adhered to, including gaining consent from all participants (Appendix B). Four hundred thirty-two undergraduate psychology, business, and sustainable development students attending Appalachian State University from 48 classes were enrolled in this study.

The subjects are students registered in classes taught by faculty in the business, psychology, and sustainable development departments who were willing to volunteer time from their classes to complete a written survey. The mean age of the sample was 21.4 years with a range of 18 to 47 years. The sample consisted of 194 males (44.9%), 216 females (50%), and 22 participants who did not indicate gender. There were 114 psychology students, 223 business students, and 95 sustainable development students.

Procedure

After the participating classes and instructors were identified, surveys were administered to subjects during class time. Participation by students was entirely voluntary, and surveys were administered by a research assistant. Instructors had no knowledge of which students did or did not participate. Participants were informed at the start of the study of their rights regarding participation and that there was no penalty for declining to participate. The surveys were completed anonymously. Student participants were asked to complete one paper-and-pencil survey, which required approximately 30 minutes to complete. Students who completed the survey were given a random number. A drawing was held in every class where data was collected, and on the same day the survey was administered, a small gift (valued at ~\$20) was awarded to one participant who held the correct number.

Measures

Empathy.

The survey assesses the trait of empathy using the measure developed by Davis (1980, p. 85). This scale of empathy has shown acceptable levels of reliability and validity. Students answer 7 questions on a 1-5 Likert Scale, ranging from 1="does not describe me

well" to 5="describes me well." Items include "I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me" and "Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they are having problems." Results were summed, with higher scores indicating more empathy. Cronbach alpha's for this measure are .72 for males and .70 for females.

Social Justice.

Distributive Justice of Social Outcomes. This measure of social justice includes perceptions of distributive justice of social outcomes adapted from Stitfung (2011). Students answer seven questions on a 1-5 Likert Scale, ranging from 1="very unfair" to 5="very fair." Items include "level of poverty prevention in the U.S. (includes overall poverty rate; level of senior citizen poverty; level of child poverty)" and "access to education in the U.S. (includes delivery of high quality, equitable education and training; access to pre-K education; socioeconomic background relative to student performance)." Distributive justice was measured based on the mean score of items #1 through #6. Using this scale, higher summed ratings indicate perceptions of more distributive justice. Cronbach's alpha for the mean score measure is .81.

Occupy Wall Street. The measure of social justice also included personal opinions in regards to the Occupy Wall street movement, which was developed at Appalachian State University by a team consisting of the faculty advisor and two assistants from the management and industrial-organizational psychology departments utilizing the Occupy Wall Street website. Students rate two items on 1-5 Likert Scale, ranging from 1="not at all" to 5="a lot," indicating their support for the Occupy Wall Street Movement. The two items include "I sympathize with the Occupy Wall Street movement" and "I agree with the goals of

the Occupy Wall Street movement." Higher summed scores on this scale indicate more support for the Occupy Wall Street Movement.

Corporate Socially Responsible Attitudes. Social justice measures include the corporate socially responsible attitudes using the social, non-social corporate social responsibility subscale by Turker (2009). This scale of corporate socially responsible attitudes has been shown to have reliability and validity. Students answer eight questions on a 1-5 Likert Scale, ranging from 1="strongly disagree" to 5="strongly agree." Items included "a company should contribute to campaigns and projects that promote the well-being of the society" and "a company should implement special programs to minimize its negative impact on the natural environment." Scores were summed and higher scores reflect more support of corporate socially responsible attitudes. Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .87.

Socially Responsible Attitudes. Socially responsible attitudes were measured using the scale developed by Hunt, Kiecker, and Chonko (1990). This scale of socially responsible attitudes has been shown to have acceptable levels of reliability and validity. Students answer four questions on a 1-9 Likert Scale, ranging from 1="strongly disagree" to 9="strongly agree." Items included "a manager must occasionally place the interests of society over the interests of the company", "management's only responsibility is to maximize the return of the shareholders on their investment," and "the fact that corporations have great economic power in society means that they have a social responsibility beyond the interests of their shareholders." Scores were summed and higher scores reflect more corporate socially responsible attitudes. Cronbach's alpha for the full measure is .59, but only the first three questions were used.

Other Information.

Basic demographic information was also collected, including a student's major, GPA, class rank, age, gender, race, income, and employment status, which included previous employment. Previous employment, GPA, gender, and income were used as control variables. The full questionnaire can be found in Appendix C.

Control variables.

Experiences and circumstances in life play a significant role in the formation and expression of social justice attitudes. A study by Kerpelman (1969), for example, found that those who were advocates for social justice were significantly higher in intelligence than nonadvocates. Lee (1997) found that males were more likely to engage in social justice behaviors. However, the studies are inconclusive as Zuniga, Williams, and Berger (2005) found that women tend to hold values more consistent with social justice. There also exists a societal perception, or stereotype, that women tend to be more empathetic (and that perhaps the current paucity of female representation as CEOs and high-ranking politicians is a contributing factor to contemporary breaches of ethics and social justice). Eisenberg and Lennon (1983) conducted a meta-analysis examining gender differences in the various measures of empathy. They determined that gender differences were a function of the methods used to assess empathy. Gender differences favor women when the measure of empathy was self-report scales and reflexive crying. Gender differences were not evident when the measure of empathy was either physiological or unobtrusive observations of nonverbal reactions to another's emotional state. In other words, men and women are both equally likely to vary on some scale of empathy, and there seems to be no support for a systematic gender difference in empathy. Since this study uses a self-report measure of

empathy, differences between males and females are likely to occur based on this previous research.

Stevens, Fryberg, and Markus (2011), and Stevens, Markus, and Townsend (2007) found that those higher in SES value independence and autonomy while those with less money think of themselves as more interdependent with others. In other words, the rich tend to take the view of "rugged individualism" and share less concern for social justice issues as they believe others should simply "pull themselves up by their bootstraps." Alesina and Guilano (2009) carried out interesting work on preferences for redistribution in society, which is a social justice issue. They found that the higher the income, the less favorable the participant was toward wealth redistribution. They also found that women were more favorable toward wealth redistribution. Although no studies have linked previous employment to social justice perceptions, the authors of this article think that they could be related. It is not unreasonable to expect that those with previous work experience have worked in entry level jobs and therefore can sympathize with others who are making minimum wage. Consequently, these early work experiences may inspire social justice attitudes as those who have worked these types of jobs will have a better understanding of what lower-wage workers experience. With this understanding, they may sympathize more with these workers and therefore be more likely to hold social justice attitudes. Consequently, we controlled for previous employment, GPA, gender, and parent's income (SES) in all analyses that follow.

Results

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

We conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on all scales as a preliminary analysis to demonstrate the empirical distinctiveness of our measures. In order to ensure model stability and identification, we formed parcels based on items within each subscale that should be expected to share meaningful covariance with each other (Hall, Snell, & Foust, 1999; Williams & O'Boyle, 2008). Three parcels each were formed for empathy, distributive justice, and corporate social responsibility. We created two parcels for the social responsibility scales, and we let the two items pertaining to Occupy Wall Street serve as indicators of its respective construct rather than form parcels from these items. The CFA, performed in AMOS (Arbuckle, 2006) using maximum likelihood estimation, indicated positive and significant factor loadings and demonstrated a high degree of simple structure, acceptable reliabilities, and adequate fit indices (χ^2 (64)= 211.87, p < .001; CFI = 0.93; RMSEA = 0.08; SRMR = 0.07). Given support for the hypothesized measurement model and the divergent validity of the measures, we proceeded to hypothesis testing.

Empathy and Social Justice Variables

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was calculated on ratings of empathy across student majors. The analysis was not significant, F(2, 429) = 1.42, p = .181. Since empathy levels did not differ by major, the entire student sample was considered.

Table 1 presents bivariate correlations, means, standards deviations, and internal consistency for all study variables. Our hypotheses were tested using AMOS (Arbuckle, 2006) and SPSS (IBM Corp., 2013). A path model was fitted to simultaneously test

hypotheses 1, 2, 3, and 4, which indicated that empathy would positively related to Occupy Wall Street, corporate social responsibility, and socially responsible attitudes and negatively related to distributive justice.

A path analysis evaluates the control variables effect on each relationship in the model as well as the dependent variables' effect on one another. In other words, the path analysis controls for the dependent variables' correlation with one another as well as their relationships with the control variables. Therefore, it examines the relationship of empathy with the various social justice outcomes simultaneously.

AMOS (Arbuckle, 2006) was used to fit the model to the covariance matrix, which resulted in acceptable fit as evidenced by fit indices; $\chi^2(6) = 37.56$, p < .05; CFI = .95; NNFI = .95; RMSEA = .07. Inspection of t values revealed that all paths were significant, and the largest modification index value was 3.25, indicating that no additional path would provide a nontrivial increment in model fit. Standardized paths are presented in Figure 1, and 95% confidence intervals for direct effects are included in Figure 1 for focal variables in the model.

As shown in Figure 1, controlling for previous employment, GPA, gender, and parent's income, empathy were significant predictors of OWS sympathies accounting for 11.56% of the variance, (β = .34, p <.01), supporting Hypothesis 1. Using the same control variables, empathy was a significant predictor of attitudes toward corporate social responsibility accounting for 11.56% of the variance (β = .34, p < .01), supporting Hypothesis 2. Empathy significantly predicted holding socially responsible attitudes, accounting for 4% of the variance (β = .20, p < .01) when controlling for previous employment, GPA, gender, and parent's income, lending support for Hypothesis 3. Empathy

also had as significant negative relationship with distributive justice accounting for 4.84% of the variance ($\beta = -.22$, p < .01) when controlling for previous employment, GPA, gender, and parent's income supporting Hypothesis 4.

Discussion

This study demonstrated a link between empathy and various measurements of social justice. Specifically, this study examined empathy as an antecedent to perceptions of societal fairness as measured by four different business variables. These included concern for the Occupy Wall Street movement, social justice fairness, corporate social responsibility and socially responsible attitudes. Evidence supported all four hypotheses. The relationship between empathy and social justice that was discovered is important for a variety of reasons. The first is that this is the first study to provide evidence that empathy is an antecedent to holding social justice attitudes. Previous research has demonstrated that empathy was related to similar constructs, but no study had demonstrated the link between empathy and social justice that was found here. This study can serve as the springboard for future research on empathy and social justice.

The correlations for the empathy and social justice relationships generally ranged from .21 to .35. The confidence intervals did not span zero, giving further evidence that the there is a true relationship between empathy and perceptions of social justice. This relationship occurred even when controlling for the individual variables of previous employment, GPA, gender, and parent's income. Additionally, a confirmatory factor analysis revealed that empathy and the measures of social justice were distinct. Based on all this evidence, the researchers are quite confident that a true relationship exists between empathy

and social justice attitudes and that this relationship is a positive one with those who are higher on empathy being more likely to hold social justice attitudes.

Empathy was related to a variety of measures of social justice. This is highly important because it means that those who are higher on empathy are more likely to hold a variety of social justice attitudes that are not specific or limited to one area. An increased concern for the Occupy Wall Street movement most likely means that those who are higher on empathy have a desire to close the income gap in the United States. Social justice fairness, which was operationalized as distributive justice, means that those who are higher on empathy desire that rights, privileges, and opportunities are more fairly distributed in society. Those who are higher on empathy will embrace corporate social responsibility, which involves taking a broader view of stakeholders. Instead of stakeholders only being limited to those who hold a financial stake in the company, the definition of stakeholder is expanded to include commitment to society, employees, customers, and the government. This expanded view of stakeholder will help promote social justice because leaders who are higher on empathy will consider how their actions affect not just their own organization, but society as a whole. Studies have demonstrated that organizations who take this broader stakeholder view have achieved financial success and return on their investment (Ayuso, Rodríguez, García & Ariño, 2007; Preston & O'Bannon, 1997; Eccles, Ioannou & Serafeim, 2012; see Margolis, Elfenbein & Walsh, 2007 for meta-analysis). Those who are higher on empathy also hold socially responsible attitudes, meaning they have a better understanding of how their actions will affect society as a whole. Therefore, those who are higher on empathy would be more likely to speak through their actions and spearhead social justice initiatives in their organization.

This study raises the idea that business schools may want to consider including empathy into their curricula. Hopefully by including empathy in the classroom the business leaders of tomorrow will be more likely to embrace social justice attitudes which will help improve the situation of not only their workers, but society and the environment as a whole. Perhaps one day organizations will consider adding empathy to their selection batteries in order to choose leaders who are more likely to consider the effect their actions have on not only the organization but society as well. Additionally, organizations and business schools may want to add empathy to their training endeavors. This study provides the foundation that empathy is a crucial component for those who hold social justice attitudes. Social justice will be increasingly important in the future as organizations move toward sustainability and green initiatives.

Future directions

Can empathy be taught?

Goodman (2000) suggests that empathy can be taught. He explains that to foster empathy, people need to maximize personal knowledge and heighten emotional attunement to others, which bears a striking resemblance to the construct of emotional intelligence. In order to engage people in social action, they need to understand that a person's plight is not simply an individual issue relevant to that singular person. Diminished opportunities or disadvantages stem from larger societal conditions, which require rectifying the social inequalities that exist. In general, people need to understand that the distress of an individual arises from systemic oppression that also affects many others like them.

Davis (1990) takes a different approach to teaching empathy. She suggests that since empathy is a more of an emotional state or personality disposition that it cannot be taught

directly. In other words empathy is more of an experience. Therefore instead of teaching empathy, the focus should on promoting attitudes and behaviors related to empathy such as self-awareness, unconditional and nonjudgmental positive regard for others, good listening skills, and self-confidence. A recent intervention by Monroe (2006) used this idea of teaching perspective taking skills to increase empathy in University of California Irvine students in order to reduce prejudice among the student body. In a classroom-based course, students were encouraged to think deeply about their own attitudes toward other people who are judged as different. Students' own awareness of prejudice toward different groups was assessed using quantitative and qualitative measures. On the first day of the course, students explored their attitude in an in-class essay, which they rewrote and expanded over the week. Students also completed (in-private) implicit association tests designed to measure subconscious attitudes toward people. A classroom course was designed and presented. Ample discussion about the topics of prejudice and stereotyping with student participation were also encouraged. Monroe (2006) did not collect data or utilize an experimental method but relied upon student comments and written assignments qualitatively to assess changes in empathy and found that in general the students' empathy increased, and they responded positively to the intervention. A meta-analysis by Butters (2010) found many empathy training interventions are effective in increasing empathy with an overall large effect size of g =0.911. Perhaps because of this research, business schools will take an interest in integrating empathy into their curricula.

Avenues for future research: empathy's relationship to moral licensing.

Moral self licensing (Monin & Miller, 2001) occurs when past moral behavior makes people more likely to engage in immoral conduct without worrying about appearing or

feeling immoral. Moral self licensing occurs because good deeds make people secure in their moral self-regard. Effron and Monin (2010) describe two ways in which this can occur. The moral credits model can be thought of as a bank account: good deeds represent moral credits to the account, and bad deeds represent moral debits. A person is allowed to commit a transgression as long as they have accumulated enough moral credits to balance it out; in other words, moral credits "purchase" a license to transgress without incurring observer condemnation. Observers create a general impression based on the average positive and negative characteristics of an actor. The other model is the moral credentials (construal) model. This occurs when a person's good deeds change the way an observer views ambiguous behavior. Good deeds license morally dubious behavior by making it appear as if no transgression has occurred. Thus, prior information about an actor shapes an observers interpretation of subsequent behavior. Blatant transgressions follow the moral credits model and hypocrisy is assigned only if the transgression was in the same domain. Licensing only occurs if transgressions occur in a different domain. Ambiguous transgressions worked with the moral credentials model; hypocrisy did not undermine licensing. Same domain good deeds were most likely to produce licensing because they are more relevant than different domain deeds. Different-domain good deeds could still produce licensing through balance. Licensing also appeared to be most effective when credits and credentials were operating at the same time.

Merritt, Effron, and Monin (2010) observed that, when under the threat that an action may appear (or is) morally dubious, individuals derive confidence from their past moral behavior; their track record increases the propensity to engage in otherwise suspect actions.

Moral self licensing occurs because good deeds make people secure in their moral self-

regard. When individuals have had a chance to establish their kindness, generosity, or compassion, they worry less about engaging in behaviors that might appear to violate prosocial norms. Moral self licensing can decrease prosocial motivation and also disinhibit morally questionable behavior. Future research should examine the relationship between empathy and moral self licensing. For example do those higher in empathy engage in less moral licensing? And conversely, do those low in empathy engage in more moral licensing? Finally, does empathy operate within moral licensing in either the moral credits or credentials model, both, or neither? To date, no studies have looked at the relationship between moral self licensing and empathy directly, making this a fruitful avenue to pursue for future research.

Limitations

One of the major limitations of this study is the employment of a convenience sample of undergraduate students from Appalachian State University. Undergraduate students at Appalachian State University may not be representative of the general population. For example, according to Forbes.com, 87.34% of the student population at Appalachian State University is white and gender is divided as 52% female and 48% male. Furthermore, this study was performed only with students from certain disciplines and students whose instructors agreed to use class time for the data collection. There may be a self selection bias because only certain instructors will agree to the data collection and only certain students will consent to participate in the research. This study needs to be expanded to see if the findings are generalizable to other populations. For example, this study could be conducted with other majors, at other universities, in organizational settings, and both domestically and internationally. Finally, a social desirability bias may influence the self-report results of

participants. It would be interesting to see if these findings hold in other settings. Although this study found no differences between majors, perhaps students in other majors, such as gender or queer studies, which focus more on social justice issues will either be higher on empathy or hold increased social justice attitudes. As noted earlier in this paper, countries differ in levels of trust, which is related to empathy. Perhaps certain countries, such as the Nordic countries, have more social equality because they are higher on empathy. Finally, it would be interesting to see if these findings hold in organizational settings. It would be interesting to see if non-profit organizations differ in their levels of empathy or social justice attitudes from for-profit organizations. It is likely that for-profit organizations are less likely to embrace social justice attitudes than non-profit organizations. This study serves as the foundation for these future studies and it will be interesting to see the results when measured in other diverse samples in more diverse settings.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study provides strong evidence that there is a positive relationship between empathy and social justice attitudes. In other words, those who are higher on empathy are more likely to hold attitudes related to social justice. This relationship was consistent across different measures of social justice including concern for the Occupy Wall Street movement, social justice fairness, corporate social responsibility and socially responsible attitudes. These relationships held even when controlling for the individual differences variables of previous employment, GPA, gender, and parent's income. This study provides a strong foundation for future research that should look toward seeing if the results generalize to other samples in diverse settings as well as empathy's relationship toward moral licensing. This study is unique by building on the previous research on empathy and

expanding it by being the first to demonstrate a relationship between empathy and social justice attitudes. It is likely that social justice will become an increasingly important topic in the future as both governments and customers work together to hold organizations accountable for their actions. Perhaps in the future leaders will be selected based on their levels of empathy as they will be more likely to embrace the social justice initiatives set forth by societies and governments.

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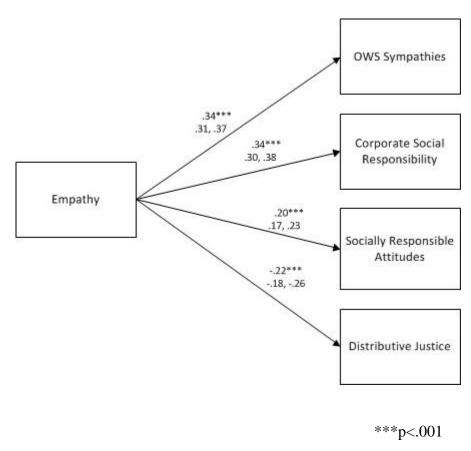
Table 1.

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations of all Variables

Study Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1. Empathy	27.36	4.33	(.77)				
2. OWS Sympathies	6.87	2.21	.35**	(.85)			
3. CSR	33.76	4.71	.35**	.41**	(.87)		
4. SRA	27.17	4.80	.21**	.41**	.45**	(.54)	
5. Distributive Justice	2.85	.78	26**	52**	35**	39**	(.79)

Note: Reliabilities reported in parentheses. $^{\dagger}p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01.$

Figure 1. Social Justice Correlations and Confidence Intervals



95% confidence intervals listed below correlations

Control variables: previous employment, GPA, gender, and parent's income (SES)

Appendix A

IRB Approval

Date: Tue, 02 Oct 2012 12:43:41 -0400 (EDT)

Subject: IRB Notice **To:** James Westerman

Management CAMPUS MAIL

From: Julie Taubman, Institutional Review Board Administrator

Date: 10/02/2012

RE: Notice of IRB Exemption

Study #: 13-0069

Study Title: Social Justice Perceptions of Higher Education Students

Exemption Category: (2) Anonymous Educational Tests; Surveys, Interviews or Observations

This submission has been reviewed by the IRB Office and was determined to be exempt from further review according to the regulatory category cited above under 45 CFR 46.101(b). If you change any aspect of the proposal, you must contact the IRB before implementing the changes to make sure the exempt status continues to apply. Otherwise, you do not need to request an annual renewal of IRB approval.

Please notify the IRB Office when you have completed the study. Best wishes with your research!

CC:

Jacqueline Bergman, Management Shawn Bergman, Psychology Joseph Daly, Management

Appendix B

Consent Form

The purpose of this survey is to examine the personality, perceptions, expectations, and social justice beliefs of college students. Your participation in completing this survey is voluntary and you may decide to stop at any time for any reason with no penalty, or you may choose not to answer any of the survey questions. All responses will be kept anonymous- and will not be linked to you in any way. You will be asked to complete 85 questions regarding your personality and social justice perceptions and opinions; this process should not take more than 30 minutes.

If you have any questions or concerns about the nature of this research or the survey please contact:

James W. Westerman, Ph.D. 828-262-7475 westermanjw@appstate.edu

Joseph P. Daly, Ph.D. 828-262-6218 dalyjp@appstate.edu

Jacqueline Z. Bergman, Ph.D. 828-262-4958 bergmanjz@appstate.edu

Shawn Bergman, Ph.D. 828-355-6563 bergmans@appstate.edu

or irb@appstate.edu

By continuing to the survey, I acknowledge that I am at least 18 years old, have read the above information, and provide my consent to participate under the terms above.

Appendix C

Study Questionnaire

DEMOGRAPHICS AND WORK EXPERIENCE

are having problems.

Ple	ease provide the following information:					
Ma	ajor: GPA:					
4.	3. If you currently have <u>part-time employment</u> or have had how many hours, on average, did you work per week? What is the combined income of your parents? [circle one] a. Under \$25,000 d. \$100,001-\$200,000 b. \$25,001-50,000 e. Higher than \$200,000 c. \$50,001-100,000	<u></u>	nploy	ment i	n the p	oast,
ΕN	1PATHY					
siti the de	structions: The following statements inquire about your thoug uations. For each item, indicate how well it describes you by one as scale (where 0 = does not describe me well and 4 = described cided on your answer, circle the appropriate number. READ Expression of the second second second second second SPONDING. Answer as honestly as you can.	circling the ap	propr I). W	riate nu hen yo	umber u have	
		Does not describe me well				escribes ne well
1.	I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.	1	2	3	4	5

2. Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they 1 2 3 4 5

3.	When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.	1	2	3	4	5

ATTITUDES TOWARD GNP VS. GNH

Instructions: For each statement below, indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement.

		Strongly Neither Agree Disagree nor Disagree				Strongly Agree		
1.	The economic progress of a country is best measured by the gross national product (GNP) of the country.	1	2	3	4	5		
2.	The economic progress of a country is best measured by the aggregate happiness of its citizenry (Gross National Happiness).	1	2	3	4	5		

PERCEPTIONS OF DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE OF SOCIAL OUTCOMES

Using the following scale, please rate the fairness or unfairness of the outcomes listed below in terms of how they are currently distributed in American society.

		Very Unfair	Neither Fair r nor Unfair			Very Fair
1.	Level of poverty prevention in the U.S. (includes overall poverty rate; level of senior citizen poverty; level of child poverty)	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Access to education in the U.S. (includes delivery of high quality, equitable education and training; access to pre-K education; socioeconomic background relative to student performance)	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Labor market inclusion in the U.S. (includes employment and unemployment rates; employment rate of 55-64 yr olds, youths, and low-skilled individuals; employment rate equity by gender; foreign-born to native employment rates)	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Social cohesion and non-discrimination in the U.S. (includes non-discrimination; social inclusion, and policies to integrate minorities into society; gender income equality; overall income distribution equality)	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Health in the U.S. (includes infant mortality rates; life expectancy; health in relation to income levels; and inclusive and cost-efficient health policy)	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Intergenerational justice in the U.S. (includes family policy for balancing career and family; providing retirement that prevents poverty; sustainable environmental policy; CO2 emissions policy; manageable levels of national debt; and societal investment in research and development)	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Overall standing of the U.S. (includes level of poverty; access to education; labor market inclusion; social cohesion and non-discrimination; health; and intergenerational justice)	1	2	3	4	5

OCCUPY WALL STREET AGREEMENT

The social protest movement OCCUPY WALL STREET states the following goals:

- 1. Free and fair elections, with public funding only.
- 2. Get the corporate money out of elections.
- 3. After election there should be no financial or gifting requirements to meet privately with elected officials.
 - 4. Televised, public and transparent investigations into the financial meltdown.
 - 5. Televised, public and transparent investigations into Social Security funding.
 - 6. Foreign relations that will allow the US to compete in World Trade.

Instructions: For each statement below, indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement.

	Not at all		Somewha	A lot		
1. I sympathize with the Occupy Wall Street movement.	1	2	3	4	5	
2. I agree with the goals of the Occupy Wall Street movement.	1	2	3	4	5	

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY SCALE

Instructions: For each statement below, indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement.

		Strongly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree			Strongly Agree	
1.	A company should contribute to campaigns and projects that promote the well-being of the society.	1	2	3	4	5	
2.	A company should implement special programs to minimize its negative impact on the natural environment.	1	2	3	4	5	

3.	A company should participate in activities which aim to protect and improve the quality of the natural environment.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	A company should emphasize the importance of its social responsibilities to the society.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	A company should target sustainable growth which considers future generations.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	A company should make investments to create a better life for future generations.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	A company should encourage its employees to participate in voluntary activities.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	A company should support nongovernmental organizations working in problematic areas.	1	2	3	4	5

SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE ATTITUDES MEASURE

Instructions: For each statement below, indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement.

			Strongly Disagree			Neither Agree nor Disagree				
1.	A manager must occasionally place the interests of society over the interests of the company.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2.	Management's only responsibility is to maximize the return to shareholders on their investment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3.	The fact that corporations have great economic power in society means that they have a social responsibility beyond the interests of their shareholders.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4.	As long as corporations generate acceptable shareholder returns, managers have a social responsibility beyond the interests of shareholders.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Vita

Matthew Cartabuke was born in Columbus, OH, in 1991. He graduated in May 2013 from Florida State University in Tallahassee, FL, with a B.S. in Psychology and a B.A. in History. In August 2013, he began graduate education at Appalachian State University to pursue an M.A. in Industrial-Organizational Psychology and Human Resource Management. In August 2014, he decided to pursue an M.B.A. with concentrations in human resource management and international business at Appalachian State University as well. Following graduation in December 2015, Matt hopes to start a career in the field of Human Resources.