MORAL FOUNDATIONS AND MORAL EXCLUSION AS DETERMINANTS OF OUTGROUP HELPING AND MORAL COURAGE

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ABSTRACT

MORAL FOUNDATIONS AND MORAL EXCLUSION AS DETERMINANTS OF OUTGROUP HELPING AND MORAL COURAGE

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Helping and moral courage as prosocial behaviors are the cornerstones of a society with harmonious social relationships. However, little attention is devoted to intergroup prosociality, and even less is known about specific types of prosocial behaviors like moral courage. Moreover, the related literature mostly relies on self-reported prosocial intention measures, limiting generalizability of findings to real-life behaviors. The current dissertation consists of 3 studies addressed towards these gaps through examining moral predictors (moral foundations and moral exclusion) of helping intention and moral courage (intention and actual behavior) toward Syrian refugees in Türkiye. Across all studies, individualizing moral foundations was consistently related to expanded moral circle beyond ingroup boundaries, which in return predicted increased helping intention, moral courage intention, and moral courage behavior. Intergroup threat, however, played just the opposite role compared to individualizing foundations. Furthermore, intention-based studies (Studies 1 and 2) failed to find significant associations related to binding moral values. Yet, Study 3, which was the behavior-based study, revealed how endorsing binding values was related to aggravated moral exclusion

and silence against outgroup racism, emphasizing intention-behavior gap in socially desired behaviors. Differences between two university samples in binding foundations supported this role of binding moral values. Albeit being consistent across all studies, but intergroup contact was also associated with decreased moral exclusion and enhanced prosocial behavior. There were also gender differences indicating higher moral sensitiveness of women, but it disappeared in when actual behavior, instead of intention, was measured. Prosocial peacebuilding endeavors should consider moral values in outgroup prosocial behavior while related research should consider intention-behavior gap in socially desirable behaviors.

Keywords: Moral courage, helping, moral exclusion, intergroup threat, intergroup contact

ÖZ

DIŞ GRUBA YÖNELİK YARDIM VE AHLAKİ CESARETİN
BELİRLEYİCİLERİ OLARAK AHLAKİ TEMELLER VE AHLAKİ DIŞLAMA

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Toplumda sağlıklı sosyal ilişkilerin temeli olan yardım etme ve ahlaki cesaret prososyal davranışlardır. Ancak, gruplararası prososyal davranışlara gereken önem yöneltilmemişken, ahlaki cesaret gibi belirli türdeki prososyal davranışlar hakkında daha az bilgi bulunmaktadır. Literatür de öz-bildirime dayalı prososyal niyet ölçümlerine dayanmakta, bu da bulguların gerçek yaşam davranışlarına genellenmesini sınırlamaktadır. Bu tez, üç çalışmayla, Türkiyedeki Suriyeli mültecilere yardım niyeti ve ahlaki cesaretin (niyet ve gerçek davranış) ahlaki belirleyicilerini (ahlaki temeller ve ahlaki dışlama) inceleyerek bu boşlukları ele almıştır. Tüm çalışmalar, bireyselleştirici ahlaki temellerinin, grup sınırları ötesinde genişletilmiş ahlaki daire ile tutarlı bir şekilde ilişkilendirildiğini ve bunun sonucunda artan yardım etme niyeti, ahlaki cesaret niyeti ve ahlaki cesaret davranışını yordamıştır. Ancak, bireyselleştirici temellere kıyasla, gruplararası tehdit tam tersi bir rol oynamıştır. Ayrıca, niyet temelli çalışmalar, bağlanım temellerine yönelik anlamlı sonuçlar bulamamıştır. Ancak, Çalışma 3, bağlanım değerlerini benimsemenin ahlaki dışlamayı artırdığını ve buna bağlı olarak dış grup ırkçılığına karşı sessizliği beslediğini bulmuş, yani

prososyal davranışlardaki niyet-davranış tutarsızlığını göstermiştir. Bağlanım temellerine yönelik iki üniversite örneklemleri arasındaki farklar da bağlayıcı ahlaki değerlerin bu rolünü desteklemiştir. Tüm çalışmalarda tutarlı olmasa da, gruplar arası temasın ahlaki dışlamayı azaltma ve prososyal davranışı artırma ile ilişkilendirildiği de bulunmuştur. Cinsiyet farklılıkları da nispeten kadınların ahlaki üstünlüğünü göstermektedir, ama gerçek davranış ölçümünde bu fark ortadan kalkmıştır. Prososyal barış inşası, dış gruba yönelik prososyal davranışlarda ahlaki değerleri ve gruplar arası mekanizmaları dikkate almalı, ilgili araştırmalar ise sosyal olarak istenen davranışlardaki niyet-davranış boşluğunu göz önünde bulundurmalıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ahlaki cesaret, yardım etme, ahlaki dışlama, gruplararası tehdit, gruplararası temas

To All Everyday Heroes

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I have recently overcome yet another barrier on my path toward achieving proficiency as a scholar, and I have enhanced my readiness to confront future, more substantial challenges. Instead of experiencing apprehension about what lies ahead, I am eagerly anticipating and embracing these greater challenges as opportunities for personal growth. Nevertheless, I must express my gratitude to those individuals who have played a pivotal role in shaping the person I have become today.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Prosocial behavior is a crucial form of moral behavior for fostering social adjustment and sustaining constructive social interactions (Ding et al., 2018; Eisenberg, 1982), which may show itself in different forms of actions such as cooperation, helping, comforting, and moral courage. In general terms, prosocial behavior is defined as actions that benefit others (Eisenberg, 1982), but in fact, its benefits cover all parties including the provider, the needy, and the broader society. These behaviors assist building healthy social relationships (Kuhnert et al., 2017), decreasing internalizing problems in individuals (Arslan & Coşkun, 2020), preventing aggressive and criminal behaviors (Hofmann & Müller, 2018), boosting subjective well-being (Tian et al., 2015) and physical health (Brown & Brown, 2015).

Although numerous studies have touched upon the importance and contributions of prosocial behavior at the individual and societal levels (for a review see Thielmann et al., 2020), little attention has been given to positive intergroup behaviors such as prosocial acts towards outgroup members (Moran & Taylor, 2022). People are more likely to support ingroup members, and it is difficult to motivate them to act in a way that benefits the outgroup (Li et al., 2019). Indeed, human beings have the paradoxical capacity to be both kind and cruel, but it is positively biased for ingroup and negatively for outgroup members (Wrangham, 2019). This intergroup bias results in unfavorable assessment of the outgroup, thereby diminishing the probability of collaboration with its members (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010).

Despite the challenging nature of intergroup positive behavior, outgroup prosocial behaviors provide flourishing outcomes both in interpersonal and intergroup relationships in return (Penner et al., 2005; Taylor et al., 2014). “Prosocial peacebuilding” is a relevant term here, which occurs through a continuum from

interpersonal to a broader collective prosocial change, and helping an outgroup member might ignite the first spark for better relationships and structural reforms (Moran & Taylor, 2022). For example, tension regarding inter-ethnic relations between Bosnians and Serbians is high, largely due to the Bosnian genocide committed by Serbia, which is highlighted as one of the darkest incidences in European history (Mulaj, 2017). In a recent study, an act of Serbia offering free COVID-19 vaccinations to Bosnian people, despite historical tensions where Serbia committed mass violence to them, promoted intergroup reconciliation between these ethnic groups, one of which had been a victim and the other a perpetrator (Castano et al., 2024). Broadly speaking, occurrences of both helping and heroic behaviors benefiting outgroup members may facilitate constructive positive relations between the groups (Cehajic-Clancy & Bilewicz, 2020).

This function of intergroup prosocial behavior might be applied to societies receiving waves of immigration or refugees. Immediate and large number of refugee flows are likely to give birth to prejudiced attitudes, discriminatory behaviors, and related conflicts between hosting societies and refugees (e.g., Cheung et al., 2022). In that sense, especially in ethnically rich societies or those receiving immigrants, exploring the antecedents of intergroup prosocial behaviors become more pressing to pave the way for promoting intergroup cooperation, goodwill, and resolution of conflicts (Kelman, 2008; Van Leeuwen & Zagefka, 2017). Many scholars have been seeking potential factors that may facilitate the acceptance and integration of immigrants/refugees, particularly through prosocial behaviors toward the immigrants for sustaining their healthy adaptation to the society (i.e., Lopez-Rodrigues et al., 2017; Vollhardt et al., 2016).

Narrowing down this general attempt into a specific context, the present dissertation delves into the factors that may foster or hinder individuals' prosocial behavior towards Syrian refugees in Türkiye. Despite initially welcoming attitudes from Turkish citizens, as the number of refugees and their length of stay increase, these sentiments have gradually turned into prejudice, hostility, and discrimination against them (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021). Thus, opting for an intergroup conflict scenario such as the refugee crisis in Turkiye is considered a good choice for understanding

the factors that either facilitate or impede outgroup prosociality. Within this scope, the current dissertation investigated moral (moral foundations and moral exclusion) and intergroup level (threat and contact) correlates of two prosocial behaviors, namely outgroup helping and moral courage. In specific, it was hypothesized that moral values, perceived threat, and intergroup contact would predict prosocial intentions and behaviors of Turkish citizens toward Syrian refugees, and the moral exclusion of the refugee group (the extent to which the refugees are morally excluded) would mediate these relationships. Additionally, there is a more noticeable scarcity of research pertaining to moral courage compared to helping. Consequently, the current studies first addressed helping, subsequently focusing on moral courage while systematically testing the main hypothesis articulated above.

1.1. Prosocial Behavior: Helping and Moral Courage

Prosocial behavior continues to attract attention of scholars in many fields with respect to its contributions to psycho-social development and functioning of individuals as well as its preventive role against antisocial behaviors (e.g., Greitemeyer & Osswald, 2010; Thielmann et al., 2020). Despite the disagreements, simply defined, prosocial behaviors are actions that intend to benefit others (Eisenberg, 1982). However, it encompasses various subtypes characterized by the content, underlying intention, and motivation behind the prosocial acts. Terms such as prosocial behavior, helping, and altruism are often used interchangeably, creating a conceptual ambiguity (Bierhoff, 2002), which requires a clear definition for each specific study of prosocial behavior (Pfattheicher et al., 2022).

One of the perspectives to resolve this conceptual confusion is to consider prosocial behavior as the broadest concept referring to all behaviors benefiting others, whilst categorizing helping behavior and altruism as sub-concepts (Kağıtçıbaşı & Cemalcılar, 2016). In other words, all behaviors that benefit others are named as prosocial behaviors, and the intention behind these behaviors determine specific subtype. For instance, if someone expects nothing in return to his donation to an institution with a genuine motivation, it is called altruism, but if a reward is expected in return, it is called egoistic helping (Lay & Hoppman, 2015). Furthermore, another

type of prosocial behavior is moral courage (Bierhoff, 2002), which is a more recent concept compared to other types of prosocial behavior (Niesta-Kayser et al., 2010). Ultimately, a picture akin to a hierarchy can be drawn in which prosocial behavior serves as an umbrella term including helping, altruism, and moral courage as displayed under Figure 1 below (Coşkun, 2021; Osswald et al., 2011).

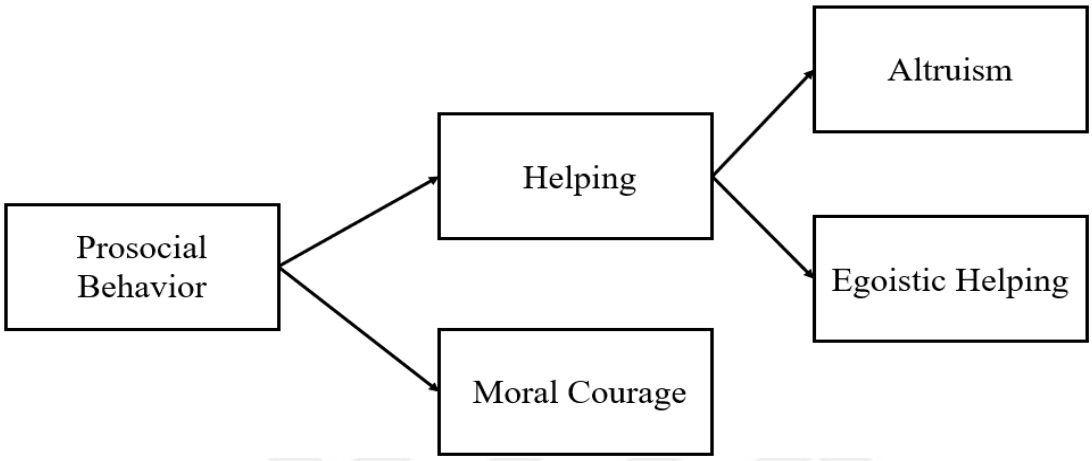


Figure 1. Prosocial behavior and its subtypes (adapted from Coşkun, 2021, p. 114).

Helping may include any kind of behavior benefiting others, which is low in risk and does not address ethical violations. Comforting a friend, donating money, volunteering in the community, mentoring a peer, offering emotional support are all examples of helping behavior. Numerous studies have been conducted on helping, highlighting its individual to societal benefits such as increased meaning in life (Klein, 2017); higher happiness and life satisfaction (Son & Padilla-Walker, 2020); acceptance and being liked in interpersonal interactions (Wang et al., 2019); paving the way on intergroup peacebuilding through intergroup collaboration (Taylor et al., 2020), positive intergroup contact and diminished antisocial behavior (McKeown & Taylor, 2018); and higher collective wellbeing through solidarity and social relatedness in a community (Drury et al., 2009). In short, helping appears as a fundamental societal need for sustaining well-functioning individuals and society.

Unlike the literature on helping, little attention has been given to moral courage (Baumert et al., 2013; Osswald et al., 2011). Even though moral courage is also a type of prosocial behavior, named as cousin of helping (Sasse et al., 2022a), it has

distinctive characteristics compared to helping behavior (Niesta-Kayser et al., 2010). Moral courage refers to standing up against moral violations (bullying, abuse, discrimination, mobbing etc.) to protect moral values and standards in face of possible risks and social costs (Halmburger et al., 2017). For example, a Turkish woman, Rabia Şirin, in South Korea saved a Korean woman from a sexual harasser (TRT Haber, 2021). Here in this example, Rabia could die or get injured, but despite the risks, she chose to save the woman in need. Thus, moral courage is observed in dangerous situations mostly against perpetrators or groups that are more powerful (Greitemeyer et al., 2007). In helping conditions like donation or having an elderly get across the street are low in cost, but morally courageous actions come with more severe costs and risks. In that sense, moral courage mainly differs from other types of prosocial behavior in the following points: Strong commitment to ethical standards, possible social and physical costs to the actor, and existence of courage (for a review, see Coşkun & Cingöz-Ulu, 2022). In summary, helping behavior encompasses a wide range of voluntary actions aimed at assisting others, while moral courage involves taking principled actions in challenging situations, often at personal risk, to uphold one's moral values. While both concepts involve doing something positive for others, moral courage is specifically tied to confronting ethical challenges and taking a stand against wrongdoing or injustice.

Like helping, the society needs morally courageous actions as well since these behaviors are the cornerstones of building a healthy society (Fehr & Gachter, 2002). Other than the real-life examples such as Rabia Şirin incidence, previous research findings also demonstrated its crucial importance in addressing sexual harassment (Goodwin et al., 2020), discrimination (Mallett & Wagner, 2011), bullying (Pouwels et al., 2019), embezzlement of money (Sasse et al., 2022b), and so on. Unfortunately, due to the nature of moral courage, it is rarely seen in the society compared to other types of prosocial behaviors (Skitka, 2012). On the other hand, people also possess the capacity to display these desired acts since their nature contains a paradoxical capacity to be both kind and cruel, as mentioned earlier above. Elaborating on it, Zimbardo (2007) demonstrated through the well-known "Stanford Prison Experiment," one of the classical experiments in the field of social psychology, how ordinary individuals can be driven to extremes of violence and harm towards others

under the influence of the situations they find themselves in. However, in the same study, despite the circumstances potentially requiring them to cause harm to others, some participants refrained from engaging in harmful behaviors. As a result of these findings, Zimbardo concluded that just as extraordinary situations in life (such as war or conflict) could compel ordinary individuals to commit wrongdoing, they can also motivate ordinary individuals to perform acts of kindness and even heroism (Zimbardo, 2016). According to Zimbardo (2013), the definition of everyday heroism is not limited to historical leader figures; instead, it encompasses ordinary individuals who, when necessary, stand up against all forms of injustice, raise their voices, and provide incredible benefits for the good of others (Zimbardo et al., 2013). This situation, referred to by Zimbardo (2016) as "Everyday Heroes," may be embodied in the concept of moral courage. Hence, possible factors motivating people to be morally courageous, should be discovered so that their inner capacity to do so may be promoted. In the following section, possible factors behind showing moral courage or helping and the relevant theoretical models are reviewed. Although this dissertation spotlights moral courage, understanding psychological underpinnings of helping is also substantial as helping provides valuable inferences about a relatively less known term of moral courage.

1.1.1. Determinants of Helping and Moral Courage

To elucidate the motivations underlying individuals' engagement in acts of helping and moral courage, potential personal and situational factors behind these prosocial acts should be touched upon. A good starting point for this is to look at theoretical models and related research, which may also provide better comprehension of similarities and differences regarding these two types of prosocial behaviors. For this purpose, this sub-section introduces two theoretical models for each of the two prosocial behaviors by also including related research findings.

In the helping model, five stages of psychological processes are defined, which are: (1) witnessing an incidence, (2) perceiving it as emergency, (3) acknowledging personal responsibility, (4) having sense of efficacy, and (5) final decision with a cost-benefit analysis (Latane & Darley, 1970). Various psychological process may

influence whether a person goes through these stages and end up with helping behavior. Some of these psychological factors behind helping are similar to ones behind moral courage such as moral beliefs (Niesta-Kayser et al., 2010), moral disengagement, and self-efficacy (Baumert et al., 2013). On the contrary, some other psychological processes behind and conceptual differences between these two types of prosocial behavior also require a different model for moral courage. Conceptually, as discussed earlier above, moral courage occurs in response to a moral transgression, which mostly involves confronting the perpetrator following a moral violation. Helping might be seen, not necessarily, in moral violation scenarios as well, but it is more about assisting or easing the victim. Besides the conceptual differences, there are also differences in psychological processes. To illustrate, personality traits like justice sensitivity, civil disobedience, moral convictions, and resilience against group pressure predicted moral courage but not helping (Niesta Kayser et al., 2010); anger was the dominant emotion behind moral courage (Sasse et al., 2022b), but empathy was the main emotion predicting helping (Greitemeyer et al., 2006; Pavey et al., 2012); having positive mood gave rise to helping, but positive or negative mood was not a significant predictor of moral courage (Niesta Kayser et al., 2010).

Considering these similarities and differences, Halmburger et al. (2017) proposed the "Integrative Model of Moral Courage" by drawing on the earlier theoretical model of helping by Latane and Darley (1970). Halmburger and colleagues' model is very similar to flow of the helping model of Latane and Darley, which includes: (1 & 2) Detection and interpretation of a situation as norm violation, (3) attributing the responsibility to the self, (4) evaluation of subjective intervention skills, and (5) decision to act through cost-benefit analysis. These processes define when and how morally courageous acts occur. However, various dispositional and situational factors may inhibit or facilitate the flow of these stages. Starting with dispositional correlates, personality traits like agreeableness (Goodwin et al., 2020) and extraversion (Moisuc et al., 2018) pave the way for morally courageous acts. People high in agreeableness are better at detecting violations and establishing empathy with the victims (Habashi et al., 2016). Moreover, extraverted people might not hesitate to be courageous because they have lower levels of social anxiety (Spinhoven et al.,

2014), which is known to be a diminishing factor for both helping and moral courage (Baumert et al., 2013).

In addition to personality traits, justice sensitivity (Sasse et al., 2022b), justice based moral values (Dungan et al., 2015), trait self-efficacy (Baumert et al., 2023), moral self-efficacy (Bussey et al., 2020), trait moral courage (Goodwin et al., 2020), and moral convictions (Skitka, 2012; Szekeres et al., 2019) emerge as some other dispositional factors motivating individuals to stand up against moral wrongdoings; whilst moral value of loyalty (Dungan et al., 2015; Goodwin et al., 2020) as well as moral disengagement (Baumert et al., 2013; Pouwels et al., 2019) tendency emerges as barriers to it. To put it more clearly, holding a strong moral identity (i.e., moral aspects central to self-concept; Patrick et al., 2019) with focus on justice values and convictions facilitates detecting and intervening in norm violations despite the potential risks and costs. In essence, having these traits feeds justice sensitivity, orienting moral reasoning and related decision making into defending moral rights rather than morally disengage. On the other hand, one may hold these characteristics, but still some other dispositional factors such as lack of personal responsibility and self-efficacy (e.g., Khelil et al., 2018) may prevent them to take courageous actions.
Along with these dispositional factors, there are some situational antecedents that influence the occurrence of stages for helping and moral courage. An example for that is first role models of a human's life, family environment. Parents of children who use authoritative parenting style with guiding and supportive parenting, they become more likely to develop robust self-esteem and self-efficacy, enabling them to show more moral courage (Bronstein et al., 2007). On the other hand, individuals who grew up with helicopter parenting were reported to take less responsibility, morally disengage more, and in return show less moral courage (Evans & Karl, 2021). Likewise, role-models such as leaders or managers in a workplace with desired moral behaviors may also lead to increased moral courage in employees (Ogunfowora et al., 2021).

Besides all these social learning factors, variations in risk and social cost levels may affect the incidence of moral courage. For instance, in a study by Pouwels and colleagues (2019), they found that students who witnessed a bullying scenario were

less likely to intervene it if the perpetrator was a more popular student. Consequently, when the cost gets bigger in the cost-benefit analysis, likelihood of moral courage decreases. As a final example for situational determinants, intergroup dynamics may both hinder or boost moral courage. In an experimental study (Kutlaca et al., 2020), standing up against discriminatory behaviors (e.g., sexism and racism) for the sake of an outgroup member was perceived as heroic by outgroup members while perceived negatively/exaggerated by the ingroup fellows. This is a social cost because the morally courageous person becomes a black sheep in the eyes of the ingroup, which may make individuals selective in situations with moral violations.

To sum up, there are theoretical models that structure psychological processes behind helping and moral courage. At the same time, there are also various dispositional (e.g., personality traits and moral identity) and situational factors (e.g., social or physical cost) that shape how smooth these processes flow, from detection of a need to taking action for benefiting others.

1.1.2. Determinants of Intergroup Helping and Moral Courage

As mentioned above, research on intergroup prosocial behavior is relatively scarce compared to those involving intra- and inter-personal antecedents of it (Moran & Taylor, 2022). Nevertheless, investigating individuals' intergroup prosocial actions holds both empirical and practical importance in dealing with intergroup relations and conflicts (van Leeuwen & Zagefka, 2017). Specifically, maintaining social cohesion in diverse societies depends on prosocial conduct that extends beyond connections within one's own group (Baldassari and Abascal, 2020). It may flourish intergroup cohesion and even help rehumanizing a dehumanized outgroup (Saguy et al., 2015). Hence, it might be concluded that understanding and exploring foundations behind these intergroup behaviors are key to both research and practice on intergroup peacebuilding. To achieve this, researchers must hold a multidimensional approach to prosocial behavior across various social interactions (e.g., race, gender, nationality, ethnicity, socioeconomic status etc.) by considering both individual and group psychological processes behind them (Carlo & Padilla-Walker, 2020).

People are more likely to help ingroup and less to outgroup, but various factors may support or challenge this tendency. Some of these factors are group level factors such as social dominance orientation, perceived threat from outgroup, level of ingroup identification, and intergroup contact. As an example, a group of researchers examined young adults' intergroup prosocial profiles based on intrapersonal (e.g., prosocial moral obligation) and intergroup level (e.g., social dominance orientation and belongingness to ingroup) determinants based on group affiliations of gender, race, and department affiliation (Xiao et al., 2022). They concluded that being high in social dominance orientation was the main predictor of the self-serving prosocial profiles, which are associated with favoring ingroup over outgroup in prosocial preferences. Likewise, intergroup threat is another group level factor causing increased negative intentions and behavior as well as decreased positive ones toward the outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 2017). For instance, in an experimental study, participants were more willing to help (intention level) and donate money to less threatening national outgroup compared to more threating one (Li & Zhao, 2012). Unlike social dominance and intergroup threat, intergroup contact does not only alleviate negative emotions and attitudes, but it may also flourish positive intergroup behavior. Several studies in different intergroup relationship settings such as workgroups in a company (Koschate et al., 2012), nationality-based ones (Meleady & Seger, 2017), religion and gender (McKeown & Taylor, 2018) confirmed that positive contact between the groups promote prosocial behaviors. Along with these factors, perceived group norms (McKeown & Taylor, 2018), awareness about ingroup's helping behaviors toward the outgroup (Saguy et al., 2015), living in a conflict zone (O'Driscoll et al., 2018), social and economic status differences (Halabi et al., 2008) are some other group level factors that influence outgroup prosocial behaviors.

There might also be some intrapersonal level factors that may shape intergroup level behaviors such as morality, personality traits, self-efficacy, and empathy. To illustrate, empathy emerged as flourishing factor behind both individual and group-directed prosocial behavior among workgroups in a company (Koschate et al., 2012), as similar findings were observed in other intergroup contexts like toward refugees (Taylor & McKeown, 2021). Regarding the personality traits, having a prosocial

personality (dispositional reflection of caring for others) predicted donations to victims of typhoon Haiyan by US citizens (Manesi et al., 2019). Particularly, moral identity or endorsement of different moral values seem to be influential in moral decision making for intergroup attitudes and behavior. For example, amidst the largest refugee crisis of 2015-2016, a considerable number of individuals within Hungary proactively extended their support to refugees, notwithstanding the adversarial position adopted by their government. In an investigative endeavor by Kende et al. (2017), it was discerned that the moral principles of these volunteers constituted as a driving psychological force for propelling their engagement in prosocial acts during this humanitarian action. A more detailed explanation regarding the moral factors behind the prosocial behaviors is included in the following section below.

All the aforementioned research on individual and group level psychological processes behind intergroup prosocial behavior is limited to helping, but not moral courage. Despite this limitation, there are few intergroup level moral courage studies that provide some insight for a better understanding of this concept. First, confronting a moral violation on behalf of another group may come with some social costs from one's own ingroup. As a real-life example, Karim Benzema, a well-known French football player, condemned Israel for bombing women and children in Gaza via a social media platform. Then, he was accused as being a member of terrorist group by France's interior minister (France 24, 2023). That is why Kutlaca and colleagues (2020) called confrontation of racism and discrimination as moral courage and conducted a study for that. The results revealed that individuals who demonstrate moral courage against discrimination of disadvantaged groups (such as sexism and racism) are hailed as heroes by members of outgroup members, whereas ingroup members tend to perceive such acts of moral courage as an excessive response and consequently adopt a more negative stance (Kutlaca et al., 2020). In addition to mere group identification, like helping literature, perceived intergroup threat was found to lead to unwillingness to confront unjust treatments of a racial minority group (Celikkol et al., 2021). Unlike threat, another intergroup mechanism, namely intergroup contact, might motivate people to raise their voice for outgroup members. For instance, having positive contact and close others targeted by racial

prejudice encouraged advantaged group's (White people) intention to stand up against racial injustice (Tropp & Uluğ, 2019).

Beyond the intergroup dynamics, moral beliefs and values are perceived as transcending individual and group boundaries, which may inspire individuals to take morally courageous actions on behalf of others with whom they may lack shared commonalities (Skitka, 2010; Van Zomeren et al., 2011). For example, non-Muslim participants with a strong moral stance against social inequality were more likely to stand up against discrimination of Muslim individuals (Van Zomeren et al., 2011). Furthermore, as mentioned above with Kende and colleagues' study, thousands of Hungarian people mobilized to help during the refugee crisis in 2015. This prosocial movement can also be seen as a morally courageous action as these people also went for a social change against their government's unjust hostile stance against the refugees. Despite the challenges, these people's moral conviction was one of the main motivators behind their actions (Kende et al., 2017).

To conclude, morality seems to be a key factor in explaining outgroup helping and moral courage as well, as is the case with intra/interpersonal level ones. Inferring from early research mentioned above, studying psychology of intergroup behavior, including intergroup level prosocial behavior, also requires covering intergroup mechanisms like intergroup threat and contact. Hence, studies in the current dissertation approached to capturing moral predictors of outgroup prosocial behavior by also integrating intergroup threat and contact. More detailed explanations and related research findings for these potential correlates of helping and moral courage have been provided in the subsequent sections.

1.2. Morality Behind Intergroup Prosocial Behavior

Positive social behaviors are also moral behaviors (Batson et al., 2002), and both moral judgment (Kumru et al., 2012) and moral emotions (such as virtue, empathy, anger; Teper et al., 2015) play a role in determining positive social behaviors. Numerous studies have confirmed the presence of moral values underlying prosocial behaviors (e.g., Süssenbach et al., 2019; Thomson & Siegel, 2013). The following statement by Haidt (2003), founder of Moral Foundations Theory, clarifies how

morality and prosocial behaviors are intertwined: “A comprehensive capture of human morality remains elusive unless one can articulate why and how people profoundly influenced by seeing a stranger aiding another” (p.284). To this end, morality appears to have something to do with why people, for example, donate money to refugee programs (Echterhoff et al., 2022) or go against laws/authorities and risk their lives to save victims during a holocaust (Turiel, 2015). To understand this relationship better, a recent theory of morality and how it relates to human prosociality have been presented below.

Different from cognitive approaches, Moral Foundations Theory (MFT; Haidt, 2007; Haidt & Graham, 2007) argues that innate intuitions shape our moral judgements, which has evolutionary roots that are also forged by interactions with one’s social environment. According to this relatively recent moral theory, people have biologically based five moral foundations without any hierarchical order, that are: Care (not giving harm and looking out for others’ needs), fairness (being just and protection of individual rights), loyalty (being loyal to ingroup and standing up against the betrayers), authority (showing respect to existing authority), and sanctity (being physically and spiritually pure; Haidt, 2013). Care and fairness foundations form the individualizing moral foundations whilst loyalty, authority, and sanctity can be grouped into binding moral foundations (Graham et al., 2011). In other words, care and fairness grouping is called “individualizing” since they prioritize welfare of individuals, whilst the other three are labelled as “binding” as they prioritize the collective welfare of the community and ingroup.

Numerous early studies showed that moral foundations were consequential in prosocial behaviors (Süssenbach et al., 2019), including helping (Nilsson et al., 2016) and moral courage (Goodwin et al., 2020). Specific to intergroup prosocial behavior, individualizing, but not binding, foundations were a significant predictor of outgroup helping (Nilsson et al., 2016; Nilsson et al., 2020). As a concrete example, Hadarics and Kende (2018) examined the role of moral foundations in predicting Hungarian university students’ antisocial and prosocial intentions toward Muslim minority. The results demonstrated that whilst individualizing moral foundations positively predicted helping and negatively predicted antisocial acts, directions of

these associations were just the opposite for bindings foundations. Kugler and colleagues (2014) even have raised some concerns, asserting that labeling binding intuitions as 'moral' might be deceptive if these intuitions are indeed linked to behaviors that are unquestionably considered normatively immoral. Thus, unlike individualizing, binding values may hinder positive behaviors toward outgroup members. In conclusion, individuals adopting higher individualizing moral values seem to be less affected from whether helping benefits ingroup or outgroup, but this was not the case for the ones with higher binding moral foundations (Nilsson et al., 2016).

Unlike helping, not much information exists about the role of moral foundations in intergroup level moral courage. The literature on moral courage within an intergroup context is generally scarce. One example as mentioned above were, Kutlaca and others (2020), who tested how people differently perceive morally courageous actions against sexism (Study 1 & 2) and racism (Study 3) in benefit of outgroup members. The results revealed that both advantaged and disadvantaged group members held a positive perception of confronters. However, ingroup confronters (measured only for advantaged group members) were perceived as overreacting by the ingroup members, which indicates that morally courageous actors may experience do-gooder derogation, especially from their ingroup friends. Similarly, Becker and Barreto (2014) investigated confronting sexism between men and women, and they found out that higher identification with the ingroup meant for less support of moral courage on behalf of the outgroup. Overall, it seems that ingroup members are less likely to approve showing morally courageous actions for the sake of outgroup members. Nevertheless, rather than how they perceive or acknowledge it, whether people exhibit morally courageous acts when the victim is an outgroup member is not clear yet. More specifically, to the best of my knowledge, no study has tested how variation in moral foundations may affect the outgroup moral courage.

1.3. Moral Exclusion

The previous section above outlines how differentiation in moral beliefs and values might affect moral decision making for displaying prosocial acts. There is another

moral term that may shed light to this relationship, which is moral exclusion. This concept is about the scope of justice and moral principles (Opotow et al., 2013). Those who are within this scope are morally included while others outside are morally excluded. Moral exclusion of an individual or group means that these people are outside of ethical considerations and concerns, which in return justifies the immoral and unjust treatments to them (Opotow, 2012). While moral exclusion may cause negative attitudes and behavior toward the outgroup (Nariman et al., 2020; Nariman et al., 2022) like discrimination (Lima-Nunes et al., 2013); moral inclusion predicts positive outgroup behaviors such as helping (Hadarics & Kende, 2018; Nariman et al., 2022). Based on these early findings, it can be inferred that moral exclusion of an outgroup is associated with negative attitudes and behavior while moral inclusion promotes positive attitudes and behavior including helping. However, to the best knowledge, role of moral exclusion in moral courage has not been tested yet, as well. In that sense, the current studies aimed to fill in these gaps by expecting moral exclusion to decrease all forms of helping and moral courage behavior.

The relationship between moral foundations and moral exclusion need to be established, albeit with little evidence. In other words, whether individualizing and binding moral foundations had a role in shaping the scope of one's moral circle was put into question. The individualizing foundations foster empathy through being just and caring for others regardless of who they are, but binding ones make intergroup threat and system justification tendencies salient (Strupp-Levitsky et al., 2020). To illustrate, people high in individualizing foundations, unlike binding ones, are less likely to hold RWA and SDO-based motivations, and they tend to perceive less intergroup threat from the outgroup members like immigrants (Baldner & Pierro, 2019; Hadarics & Kende, 2017; Kugler et al., 2014). Perceived intergroup threat from an outgroup, on the other hand, forms the basis for moral exclusion of that outgroup (Hadarics, 2022). Inferring from these early findings, unlike individualizing foundations, binding intuitions are likely to aggravate moral exclusion of outgroup members. Within this scope, moral exclusion was expected to explain the relationship between moral foundations and prosocial behaviors of helping and moral courage. This hypothesis had been only addressed in one correlational study that rely

on helping intentions (Hadarics & Kende, 2018). They reported that individualizing foundations positively predicted helping intentions toward the outgroup disadvantaged group, but binding foundations predicted it negatively. They also showed that moral exclusion explained this association.

1.4. Intergroup Threat and Contact

Narrowing down the intergroup positive behavior to the context of Syrian refugees in Türkiye, welcoming attitudes of Turkish people have initiated to turn into prejudice, hostility, and discrimination toward the Syrian Refugees as their numbers and duration of stay increase (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021). Türkiye, compared to Western and other neighboring countries, has been hosting the largest refugee population by more than 3.7 million Syrians (UNHRC, 2019), which was an immediate and large number of refugee flow that Türkiye could not foresee its permanent effects (Erdoğan, 2015). This overwhelming refugee crisis feeds the perceived threat from the refugees, and in return prejudice and discrimination toward them raise (Hadfield et al., 2017), which forms the basis for intergroup conflicts and national security threats (Lohrmann, 2003). Especially this negative attitude and behavior creation might accelerate with lack of positive contact between the groups (Barlow et al., 2012). Therefore, it is crucial to include intergroup level social psychological factors that may influence the way that host citizens approach to the refugees while studying intergroup relationships. In that sense, perceived intergroup threat from the Syrian refugees and intergroup contact was also taken into consideration to better understand the formation of outgroup prosocial behaviors along with the moral predictors.

As social beings, people hold an inner motivation to feel belonged to a group. They tend to identify, categorize, and compare themselves with others (see Social Identity Theory, Tajfel & Turner, 1979; for a review: Hornsey, 2008). Along with this, simple presence of an outgroup may trigger a threat perception to ingroup's resources, power, and the way of living (Rios et al., 2018). Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephan et al., 2015), revised version of Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), provides a theoretical perspective for explaining how groups

perceive threat from one another by introducing concepts of realistic (e.g., power and resources) and symbolic (e.g., identity, values, way of living) threat. Narrowing it down to the current context, majority group's attitudes and behaviors toward refugees can be negatively influenced when they perceive realistic and/or symbolic threat from them (Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2019). This perceived threat from immigrants and refugees is associated with increased dehumanization, prejudiced attitudes (Esses et al., 2013), and discriminatory behaviors toward them (Cheung et al., 2022). Through intergroup threat, these negative attitudes and behaviors are more easily justified as the threat perception paves the way for group-based moral exclusion of these outgroup members (Hadarics, 2020; Hadarics et al., 2020). This threat perception may not only exclude outgroup members from basic ethical rights and lead antisocial outcomes, but it may also prevent formation of positive behaviors. Even though the psychology literature on helping in intergroup setting is scarce (Kende et al., 2017), the existing research demonstrated how intergroup threat perception reduces prosocial behaviors toward the outgroup (Li & Zhao, 2012), including refugees (Wysznski et al., 2019). For example, similar to the helping literature, perceived intergroup threat was found to cause unwillingness to confront unjust treatments experienced by a racial minority group (Celikkol et al., 2021).

Distinct from intergroup threat, fundamental assumption of Intergroup Contact Theory (Allport, 1954) is that experiencing positive intergroup contact promotes healthier and more harmonious social relationships in a society. Past research across various intergroup contexts already revealed that positive contact experience boosts intergroup relations by decreasing intergroup anxiety (Turner et al., 2008) and intergroup prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, as well as promoting empathy/perspective-taking (Pettigrew & Hewstone, 2017), positive attitudes and behaviors toward the outgroup (Bagci et al., 2020). These positive outcomes were also underlined by some studies in the context of Syrian refugees such as decreased social distance (Koc & Anderson, 2018), increased support for the rights of Syrian refugees in Türkiye (Ünver et al., 2021), heightened outgroup trust and positive attitudes (Bagci et al., 2017). Moreover, few studies also indicated that intergroup contact led to formation of positive behaviors toward the outgroup (such as immigrants) through decreased moral distancing (Vezzali et al., 2022) and increased

moral similarity (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2021). In light of these findings about intergroup contact, we also expected that existing contact of hosting people with Syrian refugees would be related to reduced moral exclusion, and in return predicting more prosocial intentions and behaviors toward these refugees.

1.5. The Present Study

Considering the roles of both helping and moral courage, prosocial behaviors are crucial for preventing antisocial behavior and sustaining psycho-social functioning and healthy social relationships in a society. Within this scope, a hosting community's positive and prosocial behaviors may serve as a flourishing factor for a country with minority groups like refugees, that may foster socio-cultural adaptation of them through intergroup cooperation and constructive relationships. Therefore, exploring the factors that affect these behaviors are pivotal (Lopez-Rodrigues et al., 2017; Volhardt et al., 2016). However, little attention has been given to intergroup prosocial behaviors (Moran & Taylor, 2022), and the less has touched upon various types of prosocial behaviors (e.g., moral courage) in intergroup setting. Keeping these gaps in mind, overall, the present dissertation aimed to examine the effects of moral predictors of outgroup helping (intention level) and moral courage (both intention and behavior level), along with the intergroup mechanisms of intergroup threat and contact.

Narrowing down the intergroup positive behavior to the context of Syrian refugees in Türkiye, overwhelming refugee crisis that Türkiye faces aggravates the perceived threat from the refugees, and in return prejudice and discrimination toward them raise (Hadfield et al., 2017; Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021). On the other hand, past research indicated that outgroup prosocial acts help build intergroup cooperation and constructive relationships (Taylor et al., 2014; Van Leeuwen & Zagefka, 2017) while lack of these positive behaviors amplifies prejudice and discrimination of outgroup members (Szekeres et al., 2023). Similarly, positive attitudes and supportive actions of the host community has been found to contribute to psychological and socio-cultural adaptation of Syrian refugees in Türkiye, as well (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021). Hence, there is a pressing need to investigate the promising factors that might

ameliorate attitudes and behaviors towards this particular group (Bagci et al., 2018). With this need in mind, Syrian refugees formed the outgroup target for ingroup's prosocial acts so that more information can be obtained for future prevention and intervention programs to ease this specific intergroup interaction.

For achieving the current purposes, the current dissertation examined the influence of moral foundations, intergroup threat, and intergroup contact on outgroup helping and moral courage in favor of Syrian refugees in Türkiye through the potential mediating role of moral exclusion. To this end, three studies had been designed to test this main hypothesis, but only the dependent variable, prosocial behavior, differed across the studies in terms of its types (helping vs. moral courage) and its measurement (intention vs. real behavior comparison only for moral courage). By doing so, the following gaps were aimed to address: (1) lack of knowledge in intergroup level prosocial acts (Moran & Taylor, 2022), (2) lack of studies in non-Western cultures regarding helping (Gülseven et al., 2020; Hilbig et al., 2014) and moral courage (Baumert et al., 2020), (3) huge reliance on self-reported intentions rather than measuring behaviors in moral courage (Baumert et al., 2013; Baumert et al., 2020). In addition, not presented and discussed in the main text of this dissertation, but the deadliest earthquake in Türkiye's history happened during the data collection for Study 1 and Study 2. Potential differences between two data regarding before and after the earthquake was analyzed, and their results were presented under Supplementary Analyses section at the end of the present dissertation.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1: OUTGROUP HELPING INTENTION

For decreasing outgroup hatred and prejudice while peacebuilding in interpersonal and intergroup relationships, past research suggests understanding and developing outgroup prosocial behavior for both individual and intergroup level targets (for a review, see Moran & Taylor, 2022). Within this scope, search for possible factors in relation with outgroup prosocial behavior had attracted great attention. Scholars have revealed several factors that are likely to facilitate, i.e., positive contact (Meleady & Seger, 2017), religiosity (Preston & Ritter, 2013) and moral obligation (Xiao et al., 2022), or hinder, i.e., outgroup prejudice (Borinca et al., 2019) and intergroup threat (Li & Zhao, 2012), outgroup helping.

Drawing from theory and research on intergroup prosocial behavior, both group-based dynamics and individual-based differences seem to affect outgroup prosocial behaviors (Xiao et al., 2022). To this end, the current research adopted a wholistic approach to addressing intergroup prosocial behavior by integrating some intergroup factors (*intergroup threat and intergroup contact*) as well as internalized moral principles (*moral intuitions by moral foundations theory*). Furthermore, despite the growing interest and knowledge accumulation, complexity of intergroup relations requires specific investigations for specific ingroup and outgroup interactions (Moran & Taylor, 2022). In that sense, the current study also aimed to contribute to the outgroup prosocial behavior literature with a specific sample from Türkiye regarding their guests of Syrian refugees. Considering all mentioned above, Study 1 examined how intergroup dynamics and moral intuitions predict moral classification of Syrian refugees in Türkiye, and in return how it affects the helping intentions toward them. In that sense, the following main hypotheses (presented in Figure 2) were tested:

1) While binding moral foundations and intergroup threat would be positively associated with moral exclusion of Syrian refugees, this association would be negative for individualizing foundations.
2) Intergroup threat and binding moral foundations would be the negative predictors of outgroup helping intentions.
3) Individualizing moral foundations and intergroup contact would be the positive predictors of outgroup helping intentions.
4) Moral exclusion would mediate the relationships between all exogenous variables and the outcome variable of helping intention. In specific:
    a. Being high in intergroup threat or binding foundations would predict aggravated moral exclusion of Syrian refugees, which in return would decrease outgroup helping intentions.
    b. Being high in individualizing moral intuitions or having positive contact with outgroup members would increase the moral inclusion of the Syrian refugees, which in return would predict increased helping intentions toward them.

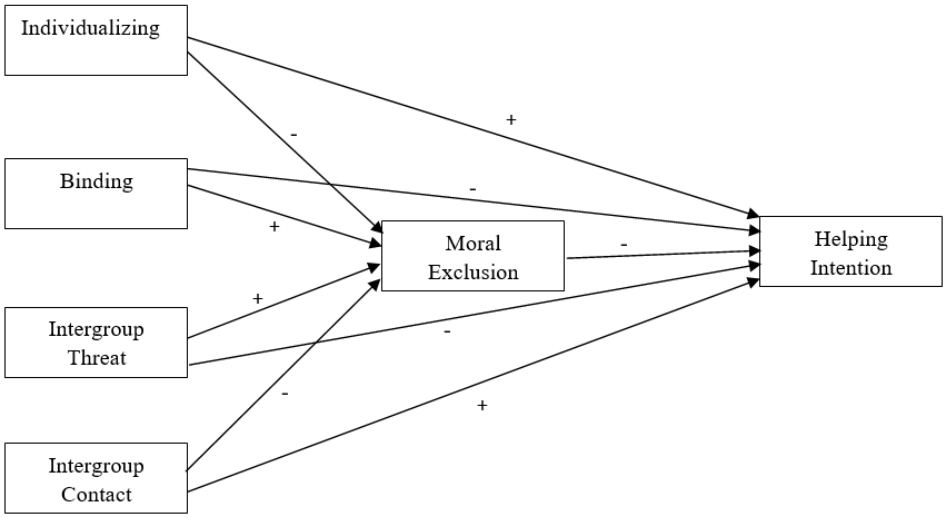


Figure 2. Proposed path model for testing the mediating effect of moral exclusion between the predictors and outgroup helping intentions

2.1. Method

2.1.1. Sample

A power analysis was performed to determine the required sample size for RMSEA (Null RMSEA = .00, Alternative RMSEA = .10) with a significance level at .05 and

desired power .80 (Preacher & Coffman, 2006). The code generated with these commands for R software suggested to reach 361 participants. Considering these suggestions and possible loss in data, data collection was stopped at 417th participants. During the data screening and cleaning process, 56 of them were removed as they at least did not answer a whole scale (e.g., 22 of them just completed less than 2% of data collection process).

2.1.2. Participants

The sample of the present study consists of 361 university students attending different state universities in Türkiye. Participants were mostly females (N = 279) and ranged in age between 18 and 46 (Mean = 21.75, SD = 3.23 years). By utilizing convenient sampling method, the sample consisted of university students from various universities (see Table 1). Most of them spent their lifetime in metropolitan cities (N = 158), 79 of them lived in cities, again 79 of them grew up in districts, and 41 of them primarily lived in villages. Moreover, 221 of them affiliated themselves with a religious group (all with Islam), 135 of them had not, and five of them did want to mention.

Table 1. Frequencies of participants based on university enrollment.

University	Frequency
Necmettin Erbakan University	190
Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy University	84
Akdeniz University	36
Bingöl University	35
Middle East Technical University	6
Ankara University	1
Yıldız Technical University	1
Unknown	8

2.1.3. Measures

2.1.3.1. Demographics

To obtain demographic information, participants are asked to respond some demographic questions related to their age, gender, income, political orientation, birth location, enrolled university, district that they spent most of their lives, and religious affiliation.

2.1.3.2. Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ)

In accordance with Moral Foundations Theory, Graham et al. (2011) developed the moral foundations scale with 30 items to measure the five moral dimensions: fairness, care, loyalty, authority, and sanctity (Turkish version; Yilmaz et al., 2016). Given that self-report Likert type measurement tool (*ranging between 0 to 5*), both five-factor structure with five moral dimensions and the two factor (individualizing vs. binding) structure can be obtained (Doğruyol et al., 2019). The scores of individualizing moral foundations are computed by averaging the scores of fairness and care subdimensions, whilst binding moral foundations scores are obtained by averaging the scores of loyalty, sanctity, and authority subdimensions. Example items for these subdimensions are as follows: "*Whether or not someone suffered emotionally*" for care; "*Whether or not some people were treated differently than others*" for fairness; "*Whether or not someone did something to betray his or her group*" for loyalty; "*Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for authority*" for authority; and "*Whether or not someone violated standards of purity and decency*" for purity.

However, like the original version (Graham et al., 2011), Turkish version of the MFQ also yielded poor fit indices: $\chi 2(390) = 3372.87$, CFI = .78, RMSEA = .06 with satisfactory but doubtful Cronbach's α values (care/harm = .60, fairness = .57, loyalty = .66, authority = .78, purity = .76). To increase the reliability of the scale, grouping the five foundations into two groups had been preferred by some early

studies (i.e., Yilmaz & Saribay, 2017; Cronbach's α for individualizing = .73, binding = .88). As earlier research came up with poor coefficient values for the internal consistency of 5-factor model of the MFQ, researchers may choose to use the 2-factor 'individualizing vs. binding' moral foundations model instead (Alper & Yilmaz, 2020; Harper & Rhodes, 2021; Malka et al., 2016). Thus, the 2-factor structure rather than 5-factor one was also used for the present research. Moreover, short version of the MFQ can be used as well by taking the first part of the scale with 15 items (i.e., Isler et al., 2021). For the current study, first part of the MFS with 15-item (with an extra attention check item) was preferred (see Appendix D). Each of five subdimensions of the MFQ consisted of three items. Thus, individualizing foundations included six items while binding group included 9 items. Moreover, there were no reversed items, and higher scores on these items indicated having higher concerns in individualizing and binding moral foundations. For the present study, Cronbach's α for individualizing foundations was .79, and it was .84 for the binding foundations.

2.1.3.3. Intergroup Contact Scale

Composite scores of two items were used to measure the level of contact with Syrian refugees, as measured by some early intergroup contact studies in the literature (i.e., Bağcı & Çelebi, 2017; Tropp et al., 2021). Participants were asked to rate: "*How many Syrians do you know?*" on 1 (*Not know et all*) to 7 (*Know too many of them)* and "*How many Syrian friends do you have?*" on 1 to 7 again but with different labels (1 = *no one*, 2 = *1-2 people*, 3 = *3-5 people*, 4 = *6-10 people*, 5 = *11-20 people*, 6 = *21-30 people*, 7 = *31 and more*). Higher scores indicate higher contact with Syrian refugees (Appendix E).

2.1.3.4. Intergroup Threat Scale

Perceived threat from Syrian refugees was measured by using Perceived Threat Scale, developed by McLaren (2003) and adapted into Turkish in context of Syrian refugees by Yangın (2017). This 5-point Likert type scale includes 5 items that ranges between 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). While three items from

the scale address the realistic threat (i.e., *The presence of this minority group increases unemployment in Türkiye*), the other two items measure the symbolic threat (i.e., *People from this minority group are enriching the cultural life of Türkiye*). After reversing the one reversed item, higher scores indicate increased perceived threat from the Syrian refugees. In the adaptation study, the Cronbach's alpha value was reported as .75. For the present study it was .81. The items of the scale are presented under Appendix F.

2.1.3.5. Moral Exclusion Scale

For measuring moral exclusion, items of Opotow's (1993) Moral Exclusion Scale was adapted to Turkish with regards to target group of Syrian refugees (also see Hadarics et al., 2020). The scale consists of three moral inclusion items (i.e., *I believe that considerations of fairness apply to Syrians too.*), and moral exclusion scores are obtained by reversing these items (see Appendix G). Higher scores on these reversed items refer to increased moral exclusion of Syrian refugees. The participants are required to rate to what extent they agree with the statements (*1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree*) in the scale. The scale yielded good internal reliability with Cronbach's alpha value of .84.

2.1.3.6. Helping Intentions Scale

To measure intentions for outgroup helping, composite of selective four items from two early research (Kende et al., 2017; Zagefka, 2020) on a 5-point Likert type scale (*1 = never, 5 = very often*) were adapted into the current study's context (See Appendix H). Helping behavior types in the items do not require professional training, and they can be performed by the majority of people with low cost. Some sample items are: "*I would be willing to donate money to help Syrian refugees*" and "*I would be willing to collect clothes, blankets and other useful things that I could find at home, and I send it to refugees*". Higher scores on these items reflect higher intention to help Syrian refugees. Additionally, the scale yielded good internal reliability with Cronbach's alpha value of .93.

2.1.4. Procedure

After getting ethical approval from the ethical committee of Middle East Technical University (METU) with protocol number of 0055-ODTUİAEK-2023, the data was collected through an online platform, Qualtrics Software. Preferably university students who are not METU members were selected for this study in order to prevent further participation in upcoming follow-up studies with behavioral measures, which were held at METU. The survey link was distributed by academic stuff from other universities who were requested to do so. Participation was voluntary, and informed consent was obtained at the beginning of data collection. Moreover, participants received bonus point in exchange for their participations. At the end of the survey, participants were thanked and debriefed.

2.1.5. Data Analytic Approach

Prior to main analyses, preliminary analyses were carried out, including data screening and cleaning, descriptive statistics, assumption tests, and correlation analyses. Skewness and kurtosis values with their cut-points (< |2|) were evaluated to investigate the assumption of normality (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Following the preliminary analyses, some t-tests and ANOVAs were conducted to test for group differences regarding the demographic variables (i.e., gender and religious affiliation).

Then, the proposed structural models, including possible indirect paths through moral exclusion, was examined by using the AMOS Software version 24 (Arbuckle, 2014). The values of the root mean square of approximation (RMSEA), the comparative fit index (CFI), and the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) were evaluated to see whether the model fit the data well, with thresholds of a RMSEA and SRMR below .06, and CFI and TLI values above .90 (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2015). The findings of the model were analyzed by interpreting standardized path estimate (β) scores and squared-multiple correlations (R^2), utilizing conventional effect size thresholds: small (.01–.059), moderate (.06–.139), and large (≥.14), as defined by Cohen (1988). Furthermore, possible significant mediating effects were questioned by bootstrap examination with 5000 resamples and 95% confidence interval.

2.1.6. Results of Study 1

2.1.6.1. Preliminary Analyses

Initially, preliminary analyses of descriptive statistics and correlation coefficients were conducted. The absolute values of skewness and kurtosis (as listed in Table 2) were between <|2|, indicating a relatively normal distribution (Kline, 2015), except intergroup contact as the participants had no or small contact with Syrian refugees. Pearson correlation analysis results showed that outgroup helping had positive relationships with individualizing (r = .25, p < .001) and binding (r = .15, p < .001) moral foundations, intergroup contact (r = .30, p < .001), right political orientation (r = .27, p < .001), and religiosity (r = .26, p < .001); whilst had negative relationships with moral exclusion (r = -.65, p < .001) and intergroup threat (r = -.63, p < .001).

Table 2. Descriptive statistics

	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	α
Individualizing	361	4.45	.52	-1.06	1.31	.79
Binding	361	3.85	.70	-.31	-.54	.84
Moral Exclusion	361	4.52	1.44	-.15	-.48	.84
Contact	361	1.86	1.28	1.92	3.61	-
Threat	361	3.51	.91	-.24	-.28	.81
Helping	361	2.17	1.10	.83	-.13	.93

Furthermore, individualizing moral foundation was positively associated with binding moral foundations (r = .52, p < .01), outgroup helping intention (r = .25, p < .01), religiosity (r = .14, p < .01), and right political orientation, but negatively correlated with moral exclusion (r = -.21, p < .01), and intergroup threat (r = -.13, p < .05). On the other hand, binding moral foundation did not significantly relate to moral exclusion, intergroup threat, and income (p > .05); but, positively correlated with intergroup contact (r = .13, p < .001), helping (r = .15, p < .001), right political orientation (r = .39, p < .001), and religiosity (r = .30, p < .001). Finally, moral exclusion and intergroup contact was strongly correlated with each other (r = .71, p < .001), but a small and negative association was observed between moral exclusion and intergroup contact (r = -.18, p < .001). All correlations are displayed under Table3.

Table 3. Correlations among the study variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.Individualizing	-								
2.Binding	.52**	-							
3. Moral Excl.	-.21**	-.10	-						
4. Contact	-.01	.13*	-.18**	-					
5. Threat	-.13*	-.08	.71**	-.20**	-				
6.Helping	.25**	.15**	-.65**	.30**	-.63**	-			
7.Political (Right)	.17**	.39**	-.19**	.04	-.24**	.27**	-		
8. Income	.01	.04	-.10	.00	-.10	.10	.14**	-	
9.Religiosity	.14**	.30**	-.21**	.10	-.23**	.26**	.42**	.12**	-

Note: Political (Right) = Political Orientation (right). **. Correlation is significant at .01 level (two-tailed), *. Correlation is significant at .05 level (two-tailed).

2.1.6.2. Group Differences

In order to investigate the group differences across the study variables in the context of gender and religious affiliation, series of independent samples t-test were run. First, in terms of gender, significant group differences were solely observed for moral exclusion (t = -2.44, p = .015) and helping (t = 2.23, p = .026), but not for the other main study variables (p > .05). Female participants were less likely to morally exclude Syrian refugees, and they were more likely to help them compared to males. On the other hand, no group differences were found for religious affiliation based on the main study variables of helping, moral exclusion, intergroup variables, and moral foundations (p > .05). All mentioned group differences are presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Differences between the study variables across gender

Variable	Group	N	$\bar{x}$	SD	t	*p*	Cohen's d
Moral	Female	278	4.42	1.39	-2.44	.015	-.312
Exclusion	Male	78	4.87	1.57			
Helping	Female	278	2.22	1.11	2.23	.026	.287
	Male	77	1.91	1.01			

2.1.6.3. Main Analyses

A path analysis using AMOS 24 (Arbuckle, 2014) was carried out, with individualizing and binding moral foundations, intergroup threat, and contact as exogenous variables; and moral exclusion and helping intention as endogenous variables. Before starting to test the model, missing data was estimated through regression-based data imputation in AMOS. This function computes the maximum likelihood estimates and fits them to the model parameters. Following that, it runs a linear regression to predict for each missing case (Arbuckle, 2014). Then, as a first step, the hypothesized saturated model was tested. However, the saturated model did not indicate a good fit: χ^2 (n = 361, df = 0) = .00, $\chi 2 /df$ = .00, p = -, comparative fit index (CFI) = 1.000, Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) = .000, root mean square error approximation (RMSEA) = .35. In the second step, nonsignificant regression weights from binding foundations to helping, from binding foundations to moral exclusion, and from intergroup contact to moral exclusion were trimmed. When the trimmed model was tested, a good model fit was captured: $\chi 2$ (n = 361, df = 3) = .43, $\chi 2 /df$ = .14, p = .80, CFI = 1.000, TLI = .000, RMSEA = .000.

Considering the effect of exogenous variables on endogenous variables, individualizing moral foundations significantly predicted moral exclusion (β = -.12, SE = .10, p < .001) and helping (β = .13, SE = .07, p < .001). Similarly, intergroup contact also positively predicted outgroup helping (β = .16, SE = .10, p < .001), but it did not significantly relate to moral exclusion (p = .22). Moreover, intergroup threat was a strong predictor of both moral exclusion (β = .68, SE = .06, p < .001) and helping (β = -.33, SE = .06, p < .001), yet in different directions. Moral exclusion also negatively predicted outgroup helping (β = -.37, SE = .04, p < .001).

Finally, possible indirect effects were examined through the bootstrapping method with 2000 resamples with estimation of the 95% confidence interval. The results confirmed two significant indirect effects of both individualizing moral foundations (β = .04, 95%CI [.017, .071]) and intergroup threat (β = -.24, 95%CI [-.319, -.176]) on helping through moral exclusion. All the standardized parameter estimates are presented under Figure 3.

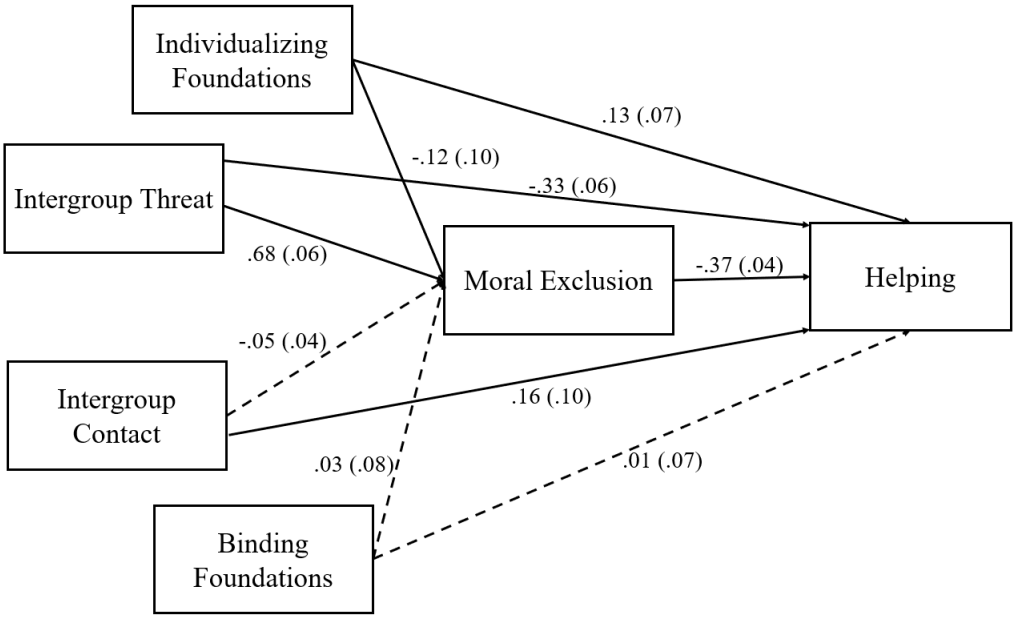


Figure 3. Standardized parameter estimates for Study 1

2.1.7. Discussion

Study 1 investigated moral and intergroup level predictors of outgroup helping intentions. Although the current dissertation mainly focuses on moral courage, this initial study specifically handled helping because the related literature on moral courage itself was built on helping studies and theoretical models (see Halmburger et al., 2017). Hence, gathering the initial knowledge from outgroup helping formed the first step of the present studies, which would enable comparison between helping and moral courage, as well as providing better capture of outgroup prosocial behavior. The overall results revealed individualizing moral foundations and intergroup contact positively predicted of outgroup helping, whereas intergroup threat and moral exclusion as negative predictors of helping intentions toward Syrian refugees. Moreover, moral exclusion played the mediating role for the indirect paths from individualizing foundations and intergroup threat to outgroup helping intention. However, unexpectedly, binding moral foundations did not predict both moral exclusion and outgroup helping.

First, moral values seem to inform us who help outgroup members. Individualizing foundations comprise of care and fairness, which increases likelihood of helping

others regardless of group differences (Nilsson et al., 2020). This gets support from early research in different outgroup contexts like immigrants (Nilsson et al., 2016) and religious outgroup (Hadarics & Kende, 2018). However, these early findings also emphasized the adverse effect of binding foundations on outgroup helping. For example, binding foundations were associated with increased donations to ingroup organizations (e.g., national medical research), but decreased donations to outgroup others like international aid organizations (Nilsson et al., 2016). Other than not helping, even some studies concluded that endorsing binding moral foundations is related to accepting antisocial behaviors against outgroup members, such as torture of these outgroup members. As a result, individualizing moral foundations are likely to involve broadening the scope of moral circle beyond group boundaries; conversely, binding ones draw attention to a more restricted moral circle centered on social ingroup (Graham et al., 2017; Nilsson et al., 2020). This explains why people's helping intentions differ based on who is worth helping. However, in the context of this study, binding foundations did not predict either moral exclusion of Syrian refugees or helping them, especially in a way we expected with increased outgroup exclusion and decreased outgroup helping intention.

The current results regarding the intergroup level variables were also in accordance with the previous research. Perceived intergroup threat increases hostile intentions and behavior whilst decreases positive behavior toward outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 2017). The mere salience of group distinctions inherently feeds ingroup favoritism and outgroup hostility. In addition, when there is a heightened perception of threat from an outgroup, it further exacerbates the decline in willingness to help members of that outgroup (Li & Zhao, 2012). Early studies showed that intergroup threat led to moral exclusion of outgroup (e.g., Muslim immigrants in Hungary; Hadarics, 2022) and less preference to help outgroup in return (e.g., Syrian refugees in Türkiye; Güler, 2019; Iranian and Tunisian minorities in Italy; Nariman et al., 2022). These all mentioned above explains the current findings regarding how perceived threat from Syrian refugees was associated with their moral exclusion and decreased helping intentions toward them. Unlike threat, intergroup contact was related to higher intention to help Syrian refugees. Past research also confirms this finding with evidence from different intergroup settings such as nationality-based

ones (Meleady & Seger, 2017), religion and gender (McKeown & Taylor, 2018). Nevertheless, surprisingly, intergroup contact did not predict moral exclusion of Syrians in the eyes of host people in Türkiye. In fact, for example, positive contact hosting society members with immigrants was found to lessen moral distance toward this disadvantaged group (Vezzali et al., 2022). Based on the benefits of intergroup contact and limited research on contact and moral exclusion link, we expected a positive association between intergroup contact and morality-based exclusion. However, both limited research on this relationship and our sample with few or no contact with the target group prevents making a clear comment for this finding.

Finally, Study 1 also captured some gender differences regarding moral exclusion and outgroup helping in favor of females. Earlier self-report studies also concluded that women were more likely to empathic and less utilitarian in moral decision making (Baez et al., 2017) and less likely to morally disengage and commit immoral behavior (Samnani et al., 2014). In terms of prosocial behavior, early findings often demonstrate that females are more prosocial than boys (for a meta-analysis, see Jaffe & Hyde, 2000). On the other hand, more recent findings suggest that this gender difference may change based on the type of prosocial behavior such as altruistic, anonymous, and egoistic (Xiao et al., 2019). The current study did not dive into specific types of helping such as altruistic versus egoistic one, and overall concluded that females were more intended to help. The upcoming studies, however, enabled further test of gender difference on another type of prosocial behavior, namely moral courage.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2: MORAL COURAGE INTENTION

Study 2 is identical to Study 1, except the outcome measure was moral courage rather than helping. Despite the similarities, moral courage is a distinct type of prosocial behavior compared to helping. However, Study 1 still provided initial information for understanding outgroup prosociality, which thought to help better capture of moral courage and prosocial behavior itself in general. Moreover, Study 2 served as a transition study by its nature of an intention-based measure of outgroup oriented moral courage preceding the behavioral measure in Study 3.

Unlike the literature on helping, little attention has been given to moral courage (Baumert et al., 2013; Osswald et al., 2011). Even the literature on moral courage within intergroup relations is limited to a couple of empirical studies (i.e., Becker & Barreto, 2014; Kutlaca et al., 2020). Based on findings of these couple of studies, it seems that ingroup members are less likely to approve showing morally courageous actions for the sake of outgroup members, but the aggravating or mitigating factors behind this outcome are not clear yet.

Within this scope, Study 2 replicated Study 1 with the outcome defined as morally courageous outgroup intentions instead of helping. In other words, the current study examined moral foundations and intergroup level factors (intergroup threat and contact) as prominent predictors to better understand when and why people tend to show less concern for moral violation of refugees' rights, through the target group of Syrian refugees in Türkiye.

The hypotheses are identical to Study 1 but helping is replaced with moral courage intention (see Figure 4).

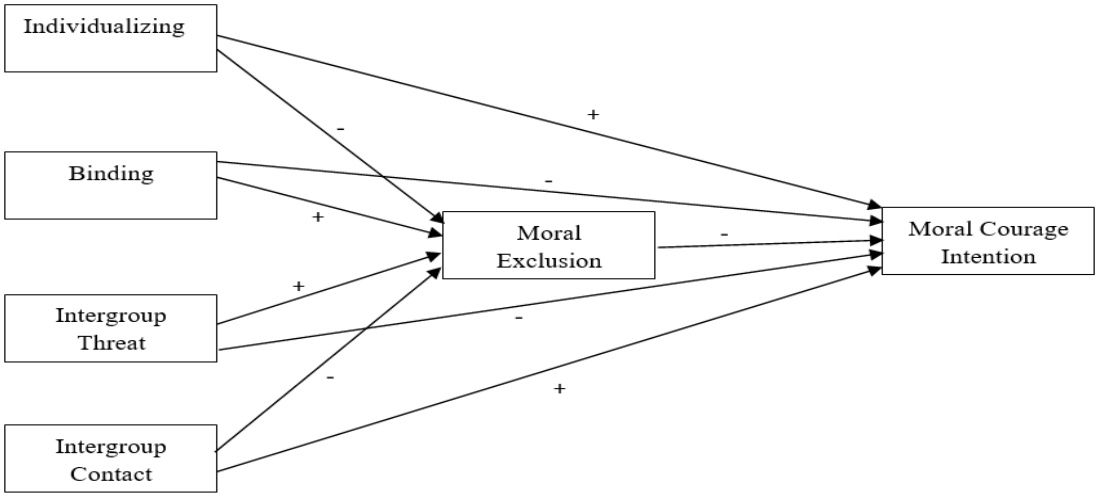


Figure 4. Proposed path model for testing the mediating effect of moral exclusion between moral and intergroup predictors with outgroup moral courage intentions

3.1. Method

3.1.1. Sample

Like Study 1, a power analysis was performed to determine the required sample size for RMSEA (Null RMSEA = .00, Alternative RMSEA = .10) with a significance level at .05 and desired power .80 (Preacher & Coffman, 2006). The code generated with these commands for R software suggested to reach 364 participants. Considering these suggestions and possible loss in data, data collection was stopped at 473rd participant. During the data screening and cleaning process, 76 of them were removed as they at least did not answer a whole scale (e.g., all completed less than 80% of data entry process or completed the whole process in less than one minute).

3.1.2. Participants

The sample of Study 2 consisted of 397 university students attending different universities in Türkiye. Participants were mostly females (N = 283) and ranged in age between 18 and 45 (Mean = 22.41, SD = 4.11 years). By utilizing convenient sampling method, the sample consisted of university students from various universities (see Table 5). Most of them spent their lifetime in metropolitan cities and

provinces (N = 310), 62 of them grew up in districts, and 21 of them primarily lived in small cities and villages. Moreover, 267 of them affiliated themselves with Islam, one with Paganizm, 9 with deism, 31 of them had not, and 89 of them did want to mention. Regarding ethnicity, there were 70 Turkish, 2 Bosnian, 1 Cherkess, 22 Kurdish identifiers, and the rest did not want to mention their ethnicity.

Table 5. Frequencies of participants based on university enrollment.

University	Frequency
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University	86
Selçuk University	84
Necmettin Erbakan University	54
Giresun University	47
Ankara Bilim University	40
Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal University	21
Hacettepe University	17
Middle East Technical University	12
Düzce University	7
İstanbul University	5
Bartın University	4
Gazi University	3
Akdeniz University	1

3.1.3. Measures

3.1.3.1. Demographics

To obtain demographic information, participants are asked to respond some demographic questions related to their age, gender, income, political orientation, birth location, enrolled university, district that they spent most of their lives, and religious affiliation.

3.1.3.2. Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ)

Same questionnaire in Study 1 was used to measure moral foundations.

3.1.3.3. Intergroup Contact Scale

Again, same scale in Study 1 was utilized to measure intergroup contact level of the participants.

3.1.3.4. Intergroup Threat Scale

Perceived threat from Syrian refugees was measured with the same measurement tool in Study 1.

3.1.3.5. Moral Exclusion Scale

To what extent the participants morally exclude the Syrian refugees was assessed with the same items in Study 1.

3.1.3.6. Moral Courage Intention Measure

Self-reported tendency to exhibit morally courageous actions was measured through a vignette and related confrontation items, adapted from an early study by Szekeres et al. (2019). The participants read a vignette in which they imagined two of their classmates having a conversation about a new student in their class, who is Syrian, and they laugh and make fun of this student in a somewhat nasty and racist manner. Moreover, the vignette also implies that it is not appropriate to talk about a person like this, but confronting their friends may also bring some risks to the participant as well. After reading the vignette with moral dilemmas and social risks, the participants were requested to answer seven 7-point Likert-type confronting intention items. Some example items are "*I would stay in my seat, and I would not get involved* (reversed item)" and "*I would confront my classmates and tell them they are racist.*" (see Appendix I). Higher scores mean an intention towards more morally

courageous actions against the racist behavior. Finally, the measurement yielded acceptable internal reliability with Cronbach's alpha value of .74.

3.1.4. Procedure

A similar procedure to Study 1 was followed in Study 2 as well. After securing the ethics approval from the HSEC of Middle East Technical University (METU) with protocol number of 0055-ODTUİAEK-2023, the data was collected through an online platform, Qualtrics Software. University students outside of METU were preferred for this study because Study 3 was going to be collected from METU students. The survey link was distributed to the students by the academic staff who were requested to do so. Participation was voluntary, and informed consent was obtained at the beginning of data collection. Moreover, participants received bonus point in exchange for their participations. At the end of the survey, participants were thanked and debriefed.

3.1.5. Data Analytic Approach

Prior to main analyses, preliminary analyses were carried out initially, including data screening and cleaning, descriptive statistics, assumption tests, and correlation analysis. Skewness and kurtosis values with their cut-points (< |2|) were evaluated to investigate the assumption of normality (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Following the preliminary analyses, some t-tests and variance tests were conducted to test whether any group differences exist between the demographic characteristics (i.e., gender and religious affiliation). Then, the proposed structural models, including possible indirect paths through moral exclusion, was examined by using the AMOS Software version 24 (Arbuckle, 2014). The values of the root mean square of approximation (RMSEA), the comparative fit index (CFI), and the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) were evaluated to see whether the model fit the data well, with thresholds of a RMSEA and SRMR below .06, and CFI and TLI values above .90 (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2015). The findings of the model were analyzed by interpreting standardized path estimate (β) scores and squared-multiple correlations (R^2), utilizing conventional effect size thresholds: small (.01–.059), moderate (.06–.139), and large

(≥.14), as defined by Cohen (1988). Furthermore, possible significant mediating effects were examined by bootstrap examination with 5000 resamples and 95% confidence interval.

3.1.6. Results of Study 2

3.1.6.1. Preliminary Analyses

Initially, preliminary analyses of descriptive statistics and correlation coefficients were conducted. The absolute values of skewness and kurtosis (as listed in Table 6) were between <|2|, indicating a relatively normal distribution (Kline, 2015), except for intergroup contact. The participants had no or very small contact with Syrian refugees.

Table 6. Descriptive statistics

	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	α
Individualizing	394	4.49	.50	-1.24	1.77	.80
Binding	394	3.57	.69	-.24	-.36	.82
Moral Exclusion	394	4.15	1.51	-.03	-.46	.85
Contact	395	1.79	1.16	1.85	3.32	-
Threat	394	3.28	.93	-.13	-.48	.77
Moral Courage	393	4.51	1.51	.22	-.23	.74

The correlation analysis (Table 7) results showed small to moderate relations between individualizing moral foundations and binding foundations (r = .35, p < .001), moral exclusion (r = .30, p < .001), intergroup threat (r = -.21, p < .001), moral courage (r = .15, p < .001), and religiosity (r = .15, p < .001), but not with intergroup contact (p = .69), political orientation (p = .57), and income (p = .94). On the other hand, binding moral foundations had small positive correlations with moral courage (r = .12, p < .05), right political orientation (r = .26, p < .001), and religiosity (r = .24, p < .001), but it did not significantly relate to moral exclusion (p = .98), intergroup contact (p = .49), and intergroup threat (p = .89).

In addition to moral foundations, moral courage was negatively associated with moral exclusion (r = -.38, p < .001) and intergroup threat (r = -.34, p < .001), but positively with religiosity (r = .11, p < .05). While intergroup contact was only associated with intergroup threat (r = -.20, p < .001) and moral exclusion (r = -.23, p < .001), intergroup threat was significantly correlated with individualizing moral foundations (r = -.21, p < .001), moral exclusion (r = .74, p < .001), moral courage (r = -.34, p < .001), and religiosity (r = -.14, p < .05). All correlations are presented under Table 7.

Table 7. Correlations among the study variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.Individualizing	-								
2.Binding	.35**	-							
3. Moral Excl.	-.23**	.00	-						
4. Contact	-.02	.03	-.23**	-					
5. Threat	-.21**	.01	.74**	-.20**	-				
6.Moral Courage	.30**	.12*	-.38**	.07	-.34**	-			
7.Political (Right)	.03	.26**	-.07	.02	-.06	-.01	-		
8. Income	-.01	-.06	.02	-.16**	.05	-.01	.05	-	
9.Religiosity	.17**	.24**	-.06	-.02	-.14**	.11*	.45**	.02	-

Note: Political (Right) = Political Orientation (right). **. Correlation is significant at .01 level (two-tailed), *. Correlation is significant at .05 level (two-tailed).

3.1.6.2. Group Differences

In order to investigate the gender differences across the study variables in the context of gender and religious affiliation, a series of independent samples t-test were run. The results were similar to Study 1. Regarding gender differences, compared to males, females tend to show less moral exclusion (t = -2.89, p = .005), and had more intention to take morally courageous actions (t = 2.04, p = .042) for the sake of Syrian refugees. Unlike Study 1, females scored higher in individualizing moral intuitions (t = 2.29, p = .023) compared to males in in Study 2. Like Study 1, unlike

gender, no group differences were captured for religious affiliation based on the main study variables of moral courage, moral exclusion, intergroup variables, and moral foundations ($p > .05$). All mentioned group differences are presented under Table 8 below.

Table 8. Differences between the study variables across gender

Variable	Group	N	$\bar{x}$	SD	t	*p*	Cohen's d
Individualizing Foundations	Female	281	4.53	.48	2.29	.023	.259
	Male	108	4.40	.54			
Moral Exclusion	Female	281	4.02	1.49	-2.84	.005	-.322
	Male	108	4.51	1.52			
Moral Courage	Female	281	4.60	1.48	2.04	.042	.232
	Male	107	4.25	1.57			

3.1.6.3. Main Analyses

A path analysis using AMOS 24 (Arbuckle, 2014) was carried out, with individualizing and binding moral foundations, intergroup threat, and contact as exogenous variables; and moral exclusion and moral courage intention as endogenous variables. Before testing this model, like Study 1, a regression-based data imputation was done to deal with the missing data. Then, as a first step, the hypothesized saturated model was tested. However, the saturated model did not indicate a good fit: $\chi 2$ (n = 397, df = 0) = .00, $\chi 2 / df$ = .00, p = -, comparative fit index (CFI) = 1.000, Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) = .000, root mean square error approximation (RMSEA) = .29. Like Study 1, none of the regression weights originating from binding moral foundations were significant, so they were removed in the second step. When the trimmed model was tested, a good model fit was captured: $\chi 2$ (n = 397, df = 2) = 2.05, $\chi 2 / df$ = 1.02, p = .36, CFI = 1.000, TLI = .000, RMSEA = .010.

Considering the standardized estimates, individualizing moral foundations significantly predicted moral exclusion (β = -.08, SE = .10, $p < .05$) and moral

courage (β = .22, *SE* = .14, p < .001). Nevertheless, intergroup contact did not predict outgroup moral courage (β = -.00, *SE* = .06, p = .93), but it did significantly relate to moral exclusion (β = -.09, *SE* = .04, p < .05). Moreover, intergroup threat was a strong predictor of moral exclusion (β = .70, *SE* = .06, p < .001), but not and moral courage (β = -.10, *SE* = .11, p = .13). Moral exclusion also negatively predicted moral courage (β = -.26, *SE* = .07, p < .001). Finally, possible indirect effects were examined through the bootstrapping method with 2000 resamples with estimation of the 95% confidence interval. The results revealed three significant indirect effects of individualizing moral foundations, intergroup threat, and intergroup contact on moral courage through moral exclusion, respectively (β = .02, 95%CI [.005, .043]), (β = -.18, 95%CI [-.265, -.103]), and (β = .02, 95%CI [.008, .043]). All the standardized parameter estimates are presented under Figure 2.

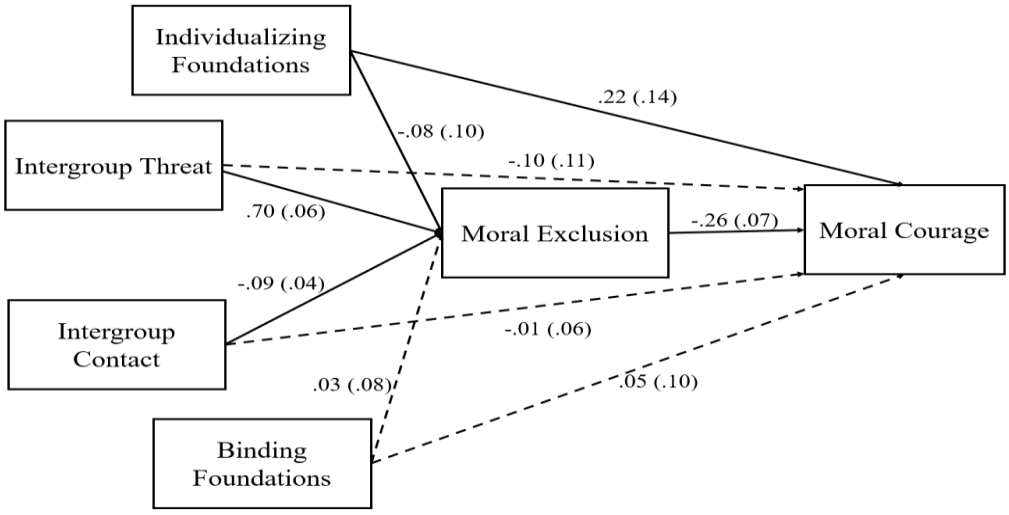


Figure 5. Standardized parameter estimates for Study 2

3.1.7. Discussion

Study 2 examined moral and intergroup level predictors of outgroup moral courage intentions. As aforementioned above, theoretical model of moral courage was built on early helping models, and literature on determinants of helping and moral courage show similarities (Halmburger et al., 2017). The current results of Study 1 and Study 2 confirm these similarities. Like Study 1, Study 2 also demonstrated that individualizing moral foundations predicted reduced moral exclusion of Syrian

Refugees, and in return predicting increased intention to stand up against racist moral violation. Similar to Study 1, hypotheses concerning binding foundations were not supported at all. Distinctively, direct relation of intergroup contact and threat with moral courage intention was not significant since these relations were strongly explained by moral exclusion. Consequently, similar patterns were observed between the two models in predicting intention level helping and moral courage.

First of all, starting with moral foundations, people with individualizing value are more likely to go beyond their individual and group boundaries. Caring for others and prioritizing justice seem to form basis behind courageous acts on behalf of dissimilar others. This explains why non-Muslims who prioritize social justice values raised their voice against discrimination against Muslims (Van Zomeren et al., 2011); or why Hungarian people with strong moral conviction for care of others went against their government so as to help refugees in their borders (Kende et al., 2017). Individuals who embrace higher individualizing moral values appear to be less influenced by whether prosociality benefits their ingroup or outgroup. In other words, individualizing values seem to keep moral circle of people broadened. However, this pattern did not hold true for those with stronger binding moral foundations because the nature of binding values itself require benefiting ingroup.

In addition to moral values, intergroup threat came out as strong predictor of outgroup moral courage through increased moral exclusion of the refugees. In contrast, intergroup contact was linked to increased moral courage against racism through diminished moral exclusion. Unfortunately, it is more challenging to discuss the findings of Study 2 compared to Study 1 as the literature on moral courage is relatively scarce, particularly in intergroup settings with intergroup variables. In spite of that, based on the outgroup helping literature, it can be inferred that perceived threat diminishes positive intergroup through labeling target group members as morally less worthy, and intergroup functions just the opposite. To the best of knowledge, Study 2 is the first showing it for moral courage.

Finally, there were some gender differences in Study 2 as well. Unlike Study 1, in the sample of Study 2, females embraced individualizing moral foundations more

compared to males. Some earlier studies also demonstrated that females exhibited greater concern for being just and preventing harm while males tend to value ingroup loyalty and respecting the authority (e.g., Efferson et al., 2017) while others could not find any gender differences among moral foundations (e.g., Du, 2019). Similarly, gender differences for moral foundations also differed across the current studies, as well. Finally, like Study 1, females were less likely to moral exclude the refugees. Likewise, they reported stronger intention to stand up against racism as they were more willing to help. Earlier studies on moral courage also found that females were likely to act courageously against moral violation (Goodwin et al., 2020; Restika et al., 2021). However, when it comes to real-life measures rather than intentional self-report measures in hypothetical scenarios, gender differences seem to disappear. For instance, female participants reported sexual harassment more than males, but no gender difference was observed in showing moral courage behavior against sexual harassment (Goodwin et al., 2020). The upcoming study, Study 3, also sought an answer for that by measuring moral courage behavior.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 3: MORAL COURAGE BEHAVIOR

Study 2 provided the initial evidence about intergroup level moral courage, but its generalizability to real behaviors is still questionable. In fact, early research on moral courage have mostly leaned on utilizing self-reported intentions within simulated scenarios (Baumert et al., 2013). However, ethical decision-making research suggests that people tend to exaggerate socially desirable behaviors, limiting the consistency between intentions and behavior (Tenbrunsel et al., 2010). Likewise, empirical research on moral courage also demonstrated that people's anticipation of intentions was less likely to be followed by real behaviors. To illustrate, Baumert and colleagues (2013) concluded that psychological mechanisms implicated in responses to moral courage scenarios were noticeably different from the mechanisms involved in real behavior. They were interested in the role that various predictors ranging from moral disengagement, self-efficacy and social anxiety where these predicted intentions, only justice sensitivity was consequential for actual behaviors. In another study, personality trait of agreeableness was significantly related to self-reported willingness to intervene in sexual harassment, but not for actual behavior (Goodwin et al., 2020).

One explanation for intention-behavior gap for moral courage is that facing a moral norm violation live results in a emotional arousal situation, which manifests immediate behavioral outcomes in face of potential risks (Baumert et al., 2013). That is why helping and moral courage intentions often share similar psychological predictors with social desirability (Baumert et al., 2013; Osswald et al., 2010) compared to moral courage behavior. Consequently, for socially desirable moral acts, saying versus doing seems to differ, and potential risks of morally courageous behaviors increase this gap. To this end, Study 3 also aimed to replicate Study 2 with a behavioral measurement to shed light into this phenomenon to see if similar moral

and group level mechanisms would operate and whether moral exclusion and moral foundations would play a similar role (see Figure 6). Besides that, it also sought answers for how this intention-behavior gap would change if the victim of moral violation is also an outgroup member.

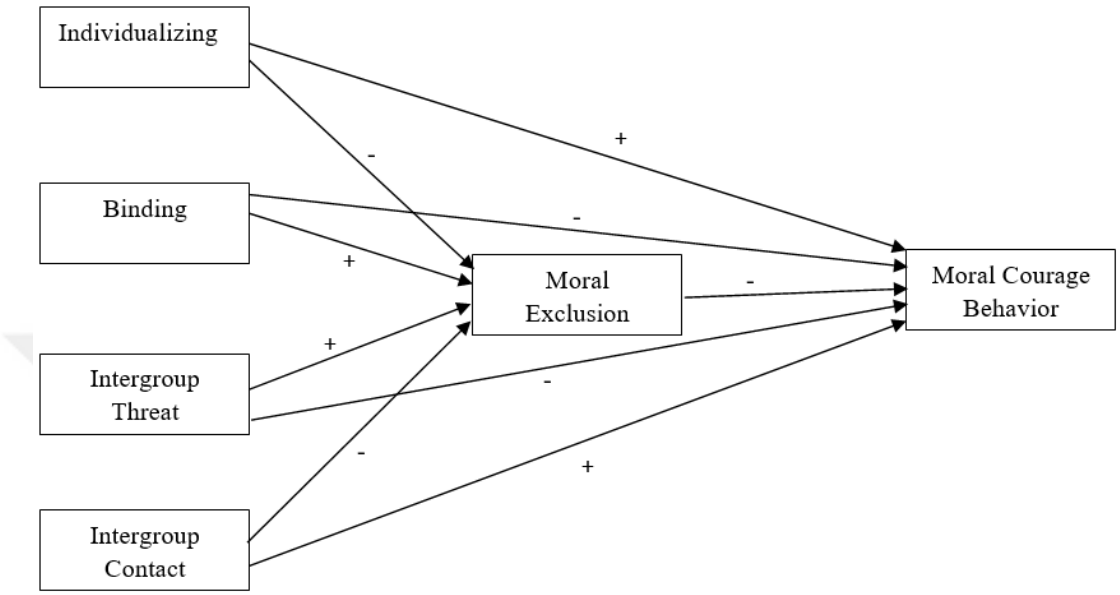


Figure 6. Proposed path model for testing the mediating effect of moral exclusion between moral and intergroup predictors and outgroup moral courage behavior

4.1. Method

4.1.1. Sample

Like Study 1 and 2, a power analysis was performed to determine the required sample size for RMSEA (Null RMSEA = .00, Alternative RMSEA = .10) with a significance level at .05 and desired power .80 (Preacher & Coffman, 2006). In Study 2 where moral courage intention was questioned, the results of final model testing showed four nonsignificant direct paths. Thus, while computing the priori sample size for Study 3, degrees of freedom was taken as four in addition to indicators of RMSEA, significance level, and desired power. At the end, the code (Preacher & Coffman, 2006) generated with these commands for R software suggested to reach approximately 300 participants. Furthermore, in contrast to the initial two studies, our research employed a face-to-face data collection approach

within a controlled laboratory setting. This approach incorporated a forced response option in Qualtrics, thereby mitigating the risk of data loss attributable to non-responsive reactions to scale items. Consequently, our focus was not on expanding participant numbers beyond 300, as this sample size was seemed sufficient for the study's objectives.

4.1.2. Participants

The sample of Study 3 consisted of 264 university students from Middle East Technical University (METU; *N* = 147) and Kafkas University (*N* = 117). Overall, participants were mostly females (*N* = 175), and they were 3 non-binary participants. Their ages ranged between 18 and 40 (Mean = 21.61, SD = 2.31 years). Most of them spent their lifetime in metropolitan cities and provinces (*N* = 136), 35 of them grew up in districts, and the remaining 73 primarily lived in small cities and villages. Moreover, 116 of them affiliated themselves with Islam, two with Christianism, 6 with deism, 26 of them with no religion, and 96 of them did want to mention. Regarding ethnicity, there were 112 Turkish, 18 Kurdish, two Arab identifiers, and the rest did not want to mention their ethnicity.

4.1.3. Procedure

After getting the ethics approval from the HSEC of Middle East Technical University (METU) with protocol number of 0055-ODTUİAEK-2023, data collection for Study 3 was run during the fall semester of 2023. In exchange for bonus course credit, university students from METU and Kafkas University were invited to participate in a study called "Values, Emotions, and Interpersonal Online Communication." Participants from METU were recruited through the SONA system, while students from Kafkas University were verbally invited by different academic staff members across various courses. All participants scheduled appointments through the lab calendar, which offered 40-minute time slots throughout the day, from 9 am to 6 pm. Participation was voluntary, and each participant underwent individual data collection sessions in a lab setting, lasting approximately 30-35 minutes.

Upon arriving the lab, participants were welcomed and seated in front of the computer. First, they were told that the study was about values, emotions, and interpersonal online communication, and the following instruction was given to them: "*Our study comprises three stages. Firstly, you see the informed consent form (Qualtrics first page) on the screen in front of you. This section provides information about the purpose of the study and its process. After reading it, if you wish to proceed with the study, please click the "I approve" button within the scope of our privacy. Following this, we will ask you to move on to the next pages and fill out the scales presented to you. While filling out the questionnaires, please read the instructions carefully and respond them genuinely. Moreover, after completing the scales, you are going to reach a page that says, 'please call the researcher'. When you get to this page, please call me out, and I will guide you for the second part of the study*." In this initial stage, participants filled out the informed consent form along with measures of moral foundations, intergroup threat, intergroup contact, moral exclusion, demographic information form, and the filler scales on Qualtrics.

After this initial stage, the participant was verbally informed that the first stage was over, and the Qualtrics screen on the computer was closed, and then the Discord page was opened by the experimenter. Subsequently, to measure how individuals behaviorally react to witnessing a moral transgression of racism, an online interaction setting was organized similar to the Goodwin et al. (2020) study. In an online communication setting, including a real participant and two confederates (researcher himself), a three round conversation was set by using Discord, an instant messaging platform among virtual communities. In this interactive communication setting, users can text and respond to others' messages. In the first round of communication, everyone introduced themselves by stating their names and where they are from. In this phase, one of the confederates (Confederate 1; a Syrian named as Aisha (F) or Hubeyb (M) haphazardly presented) says that s/he is from Damascus, Syria, and had been in Turkey after the civil war had started in Syria. Confederate 2 (Turkish one named as Mert) replied to that by commenting "*Great, we cannot run away from you even in here*". In the second round, the participants were asked to talk about their hobbies. The Syrian Confederate said that s/he loves enjoying beach and sun. The Turkish confederate also commented on that by saying that "*I hope we will*

also enjoy them when you go back to your country." In the final round, they told their favorite sports and food, and the conversation was finished. For instructing this online communication process, the following verbal instruction was given to the participants:

"*As mentioned in the informed consent form, we are seeking to understand people's experiences of interpersonal communication in online environment. In other words, online communication is becoming increasingly prevalent, and we wonder how individuals who do not know each other form their first impressions in online encounters. For doing that, we have created a chat room for three people who have not met before, and you are one of them. As you can see, two more people have joined the room; they are also receiving instructions from other research colleagues (Participant names are visible in the Discord chat room; Mert and Aisha/Hubeyb). One of these colleagues is from Istanbul University and another is from Eskişehir Osmangazi University. Therefore, another university student like you is currently connected from Istanbul, and the other from Eskişehir. Now, let me briefly explain the communication process to you. Shortly, one of the other participants will initiate a conversation here to get to know each other. We determined the person initiating the conversation in advance by drawing lots with other research colleagues, and Istanbul server was selected for this session. Throughout the entire process, the person initiating the conversation will start discussions on three different topics. In the first round, you will introduce yourself and get to know each other (your name, school and department, and where you are from, etc.). In the second round, the person starting the conversation will ask about your hobbies, and everyone will respond. In the final round, s/he start another conversation about your favorite sports and food preferences, and once again, everyone will respond. Only text messaging is expected. Additionally, throughout this process, you can also directly respond to messages from the other participants, thus ensuring interaction."*

In each round, participants had opportunity to reply to comments by the confederates, which were taken as chances to directly confront racism (Rounds 1 and 2). In other words, there was an ethical violation regarding racism, and we observed whether the participants would confront or raise their voice against the racist person

despite the potential of being subjected to attacks of the racist individual. After completing this communication process, participants proceeded to last stage in which they answered the open-ended questions regarding their online communication experience to give them opportunity to report the incidence. These questions were: “Is there anything else you would like to tell us about your experience in online conversation?” and “Did you witness any demeaning or derogatory remark made by any of the participants during the rounds?” Before answering these questions, participants were instructed to read a document labeled "Important." In this document, they were informed that writing negative comments about other participants in the communication setting would result in the loss of another course credit and the forfeiture of a monetary reward for participating in another study. By including this note, we aimed to create a material cost of reporting the moral violation during the communication setting as the nature of moral courage requires a moral violation and related social/physical cost of intervening. At the end, we expected three types of behavioral responses, which are coded as: Confront, Report, and Nothing (neither report does not confront). Unexpectedly, however, we faced with additional behavioral response patterns, so we increased the number of coding such as being an Ally of the racist participant or excluding the participant during the conversation.

Then, to get a continuous dependent variable of moral courage, all these behavioral patterns were coded with numbers from less morally courageous to high morally courageous actions. As being ally of the perpetrator was an undesired behavior, it was coded with minus one (-1). Then, the passive way of confrontation, socially excluding the perpetrator, was coded with plus one (+1). Reporting the incident despite the costs was coded with plus two (+2) since it was a clear act of uncovering the moral violation of racism. The same coding (+2) was applied for Ambivalent Confrontation. Although the ambivalent nature of the behavior did not meet the requirements of confronting racism, at least the participant showed courage to directly tell the perpetrator was wrong. Finally, direct confrontation of racist language during the communication process was coded with the highest score (+3). Overall, total score for moral courage behavior ranged between -1 to 5. For example, if participants both reported and confronted, they got score of 5. If they excluded the

perpetrator during the conversation and also reported, they got score of 3. Researcher himself and two coders independently coded answers and the comments during this procedure. Researcher made the coding for all participants, and the other two coders coded for 50 participants. Regarding the inter-rater reliability, Cohen's Kappa score was .70 for the coding of the two coders, indicating a good interrater reliability (.75 and above is excellent, .40 to 75 is fair to good; Gisev et al., 2003).

Before concluding the procedure, participants were optionally invited to leave their email addresses if they wished to receive a debriefing about the study once all data collection was finalized. Those participants who opted to provide their email addresses received a debriefing and gratitude via email upon the completion of data collection.

4.1.4. Measures

4.1.4.1. Demographics

To obtain demographic information, participants are asked to respond some demographic questions related to their age, gender, income, political orientation, birth location, enrolled university, district that they spent most of their lives, and religious affiliation.

4.1.4.2. Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ)

Same questionnaire in Study 1 and Study 2 was used to measure moral foundations.

4.1.4.3. Intergroup Contact Scale

Again, same scale in Study 1 and Study 2 was utilized to measure intergroup contact level of the participants.

4.1.4.4. Intergroup Threat Scale

Perceived threat from Syrian refugees was measured with the same measurement tool in Study 1 and Study 2.

4.1.4.5. Moral Exclusion Scale

To what extent the participants morally exclude the Syrian refugees was assessed with the same items in Study 1 and Study 2.

4.1.4.6. Filler Questionnaires

To establish a clear distance between the initial phase involving the evaluation of predictor variables and the subsequent phase centered on assessing moral courage behavior, several filler measures were implemented. This strategic approach aimed to prevent potential priming effects stemming from measurements of predictor variables that included items referencing Syrian refugees. To further ensure unbiased results in the behavioral measurement of moral courage, and to divert participants' attention from the actual purpose of the study, we introduced filler questionnaires. These included the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Gençöz, 2000) and 16 items from Communication Skills Scale (CCS; Korkut-Owen & Bugay, 2014), which were unrelated to the actual content of the study. All these filler questionnaires were not included in data analytic procedure as well. Filler items are presented under Appendix J and Appendix K, respectively for PANAS and CCS.

4.1.4.7. Moral Courage Behavior Measurement

Details related to measurement of moral courage behavior have been mentioned in the procedure section above. Moreover, instructions related to moral courage behavior measurement is also provided in Appendix L.

4.1.5. Data Analytic Approach

Prior to main analyses, preliminary analyses were carried out initially, including data screening and cleaning, descriptive statistics, assumption tests, and correlation analysis. Skewness and kurtosis values with their cut-points (< |2|) were evaluated to investigate the assumption of normality (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Following the preliminary analyses, some t-tests and variance tests were conducted to test whether

any group differences exist between the demographic characteristics (i.e., gender, religious affiliation, and university affiliation). Then, the proposed structural models, including possible indirect paths through moral exclusion, was examined by using the AMOS Software version 24 (Arbuckle, 2014). The values of the root mean square of approximation (RMSEA), the comparative fit index (CFI), and the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) were evaluated to see whether the model fit the data well, with thresholds of a RMSEA and SRMR below .08, and CFI and TLI values above .90 (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2015). Additionally, possible significant mediating effects were examined by bootstrap examination with 2000 resamples and 95% confidence interval. Finally, a two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed to see the role of participant gender (female of male) and victim gender (Aisha or Hubeyb) on moral courage behavior against racism, but this is only included under Supplementary Analyses section at the end of this dissertation.

4.1.6. Results of Study 3

4.1.6.1. Preliminary Analyses

Initially, preliminary analyses of descriptive statistics and correlation coefficients were computed. The absolute values of skewness and kurtosis (as listed in Table 9) were between <|2|, indicating a relatively normal distribution (Kline, 2015), except for intergroup contact.

Table 9. Descriptive statistics

	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	α
Individualizing	264	4.42	.48	-.94	.79	.73
Binding	264	3.40	.75	-.15	-.69	.83
Moral Exclusion	264	4.29	1.49	-.18	-.37	.83
Contact	264	1.60	1.03	2.11	4.52	-
Threat	264	3.48	.78	-.46	.37	.73
Moral Courage	264	2.78	1.95	-.41	-1.01	-

The correlation analysis (Table 10) results indicated small to moderate relations for individualizing moral foundations with binding foundations (r = .29, p < .001), moral exclusion (r = -.30, p < .001), intergroup threat (r = -.23, p < .001), moral courage (r = .23, p < .001), and income (r = .15, p < .05), but not with the remaining ones (p > .05). On the other hand, binding moral foundations had positive correlations with moral exclusion (r = .18, p < .05), perceived intergroup threat (r = .14, p < .05), right political orientation (r = .37, p < .001), and religiosity (r = .61, p < .001) while negatively correlated with moral courage (r = -.15, p < .05).

In addition to moral foundations, moral courage was negatively associated with moral exclusion (r = -.36, p < .001) and intergroup threat (r = -.32, p < .001). While intergroup contact had no significant relations with other variables, intergroup threat had moderate to strong associations with individualizing moral foundations (r = -.23, p < .001), moral exclusion (r = .68, p < .001), and moral courage (r = -.32, p < .001). All correlations are presented under Table 10.

Table 10. Correlations among the study variables (N = 264)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.Individualizing	-								
2.Binding	.29**	-							
3. Moral Excl.	-.30**	.18*	-						
4. Contact	.10	.09	-.10	-					
5. Threat	-.23**	.14*	.68**	-.02	-				
6.Moral Courage	.23**	-.16*	-.36**	.11	-.32**	-			
7.Political (Right)	-.12	.37**	.08	.03	.06	-.07	-		
8. Income	.15*	.01	.02	-.09	.03	.03	-.03	-	
9.Religiosity	.10	.61**	.04	.06	.05	-.05	.37**	.05	-

Note: Political (Right) = Political Orientation (right). **. Correlation is significant at .01 level (two-tailed), *. Correlation is significant at .05 level (two-tailed).

4.1.6.2. Group Differences

To investigate the gender differences across the study variables in the context of gender, religious affiliation, and educational affiliation; a series of independent samples t-test were run. First, like Study 1 and Study 2, no group differences were captured for religious affiliation based on the main study variables of moral courage, moral exclusion, intergroup variables, and moral foundations ($p > .05$). Regarding gender differences, compared to males, females perceived less threat from the refugees ($t = -2.68$, $p = .008$), they were less likely to morally exclude them ($t = -2.41$, $p = .017$), and they endorsed individualizing moral foundations more ($t = 4.40$, $p = .000$). On the other hand, unlike Study 2, no gender differences were observed when it comes to showing behavioral level moral courage ($t = 1.44$, $p = .151$).

Based on the exploratory hypothesis on group differences for educational institute affiliation, there were no significant differences between Kafkas University and METU students in terms of perceived threat from this outgroup ($t = 1.30$, $p = .192$) and individualizing moral foundations ($t = -.20$, $p = .838$). Even participants at Kafkas University reported higher contact with the Syrian refugees compared to ones at METU ($t = 2.33$, $p = .020$). However, Kafkas university students endorsed binding values significantly more ($t = 9.90$, $p = .000$), they tended to exclude the refugees more ($t = 4.08$, $p = .000$), and they stood up against racism less ($t = -2.88$, $p = .004$). All mentioned group differences are presented under Table 11 below.

Table 11. Differences between the study variables across gender and university affiliation

Variable	Group	N	$\bar{x}$	SD	t	*p*	Cohen's d
Individualizing	Female	175	4.51	.45	4.40	.000	.677
Foundations	Male	83	4.23	.51			
Intergroup	Female	175	3.40	.80	-2.68	.010	-.328
Threat	Male	83	3.68	.70			
Moral	Female	175	4.15	1.50	-2.41	.047	-.250
Exclusion	Male	83	4.63	1.41			

Table 11. (continued)

Binding	Kafkas	117	3.84	.59	9.90	.000	1.207
Foundations	METU	147	3.05	.67			
Intergroup	Kafkas	117	1.76	1.25	2.33	.020	.315
Contact	METU	147	1.47	.80			
Moral	Kafkas	117	4.70	1.39	4.08	.000	.493
Exclusion	METU	147	3.97	1.48			
Moral	Kafkas	117	2.39	2.06	-2.88	.004	-.350
Courage	METU	147	3.08	1.80			

4.1.6.3. Main Analyses

Similar to previous studies, a path analysis using AMOS 24 (Arbuckle, 2014) was carried out, with individualizing and binding moral foundations, intergroup threat, and contact as exogenous variables; and moral exclusion and moral courage behavior as endogenous variables. No data imputation was done as there were no missing data. Then, as a first step, the hypothesized saturated model was tested. However, the saturated model did not indicate a good fit: $\chi 2$ (n = 264, df = 0) = .00, $\chi 2 /df$ = .00, p = -, comparative fit index (CFI) = 1.000, Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) = .000, root mean square error approximation (RMSEA) = .27. Then, regression weights for direct effects of intergroup contact and intergroup threat on moral courage were not significant, so these paths were trimmed in the second step. When the trimmed model was tested, a good model fit was captured: $\chi 2$ (n = 264, df = 2) = 5.47, $\chi 2 /df$ = 2.73, p = .65, CFI = .988, TLI = .909, RMSEA = .08.

Regarding the standardized estimates, individualizing moral foundations significantly predicted moral exclusion (β = -.19, SE = .14, p < .001) and moral courage (β = .20, SE = .26, p < .001). Even though the direct effects of both intergroup contact and threat on moral courage were not significant, their direct paths toward the moral exclusion were significant, respectively (β = -.09, SE = .06, p < .05) and (β = .62, SE = .09, p < .001). Moral exclusion was also a negative predictor of moral courage behavior (β = -.28, SE = .08, p < .001). Furthermore, unlike the

intention based previous studies, hypotheses related to binding moral foundations were supported. It positively predicted the moral exclusion of Syrian refugees (β = .16, *SE* = .09, $p < .001$), and negatively predicted confronting racist incidence (β = -.16, *SE* = .16, $p < .05$). Lastly, possible indirect effects were examined through the bootstrapping method with 2000 resamples with estimation of the 95% confidence interval. According to the results, all possible indirect effects were significant. In specific, indirect effects of individualizing foundations, binding foundations, intergroup threat, and intergroup contact on moral courage through moral exclusion were, respectively (β = .05, 95%CI [.030, .089]), (β = -.04, 95%CI [-.071, -.019]), (β = -.17, 95%CI [-.228, -.090]), (β = .02, 95%CI [.007, .049]). All the standardized parameter estimates are presented under Figure 7.

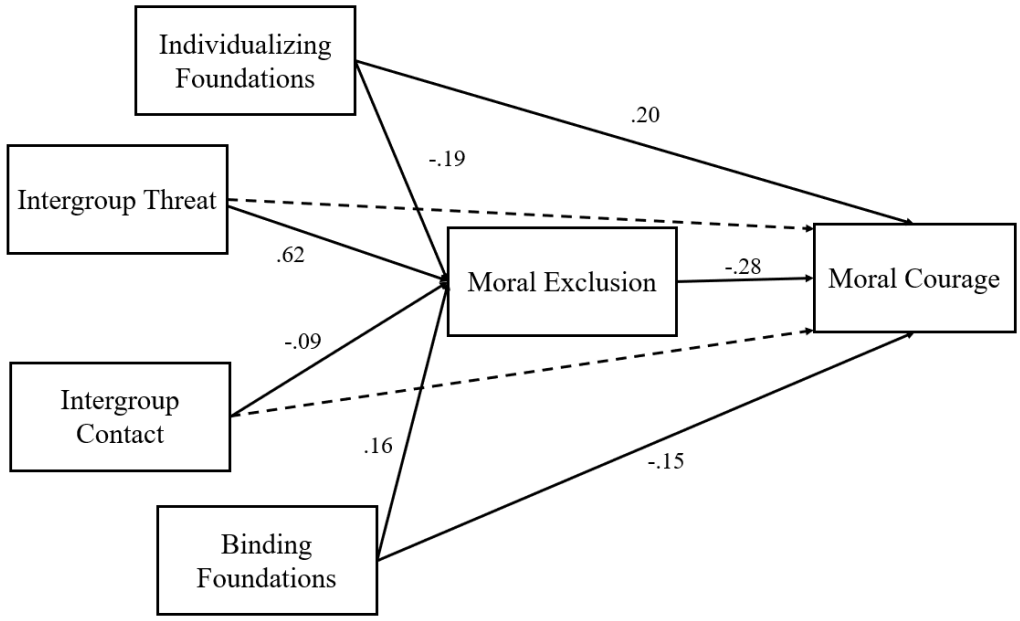


Figure 7. Standardized parameter estimates for Study 3

4.1.7. Discussion

Study 3 aimed to fill out the gap pertaining to intention versus behavioral measurement of moral courage (Baumert et al., 2013). By doing so, it aimed to contribute to a bigger gap in ethical decision-making research suggesting that people tend to exaggerate socially desirable behaviors, limiting the consistency between intentions and behavior (Tenbrunsel et al., 2010). Therefore, when it comes to

socially desirable moral actions, there appears to be a distinction between mere verbal expression and actual implementation, and the presence of potential risks associated with morally courageous behaviors widens this disparity. Moving to results of Study 3, studying behavior rather than self-report intentions showed prominent differences in our model testing, particularly for moral foundations. Even though individualizing moral foundation was again the consistent predictor of both moral exclusion and moral courage, the hypotheses regarding binding foundations were solely supported in Study 3. As expected, binding foundations was positively correlated with moral exclusion and negatively with moral courage, and moral exclusion mediated the association between binding values and moral courage.

Binding moral values help binding people to live in groups by encouraging cohesion and order (Malka et al., 2016), but also feeds ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation (Smith et al., 2014). Several studies confirmed this role of binding foundations. To illustrate, strong commitment to bindings values was found to increase accepting harm to outgroup members and decrease helping them (Smith et al., 2014). As a moral courage context example, endorsing loyalty moral value was related to decreased moral courage against sexual harassment (victim is a woman) in both intentional and real behavior level, especially for male participants (Goodwin et al., 2020). This expected role of binding foundations, however, was not seen in our intentional studies (Study 1 & Study 2), but only observed in this behavioral study (Study 3). One explanation for that might be issue of social desirability. As mentioned earlier above, people are likely to exaggerate how likely they are going to do for socially desirable moral behaviors. However, in real situations where immediate response is required, their true tendency comes out. That is why both helping and moral courage intentions often share similar psychological predictors with their social desirability (Baumert et al., 2013; Osswald et al., 2010) compared to moral courage behavior. To this end, people who are high in binding moral values may also report what is socially more acceptable, but when it comes to exhibiting actual behavior, things change as happened in Study 3.

As the theme of the current moral courage studies is racism, we can exemplify this with studies on racism as well. Kawakami and colleagues (2009) revealed that

individuals anticipated that they would feel upset and confront outgroup racism in face of a related scenario. However, when they really experienced this incidence, they felt little distress and few of them took action (Kawakami et al., 2009). In a more recent example, Karmali and colleagues (2017) also concluded that when participants come face to face with outgroup racism rather than hypothetical scenarios, they refrain from condemning the perpetrator. Just inferring from these examples, it is more likely to expect binding foundations to lead aggravated moral exclusion of the refugees and decreased prosociality towards. However, these effects only came out when participants face with real event of racism, as the aforementioned previous studies also mentioned. Other than intention versus behavior measurement difference in prosocial behavior, binding foundations' relation with moral exclusion also changed compared to first two studies. This difference cannot be linked to measurement difference as moral exclusion was measured through self-report scale in all three studies. A possible explanation for this may lie under differences in sample characteristics. In the first two studies, participants were conveniently selected from various universities without any restrictions. However, in Study 3, only two universities were selected for an exploratory hypothesis, and these two samples showed a clear difference regarding their binding moral foundations. This may explain why our hypothesis related to binding foundations and moral exclusion was solely supported in Study 3, but not Study 1 and Study 2.

Other than moral foundations, results of Study 3 did not display notable differences regarding intergroup variables compared to intention-based ones. Both intergroup threat and intergroup contact significantly predicted moral courage behavior through moral exclusion of the refugees. Intergroup threat, not surprisingly, restricted the moral circle of participants regarding Syrian refugees, and in return led them silence their response against racism. In contrast, intergroup contact was negatively associated with moral exclusion, and predicted increased moral courage in return. As highlighted previously, it is more challenging to discuss the findings of Study 2 and Study 3 compared to Study 1 as the literature on moral courage is relatively scarce, particularly in intergroup settings with intergroup variables. However, it is believed that the current studies shed the first light onto the relationship between intergroup

variables and moral courage. Consequently, it can be inferred that literature on outgroup helping might be generalized to outgroup moral courage since both types of prosocial behavior showed similar patterns of relations with intergroup threat and contact.

Finally, group differences on gender and university affiliation were observed regarding some of the main study variables. In terms of gender, Study 3 had both similarities and differences compared to intention-level moral courage measurement in Study 2. Like Study 2, females were more likely than males to endorse individualizing moral values and less likely to exclude refugees. However, a noteworthy distinction arose in moral courage. In intention level, females reported higher willingness to confront racism, whereas this difference disappeared when it comes to showing moral courage behavior. Similarly, a previous study also reported this gender difference between moral courage intentions and behavior. While females tended to report sexual harassment more than males, but that finding was not consistent a real scenario requiring behavioral moral courage (Goodwin et al., 2020). It might be inferred that females value fairness and caring for others more than males, which also reflect to their moral judgements and decision making. However, what is ought to be and what to do in facing the moral violation may not be consistent as believing/saying versus taking action is different phenomenon, especially for moral courage involving potential risks and costs.

Another group difference comes from the exploratory hypothesis of Study 3 about university affiliation, between Kafkas University (KU) and METU. In fact, students at KU and METU did not differ in terms of individualizing moral foundations and perceived threat from Syrian refugees. Even participants at KU reported higher contact with the refugees. Despite that, KU students morally excluded the refugees more and showed less moral courage against racist incidence. Binding moral foundations is the possible explanation for this surprising result because KU students had strong moral concerns for binding values compared to METU ones. Based on both group differences results and main model testing also results, it can be inferred that KU students embraced binding moral foundations more, which in return predicted aggravated moral exclusion and decreased moral courage.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL DISCUSSION

5.1. Recap of the Dissertation

Prosocial behaviors are crucial for preventing antisocial behavior and sustaining psycho-social functioning and healthy social relationships in a society. However, little attention has been given to intergroup prosocial behaviors (Moran & Taylor, 2022), and the less has touched upon various types of prosocial behaviors (e.g., moral courage) in intergroup setting. To this end, the present dissertation, in general, aimed to investigate the roles of moral foundations and moral exclusion in outgroup helping (intention level) and moral courage (both intention and behavior level), along with the intergroup mechanisms of intergroup threat and contact. For doing that, target outgroup was selected as Syrian refugees in Türkiye. Overwhelming refugee crisis in Türkiye has incrementally intensified the perceived threat posed by Syrian refugees, exacerbating prejudices, and fostering discrimination against them (Hadfield et al., 2017; Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021), whereas positive attitudes and supportive actions of the host community play a significant role in enhancing the psychological and socio-cultural adaptation of this population (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021). Hence, it is imperative to explore the potential factors that could improve attitudes and behaviors towards this specific group in Türkiye (Bagci et al., 2018) while also highlighting a broader global necessity for research in various types of prosocial behaviors, notably moral courage, within intergroup settings.

To reach out these purposes, three studies were conducted on a common hypothesized model. Moral foundations, intergroup threat, and intergroup contact formed the exogenous variables, and potential mediating role of moral exclusion was examined between these exogenous variables and types of prosocial behaviors toward Syrian refugees. These studies mainly targeted to concentrate on *moral*

courage as a specific prosocial behavior. However, journey of these studies initiated with *helping* because term of moral courage was built on related studies and theoretical models (e.g., Integrative Model of Moral Courage, Halmburger et al., 2017). Then, Study 2 tested the same hypotheses in response to moral courage intentions against racist moral violation toward Syrian refugees. This enabled comparison of predictors between helping and moral courage, as well as provided information how people react when they face with racism. Examining responses to racist behaviors against outgroups also provide insight about when people punish or reward racist perpetrators, which is rarely studied in the related literature (Karmali et al., 2017). Subsequently, Study 3 addressed another question missing in Study 2, which is about whether people really do what they intended to do regarding prosocial behaviors, specifically moral courage. Moreover, it also provided valuable information about how observed roles of psychological mechanisms behind prosocial behavior changed based on measurement of prosocial act (e.g., role of binding moral foundations).

5.2. Role of Moral Foundations

Starting to elaborate on the results with moral foundations, individualizing moral foundation was the consistent predictor in all three studies. It was linked to a reduction in the moral exclusion of Syrian refugees, which, in turn, led to increased helping intention, moral courage intention, and moral courage behavior. Individualizing foundations comprised of fairness and care moral values that foster protection of welfare and rights of others (Graham et al., 2011). This nature of individualizing foundations involves broadening the scope of moral circle beyond group differences (Graham et al., 2017), consequently facilitating prosocial behaviors toward others regardless of group differences (Nilsson et al., 2020). Based on the current findings, this outcome of individualizing foundations was valid for both helping and moral courage. Helping occurs in response to easing others' needs, which can be easily related to care foundations. Moreover, moral courage requires moral violations involving unjust treatment to victims, so people showing courageous acts need to have and defend their fairness related moral concerns. Early research also pointed out this connection, between helping and caring, and between

moral courage and fairness (Osswald et al., 2010). Past research also confirms the current findings. In terms of helping literature, it was noted that people with high individualizing moral values indicated greater help toward outgroup members such as immigrants (Nilsson et al., 2016) and individuals of other religious backgrounds (Hadarics & Kende, 2018). Likewise, for moral courage, Van Zomeren and colleagues (2011) found that individuals who had justice-based moral concerns confronted discrimination of outgroup members, Muslims, more. Overall, it can be concluded that people who have a strong identity with fairness and care concerns are abler to extend their moral circle/inclusion to those in outgroups, which flourishes benefiting others, even outgroup.

Continuing with binding moral foundations, the current findings highlight the importance of measurement regarding socially desirable positive behaviors. Binding foundations like loyalty and purity mainly focus on welfare of ingroup. However, while it raises salience for ingroup, it may also bring about outgroup derogation and decreased outgroup prosociality (Nilsson et al., 2016). These values lead to a more restricted moral circle centered on the ingroup (Graham et al., 2017; Nilsson et al., 2020), making outgroups less worthy of moral concerns and related positive behaviors. For instance, a profound commitment to binding values was correlated with heightened acceptance of harm to outgroup members and reduced inclination to help them (Smith et al., 2014). Similarly, as a moral courage illustration, endorsing the moral principle of loyalty was correlated with diminished moral courage in confronting sexual harassment, evident across intentions and behavioral responses (Goodwin et al., 2020). Despite these, intention-based first two studies in this dissertation unexpectedly failed to detect any significant associations linked to binding foundations. In self-report intention-based studies, individuals tend to overestimate their likelihood of engaging in socially desirable moral behaviors, or social desirability bias may occur in which individuals report socially acceptable responses. Yet, in real-life situations demanding immediate responses, people's genuine inclinations come out. Hence, intentions for both helping others and demonstrating moral courage often exhibit similar psychological predictors aligned with their perceived social desirability (Baumert et al., 2013; Osswald et al., 2010).

On the other hand, in Study 3 where moral courage behavior was addressed, the hypotheses for binding values were supported in congruence with the related literature. Facing real norm violations involve high emotional arousal, which results in immediate behavioral outcomes in face of potential risks (Baumert et al., 2013). To illustrate, participants mostly reported to feel upset and stand up in response to a hypothetical outgroup racism scenario, but in a real-life scenario, few of them felt disturbed and raised their voice against outgroup racism (Kawakami et al., 2009; Karmali et al., 2017). To conclude, binding moral foundations increase moral exclusion of the outgroup (e.g., Hadarics & Kende, 2018), and it decreases moral courage in return. However, this outcome could only be captured in Study 3, underlining the significance of behavioral measurements for studying prosocial behaviors.

5.3. Intergroup Variables

Another consistent predictor of both moral exclusion and prosocial behavior across the three studies was intergroup threat. Intergroup threat, as expected, restricted the moral circle of participants regarding Syrian refugees, and in return refrain them helping the refugees and standing up against racist moral violation. The perception of intergroup threat aggravates hostile intentions and behaviors while diminishing positive actions toward outgroup members (Li & Zhao, 2012: Stephan & Stephan, 2017). Illustrating it from immigrant and refugee populations, intergroup threat led to moral exclusion of outgroup (e.g., Muslim immigrants in Hungary; Hadarics, 2022) and diminished preference to help outgroup (e.g., Syrian refugees in Türkiye; Güler, 2019; Iranian and Tunisian minorities in Italy; Nariman et al., 2022). Nevertheless, to the best of our knowledge, it is not much possible to generate examples regarding the role of intergroup threat in moral courage context. Despite that, based on helping literature and the current findings, it can be concluded that intergroup threat lessens both outgroup helping and moral courage, and moral exclusion provides the explanation for these relationships.

The current samples in each three studies included few participants who reported to have contact with Syrian refugees. Yet, the results still provided clues about the role

of intergroup contact, but there were some inconsistent findings across the studies most probably due to sample characteristics. In relation to moral exclusion, Study 1 did not reveal a significant association between intergroup contact and moral exclusion of Syrian refugees. However, last two studies showed significant negative relations between these two variables. In relation to prosocial behavior, intergroup contact directly and positively predicted helping intention, and it indirectly and positively predicted both moral courage intention and behavior through moral exclusion. Consequently, the current results implied that intergroup contact expands moral inclusion to outgroup members, and in return seems to predict greater helping and moral courage. Past research also confirmed that positive contact with outgroup members like immigrants was found to lessen moral distance toward the outgroup (Vezzali et al., 2022). Furthermore, several research on outgroup helping demonstrated that intergroup contact enhanced intention to help outgroup members, including others from different nationality (Meleady & Seger, 2017), religion and gender (McKeown & Taylor, 2018). Unfortunately, like intergroup threat, again it is more challenging to discuss these findings of intergroup contact in relation to moral courage since the literature on moral courage in intergroup setting is relatively scarce.

5.4. Group Differences on Gender and University Affiliation

There were also some consistent and inconsistent findings about gender differences across the current studies. In all present studies, females consistently reported lower levels of moral exclusion toward Syrian refugees compared to males. Moreover, in Study 1 and Study 2, females reported higher intention to help and show moral courage in sake of the refugees. A possible reason for female's moral inclination and superior prosociality might lie behind their greater endorsement of individualizing moral foundations as captured in Study 2 and Study 3, but lack of this finding in Study 1 overshadows to this inference. However, still, past self-report research indicated that women tended to show higher levels of empathy and less utilitarian tendencies in moral decision-making processes (Baez et al., 2017), along with being less prone to morally disengage and act immorally (Samnani et al., 2014). Some earlier studies also indicated that females showed greater concern for being just and

preventing harm (e.g., Efferson et al., 2017) as well as reported higher intention to show moral courage (Restika et al., 2021). All these example findings reached their conclusions through self-report intentions measures, but these gender differences specifically in moral decision making appear to diminish when it comes to behavioral measures as revealed in Study 3. There were no gender differences in showing morally courageous behavior. Similarly in an earlier study, females reported greater intention to oppose sexual harassment, but there was no gender difference in real behavior measurement (Goodwin et al., 2020). As a result, females seem superior to men in empathic understanding, in valuing fairness and caring for others, in morally including different others, and in their moral judgements and decisions; but no difference seems to exist in taking real actions.

Other than gender, another group difference came out in university affiliation that emphasized the influence of binding moral values on morally courageous actions. Despite the absence of significant differences in individualizing values and intergroup threat, and despite KU students having more contact with the refugees, they still reported higher levels of moral exclusion toward the refugees and displayed less moral courage during the racist event. The greatest difference between these two groups was in binding moral foundations. Based on that, it can be inferred that greater concerns of KU students for binding moral values were responsible for their restricted moral inclination and refrainment from moral courage.

5.5. Conclusion

To sum up, probably most people in the world, including Turkish citizens, would agree and adopt the following statements: “All humans are equal”, “We should help needy people without discriminating who they are”, “All people deserve just and fair treatment”. However, based on the current results and related literature, it seems that not all people are equal, deserving fair treatment, and not worth receiving positive behaviors. As Zimbardo (2013, 2016) stated, people have inner capacity to be both cruel and kind, even they may go further and show heroism to protect their moral principles that he called “Everyday Heroism”. Within this scope, the current studies aimed to capture possible factors refraining and facilitating people to be morally

courageous, along with helping. Especially if a person across is from another group and creates a sense of threat, people tend to see them as less worth of moral concerns and positive behaviors. Strong commitment to binding moral foundations also have a similar influence because moral values like loyalty and respect to authority promotes ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation. On the contrary, strong commitment to individualizing moral values and having positive contact with outgroup members expands one's moral circle beyond his ingroup, which flourishes positive outgroup behaviors. Consequently, a society needs to create individuals with strong moral identity involving more universal moral values like fairness and care, which may enable more inclusive moral circle within these people. In return, we may have people who show helping and moral courage for the sake of their own virtue rather than discriminating people based on who they are. Promoting these prosocial behaviors itself would enable positive contact among different groups in a society, which might become another side of the loop of prosocial peace building by providing decreased intergroup threat and moral exclusion.

5.6. Limitations, Contributions and Suggestions

Despite its theoretical and practical contributions, the current studies are not without some limitations. First, the current studies employed a cross-sectional design, thereby lacking causal associations. Therefore, conducting experimental research to replicate the current hypotheses by manipulating the predictor variables may enhance the robustness of the present findings. For instance, there are early moral decision-making studies that come up with cause-and-effect relationships by manipulating moral values (Waytz et al., 2013), intergroup contact (Rios et al., 2018), and intergroup contact (Meleady et al., 2017). Moreover, samples of the current studies only incorporated university students, which limits the representativeness of the current findings. Thus, replicating these studies by utilizing different populations from different age, cultural, and socioeconomic groups would robust the representativeness. In addition, in studying moral courage, the current studies focused on racism by considering the refugee crisis in Türkiye. These provide valuable preliminary findings for understanding moral courage in intergroup context. However, for a better capture of moral courage concept, future research should also

study this phenomenon in different contexts such as whistleblowing, confronting sexual harassment, and so on. Moreover, in both Study 2 and Study 3, we implied some possible social and physical costs. However, different levels of risks related to confronting the perpetrator in moral violation was not manipulated as well. For example, in Study 3, the participants witnessed moral violation and had opportunity confront it in an online setting. If the same incidence was set out in a physically face-to-face setting, the perceived risk would be probably higher, which could decrease morally courageous behavior in return.

We also aimed to counterbalance between the gender affiliations of Syrian participant (Aisha or Hubeyb) in Study 3. However, the researcher unintentionally failed to do so, but checked out its effect in the supplementary analyses section. Moreover, measuring moral exclusion by reversing three items of moral inclusion has some psychometric limitations since these items are not a product of psychometrically tested scale. This measurement with three items was already utilized in early studies (e.g., Hadarics & Kende, 2018), and yielded good internal reliability. Yet, using psychometrically constructed scales specifically measuring moral exclusion and inclusion would be more robust, such as Moral Inclusion/Exclusion of Other Groups Scale by Passini and Morselli (2017). Consequently, future research should consider all these limitations in addressing prosocial behavior, especially for moral courage in intergroup setting.

Notwithstanding these limitations, it is believed that the current studies contribute to filling gaps in the relevant literature and carry practical implications in the field. As mentioned earlier, there is lack of empirical research in outgroup helping, and even research on outgroup moral courage is scarcer. In addition to that, most of the studies on prosocial behavior rely on self-report intentional measurements. Thus, the current studies shed light on these gaps, and it is believed that they provided valuable contextual and methodological insights related to prosocial behavior (e.g., behavioral measure of prosocial behaviors). Last but not least, the current studies contribute to understanding a practical concept for targeting healthy intergroup relationships, namely prosocial behavior. Conflicts and tension between groups in a society like racial issues cannot be solely solved by intentions and good wishes, but with

solution-focused behaviors and interventions. These purposeful behaviors refer to prosocial behaviors, including both helping and moral courage because spreading these actions enable moral growth and positive change (Moran & Taylor, 2022; Williams et al., 2023). To this end, scholars, researchers, policy makers, and others in the field should focus on preparing and implementing intervention programs that promote awareness about one's biases like ingroup favoritism, building a strong moral identity that prioritizes universal moral values, expanded moral regard, and practicing prosocial behavior.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
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27 OCAK 2023

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Banu Cingöz ULU

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Muhammet Coşkun'un **"Dış Gruba Yönelik Yardım Etme ve Ahlaki Cesaret Göstermenin Belirleyicileri Olarak Ahlaki Temeller ve Ahlaki Dışlama"** başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek **0055-ODTUİAEK-2023** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

B. INFORMED CONSENT FORM (STUDY 1 & STUDY 2)

Bu araştırma, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü doktora öğrencisi Muhammet Coşkun tarafından Dr. Banu Cingöz Ulu danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir. Çalışmamız, sosyal ilişkilerimizde yaşadığımız deneyimler, ahlaki inançlarımız ve bunların olumlu sosyal davranışlarla ilişkisini incelemektedir. Bu nedenle sizden istediğimiz hazırlamış olduğumuz sorulara samimi cevap vererek bu konudaki fikirlerinizi bize iletmenizdir.

Çalışmaya katılım tamamen gönüllüdür ve çalışma süresince sizden kimliğinizi belirleyici bir bilgi istenmeyecektir. Cevaplarınız tamamen gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Çalışma sonucunda elde edilecek bulgular bilimsel amaçlarla (yayınlar, konferans sunumları, vb.) kullanılacaktır.

Bu araştırmada sizi daha iyi tanıyabilmek amacıyla bazı demografik sorular soracağız. Ardından gruplar arası sosyal ilişkileriniz, ahlaki inanışlarınız ve olumlu sosyal davranışlar (yardım etme vb.) ile ilgili birtakım ifadeler vererek bunların sizin görüşlerinizi ne kadar yansıttığını belirtmenizi isteyeceğiz. Bunlar yaklaşık olarak 10 dakikanızı alacaktır. Anketteki soruların doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur, sizden istediğimiz bu konulardaki kendi fikirlerinizi içtenlikle bize aktarmanızdır.

Araştırmanın gündelik hayatta karşılaştığınız stres unsurları ötesinde rahatsız edici bir durum veya bir risk taşımamaktadır. Bunun dışında bilimsel bilgiye katkınız da araştırmanın toplumsal anlamdaki faydasına dolaylı bir katkınız olacaktır. Bu araştırma boyunca sorulacak olan soruların size rahatsızlık verecek nitelikte olmadığını düşünüyoruz. Ancak yine de kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz, istediğiniz noktada çalışmayı bırakmakta serbestsiniz. Çalışmanın sonuçlarının daha güvenilir olması açısından sorulara içtenlikle cevap vermeniz bizim için önemlidir. İlk kısımda da belirttiğimiz gibi burada vereceğiniz kişisel bilgileriniz ve görüşleriniz gizli kalacaktır. Sizin cevaplarınız diğer cevap verecek olan katılımcılarla birleştirilecek ve bir bütün olarak incelenecektir. Çalışma hakkında daha detaylı bilgi almak için Arş. Gör. Muhammet Coşkun ve/veya Dr. Banu

Cingöz-Ulu ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz. Çalışmamıza katılmayı kabul ediyorsanız, lütfen aşağıdaki cümleyi onayladığınız belirten “Evet” kutucuğunu işaretleyiniz.

C. INFORMED CONSENT FORM (STUDY 3)

Bu araştırma, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü doktora öğrencisi Muhammet Coşkun tarafından Dr. Banu Cingöz Ulu danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir. Çalışmamız, değerler, duygular ve kişilerarası çevrimiçi iletişim arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu nedenle sizden istediğimiz hazırlamış olduğumuz sorulara samimi cevap vererek bu konudaki fikirlerinizi bize iletmenizdir. Çalışmaya katılım tamamen gönüllüdür ve çalışma süresince sizden kimliğinizi belirleyici bir bilgi istenmeyecektir. Cevaplarınız tamamen gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Çalışma sonucunda elde edilecek bulgular bilimsel amaçlarla (yayınlar, konferans sunumları, vb.) kullanılacaktır. Bu araştırmada sizi daha iyi tanıyabilmek amacıyla bazı demografik sorular soracağız. Ardından değerler, duygular, ve iletişim becerileri ile ilgili birtakım ifadeler vererek bunların sizin görüşlerinizi ne kadar yansıttığını belirtmenizi isteyeceğiz. Bunlar yaklaşık olarak 10 dakikanızı alacaktır. Anketteki soruların doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur, sizden istediğimiz bu konulardaki kendi fikirlerinizi içtenlikle bize aktarmanızdır. Araştırmanın gündelik hayatta karşılaştığınız stres unsurları ötesinde rahatsız edici bir durum veya bir risk taşımamaktadır. Bunun dışında bilimsel bilgiye katkınız da araştırmanın toplumsal anlamdaki faydasına dolaylı bir katkınız olacaktır. Bu araştırma boyunca sorulacak olan soruların size rahatsızlık verecek nitelikte olmadığını düşünüyoruz. Ancak yine de kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz, istediğiniz noktada çalışmayı bırakmakta serbestsiniz. Çalışmanın sonuçlarının daha güvenilir olması açısından sorulara içtenlikle cevap vermeniz bizim için önemlidir. İlk kısımda da belirttiğimiz gibi burada vereceğiniz kişisel bilgileriniz ve görüşleriniz gizli kalacaktır. Sizin cevaplarınız diğer cevap verecek olan katılımcılarla birleştirilecek ve bir bütün olarak incelenecektir. Çalışma hakkında daha detaylı bilgi almak için Arş. Gör. Muhammet Coşkun ve/veya Dr. Banu Cingöz-Ulu ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz. Çalışmamıza katılmayı kabul ediyorsanız, lütfen aşağıdaki cümleyi onayladığınız belirten "Evet"

kutucuğunu işaretleyiniz Bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum ve istediğim zaman çalışmayı yarıda kesebileceğimi biliyorum. Vereceğim bilgilerin kimliğimde eşleştirilmeyeceğini biliyor ve bilgilerimin bilimsel amaçlı yayınlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum.

D. MORAL FOUNDATIONS QUESTIONNARIE

Ahlaki Temeller Ölçeği

Bir şeyin doğru veya yanlış olup olmadığına karar vermenizde aşağıda verilen düşünceler ne derecede etkilidir? Lütfen cevaplarınızı aşağıdaki skalayı kullanarak derecelendiriniz.

0…hiç bir şekilde alakalı değildir (Bu düşünce doğru ve yanlış yargılarımla hiçbir şekilde alakalı değildir)

1…pek alakalı değildir

2…biraz alakalıdır

3…orta derecede alakalıdır

4…çok alakalıdır

5…kesinlikle alakalıdır (Bu düşünce bir şeyin doğru veya yanlış olduğuna karar verirken dikkat ettiğim en önemli faktörlerden biridir.)

1) Birisinin duygusal olarak acı çekip çekmediği	0	1	2	3	4	5
2) Birilerinin diğerlerine göre farklı muamele görüp görmediği	0	1	2	3	4	5
3) Birisinin eyleminin ülkesi için sevgi göstergesi olup olmadığı	0	1	2	3	4	5
4) Birisinin otoriteye saygısızlık edip etmediği	0	1	2	3	4	5
5) Birisinin namus ve edep konusundaki normları ihlal edip etmediği	0	1	2	3	4	5
6) Birisinin matematiğinin iyi olup olmadığı	0	1	2	3	4	5
7) Birisinin güçsüz ve incinebilir olan birini koruyup korumadığı	0	1	2	3	4	5
8) Birisinin adaletsiz davranıp davranmadığı	0	1	2	3	4	5
9) Birisinin grubuna ihanet edecek bir şey yapıp yapmadığı	0	1	2	3	4	5
10) Birisinin toplumun geleneklerine uyup uymadığı	0	1	2	3	4	5
11) Birisinin iğrenç bir şey yapıp yapmadığı	0	1	2	3	4	5
12) Birisinin zalim olup olmadığı	0	1	2	3	4	5
13) Birinin haklarının elinden alınmış olup olmadığı	0	1	2	3	4	5
14 Birisinin sadakatsizlik gösterip göstermediği	0	1	2	3	4	5
15) Bir eylemin kaosa ya da düzensizliğe neden olup olmadığı	0	1	2	3	4	5
16) Birisinin Tanrı'nın onaylayacağı bir şekilde davranıp davranmadığı	0	1	2	3	4	5

E. INTERGROUP CONTACT SCALE

Gruplararası Temas Ölçeği

Aşağıdaki kısımda Suriyeli mültecilerle ne düzeyde temasta olduğunuzu anlamak için bazı sorular sorulmuştur. Aşağıdaki her bir soruya, 1 (Hiç Bilmiyorum) ile 6 (Birçoğunu Tanıyorum) arasında bir yanıt veriniz.

1. Kaç tane Suriyeli tanıyorsunuz?

2. Kaç tane Suriyeli arkadaşınız var?

F. INTERGROUP THREAT SCALE

Aşağıda size Suriyeli mülteciler ile ilgili çeşitli ifadeler sunulmuştur. Sizden isteğimiz, ifadenin sağında bulunan katılma derecelerini kullanarak o ifadeye ne ölçüde katıldığınızı belirtmenizdir. İfadelerin doğru ya da yanlış yanıtları yoktur. Bu nedenle lütfen ne düşünüyorsanız samimi şekilde ifade ediniz.

Şimdi lütfen aşağıdaki ifadelere ne ölçüde katıldığınızı belirtiniz.

1 = Kesinlikle katılmıyorum

2 = Çok az katılıyorum

3 = Orta derecede katılıyorum

4 = Oldukça fazla katılıyorum

5 = Tamamen katılıyorum

1. Çok sayıda Suriyeli mülteci çocuğun gittiği okullarda eğitim kalitesi düşmektedir.

2. Suriyeli mülteciler devletin sosyal hizmet olanaklarını (sağlık, eğitim, barınma, vb.) suistimal etmektedir.

3. Suriyeli mültecilerin varlığı ülkedeki işsizlik oranını artırmaktadır.

4. Suriyeli mülteciler ülkemizdeki kültürel hayatı zenginleştirmektedir.

5. Suriyeli mültecilerin dini uygulamaları bizim yaşam tarzımızı tehdit etmektedir.

G. MORAL EXCLUSION SCALE

Ahlaki Dışlama Ölçeği

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Türkiye'deki Suriyelilere de diğer tüm insanlar gibi adil bir şekilde yaklaşılması gerektiğine inanıyorum.							
2. Suriyeli mültecilere yardım etmek ve gelişimlerine destek olmak için fedakârlık yapmak isterim.							
3. Suriyeli sığınmacılara kamu kaynaklarından adil bir pay ayrılmasına razıyım.							

H. HELPING INTENTIONS SCALE

Yardım Etme Niyeti Ölçeği

Suriyeli sığınmacılara para bağışında bulunarak yardım etmek isterim.					
Evde bulabildiğim kıyafet, battaniye ve diğer faydalı olabilecek eşyaları Suriyeli mültecilere göndermek isterim.					
Sahada (Örn; mülteci kampı, sivil kuruluş merkezleri vb.) Suriyeli mültecilere yardım etmek isterim.					
Suriyeli mültecilere dolaylı olarak yardım etmek isterim (Örn; gönüllülere destek olmak, arka plandaki etkinliklere katılmak vb.).					

I. MORAL COURAGE INTENTION SCEARIO AND ITEMS

Lütfen aşağıda verilen senaryoyu dikkatlice okuyun ve kendinizi verilen durumun içinde hayal edin:

"Sınıfta olduğunuzu, masanızın başında oturduğunuzu ve bir ödev üzerinde çalıştığınızı hayal edin. Ödeve odaklanmaya çalışırken yavaş yavaş sınıfta bulunan diğer iki arkadaşınızın konuşmasına dikkat kesilmeye başlıyorsunuz. Başka bir sınıfta öğrenci olan Suriyeli bir sığınmacıdan bahsettiklerini anlıyorsunuz. O kişi hakkında gülüp dalga geçtiklerini, uyruğundan dolayı onun hakkında çirkin göndermeler yaptıklarını duyuyorsunuz. Bahsedilen Suriyeli sığınmacı hakkında pek bir şey hissetmiyorsunuz çünkü onu pek tanımıyorsunuz, ama başka bir birey hakkında böyle konuşmanın hoş olmadığını da düşünüyorsunuz. Bundan dolayı, kendi içinizden sınıf arkadaşlarınıza gidip bu hoşnutsuzluğunuzu dile getirme ve onlarla yüzleşip yüzleşmeme fikrini kafanızda tartışmaya başlıyorsunuz. Bir yandan da bu sınıf arkadaşlarınızla yakından çalışıyorsunuz ve onları gücendirmek aranızdaki ilişkiyi de olumsuz etkileyebilir ve sosyal ortamlarda dışlanmanıza neden olabilir."

Böyle bir durumda nasıl davranacağınızı belirtmek için aşağıda verilen maddeleri size en uygun gelen cevap ile samimi bir şekilde işaretleyiniz.

1. Yerimde kalırdım ve onlarla yüzleşmezdim.
2. Onları duymamak için yerimi değiştirirdim ve gidip de onlara bir şey demezdim.
3. Sınıf arkadaşlarımdan Suriyeli öğrenciye hakaret etmeyi bırakmalarını isterdim.
4. Öğretmenime/hocama gidip sınıf arkadaşlarımın konuşmasını anlatırdım.
5. Konuştuklarını onaylamadığımı belirtir bir biçimde onlardan sessiz olmalarını isterdim.
6. Sınıf arkadaşlarımla yüzleşir ve onlara ırkçı olduklarını söylerdim.
7. Genel olarak, Suriyeli öğrenciyi savunmak için çabalarım.

J. FILLER QUESTONNARIE: PANAS

Bu ölçek farklı duyguları tanımlayan bir takım sözcükler içermektedir. Son iki hafta nasıl hissettiğinizi düşünüp her maddeyi okuyun. Uygun cevabı her maddenin yanında ayrılan yere (puanları daire içine alarak) işaretleyin. Cevaplarınızı verirken aşağıdaki puanları kullanın.

1.Çok az veya hiç, 2. Biraz, 3. Ortalama, 4. Oldukça, 5. Çok fazla

1. İlgili	1	2	3	4	5
2. Sıkıntılı	1	2	3	4	5
3. Heyecanlı	1	2	3	4	5
4. Mutsuz	1	2	3	4	5
5. Güçlü	1	2	3	4	5
6. Suçlu	1	2	3	4	5
7. Ürkmüş	1	2	3	4	5
8. Düşmanca	1	2	3	4	5
9. Hevesli	1	2	3	4	5
10. Gururlu	1	2	3	4	5
11. Asabi	1	2	3	4	5
12. Uyanık (dikkati açık)	1	2	3	4	5
13. Utanmış	1	2	3	4	5
14. İlhamlı (yaratıcı düşüncelerle dolu)	1	2	3	4	5
15. Sinirli	1	2	3	4	5
16. Kararlı	1	2	3	4	5
17. Dikkatli	1	2	3	4	5
18. Tedirgin	1	2	3	4	5
19. Aktif	1	2	3	4	5
20. Korkmuş	1	2	3	4	5

K. FILLER QUESTIONNARIE: COMMUNICATION ITEMS

YÖNERGE: Bu ölçek iletişimle ilgili bazı özelliklerinizi ölçmeye yöneliktir. Aşağıda sunulan ifadeleri, o ifadelerle ilgili genelde kendinizi nasıl bulduğunuzu düşünerek okuyunuz. İlişkilerimizdeki özelliklerimiz elbette kiminle, hangi koşullarda, ne zaman ilişkide bulunduğumuza bağlı olarak farklılıklar göstermektedir. O nedenle ifadeleri genelde gösterdiğiniz tepkilere göre değerlendiriniz. Değerlendirmenizi 1-hiçbir zaman 2-nadiren, 3-bazen, 4-sıklıkla, 5-her zaman olmak üzere yaptıktan sonra ifadenin karşısındaki uygun yere (X) işareti koyarak belirtiniz. Hiç bir ifadeyi boş bırakmamanız sonuçları daha sağlıklı değerlendirmemize yarayacaktır. Teşekkür ederiz.

1. Karşımdakini dinlerken anlamadığım bir ayrıntı olduğunda konunun açığa kavuşması için sorular sorarım.	①	②	③	④	⑤
2. Birisi ile iletişim içindeyken sakin bir ses tonuyla konuşurum.	①	②	③	④	⑤
3. Diğer insanlarla kolaylıkla sohbet başlatabilirim.	①	②	③	④	⑤
4. İlişkide bulunduğum kişilerin anlatmak istediklerini dinlemek için onlara zaman ayırırım.	①	②	③	④	⑤
5. Konuşurken söylediklerimle beden dilimin uyuşmasına dikkat ederim.	①	②	③	④	⑤
6. Konuşmaları dinlerken, içerikle yüz ifadesinin ya da beden duruşunun uyumuna dikkat ederim.	①	②	③	④	⑤
7. Benimle herhangi bir konuda konuşmayı istemeyen birisini konuşmaya zorlamam.	①	②	③	④	⑤
8. Başkaları konuşurken yanıt vermeden önce onların sözlerini bitirmelerini beklerim.	①	②	③	④	⑤
9. Birileriyle konuşurken onları rahatsız edebilecek kadar yakınlarında olmamaya özen gösteririm.	①	②	③	④	⑤
10. Birisini dinlerken söylenenlerin altında yatan duyguları anlayabilirim.	①	②	③	④	⑤
11. Yüz yüze olmasak da konuştuğum kişinin duygusunu ses tonundan anlayabilirim.	①	②	③	④	⑤
12. Düşüncelerimi sözel olarak ifade edebilirim.	①	②	③	④	⑤
13. Birisiyle konuşurken ona yanıt vermeden önce onu doğru anlayıp anlamadığımı yoklarım.	①	②	③	④	⑤
14. Yazışırken seçilen sözcüklerin de önemli olduğunu aklımda tutarım.	①	②	③	④	⑤
15. Karşımdakini dinlerken onu anladığımı uygun bir dille ifade ederim.	①	②	③	④	⑤
16. Birisine bir öneride bulunmadan önce, onun öneri vermemi isteyip istemediğine dikkat ederim.	①	②	③	④	⑤

L. CURRICULUM VITAE

MUHAMMET COŞKUN

EDUCATION

Middle East Technical University, Turkey 10/2020 - Present

Ph.D. in Social Psychology (ENG), GPA: 4.00/4.00

Ongoing Dissertation: "*Moral Foundations and Moral Exclusion as Determinants of Outgroup Helping and Moral Courage*"

Committee: Drs. Banu Cingöz-Ulu (Supervisor), Adil Sarıbay, Yonca Toker-Gültaş

Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Turkey 09/2017 - 06/2020

M.S. in Psychology (ENG), GPA: 4.00/4.00

Thesis: *''Functionality of Counterfactual Thinking in Interpersonal and Intergroup Relationships''*

Committee: Drs. Gülten Ünal (Supervisor), Cem Şafak Çukur (Chair), Sinan Alper (Member)

Middle East Technical University NCC, Turkey 09/2012 - 06/2017

B.S. in Guidance and Psychological Counseling (ENG), GPA: 3.90/4.00

WORK EXPERIENCE

A. Research Assistantship

Kafkas University, Turkey 05/2023 – Present

Research Assistant, Department of Guidance and Psychological Counseling

Middle East Technical University, Turkey 03/2021 – 05/2023

Research Assistant, Department of Psychology

Kafkas University, Turkey 03/2018 – 03/2021

Research Assistant, Department of Guidance and Psychological Counseling

Middle East Technical University NCC, Turkey 02/2015 – 05/2017

Undergraduate Research Assistant

B. Teaching Assistantship

Research Methods in Psychology (undergraduate level) at Middle East Technical University, 2021-2022 & 2022-2023 Fall Semesters, Prof. Dr. Sibel Kazak-Berument.

Responsibilities: Providing course materials to the students, carrying out/teaching at the lab sessions, evaluating their weekly as well as their term projects.

Statistics, Methods, and Ethics in Psychological Research (PhD level) at Middle East Technical University, 2021-2022 Spring Semester, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yonca Toker-Gültaş.

Responsibilities: Providing course materials to the students, carrying out the lab sessions, evaluating their weekly as well as their term projects.

Statistics, Methods, and Ethics in Psychological Research (MS level) at Middle East Technical University, 2022-2023 Fall Semester, Dr. İlker Dalgar.

Responsibilities: Providing course materials to the students, carrying out/teaching at the lab sessions, evaluating their weekly as well as their term projects.

Political Psychology (undergraduate level) at Middle East Technical University,
2021-2022 Spring Semester, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Banu Cingöz-Ulu.

Responsibilities: Providing course materials to the students, providing co-leadership in-class discussions, evaluating assignments and projects.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

A. Published Articles in Peer-Reviewed Journals

[SSCI] Arslan, G., Buluş, M., Albertova, S. M., & Coşkun, M. (2023). Uncovering resilient profiles and their influence on college student psychosocial functioning: a latent profile analysis approach to complete mental health. *Current Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-023-05372-9

[SSCI]Bugay-Sökmez, A., Manuoğlu, E., Coşkun, M., & Sümer, N. (2023). Predictors of rumination and co-rumination: The role of attachment dimensions, self-compassion, and self-esteem. *Current Psychology, 42,* 4400-4411. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-021-01799-0

[SSCI]Arslan, G., & Coşkun, M. (2022). Coronavirus–Related Stressors, Resilient Mindset, Loneliness, Depressive Symptoms in College Students: Testing a Moderated Mediation Model. *Psychological Reports*. https://doi.org/10.1177/00332941221139721

[SSCI]Arslan, G. & Coşkun, M. (2022). Social exclusion, self-forgiveness, mindfulness, and internet addiction in college students: A moderated mediation approach. *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction, 20,* 2165-2179. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11469-021-00506-1

[TR]Coşkun, M. & Cingoz-Ulu, B. (2022). Ahlaki cesaret: Öncülleri, önemi sonuçlarına dair bir derleme çalışması [Moral Courage: A review on its determinants, importance, and consequences]. *Nesne, 10*(26), 637-654. DOI: 10.7816/nesne-10-26-07

[TR] Özmen, A., Coşkun, M., & Er, E. (2023). Psikolojik sağlamlık ile COVID-19 fobisi arasındaki ilişkide ruminatif düşüncenin aracı etkisi. *MANAS Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, *12*(3), https://doi.org/10.33206/mjss.1289562

[SCOPUS,TR] Bugay-Sökmez, A., Irkörücü-Küçük, A., Coşkun, M., & Delevi, R. (2023). Difficulties in emotion regulation and communication skills: The mediating role of co-rumination. *Turkish Psychological Counseling and Guidance Journal*, *13*(70), 360-371.

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Coşkun, M. (2021). Öğrencilerde prososyal davranışlar [Prosocial behaviors in students]. In G. Arslan & M. Yıldırım (Eds.), *Okulda Pozitif Psikoloji [Positive Psychology in School]*. Pegem Akademi.

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C. <u>Accepted Publications</u>

[Book Chapter] Coşkun, M. (2023). *Promoting prosocial behavior in school setting*. Springer Publishing.

D. <u>Manuscripts In Progress & Review</u>

Coşkun, M., Cingöz-Ulu, B., Ilgun, Y., & Sarı, E. (In review). Moral Courage in Turkish Context: The Roles of Moral Foundations and Moral Disengagement. *Studia Psychologica*.

Coşkun, M. & Ünal, G. (In review). Conflict resolution in interpersonal relations: Counterfactual thinking and negative social emotions. *Personal Relationships*.

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PRESENTATIONS

İlgün, Y., Coşkun, M., Sarı, E., & İplikci, A. B. (2022). *Cinsiyet iç grubuyla zzdeşim ve kadına yönelik şiddete karşı kolektif eylem niyetleri: Ahlaki kanaatin aracı ve cinsiyetin düzenleyici rolü*. 4. Sosyal Psikoloji Kongresi. İzmir, Türkiye.

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SUCCESS AND REWARDS

- First Rank Graduation with High Honor Role, bachelor's degree, at Middle East Technical University in 2017.
- Merit Scholarship for Academic Success, 2013-2017.

SKILLS

Languages:	Turkish (Native)
	Advanced English (IELTS Academic: 7, 2017)
	Beginner Spanish
Statistical Softwares:	Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS)
	Structural Equations Program (AMOS, Mplus)
	Jasp, Jamovi

M. SUPPLEMANTARY ANALYSES

INFLUENCE OF EARTHQUAKE ON STUDY 1 & STUDY 2

Data collection for Study 1 and Study was started simultaneously. However, a massive earthquake hit Türkiye causing thousands of deaths and forced migration of millions, which also caused one month delay before continuing data collection process. After this incidence, there were also news in both social media and some mainstream media adversely targeting Syrian refugees by accusing them of stealing upcoming aid to earthquake regions. Within this scope, in the following sections, statistical characteristics of before and after the earthquake were provided, including descriptives and correlations. Moreover, a series of independent samples t tests were run in order to see the effect of this natural unexpected manipulation on the main study variables.

Study 1 (Earthquake on Helping Intention)

To provide information about statistical characteristics of the data pertaining to no earthquake and earthquake samples for Study 1 (Helping intention), descriptive statistics and correlational results were computed. These results were given in the following tables from Table s1 to Table S4.

Table S1. Descriptive statistics before earthquake

	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
Individualizing	150	4.40	.51	-.75	-.16
Binding	150	3.67	.68	-.03	-.83
Moral Exclusion	150	4.79	1.38	-.18	-.51
Contact	150	1.49	.91	2.82	10.48
Threat	150	3.77	.85	-.30	-.40
Helping	149	1.87	.96	1.27	1.13

Table S2. Correlations among the study variables before earthquake

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.Individualizing	-					
2.Binding	.53**	-				
3. Moral Excl.	-.21*	-.21*	-			
4. Contact	-.05	-.03	-.12	-		
5. Threat	-.08	-.13	.66**	-.16	-	
6.Helping	.20*	.12	-.55**	.30**	-.53**	-

Note: **. Correlation is significant at .01 level (two-tailed), *. Correlation is significant at .05 level (two-tailed).

Table S3. Descriptive Statistics After Earthquake

	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
Individualizing	209	4.47	.52	-1.29	2.45
Binding	209	3.98	.68	-.54	-.02
Moral Exclusion	209	4.32	1.45	-.10	-.46
Contact	209	2.12	1.43	1.52	1.79
Threat	209	3.32	.90	-.18	-.17
Helping	209	1.15	1.14	.58	-.52

Table S4. Correlations among the study variables after earthquake

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.Individualizing	-					
2.Binding	.51**	-				
3. Moral Excl.	-.19**	.03	-			
4. Contact	-.01	.13	-.17**	-		
5. Threat	-.14*	.05	.72**	-.15*	-	
6.Helping	.26**	.09	-.69**	.24**	-.66**	-

Note: **. Correlation is significant at .01 level (two-tailed), *. Correlation is significant at .05 level (two-tailed).

Comparing Differences Regarding the Earthquake

A series of independent samples t-test were carried out so as to see how main study variables differed across samples before and after earthquake. First, no difference was observed in terms of individualizing moral foundations ($p > .05$). On the other hand, significant differences for the remaining variables. Participants who experienced or witnessed the earthquake had higher binding moral foundations ($t = -4.23$, $p < .001$). However, they also reported more contact with the refugees ($t = -4.73$, $p < .001$), morally excluded them less ($t = 43.04$, $p = .003$), perceived less threat ($t = 4.81$, $p < .001$), and showed greater intention to help ($t = -4.21$, $p < .001$). Related descriptive statistics and t-test results were presented respectively under Table S5 and Table S6 below.

Table S5. Group descriptive statistics

	Group	N	Mean	Median	SD	SE
Individual	No Earth	152	4.40	4.50	0.506	0.0411
	Earthquake	209	4.48	4.67	0.525	0.0363
Binding	No Earth	152	3.68	3.61	0.682	0.0553
	Earthquake	209	3.98	4.00	0.682	0.0472
MorlExclsn	No Earth	152	4.79	4.67	1.380	0.1119
	Earthquake	209	4.33	4.33	1.452	0.1004
Contact	No Earth	152	1.50	1.00	0.905	0.0734
	Earthquake	209	2.12	1.50	1.439	0.0995
Threat	No Earth	152	3.77	3.60	0.846	0.0686
	Earthquake	209	3.32	3.20	0.900	0.0623
Helping	No Earth	152	1.89	1.75	0.962	0.0780
	Earthquake	209	2.37	2.25	1.149	0.0794

Table S6. Independent samples t-test results

		Statistic	df	p	Mean difference	SE difference		Effect Size
Individual	Student's t	-1.39	359	0.166	-0.0765	0.0551	Cohen's d	-0.148
Binding	Student's t	-4.23	359	< .001	-0.3074	0.0727	Cohen's d	-0.451
MorlExclsn	Student's t	3.04	359	0.003	0.4612	0.1516	Cohen's d	0.324
Contact	Student's t	-4.73 [a]	359	< .001	-0.6262	0.1325	Cohen's d	-0.504
Threat	Student's t	4.81	359	< .001	0.4500	0.0936	Cohen's d	0.512
Helping	Student's t	-4.21 [a]	359	< .001	-0.4824	0.1145	Cohen's d	-0.449

[a] Levene's test is significant ($p < .05$), suggesting a violation of the assumption of equal variances

Study 2 (Earthquake on Moral Courage Intention)

To provide information about statistical characteristics of the data belonging to no earthquake and earthquake samples for Study 2 (Moral courage intention), descriptive statistics and correlational results were computed. These results were given in the following tables from Table S5 to Table S12.

Table S7. Descriptive statistics before earthquake in Study 2

	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
Individualizing	213	4.45	.54	-1.33	2.06
Binding	213	3.66	.70	-.28	-.48
Moral Exclusion	213	4.25	1.48	-.03	-.61
Contact	214	1.87	1.25	1.89	3.42
Threat	213	3.33	.94	-.12	-.50
Moral Courage	213	4.49	1.56	.20	-.15

Table S8. Correlations among the study variables before earthquake for Study 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.Individualizing	-					
2.Binding	.47**	-				
3. Moral Excl.	-.17*	-.10	-			
4. Contact	-.07	.02	-.16*	-		
5. Threat	-.16*	-.05	.72**	-.17*	-	
6.MoralCourage	.29**	.20**	-.38**	.02	-.32**	-

Note: **. Correlation is significant at .01 level (two-tailed), *. Correlation is significant at .05 level (two-tailed).

Table S9. Descriptive statistics after earthquake in Study 2

	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
Individualizing	185	4,5216	,45856	-,906	,089
Binding	185	3,4703	,67482	-,210	-,168
Moral Exclusion	185	4,0180	1,52187	-,009	-,267
Contact	185	1,6865	1,03029	1,662	2,147
Threat	185	3,2400	,91290	-,158	-,448
Moral Courage	184	4,5530	1,44474	,264	-,404

Table S10. Correlations among the study variables after earthquake for Study 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.Individualizing	—					
2.Binding	.24**	—				
3.Moral Exclusion	-.31**	.08	—			
4.Contact	.07	.02	-.34**	—		
5.Threat	-.27**	.07	.75**	-.27**	—	
6.Moral Courage	.31**	.04	-.39**	.14*	-.35**	—

Comparing Differences in Study 2 Regarding the Earthquake

A series of independent samples t-test were carried out so as to see how main study variables differed across samples before and after earthquake in Study 2. Unlike Study 1, only significant difference was observed in binding moral foundations, but not others. Participants in no earthquake group endorsed binding moral foundations more ($t = 2.95$, $p < .01$).

Table S11. Group Descriptives for Study 2

	Group	N	Mean	Median	SD	SE
Individual	1	214	4.46	4.67	0.544	0.0372
	2	183	4.53	4.67	0.449	0.0332
Binding	1	214	3.66	3.67	0.700	0.0479
	2	183	3.46	3.56	0.663	0.0490
MorExclusion	1	214	4.25	4.33	1.487	0.1017
	2	183	4.03	4.00	1.526	0.1128
Contact	1	214	1.87	1.50	1.252	0.0856
	2	183	1.70	1.00	1.032	0.0763
Threat	1	214	3.33	3.40	0.946	0.0647
	2	183	3.23	3.20	0.908	0.0672
MoralCourage	1	214	4.49	4.43	1.560	0.1066
	2	183	4.54	4.29	1.430	0.1057

Table S12. Independent samples t-test for Study 2

		Statistic	df	p	Mean difference	SE difference		Effect Size
Individual	Student's t	-1.310 [a]	395	0.191	-0.0663	0.0506	Cohen's d	-0.1319
Binding	Student's t	2.950	395	0.003	0.2030	0.0688	Cohen's d	0.2970
MoralExclsn	Student's t	1.447	395	0.149	0.2193	0.1515	Cohen's d	0.1457
Contact	Student's t	1.494	395	0.136	0.1739	0.1164	Cohen's d	0.1504
Threat	Student's t	1.031	395	0.303	0.0964	0.0935	Cohen's d	0.1038
MoralCourage	Student's t	-0.286	395	0.775	-0.0433	0.1512	Cohen's d	-0.0288

[a] Levene's test is significant ($p < .05$), suggesting a violation of the assumption of equal variances

VARIANCE ANALYSIS ON GENDER IN STUDY 3

A two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed to see the role of participant gender (female of male) and victim gender (Aisha or Hubeyb) on moral courage behavior against racism. The results demonstrated no significant main effect for both participant gender; $F(1,240) = 2.780$, $p = .097$, partial $\eta 2 = .011$ and victim gender; $F(1,240) = .051$, $p = .822$, partial $\eta 2 = .000$. Moreover, interaction between participant gender and victim gender was not significant as well, $F(1,240) = .288$, $p = .592$, partial $\eta 2 = .001$.

Table S13. Tests of between-subjects effects

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p	$\eta^2 p$
Gender	10.398	1	10.398	2.7797	0.097	0.011
GenderSyrian	0.190	1	0.190	0.0507	0.822	0.000
Gender ✻ GenderSyrian	1.076	1	1.076	0.2877	0.592	0.001
Residuals	897.746	240	3.741			

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

1. Giriş

Prososyal davranış, sosyal uyumun teşvik edilmesi ve yapıcı sosyal etkileşimlerin sürdürülmesi için hayati öneme sahip bir ahlaki davranış biçimidir (Ding vd., 2018; Eisenberg, 1982), ki bu farklı şekillerde iş birliği, yardım, teselli ve ahlaki cesaret gibi eylemlerde kendini gösterebilir. Genel anlamda, prososyal davranış, başkalarına fayda sağlayan eylemler olarak tanımlanır (Eisenberg, 1982), ancak aslında faydaları yardım edeni, ihtiyaç sahiplerini ve geniş toplumun tamamını kapsar. Bu davranışlar sağlıklı sosyal ilişkiler kurmaya yardımcı olur (Kuhnert vd., 2017), bireylerde içselleştirilmiş sorunları azaltır (Arslan ve Coşkun, 2020), saldırgan ve suçlu davranışları önler (Hofmann ve Müller, 2018), öznel iyi oluşu arttırır (Tian vd., 2015) ve fiziksel sağlığı güçlendirir (Brown ve Brown, 2015).

Çok sayıda çalışma bireysel ve toplumsal düzeyde prososyal davranışın önemini ve katkılarını ele almış olmasına rağmen (bkz. Thielmann vd., 2020), dış grup üyelerine yönelik prososyal eylemler gibi olumlu gruplar arası davranışlara ise yeterli dikkat verilmemiştir (Moran ve Taylor, 2022). İnsanlar iç grup üyelerini destekleme eğilimindedirler ve onları dış grup üyelerine fayda sağlayacak şekilde hareket etmeye teşvik etmek nispeten daha zordur (Li vd., 2019). Hatta insanoğlu dış grup üyeleri için olumsuz davranış sergileme eğilimine sahiptir (Wrangham, 2019). Bu da gruplar arası önyargıya, dış grupların olumsuz değerlendirilmesine ve dolayısıyla onlarla işbirliği yapma olasılığının azalmasına neden olur (Dovidio ve Gaertner, 2010).

Gruplararası prososyal davranışın zorlu doğasına rağmen bu olumlu davranışların gruplararası sağlıklı ilişkileri tesis edilmesi ve barışı sağlaması noktasındaki rolü yadsınamaz bir gerçektir. Hatta bir dış grup üyesine yardım etmek daha iyi ilişkiler ve yapısal reformlar için ilk kıvılcımı ateşleyebilir (Moran ve Taylor, 2022). Örneğin, Bosnalılar ve Sırplar arasındaki etnik ilişkilerdeki gerilim yüksek düzeydedir, özellikle Sırbistan'ın Bosna'ya yönelik işlediği soykırım nedeniyle, bu

olay Avrupa tarihindeki en karanlık olaylardan biri olarak vurgulanmaktadır (Mulaj, 2017). Son araştırmalarda, Sırbistan'ın Bosna halkına, tarihî gerilimlerin yaşandığı bir dönemde, ücretsiz COVID-19 aşıları sunması, bu iki grup arasındaki uzlaşmayı teşvik etmiş; yani birbirine düşman iki grubun arasındaki buzların bir nebze erimesine katkıda bulunmuştur (Castano vd., 2024). Kısacası, dış grup üyelerine yardım ve kahramanca davranışlar, gruplar arası yapıcı olumlu ilişkilerin gelişmesine yardımcı olabilir (Cehajic-Clancy ve Bilewicz, 2020).

Gruplar arası prososyal davranışın bu işlevi, mülteci veya sığınmacı göç dalgalarını alan toplumlara özellikle uygulanabilir. Bu tür insan akımları, önyargılı tutumlar, ayrımcı davranışlar ve ev sahibi toplumlar ile mülteciler arasındaki ilgili çatışmaların ortaya çıkmasına neden olması muhtemeldir (örn., Cheung vd., 2022). Bu bağlamda, özellikle etnik açıdan zengin veya göçmenleri barındıran toplumlarda, gruplar arası prososyal davranışların nedenlerini anlamak, gruplar arası iş birliğini, iyi niyeti ve çatışmaların çözümünü teşvik etmek için elzemdir (Kelman, 2008; Van Leeuwen ve Zagefka, 2017). Birçok bilim insanı, göçmenlerin/toplulukların kabulünü ve entegrasyonunu kolaylaştırabilecek potansiyel faktörleri incelemiş, özellikle de onların topluma sağlıklı uyumunu sürdürmek için göçmenlere yönelik prososyal davranışların rolünü vurgulamıştır (Lopez-Rodrigues vd., 2017; Vollhardt vd., 2016). Bu konuları bu tezin amacına yönelik daralttığımızda, mevcut tez Türkiye'deki Suriyeli sığınmacılara yönelik bireylerin prososyal davranışlarını teşvik eden veya engelleyen faktörleri derinlemesine incelemektedir. Türk vatandaşlarının başlangıçta hoşgörülü tutumlarına rağmen, sığınmacı sayısı ve onların kalış süresinin artmasıyla, bu duygular giderek önyargı, düşmanlık ve ayrımcılığa dönüşmüştür (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu vd., 2021). Dolayısıyla, Türkiye'deki sığınmacı krizi gibi bir gruplar arası çatışma senaryosunu incelemek, dış grup prososyalliğini kolaylaştıran veya engelleyen faktörleri anlamak için iyi bir tercih olarak kabul edilebilir. Bu kapsamda, mevcut tez, iki prososyal davranış türü olan dış grup yardımı ve ahlaki cesaretin, ahlaki (ahlaki temeller ve ahlaki dışlanma) ve gruplar arası düzeyde (tehdit ve temas) ilişkilerini araştırmıştır. Özellikle, ahlaki değerlerin, algılanan tehdidin ve gruplar arası temasın, Türk vatandaşlarının Suriyeli sığınmacılara yönelik prososyal niyetlerini ve gerçek davranışlarını öngöreceği ve sığınmacı grubunun ahlaki dışlanmasının (sığınmacıların ahlaki değerlere layık olup olmama düzeyi) bu

ilişkilere aracılık edeceği hipotezi test edilmiştir. Ayrıca, yardım etme prososyal davranışına ilişkin araştırmalarla karşılaştırıldığında, ahlaki cesaretle ilgili literatürde daha belirgin bir araştırma açığı bulunmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, mevcut çalışmalar önce yardım davranışını ele almış, ardından yukarıda ifade edilen ana hipotezleri sistematik olarak ahlaki cesaret üzerinden incelemiştir.

1.1. Prososyal Davranış: Yardım Etme ve Ahlaki Cesaret

Kavramsal karışıklılıklar bulunmakla birlikte, basitçe tanımlandığında, prososyal davranışlar başkalarına fayda sağlamayı amaçlayan eylemlerdir (Eisenberg, 1982). Ancak, prososyal davranışların içerik, temel niyet ve motivasyonuna göre karakterize edilen çeşitli alt türleri bulunmaktadır. Prososyal davranış, yardım etme ve özgecilik gibi terimler sıkça birbirinin yerine kullanılmakta, bu da kavramsal bir belirsizlik yaratmaktadır (Bierhoff, 2002), bu da prososyal davranışların her birinin özel olarak tanımlanmasını gerektirmektedir (Pfattheicher vd., 2022). Bu kavramsal karışıklığı çözmenin bir perspektifi, prososyal davranışı diğerlerine fayda sağlayan tüm davranışları kapsayan en geniş kavram olarak düşünmek, yardım etme davranışı ve özveriyi alt kavramlar olarak sınıflandırmaktır (Kağıtçıbaşı & Cemalcılar, 2016). Başka bir deyişle, başkalarına fayda sağlayan tüm davranışlar prososyal davranışlar olarak adlandırılır ve bu davranışların arkasındaki niyet, belirli bir alt türü belirler. Örneğin, birisi gerçek bir motivasyonla bir kuruma yaptığı bağış için karşılık beklemeden yaptığında, buna özgecilik denir, ancak karşılığında bir ödül bekleniyorsa, buna bencillikle yardım etme denir (Lay ve Hoppman, 2015). Ayrıca, bir diğer tür prososyal davranış ise ahlaki cesarettir (Bierhoff, 2002), bu da diğer prososyal davranış türlerine göre daha yeni bir kavramdır (Niesta-Kayser vd., 2010). Özetle, prososyal davranışın yardım etme, özgecilik ve ahlaki cesareti içeren bir şemsiye terim olarak hizmet ettiği bir hiyerarşik resmi çizilebilir (Coşkun, 2021; Osswald vd., 2011).

Yardım etme, düşük risk içeren ve etik ihlaller düzeltme amacı olmayan her türlü başkalarına fayda sağlamaya denmektedir. Bir arkadaşı teselli etmek, para bağışlamak, toplumda gönüllü çalışmak, duygusal destek sunmak, yardım etme davranışının örneklerindendir. Yardım etme üzerine birçok çalışma yapılmış ve bu davranışların bireysel ve toplumsal birçok faydalarının olduğu vurgulanmıştır (Klein,

2017). Bunlardan bazıları: daha yüksek mutluluk ve yaşam doyumu (Son ve Padilla-Walker, 2020); kişilerarası etkileşimlerde kabul görme ve sevilme (Wang vd., 2019); gruplar arası iş birliğiyle barışa katkı sağlama (Taylor vd., 2020), pozitif gruplararası temas ve azalan antisosyal davranış (McKeown ve Taylor, 2018); ve bir topluluk içinde dayanışma ve sosyal ilişkilerle daha yüksek toplu refah (Drury vd., 2009). Kısacası, yardım etme, işlevsel bireylerin ve toplumun devamı için temel bir toplumsal ihtiyaç olarak görünmektedir. Yardım etme literatürünün aksine, ahlaki cesarete pek az ilgi gösterilmiştir (Baumert vd., 2013; Osswald vd., 2011). Ahlaki cesaret de bir tür prososyal davranış olmasına rağmen (Sasse vd., 2022a), yardım etme davranışıyla karşılaştırıldığında ayırt edici özelliklere sahiptir (Niesta-Kayser vd., 2010). Ahlaki cesaret, ahlaki ihlallere karşı durmayı, olası riskler ve sosyal maliyetler karşısında ahlaki değerleri ve standartları korumayı ifade eder (Halmburger vd., 2017). Örneğin, Güney Kore'de bir Türk kadını, Rabia Şirin, bir Koreli kadını cinsel tacizciden kurtarmıştır (TRT Haber, 2021). Bu örnekte, Rabia ölebilirdi veya yaralanabilirdi, ancak risklere rağmen, ihtiyacı olan kadını kurtarmayı seçti. Dolayısıyla, ahlaki cesaret genellikle daha güçlü olan suçlular veya gruplar karşısında tehlikeli durumlarda gözlemlenir (Greitemeyer vd., 2007). Bağış gibi yardım etme koşullarında maliyetler düşüktür, ancak ahlaki cesaret eylemleri daha ciddi maliyetler ve risklerle gelir. Bu anlamda, ahlaki cesaret, diğer prososyal davranış türlerinden özellikle aşağıdaki noktalarda farklılık gösterir: Etik standartlara güçlü bağlılık, aktör için olası sosyal ve fiziksel maliyetler ve cesaretin varlığı (Coşkun ve Cingöz-Ulu, 2022). Özetlemek gerekirse, yardım etme davranışı, diğerlerine yardım etmeyi amaçlayan geniş bir gönüllü eylem yelpazesini kapsarken, ahlaki cesaret, ahlaki zorluklarla yüzleşmeyi ve haksızlık veya haksızlık karşısında tavır almaktır. Her iki kavram da başkaları için olumlu bir şey yapmayı içerse de ahlaki cesaret özellikle etik zorluklarla yüzleşme ve haksızlık veya haksızlık karşısında tavır alma ile ilişkilidir. Zorlu doğası gereği ahlaki cesaretin görülme sıklığı daha az olsa da, bu davranışların toplum sağlığı için önemi aşikardır. Bu nedenle, insanları ahlaki cesaret göstermeye motive eden olası faktörler keşfedilmeli, böylece bunu yapma iç güçlerinin teşvik edilmesi sağlanabilir. Bu tez özellikle ahlaki cesareti vurgulasa da, yardım etmenin psikolojik temellerini anlamak da önemlidir çünkü yardım etme, ahlaki cesaretin görece daha az bilinen bir terimi hakkında değerli çıkarımlar sağlamaktadır.

1.2.Dış Gruba Yönelik Yardım Etme ve Ahlaki Cesaretin Belirleyicileri

Gruplar arası prososyal davranışlar üzerine yapılan araştırmalar, bireysel ve kişilerarası ilişkilerdeki ilgili araştırmalara kıyasla yoksundur (Moran ve Taylor, 2022). Bununla birlikte, bireylerin gruplar arası prososyal eylemlerini araştırmak, gruplar arası ilişkiler ve çatışmalarla başa çıkmada hem deneysel hem de pratik öneme sahiptir (van Leeuwen ve Zagefka, 2017). Özellikle, çeşitli toplumların sosyal uyumunu korumak, kendi grubuyla sınırlı olmayan prososyal davranışa bağlıdır (Baldassari ve Abascal, 2020). Bu, gruplar arası uyumu geliştirebilir ve hatta insandışılaştırılan bir dış gruba yeniden insani değer kazandırabilir (Saguy vd., 2015). Dolayısıyla, bu gruplar arası davranışların temellerini anlamak ve keşfetmek, gruplar arası barışın hem araştırma hem de uygulama açısından anahtarı olabilir. Bunu başarmak için, araştırmacıların, bu davranışları çeşitli sosyal etkileşimler (ırk, cinsiyet, milliyet, etnik köken, sosyoekonomik durum vb.) boyunca hem bireysel hem de grup psikolojik süreçleri dikkate alarak çok boyutlu bir yaklaşım benimsemeleri gerekmektedir (Carlo ve Padilla-Walker, 2020). İnsanlar, iç gruplarına daha fazla yardım etmeye ve dış gruplara daha az yardım etmeye meyillidir, ancak çeşitli faktörler bu eğilimi destekleyebilir veya zorlayabilir. Bir örnek olarak, bir grup araştırmacı, genç yetişkinlerin gruplararası prososyal profillerini cinsiyet ve ırk gibi grup kimliklerine dayalı olarak bireysel (örneğin, prososyal ahlaki yükümlülük) ve grup düzeyindeki (örneğin, sosyal baskınlık yönelimi ve iç gruba aidiyet) belirleyiciler üzerinden incelemiştir (Xiao vd., 2022). Sosyal baskınlık yöneliminde yüksek olmanın, iç gruba karşı dış gruba tercih eden, kendi çıkarlarını öne çıkaran prososyal profillerin ana tahmincisi olduğu sonucuna varmışlardır. Benzer şekilde, gruplar arası tehdit, negatif niyetleri ve davranışları artırmanın yanı sıra, dış gruptaki üyelere karşı olumlu niyetleri azaltabilir (Stephan ve Stephan, 2017). Örneğin, deneysel bir çalışmada, katılımcıların daha az tehdit edici ulusal dış gruplara yönelik daha prososyal oldukları (niyet düzeyinde yardım etme) ve daha tehdit edici dış gruplara daha az prososyal oldukları bulunmuştur (Li ve Zhao, 2012). Sosyal baskınlık ve gruplar arası tehditlerin aksine, gruplar arası temas yalnızca negatif duyguları ve tutumları hafifletmekle kalmaz, aynı zamanda olumlu gruplar arası davranışları da geliştirebilir. Şirketlerde çalışma grupları (Koschate vd., 2012), ulusa dayalı olanlar (Meleady ve Seger, 2017), din ve cinsiyet

gibi farklı gruplar arası ilişki ortamlarında yapılan birçok çalışma, gruplar arası pozitif temasın prososyal davranışları teşvik ettiğini doğrulamıştır. Bu faktörlerin yanı sıra, algılanan grup normları (McKeown & Taylor, 2018), iç grubun dış gruba yardım etme davranışları hakkında farkındalık (Saguy vd., 2015), çatışma bölgesinde yaşamak (O'Driscoll vd., 2018), sosyal ve ekonomik statü farkları (Halabi vd., 2008) gibi diğer grup seviyesindeki faktörler de dış grup prososyal davranışlarını etkileyen faktörlerdir.

Gruplar arası düzeyde davranışları şekillendirebilecek bazı içsel düzey faktörler de olabilir; bunlar arasında ahlak, kişilik özellikleri, öz-yeterlilik ve empati bulunmaktadır. Örneğin, empati, bir şirkette çalışma grupları arasında bireysel ve grup yönlü prososyal davranışların arkasında bir teşvik faktörü olarak ortaya çıkmıştır (Koschate vd., 2012), benzer bulguların, diğer gruplar arası bağlamlarda da, örneğin mültecilere karşı, gözlendiği görülmüştür (Taylor ve McKeown, 2021). Özellikle, ahlaki kimlik veya farklı ahlaki değerleri benimseme, gruplar arası tutum ve davranışlar için ahlaki karar alma sürecinde etkili gibi görünmektedir. Örneğin, 2015-2016'nın en büyük mülteci krizi ortasında, Macaristan'daki bir grup insan, hükümetinin aldığı düşmanca tutuma rağmen mültecilere destek verme konusunda aktif bir şekilde harekete geçti. Kende ve arkadaşlarının (2017) yaptığı araştırmada, bu gönüllülerin ahlaki kanaatlerinin, bu insani eylem sırasında prososyal eylemlerde bulunmalarını teşvik eden itici bir psikolojik güç olarak belirlendiği ortaya çıktı.

Grup içi prososyal davranışların arkasındaki bireysel ve grup düzeyindeki psikolojik süreçlere dair yukarıda bahsedilen tüm araştırmalar, yardım etmeyle sınırlı kalmıştır ancak ahlaki cesaret konusunda sadece birkaç çalışma bulunmaktadır. İlk olarak, başka bir grubun adına bir ahlaki ihlal ile yüzleşmek, kendi iç grubundan bazı sosyal maliyetlerle gelebilir. Gerçek yaşamdan bir örnek olarak, tanınmış bir Fransız futbolcu olan Karim Benzema, Gazze'de kadın ve çocukları bombalayan İsrail'i bir sosyal medya platformu üzerinden kınadı. Ardından, Fransa'nın içişleri bakanı tarafından terör örgütü üyesi olmakla suçlandı (France 24, 2023). Bu yüzden Kutlaca ve meslektaşları (2020), ırkçılık ve ayrımcılıkla yüzleşmeyi ahlaki cesaret olarak adlandırdı ve bu konuda bir çalışma yaptı. Sonuçlar, dezavantajlı grupların ayrımcılığına karşı ahlaki cesaret gösteren bireylerin, dış grup üyeleri tarafından

kahraman olarak kabul edildiğini, iç grup üyelerinin ise bu tür ahlaki cesaret eylemlerini aşırı bir tepki olarak algıladıklarını ve sonuç olarak daha olumsuz bir tavır aldıklarını ortaya koydu (Kutlaca vd., 2020). Tehdit gibi, başka bir grup mekanizması olan gruplar arası temas, insanları ayrıca dış grup üyeleri için seslerini yükseltmeye teşvik edebilir. Örneğin, olumlu temas ırksal önyargıya hedef olan azınlıklar için, avantajlı grupların (Beyaz insanlar) ırksal adaletsizliğe karşı durma niyetini teşvik etmiştir (Tropp ve Uluğ, 2019). Gruplararası dinamiklerin ötesinde, ahlaki inançlar ve değerler, bireysel ve grup sınırlarını aşan bir şekilde algılanmaktadır, bu da bireyleri, paylaşılan ortaklıkları olmayan başkaları adına ahlaki cesur eylemlerde bulunmaya teşvik edebilir (Skitka, 2010; Van Zomeren vd., 2011). Örneğin, sosyal eşitsizliğe karşı güçlü bir ahlaki kanaate sahip olan katılımcılarda, dış grup üyesi olan Müslüman bireylerin ayrımcılığına karşı durma olasılıkları daha yüksektir (Van Zomeren vd., 2011). Ayrıca, yukarıda Kende ve meslektaşlarının çalışmasında belirtildiği gibi, binlerce Macar insanı 2015'teki mülteci krizi sırasında mültecilere yardım etmek için harekete geçti. Bu prososyal hareket, bu insanların aynı zamanda hükümetlerinin mültecilere karşı haksız düşmanca tutumuna karşı gelmek anlamına da geldiği için bir ahlaki cesaret olarak da görülebilir. Zorluklara rağmen, bu insanların ahlaki inancı, eylemlerinin ana motivasyon kaynaklarından biriydi (Kende vd., 2017). Sonuç olarak, yardım etme ve ahlaki cesaretin açıklanmasında ahlakın, bireysel ve grup düzeyindeki faktörlerle birlikte önemli bir rol oynadığı görülmektedir. Yukarıda bahsedilen erken araştırmalardan çıkarılan sonuçlara dayanarak, gruplar arası davranış psikolojisinin incelenmesi, gruplar arası düzeydeki prososyal davranışı içeren grup mekanizmalarını, örneğin gruplar arası tehdit ve teması da içerecek şekilde ele almalıdır. Bu nedenle, bu tez içindeki mevcut çalışmalar, gruplar arası tehdit ve teması da içerecek şekilde grup dışı prososyal davranışın ahlaki belirleyicilerini ele almıştır. Yardım etme ve ahlaki cesaretin bu potansiyel belirleyicileriyle ilgili daha detaylı açıklamalar ve ilgili araştırma bulguları, takip eden bölümlerde sunulmuştur.

1.3.Ahlak ve Gruplararası Prososyal Davranış

Pozitif sosyal davranışlar aynı zamanda ahlaki davranışlardır (Batson vd., 2002), ve hem ahlaki yargı (Kumru vd., 2012) hem de ahlaki duygular (erdem, empati, öfke,

vb.; Teper vd., 2015) pozitif sosyal davranışları belirlemede rol oynar. Birçok çalışma, prososyal davranışların temelinde ahlaki değerlerin varlığını doğrulamıştır (örneğin, Süssenbach vd., 2019; Thomson ve Siegel, 2013). Ahlaki Temeller Kuramı'nın kurucusu Haidt'in (2003) ifadesi, ahlak ve prososyal davranışların nasıl iç içe geçtiğini açıklar: "İnsan ahlakının kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alınması, bir yabancının başka birine yardım etmesiyle derinden etkilenen insanların neden ve nasıl etkilenildiğini açıklayamadığı sürece, elde edilemeyecektir" (s. 284). Bu amaçla, örneğin insanların neden mülteci programlarına para bağışladığı (Echterhoff vd., 2022) veya bir soykırım sırasında kurallara/otoritelere karşı çıkıp hayatlarını riske attıkları (Turiel, 2015) gibi davranışların ahlakla ilgili olduğu görünmektedir. Bu ilişkiyi daha iyi anlamak için, son dönemde sunulan bir ahlak teorisi ve insan prososyal davranışıyla olan ilişkisi aşağıda açıklanmıştır. Bilişsel yaklaşımlardan farklı olarak, Ahlaki Temeller Kuramı (ATK; Haidt, 2007; Haidt ve Graham, 2007), içgüdüsel sezgilerin ahlaki yargılarımızı şekillendirdiğini savunur ve bu da evrimsel köklere sahiptir ve ayrıca kişinin sosyal çevresiyle etkileşimleri tarafından şekillenir. Bu nispeten güncel ahlaki teoriye göre, insanlar hiyerarşik olmayan beş biyolojik tabanlı ahlaki temele sahiptir, bunlar: Bakım (zarar vermemek ve diğerlerinin ihtiyaçlarına dikkat etmek), adalet (adil olmak ve bireysel hakları korumak), sadakat (iç gruplara sadık olmak ve hainlere karşı durmak), otorite (mevcut otoriteye saygı göstermek) ve kutsallık (fiziksel ve ruhsal olarak saf olmak; Haidt, 2013). Bakım ve adalet temelleri bireyselleştirici ahlaki temelleri oluştururken, sadakat, otorite ve kutsallık bağlayıcı ahlaki temeller olarak gruplandırılabilir (Graham vd., 2011). Diğer bir deyişle, bakım ve adalet grubu, bireylerin iyiliğini ve otonomisini önceliklendirdikleri için bireyselleştirici olarak adlandırılırken, geri kalanı, toplumun ve iç grubun kolektif refahını önceliklendirdikleri için bağlayıcı olarak adlandırılır.

Erken dönemde yapılan birçok çalışma, ahlaki temellerin prososyal davranışlardaki rolünün altını çizmiştir (Süssenbach vd., 2019; Nilsson vd., 2016). Gruplar arası prososyal davranışa özgü olarak, bireyselleştirici temellerinin, bağlayıcı olanlardan farklı olarak dış grup yardımının önemli bir belirleyicisi olduğu ortaya konmuştur (Nilsson vd., 2016; Nilsson vd., 2020). Somut bir örnek olarak, Hadarics ve Kende (2018) bireyselleştirici ahlaki temellerin Macaristan'daki Müslüman azınlığa yönelik yardım etmeyi pozitif olarak ve anti-sosyal eylemleri negatif olarak yordadığını,

bağlayıcı olanlar için ise bu ilişkilerin tam tersi olduğunu bulmuşlardır. Hatta, Kugler ve meslektaşları (2014) bağlayıcı ahlaki temellerin 'ahlaki' olarak adlandırılmasının, bu değerlerin gerçekten de normatif olarak ahlaki olarak kabul edilmeyen davranışlarla ilişkilendirilmiş olması durumunda aldatıcı olabileceğini savunmuşlardır. Dolayısıyla, bireyselleştirici temellerin prososyal davranışı arttırabileceği öngörülürken, bağlayıcı olanların ise dış grup üyelerine karşı olumsuz davranışları tetikleyebileceği öngörülebilir (Nilsson vd., 2016). Yardım etmeyle karşılaştırıldığında, gruplar arası düzeyde ahlaki temellerin ahlaki cesaretteki rolü hakkında pek fazla bilgi bulunmamaktadır. Genel olarak gruplar arası ilişkilerde ahlaki cesaret üzerine literatür de oldukça kısıtlıdır. Bu konuda bir örnek çalışma, yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi, Kutlaca ve diğerleri (2020) tarafından cinsiyetçilik (Çalışma 1 ve 2) ve ırkçılığa (Çalışma 3) karşı ahlaki cesaretin dış grup üyelerinin yararına olmasını nasıl algıladıklarını test ettikleri çalışmadır. Sonuçlar, avantajlı ve dezavantajlı grup üyelerinin her ikisinin de cesaret edenlere olumlu bir algıya sahip olduğunu gösterdi. Ancak, iç grup müdahalecilerinin (yalnızca avantajlı grup üyeleri için ölçülmüştür) iç grup üyeleri tarafından aşırı tepki gösteren olarak algılandığı bulunmuş, bu da ahlaki cesaret aktörlerin özellikle iç grup arkadaşlarından olumsuz bir tepki alabileceğini göstermektedir. Benzer şekilde, Becker ve Barreto (2014), erkekler ve kadınlar arasındaki cinsiyetçilikle yüzleşmeyi araştırmışlar ve iç grupla daha yüksek kimlik özdeşmesinin dış grup adına ahlaki cesaretin daha az desteklenmesi anlamına geldiğini gözlemlemişlerdir. Genel olarak, iç grup üyelerinin dış grup üyeleri lehine yaptıkları ahlaki cesaret eylemlerini onaylama olasılığının daha düşük olduğu görünmektedir. Yine de, bunu nasıl algıladıklarından ziyade, insanların kurban bir dış grup üyesi olduğunda ahlaki cesaret eylemleri sergileyip sergilemedikleri henüz net değildir. Daha da özel olarak, bilindiği kadarıyla, ahlaki temellerdeki değişkenliğin dış grup ahlaki cesaretini nasıl etkileyebileceğini test eden hiçbir çalışma bulunmamaktadır.

1.4.Gruplararası Tehdit ve Temas

Gruplararası olumlu sosyal davranışları Türkiye'deki Suriyeli sığınmacılar bağlamında ele aldığımızda, Türk halkının hoşgörülü tutumları, sığınmacıların sayıları ve kalış süresi arttıkça önyargıya, düşmanlığa ve ayrımcılığa dönüşmeye

başlamıştır (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu vd., 2021). Türkiye, Batı ve diğer komşu ülkelerle karşılaştırıldığında, 3.7 milyondan fazla Suriyeli sığınmacıyı barındırarak en büyük sığınmacı nüfusunu ağırlamaktadır (UNHCR, 2019), bu da Türkiye'nin kalıcı etkilerini öngöremediği büyük bir göç akışıdır (Erdoğan, 2015). Bu durum, mültecilerden algılanan tehdidi beslerken, onlara karşı önyargı ve ayrımcılığı artırmaktadır (Hadfield vd., 2017), bu da gruplararası çatışmaların ve ulusal güvenlik tehditlerinin temelini oluşturur (Lohrmann, 2003). Özellikle bu olumsuz tutum ve davranış oluşturma, gruplar arası olumlu temasın eksikliğiyle de hızlanabilir (Barlow vd., 2012). Bu nedenle, gruplararası ilişkileri araştırırken, ev sahibi vatandaşların sığınmacılara yaklaşımını etkileyebilecek gruplararası düzeyde sosyal psikolojik faktörlerin de dikkate alınması son derece önemlidir. Bu anlamda, Suriyeli mültecilerden algılanan gruplararası tehdit ve gruplararası temasın, ahlaki yordayıcılarla birlikte dış gruplara yönelik olumlu davranışların oluşumunu daha iyi anlamak için bu tez çalışmalarına dahil edilmiştir. Genel olarak, geçmiş çalışmaların ışığında, Türkiye'deki vatandaşların Suriyeli sığınmacılarla olan mevcut temasının, ahlaki dışlamayı azaltması ve buna karşılık bu sığınmacılara yönelik daha fazla prososyal niyet ve davranışı öngöreceğini bekledik. Diğer yandan, Suriyeli sığınmacılardan algılanan tehdidin ise ahlaki dışlama ve prososyal davranışlarla tam tersi bir ilişki içinde olması beklenmiştir.

1.5.Güncel Çalışma

Hem yardım etmenin hem de ahlaki cesaretin rollerini göz önünde bulundurarak, prososyal davranışlar, antisosyal davranışları önlemek ve psiko-sosyal işlevleri sürdürmek ile sağlıklı toplumsal ilişkileri desteklemek açısından bir toplumda hayati öneme sahiptir. Bu bağlamda, ev sahibi toplumunun pozitif ve toplumsal yardım odaklı davranışları, sığınmacılar gibi azınlık gruplarının sosyo-kültürel uyumunu artırabilir ve gruplararası iş birliği ile yapıcı ilişkilere aracılık edebilir. Dolayısıyla, bu davranışları etkileyen faktörleri araştırmak hayati önem taşır. Ancak, gruplar arası yardım etme davranışına (Moran ve Taylor, 2022) ve özellikle gruplararası çeşitli prososyal davranış türlerine (örneğin, ahlaki cesaret) çok az dikkat edilmiştir. Bu boşlukları göz önünde bulundurarak, genel olarak, bu tez çalışması, gruplararası tehdidi ve temasının dış gruba yönelik yardım etme (niyet düzeyinde) ve ahlaki

cesaretin (hem niyet hem de davranış düzeyinde) belirleyicileri olarak incelemeyi amaçlamıştır. Geçmiş araştırmalar, gruplararası prososyal eylemleri gruplararası iş birliğini ve yapıcı ilişkileri artırdığını, bu pozitif davranışların eksikliğinin ise dış grup üyelerine karşı önyargı ve ayrımcılığı artırdığını göstermiştir. Benzer şekilde, ev sahibi toplumun pozitif tutumları ve destekleyici eylemleri, Suriyeli sığınmacıların Türkiye'deki psikolojik ve sosyo-kültürel uyumuna katkıda bulunmuştur. Dolayısıyla, bu belirli grupla ilgili tutumları ve davranışları iyileştirebilecek umut verici faktörleri araştırmak için acil bir ihtiyaç vardır. Bu ihtiyacı göz önünde bulundurarak, Suriyeli sığınmacılar, mevcut çalışmadaki hedef dış grup olarak belirlenmiştir.

Mevcut amaçları gerçekleştirmek için, bu tez Suriyeli sığınmacılara yönelik prososyal davranışlar için ahlaki dışlamanın potansiyel aracı rolü üzerinde ahlaki temellerin, gruplararası tehdidin ve gruplararası temasın etkisini incelemiştir. Bu doğrultuda, bu ana hipotezi test etmek için üç çalışma tasarlanmıştır, ancak bu çalışmalar arasında bağımlı değişken olan prososyal davranış türleri (yardım etme vs. ahlaki cesaret) ve ölçümü (yalnızca ahlaki cesaret için niyet vs. gerçek davranış karşılaştırması) açısından farklılık göstermektedir. Böylelikle, bu çalışmalarla alanyazında bulunan aşağıdaki boşlukların doldurulması amaçlanmıştır: (1) gruplararası düzeyde prososyal davranışlar konusundaki bilgi eksikliği, (2) yardım etme (Gülseven et al., 2020; Hilbig et al., 2014) ve ahlaki cesaret (Baumert et al., 2020) konusunda Batılı olmayan kültürlerde yapılan çalışmaların eksikliği, (3) ahlaki cesarette gerçek davranışları ölçmek yerine öz-bildirime dayalı niyetlere büyük ölçüde bağlı kalınması (Baumert et al., 2013; Baumert et al., 2020).

2.Çalışma 1: Dış Gruba Yardım Etme Niyeti

Mevcut araştırma, gruplararası prososyal davranışı ele alırken bütünsel bir yaklaşım benimsemiş ve bazı gruplararası faktörler (gruplararası tehdit ve gruplararası temas) ile içselleştirilmiş ahlaki prensipleri (ahlaki temeller teorisi tarafından ahlaki sezgiler) entegre etmiştir. Diğer bir deyişle, Çalışma 1, gruplararası dinamiklerin ve ahlaki değerlerin Suriyeli sığınmacıların Türkiye'deki ahlaki sınıflandırmasını nasıl öngördüğünü ve bunun da onlara yardım etme niyetlerini nasıl etkilediğini incelemiştir.

2.1.Yöntem

2.1.1.Katılımcılar

Mevcut çalışmanın örneklemi, Türkiye'deki farklı devlet üniversitelerine devam eden 361 üniversite öğrencisinden oluşmaktadır. Katılımcıların çoğunluğu kadınlardan oluşmakta (N = 279) ve yaşları 18 ile 46 arasında değişmektedir (Ortalama = 21.75, SD = 3.23). İlgili örneklem, kolay örnekleme yöntemi kullanılarak seçilmiştir.

2.1.2. Ölçme Araçları

2.1.2.1. Demografik Ölçüm

Demografik bilgileri elde etmek için katılımcılardan yaş, cinsiyet, gelir, siyasi yönelim, doğum yeri, kayıtlı oldukları üniversite, çoğunlukla yaşadıkları ilçe ve dini bağlılıklarıyla ilgili bazı demografik soruları yanıtlamaları istenmiştir.

2.1.2.2. Ahlaki Temeller Ölçeği (ATÖ)

Ahlaki Temeller Teorisine'e uygun olarak, Graham ve ark. (2011), beş ahlaki boyutu ölçmek için 30 madde içeren ahlaki temeller ölçeğini geliştirmişlerdir: adalet, bakım, sadakat, otorite ve kutsallık (Türkçe versiyonu; Yılmaz vd., 2016). Likert tipi öz-bildirima ölçme aracı dikkate alındığında (0 ile 5 arasında değişen), hem beş ahlaki boyutlu beş faktörlü yapı hem de iki faktörlü (bireyselleştirme ve bağlayıcılık) yapı elde edilebilir (Doğruyol vd., 2019). Bireyselleştirici ahlaki temellerin puanları, adil davranış ve bakım alt boyutlarının puanlarının ortalaması alınarak hesaplanırken, bağlayıcı ahlaki temellerin puanları, sadakat, kutsallık ve otorite alt boyutlarının puanlarının ortalaması alınarak elde edilir. 15 maddelik versiyonunun bulunduğu bu ölçekte tersin madde bulunmamakta ve bu maddelerden alınan yüksek puanlar, bireyselleştirici ve bağlayıcı ahlaki temellerde daha yüksek değer yönelimine işaret etmektedir. Bu çalışma için, bireyselleştirici temeller alt boyutu Cronbach alfa değeri .79 iken bağlayıcı temeller için .84 bulunmuştur.

2.1.2.3. Gruplararası Temas

Suriyeli mültecilerle temas düzeyini ölçmek için literatürdeki bazı gruplararası temas çalışmalarında olduğu gibi iki öğenin bileşik puanları kullanılmıştır (örneğin, Bağcı ve Çelebi, 2017; Tropp vd., 2021). Katılımcılardan şu maddeleri derecelendirmeleri istendi: "Kaç tane Suriyeli tanıyorsunuz?" maddesi 1 (Hiç tanımıyorum) ile 7 (Çok fazla tanıyorum) arasında değişen bir ölçekte; ve "Kaç tane Suriyeli arkadaşınız var?" maddesi yine 1 ile 7 arasında ancak farklı etiketlerle (1 = hiç kimse, 2 = 1-2 kişi, 3 = 3-5 kişi, 4 = 6-10 kişi, 5 = 11-20 kişi, 6 = 21-30 kişi, 7 = 31 ve daha fazlası). Daha yüksek puanlar, Suriyeli mültecilerle daha fazla teması göstermektedir.

2.1.2.4. Gruplararası Tehdit

Suriyeli mültecilerden algılanan tehdit, McLaren (2003) tarafından geliştirilen ve Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mülteciler bağlamında Yangın (2017) tarafından Türkçe'ye uyarlanan Algılanan Tehdit Ölçeği kullanılarak ölçüldü. Bu 5'li Likert tipi ölçek, 1 (kesinlikle katılmıyorum) ile 5 (kesinlikle katılıyorum) arasında değişen bir derecelendirme içerir. Ölçekteki üç öğe, gerçekçi tehdidi ele alırken (örneğin, Bu azınlık grubunun varlığı Türkiye'de işsizliği artırıyor), diğer iki öğe sembolik tehdidi ölçmektedir (örneğin, Bu azınlık grubundan olan insanlar, Türkiye'nin kültürel yaşamını zenginleştiriyor). Ters çevrilen bir öğe sonrasında, daha yüksek puanlar Suriyeli sığınmacılardan algılanan tehdidin arttığını gösterir. Uyarlama çalışmasında, Cronbach alfa değeri .75 olarak rapor edilmiştir. Bu çalışma için ise .81 olarak bulunmuştur.

2.1.2.5. Ahlaki Dışlama Ölçeği

Ahlaki dışlama ölçümü için Opotow'un (1993) Ahlaki Dışlama Ölçeği maddeleri, Suriyeli göçmenler hedef alınarak Türkçe'ye uyarlandı (ayrıca bkz. Hadarics vd., 2020). Ölçek, üç ahlaki dahil olma maddesi içerir (örneğin, Suriyelilere de adalete ilişkin düşüncelerin geçerli olduğuna inanıyorum.). Ahlaki dışlama puanları, bu öğelerin ters çevrilmesiyle elde edilir. Bu ters çevrilen öğelerdeki daha yüksek puanlar, Suriyeli mültecilerin ahlaki dışlamanın arttığını gösterir. Katılımcıların,

ifadelerle ne kadar katıldıklarını değerlendirmeleri istenir (1 = kesinlikle katılmıyorum, 7 = kesinlikle katılıyorum). Ölçek, Cronbach alfa değeri .84 ile iyi bir iç tutarlılık sağlamıştır.

2.1.2.6. Yardım Etme Niyeti

Dış gruba yardım etme niyetlerini ölçmek için, iki önceki çalışmadan seçilmiş dört madde, (Kende vd., 2017; Zagefka, 2020) 5'li Likert tipi bir ölçek üzerinden (1 = hiç, 5 = çok sık) mevcut çalışmanın bağlamına uyarlanmıştır. Bazı örnek maddeler şu şekildedir: "Suriyeli sığınmacılara yardım etmek için para bağışlamaya istekli olurdum" ve "Evimde bulabileceğim kıyafet, battaniye ve diğer yararlı şeyleri toplamaya ve sığınmacılara göndermeye istekli olurdum". Bu öğelerdeki yüksek puanlar, Suriyeli sığınmacılara yardım etme niyetinin yüksek olduğunu göstermektedir. Ayrıca, ölçek, .93 ile iyi bir iç güvenirliliğe sahiptir.

2.1.3. İşlem

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi (ODTÜ) Etik Kurulu'ndan 0055-ODTUİAEK-2023 protokol numarası ile etik onay alındıktan sonra, veri Qualtrics Yazılımı kullanılarak çevrimiçi bir platform aracılığıyla toplandı. Özellikle, gelecek takip çalışmalarında ODTÜ'de gerçek yardım davranışı ölçümleriyle daha fazla katılımı önlemek amacıyla ODTÜ üyesi olmayan üniversite öğrencileri bu çalışma için tercih edildi. Anket bağlantısı, bunu yapması istenen diğer üniversitelerden akademik personel tarafından dağıtıldı. Katılım gönüllüydü ve veri toplamanın başında bilgilendirilmiş onam alındı. Ayrıca, katılımcılar katılımları karşılığında bonus puan aldılar. Anketin sonunda, katılımcılara teşekkür edilerek bilgilendirme yapıldı.

2.1.4. Çalışma 1'in Sonuçları

İlk çalışmanın sonuçlarına genel olarak bakıldığında, ilk olarak cinsiyet farklılıkları göze çarpmaktadır. İlk olarak, cinsiyet açısından, anlamlı grup farkları yalnızca ahlaki dışlama ($t = -2.44$, $p = .015$) ve yardım etme ($t = 2.23$, $p = .026$) için gözlendi, diğer ana çalışma değişkenleri için ise bu durum geçerli değildi ($p > .05$). Kadın

katılımcıların Suriyeli sığınmacıları ahlaki olarak dışlama olasılığı daha düşüktü ve onlara yardım etme olasılıkları erkeklere kıyasla daha yüksekti.

Temel model hipotez testine bakıldığında, AMOS 24 (Arbuckle, 2014) program kullanılarak yol analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bağımsız değişkenler olarak bireyselleştirici ve bağlayıcı ahlaki temeller, gruplararası tehdit ve temas; bağımlı değişkenler olarak ise ahlaki dışlama ve yardım etme niyeti kullanıldı. Modeli test etmeye başlamadan önce, eksik veriler AMOS'ta regresyon tabanlı veri tahmini ile tahmin edildi. Model test edildiğinde, iyi bir model uyumu elde edildi: $\chi 2$ (n = 361, df = 3) = .43, $\chi 2$ /df = .14, p = .80, CFI = 1.000, TLI = .000, RMSEA = .000. Bağımsız değişkenlerin bağımlı değişkenler üzerindeki etkisi göz önüne alındığında, bireyselleştirici ahlaki temeller ahlaki dışlamayı (β = -.12, SE = .10, p < .001) ve yardım etmeyi (β = .13, SE = .07, p < .001) anlamlı bir şekilde yordadı. Benzer şekilde, gruplararası temas da dış grup yardımını pozitif yönde yordadı (β = .16, SE = .10, p < .001), ancak ahlaki dışlama ile anlamlı bir ilişkisi yoktu (p = .22). Dahası, gruplararası tehdit hem ahlaki dışlamayı (β = .68, SE = .06, p < .001) hem de yardım etmeyi (β = -.33, SE = .06, p < .001) ayrıca güçlü bir şekilde yordadı. Ahlaki dışlama ise dış grup yardımını negatif yönde yordadı (β = -.37, SE = .04, p < .001). Son olarak, olası dolaylı etkiler, 95% güven aralığının tahmini ile 2000 örnekleme bootstrap yöntemi kullanılarak incelendi. Sonuçlar, bireyselleştirici ahlaki temellerin (β = .04, 95%CI [.017, .071]) ve gruplararası tehdidin (β = -.24, 95%CI [-.319, -.176]) ahlaki dışlama yoluyla yardıma olan iki anlamlı dolaylı etkiyi doğruladı.

3.Çalışma 2: Ahlaki Cesaret Niyeti

Çalışma 2 ve Çalışma 1 ile neredeyse eş değer olmakla birlikte, yardım etme yerine ahlaki cesaretin sonuç ölçüsü olması ile farklılaşmaktadır. Benzerliklere rağmen, ahlaki cesaret, yardım etmekle karşılaştırıldığında farklı bir türdeki prososyal davranıştır. Bununla birlikte, Çalışma 1, dış gruplara yönelik prososyal davranışı anlama için ilk bilgiyi sağlamış, bu da ahlaki cesareti ve genel anlamda prososyal davranışı daha iyi kavramaya yardımcı olabileceği düşünülmektedir. Ek olarak, Çalışma 2, davranışsal ölçümün öncesinde dış grup odaklı ahlaki cesaretin niyet tabanlı bir ölçümü olması nedeniyle geçiş bir çalışma olarak hizmet etmiştir.

3.1. Yöntem

3.1.1. Katılımcılar

Çalışma 2'nin örneklemi, Türkiye'deki farklı üniversitelere devam eden 397 üniversite öğrencisinden oluşmaktaydı. Katılımcıların çoğunluğu kadınlardan oluşmaktadır (N = 283) ve yaşları 18 ile 45 arasında değişmektedir (Ortalama = 22.41, SD = 4.11). İlgili örneklem kolay örnekleme yöntemi kullanılarak seçilmiştir.

3.1.2. Ölçme Araçları

Çalışma 2'de kullanılan tüm ölçme araçları Çalışma 1 ile aynıdır. Sadece, yardım etme yerine bu sefer ırkçı dil kullanıma karşılık ahlaki cesaret niyeti ölçümü yapılmıştır.

3.1.2.1. Ahlaki Cesaret Niyeti

Öz-bildirime dayalı olarak ahlaki cesaret gösterme eğilimi, Szekeres ve arkadaşlarının (2019) erken bir çalışmasından uyarlanan bir öykü ve ilgili maddeler aracılığıyla ölçüldü. Katılımcılar, sınıf arkadaşlarının birbirleriyle yeni bir öğrenci hakkında konuştuğu bir öyküyü okudular; bu öğrenci Suriyeli ve sınıf arkadaşları onunla ilgili biraz kötü niyetli ve ırkçı bir şekilde alay ediyor ve eğleniyorlardı. Ayrıca, öyküde, bu şekilde bir kişiden bahsetmenin uygun olmadığı da ima ediliyor, ancak arkadaşlarıyla yüzleşmenin katılımcıya da bazı riskler getirebileceği belirtiliyordu. Ahlaki ikilemler ve sosyal risklerle dolu öyküyü okuduktan sonra, katılımcılardan yedi tane 7'li Likert tipi ahlaki ihlal yapanlarla yüzleşme niyeti maddesine cevap vermeleri istendi. Örnek maddelerden bazıları şunlardır: "Yerimde kalır ve karışmam (ters madde)" ve "Sınıf arkadaşlarımla yüzleşir ve onlara ırkçı olduklarını söylerim.". Daha yüksek puanlar, ırkçı davranışa karşı daha fazla ahlaki cesaret niyetini ifade etmektedir. Son olarak, ölçüm için Cronbach alfa değeri .74 olarak hesaplanmıştır.

3.1.3. İşlem

Çalışma 1 aynı veri toplama süreci gerçekleştirilmiştir.

3.1.4. Çalışma 2'nin Sonuçları

Çalışma 1'de olduğu gibi cinsiyet farklılıkları bu çalışmada da gözlemlenmiştir. Bağımsız örneklemler için t-testi sonuçlarına bakıldığında, kadınların daha az ahlaki dışlama eğiliminde ($t = -2.89$, $p = .005$) olduğu ve Suriyeli sığınmacılar için ahlaki cesaret gösterme niyetine ($t = 2.04$, $p = .042$) daha fazla sahip oldukları bulunmuştur. Çalışma 2'de, Çalışma 1'in aksine, kadınlar erkeklere kıyasla bireysel ahlaki değerlerden ($t = 2.29$, $p = .023$) daha yüksek puan almışlardır.

Model testi sonuçlarındaki standartlaştırılmış değerlere göre, bireysel ahlaki temeller ahlaki dışlamayı ($\beta = -.08$, $SE = .10$, $p < .05$) ve ahlaki cesareti ($\beta = .22$, $SE = .14$, $p < .001$) anlamlı bir şekilde yordamıştır. Bununla birlikte, gruplararası temas dış grup ahlaki cesaretini yordamamıştır ($\beta = -.00$, $SE = .06$, $p = .93$), ancak ahlaki dışlamayla anlamlı bir ilişkisi vardır ($\beta = -.09$, $SE = .04$, $p < .05$). Ayrıca, gruplararası tehdit ahlaki dışlamayı güçlü bir şekilde belirlemiş ($\beta = .70$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$), ancak ahlaki cesareti yordamamıştır ($\beta = -.10$, $SE = .11$, $p = .13$). Ahlaki dışlama ayrıca ahlaki cesareti olumsuz yönde yordamıştır ($\beta = -.26$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$). Son olarak, olası dolaylı etkiler, %95 güven aralığı ile 2000 örnekle yeniden örnekleme yaparak bootstrap yöntemi ile incelenmiştir. Sonuçlar, bireysel ahlaki temellerin, gruplararası tehdidin ve gruplararası temasın sırasıyla ahlaki dışlama aracılığıyla ahlaki cesaret üzerinde üç anlamlı dolaylı etkisinin olduğunu ortaya koydu ($\beta = .02$, 95%CI [.005, .043]), ($\beta = -.18$, 95%CI [-.265, -.103]), ve ($\beta = .02$, 95%CI [.008, .043]).

4. Çalışma 3: Ahlaki Cesaret Davranışı

Ahlaki cesaret çalışmalarındaki gerçek davranış ölçüm eksikliğine bağlı açıklığa ışık tutmak amacıyla, Çalışma 3 ilk iki çalışmadaki hipotezleri gerçek ahlaki cesaret davranış ölçümü ile replike etmiştir.

4.1. Yöntem

4.1.1 Katılımcılar

Çalışma 3'ün örneklemi, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi (ODTÜ; N = 147) ve Kafkas Üniversitesi'nden (N = 117) 264 üniversite öğrencisinden oluşmaktadır. Genel

olarak, katılımcıların çoğunluğu kadınlardan oluşmaktadır (N = 175). Yaşları ise 18 ile 40 arasında değişmektedir (Ortalama = 21.61, SD = 2.31).

4.1.2. Ölçme Araçları

Çalışma 3'ün tüm ölçme araçları ilk iki çalışma ile aynı olmakla birlikte, barındırdığı sahte ölçme araçları ve gerçek ahlaki cesaret ölçümü ile farklılıklar bulundurmaktadır. Sahte ölçümler için Pozitif ve Negatif Duygu Ölçeği (Gençöz, 2000) ile iki adet çalışma içeriğinden bağımsız iletişim anketleri verilmiştir.

4.1.2.1. Ahlaki Cesaret Davranışı

Bireylerin ırkçılığın ahlaki ihlalini gözlemlediklerinde nasıl davranışsal tepki verdiklerini ölçmek için, bir çevrimiçi etkileşim ortamı, daha önce Goodwin ve ark. (2020) tarafından yapıldığı gibi düzenlendi. Gerçek bir katılımcı ve iki işbirlikçi (araştırmacı kendisi) içeren çevrimiçi iletişim ortamında, Discord adlı, sanal topluluklar arasında anlık iletişim sağlayan bir platform kullanıldı. Bu etkileşimli iletişim ortamında kullanıcılar metin yazabilir ve diğerlerinin mesajlarına yanıt verebilirler. İletişimin ilk turunda, herkes isimlerini ve nereden geldiklerini belirterek kendilerini tanıttı. Bu aşamada, işbirlikçilerden biri (İşbirlikçi 1; Aisha veya Hubeyb olarak adlandırılan Suriyeli) Şam, Suriye'den geldiğini ve Suriye'deki iç savaşın başlamasından sonra Türkiye'ye geldiğini söyledi. İşbirlikçi 2 (Mert adı verilen Türk olan) buna "Harika, seni burada bile kaçamıyoruz" şeklinde bir yorumla karşılık verdi. İkinci turda, paydaşlardan hobileri hakkında konuşmaları istendi. Suriyeli İşbirlikçi, plajda güneşin tadını çıkarmayı sevdiğini belirtti. Türk işbirlikçi de buna "Umarım ülkenize dönünce biz de onların tadını çıkarırız" şeklinde bir yorumla karşılık verdi. Son turda, favori spor ve yiyeceklerini söylediler ve konuşma sona erdi.

İletişim esnasında katılımcıların sergiledikleri tepkiler ile iletişim sonrası ahlaki ihlali bildirebilecekleri açık uçlu sorulara verdikleri cevaplar bağımsız araştırmacılar tarafından kodlanarak bir ahlaki cesaret ölçümü oluşturulmuştur.

4.1.3. İşlem

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi (ODTÜ) İnsan Etik Kurulu'ndan (HSEC) 0055-ODTUİAEK-2023 protokol numarası ile etik onay alındıktan sonra, Çalışma 3 için veri toplama işlemi 2023 sonbahar döneminde gerçekleştirildi. Bonus ders kredisi karşılığında, ODTÜ ve Kafkas Üniversitesi'nden üniversite öğrencileri "Değerler, Duygular ve İnternet Üzerinden İletişim" adlı bir çalışmaya katılmaya davet edildi. ODTÜ'den katılımcılar SONA sistemi aracılığıyla çalışmaya alınırken, Kafkas Üniversitesi'nden öğrenciler ise farklı derslerde görev yapan çeşitli akademik personel tarafından sözlü olarak davet edildi. Tüm katılımcılar, gün boyunca 9:00 ile 18:00 arasında 40 dakikalık zaman aralıkları sunan laboratuvar takvimi üzerinden randevu ayarladılar. Katılım gönüllüydü ve her katılımcı, laboratuvar ortamında yaklaşık 30-35 dakika süren bireysel veri toplama oturumlarına tabi tutuldu.

4.1.4. Çalışma 3'ün Sonuçları

Çalışmanın ana değişkenlerine bağlı grup farklılıklarına bakıldığında hem cinsiyet hem de üniversite kimliğine bağlı farklılıklar gözlemlenmiştir. Cinsiyet farklarına gelince, erkeklere kıyasla, kadınlar sığınmacılardan daha az tehdit algıladılar ($t = -2.68$, $p = .008$), onları ahlaki olarak dışlamaya daha az eğilim gösterdiler ($t = -2.41$, $p = .017$), ve bireyselleştirici ahlaki temellere daha fazla önem verdiler ($t = 4.40$, $p = .000$). Öte yandan, Çalışma 2'nin aksine, davranışsal düzeyde ahlaki cesaret gösterme konusunda cinsiyet farkları ise gözlemlenmemiştir ($t = 1.44$, $p = .151$).

Eğitim kurumu bağlamında grup farkları üzerine yapılan keşifsel hipoteze dayanarak, dış grup tehdidi algısı ($t = 1.30$, $p = .192$) ve bireyselleştirici ahlaki temeller ($t = -.20$, $p = .838$) açısından Kafkas Üniversitesi ve ODTÜ öğrencileri arasında anlamlı farklar bulunmadı. Hatta Kafkas Üniversitesi'ndeki katılımcılar, ODTÜ'dekilere kıyasla Suriyeli sığınmacılarla daha fazla temas bildirdiler ($t = 2.33$, $p = .020$). Ancak, Kafkas Üniversitesi öğrencileri bağlayıcı değerlere anlamlı derecede daha fazla destek verdiler ($t = 9.90$, $p = .000$), ve dolayısıyla sığınmacıları daha fazla dışlamaya eğilim gösterdiler ($t = 4.08$, $p = .000$) ve ırkçılığa daha az karşı çıktılar ($t = -2.88$, $p = .004$).

Temel hipotezlerin test sonuçlarına bakıldığında ise, bireyselleştirici ahlaki temeller ahlaki dışlanmayı (β = -.19, SE = .14, p < .001) ve ahlaki cesareti (β = .20, SE = .26, p < .001) önemli ölçüde yordamıştır. Grup teması ve tehdidinin ahlaki cesaret üzerindeki doğrudan etkileri anlamlı değildi, ancak ahlaki dışlanmaya olan direk etkileri sırasıyla (β = -.09, SE = .06, p < .05) ve (β = .62, SE = .09, p < .001) olarak anlamlıydı. Ahlaki dışlanma ayrıca ahlaki cesaret davranışının negatif bir yordayıcısıydı (β = -.28, SE = .08, p < .001). Ayrıca, niyet temelli önceki çalışmalardan farklı olarak, bağlayıcı ahlaki temellerle ilgili hipotezler desteklendi. Suriyeli sığınmacıların ahlaki dışlanmasını pozitif yönde yordarken (β = .16, SE = .09, p < .001) ve ırkçı olaylarla yüzleşmeyi negatif yönde yordamıştır (β = -.16, SE = .16, p < .05). Son olarak, olası dolaylı etkiler, 2000 örnekleme ile bootstrap yöntemiyle incelendi ve sonuçlara göre, tüm olası dolaylı etkiler anlamlıydı. Özellikle, bireyselleştirici temellerin, bağlayıcı temellerin, grup tehdidinin ve grup temasının ahlaki dışlama aracılığıyla ahlaki cesaret üzerindeki dolaylı etkileri sırasıyla (β = .05, 95% CI [.030, .089]), (β =-.04, 95% CI [-.071, -.019]), (β = -.17, 95% CI [-.228, -.090]), (β = .02, 95% CI [.007, .049]) idi.

5. Genel Tartışma

Bu tez kapsamında ortak bir hipotez modeli üzerinden üç farklı çalışma ile gruplararası düzeyde farklı prososyal davranış türlerinin belirleyicileri ahlaki temeller, ahlaki dışlanma, gruplararası tehdit ve temas üzerinden ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışmalar, özellikle belirli bir prososyal davranış olan ahlaki cesarete odaklanmayı hedeflemiştir. Ancak, bu çalışmaların yolculuğu, ahlaki cesaret teriminin teorik ve ampirik olarak temelini aldığı yardım etme prososyal davranışı ile başlamıştır (örneğin, Ahlaki Cesaret Bütünleştirici Modeli, Halmburger vd., 2017). Ardından, Çalışma 2, Suriyeli sığınmacılara yönelik ırkçı ahlaki ihlallere karşı ahlaki cesaret niyetlerine verilen yanıtları test etmiştir. Bu, yardım etme ve ahlaki cesaret arasındaki yordayıcıların karşılaştırılmasını ve insanların ırkçılıkla karşılaştıklarında nasıl tepki verdiklerine ilişkin bilgilerin sağlanmasını mümkün kılmıştır. Çalışma 3 ile ise, Çalışma 2'de eksik olan bir soruyu ele alınmış, yani insanların özellikle ahlaki ihlaller karşısında geçek bir senaryo karşısında bu davranışları sergileyip sergilemeyeceklerine bakılmıştır Böylelikle, Çalışma 3 prososyal davranışın

psikolojik mekanizmalarının niyet ve gerçek davranışa göre nasıl değiştiği hakkında değerli bilgiler de sağlamıştır (örneğin, bağlayıcı ahlaki temellerin rolü).

Sonuçları ayrıntılandırmaya başlarken, ahlaki temellerle ilgili olarak, bireyselleştirici ahlaki temel üç çalışmada da tutarlı bir yordayıcıydı. Suriyeli sığınmacılara yönelik ahlaki dışlanmasının azalmasıyla bağlantılıydı ve bunun sonucunda yardım etme niyetinde bir artışa, ahlaki cesaret niyetine ve ahlaki cesaret davranışına yol açtı. Bireyselleştirici temeller, diğerlerinin refahını ve haklarını korumayı teşvik eden adil ve bakım ahlaki değerlerden oluşur (Graham et al., 2011). Bireyselleştirici temellerin bu doğası, ahlaki çemberin grup farklarının ötesine genişletilmesini sağlamaktadır (Graham et al., 2017), dolayısıyla grup farklarına bakılmaksızın diğer insanlara karşı prososyal davranışları kolaylaştırır (Nilsson et al., 2020). Yardım, diğerlerinin ihtiyaçlarını hafifletme yanıtı olarak meydana gelir, bu da bakım temelleriyle kolayca ilişkilendirilebilir. Dahası, ahlaki cesaret, mağdurlara haksız muameleyi içeren ahlaki ihlalleri gerektirdiğinden, cesur eylemlerde bulunan insanların adalet ile ilgili ahlaki endişeleri olmalı ve bunları savunmalıdır. Yardım literatürü açısından, yüksek bireyselleştirici ahlaki değerlere sahip insanların göçmenler gibi dış grup üyelerine daha fazla yardım ettiği belirtilmiştir. Benzer şekilde, ahlaki cesaret için Van Zomeren ve meslektaşları (2011), adalet temelli ahlaki endişelere sahip bireylerin, dış grup üyeleri olan Müslümanların ayrımcılığıyla yüzleştiklerini bulmuşlardır.

Bağlayıcı ahlaki temellerle devam edersek, mevcut bulgular, sosyal olarak arzulanır pozitif davranışlarla ilgili ölçümün önemini vurgulamaktadır. Sadakat ve saflık gibi bağlayıcı değerler genellikle iç grubun refahına odaklanır. Ancak, iç grubun önemini artırırken, aynı zamanda dış gruplara hakaret ve dış gruplar arası prososyal davranışların azalmasına neden olur. Bu değerler, sosyal iç grubu merkeze alan daha sınırlı bir ahlaki çembere yol açar, bu da dış grupları ahlaki endişelere ve ilgili pozitif davranışlara daha az değerli kılar. Bütün bunlara rağmen, bu tezdeki niyet odaklı ilk iki çalışma beklenmedik bir şekilde bağlayıcı temellerle ilgili herhangi bir anlamlı ilişki belirleyememiştir. Öz bildirim niyet odaklı çalışmalarda, bireyler sosyal olarak arzulanır ahlaki davranışlara katılma olasılıklarını genellikle abartır veya sosyal arzulanabilirlik önyargısı meydana gelebilir, ki bu durumda bireyler sosyal olarak

kabul edilebilir yanıtlar bildirirler. Ancak, anlık yanıtlar gerektiren gerçek hayat senaryolarında, insanların gerçek eğilimleri ortaya çıkar. Bu nedenle, başkalarına yardım etme ve ahlaki cesaret gösterme niyetleri genellikle algılanan sosyal arzulanabilirlikleriyle uyumlu psikolojik yordayıcılara sahiptir. Öte yandan, gerçek ahlaki cesaretin ele alındığı Çalışma 3'te bağlayıcı değerlerle ilgili hipotezler ilgili literatürle uyumlu olarak desteklendi. Örneğin, geçmiş çalışmalarda, katılımcılar çoğunlukla bir hipotetik dış grup ırkçılığı senaryosuna karşı üzgün olduklarını ve tepki gösterdiklerini bildirirken, gerçek bir senaryoda, onlardan birkaçının rahatsızlık duyduğu ve dış grup ırkçılığına karşı bu az sayıdaki insanların seslerini yükselttiği görülmüştür. Bağlayıcı ahlaki temellerin dış grupları ahlaki dışlamasını artırdığı ve karşılığında ahlaki cesareti azalttığı sonucuna varılabilir. Ancak, bu sonuç yalnızca Çalışma 3'te yakalanabilmiştir, bu da prososyal davranışları incelemek için davranışsal ölçümlerin önemini vurgulamaktadır.

Üç çalışma boyunca hem ahlaki dışlamayı hem de prososyal davranışı tutarlı bir biçimde etkileyen diğer bir faktör de gruplararası tehdittir. Gruplararası tehdit, beklenildiği gibi, katılımcıların Suriyeli mültecilerle ilgili ahlaki çemberlerini sınırlamış ve buna karşılık sığınmacılara yardım etmelerini ve ırkçı ahlaki ihlale karşı durmalarını engellemiştir. Gruplararası tehdidinin algılanması, düşmanca niyetleri ve davranışları artırırken, dış grup üyelerine yönelik pozitif eylemleri azaltmaktadır. (Li & Zhao, 2012; Stephan & Stephan, 2017). Göçmen ve mülteci nüfuslarından örnek vermek gerekirse, gruplararası tehdit, dış grubun ahlaki dışlanmasına yol açmıştır (örneğin, Macaristan'daki Müslüman göçmenler; Hadarics, 2022) ve dış grubun yardımına olan eğilimi azaltmıştır (örneğin, Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mülteciler; Güler, 2019; İtalya'daki İranlı ve Tunuslu azınlıklar; Nariman vd., 2022). Bununla birlikte, bilgilerimiz dahilinde, gruplararası tehdidinin ahlaki cesaret bağlamındaki rolünü açıklayan örnekler bulmak pek mümkün değildir. Buna rağmen, yardım etme literatürü ve mevcut bulgular temel alındığında, gruplararası tehdidinin hem dış gruba yardım etmeyi hem de ahlaki cesareti azalttığı ve bu ilişkileri ahlaki dışlamanın açıkladığı sonucuna varılabilir.

Her üç çalışmadaki mevcut örneklemde, Suriyeli sığınmacılarla teması olduğunu bildiren az sayıda katılımcı bulunmaktadır. Ancak, sonuçlar hala gruplararası

temasın rolü hakkında ipuçları sağlamaktadır. Mevcut sonuçlar, gruplararası temasın ahlaki kapsamı dış grubun üyelerine genişlettiğini ve karşılığında daha fazla yardım etme ve ahlaki cesaret gösterme eğilimini yordadığı göstermiştir. Geçmiş araştırmalar da, dış grup üyeleri ile olumlu temasın, dış gruba yönelik ahlaki mesafeyi azalttığını doğrulamaktadır (Vezzali et al., 2022). Dahası, dış grup üyelerine yardım etme üzerine birçok araştırma, gruplararası temasın farklı milliyet, din ve cinsiyetten diğerlerine kadar farklı dış grup üyelerine yardım etme niyetini artırdığını göstermiştir (Meleady ve Seger, 2017; McKeown ve Taylor, 2018).

Mevcut çalışmalarda göze çarpan diğer bir faktör ise cinsiyet farklılıklarında yatmaktadır. Genel olarak kadınların, erkeklere kıyasla, daha fazla ahlaki hassasiyeti olduğu söylenebilir. Ancak, niyetten ziyade durum gerçek davranışa geldiğinde bu farklılık gözlemlenmemiştir. Bu durumun nedenlerinin gelecekteki çalışmalarla araştırılması bu farklılığın yorumlanmasını kolaylaştıracaktır.

Özetlemek gerekirse, dünya genelindeki çoğu insanın, Türkiye vatandaşları da dahil olmak üzere, aşağıdaki ifadeleri kabul edip benimsemesi muhtemeldir: "Tüm insanlar eşittir", "Muhtaç insanlara kim olduklarına bakmaksızın yardım etmeliyiz", "Tüm insanlar adil ve hakkaniyetli muameleyi hak eder". Ancak, mevcut sonuçlar ve ilgili literatür temelinde, görünüşe göre tüm insanlar eşit değil, adil muamele hak etmiyor ve olumlu davranışları hak etmiyorlar. Zimbardo (2013, 2016) tarafından belirtildiği gibi, insanlar hem zalim hem de iyi olma içsel kapasiteye sahiptirler, hatta kendi ahlaki prensiplerini korumak için kahramanlık gösterebilirler ki bu da "Günlük Kahramanlık" olarak adlandırdığı bir şeydir. Bu kapsamda, mevcut çalışmalar insanların ahlaken cesur olmalarını engelleyen ve kolaylaştıran olası faktörleri yardım etme davranışını da inceleyerek yakalamayı amaçlamıştır. Özellikle karşıdaki kişi başka bir gruptan ise ve bir tehdit hissi yaratıyorsa, insanlar onları daha az ahlaki endişe ve olumlu davranışlarla görmeye eğilimlidir. Bağlayıcı ahlaki temellere güçlü bir bağlılık da benzer bir etkiye sahiptir çünkü sadakat ve otoriteye saygı gibi ahlaki değerler iç grup yanlılığını teşvik eder ve dış grup aşağılamasını artırır. Bunun aksine, bireyselleştirme ahlaki değerlere güçlü bir bağlılık ve dış grup üyeleriyle olumlu temas, bireyin ahlaki çemberinin iç grubunu aşarak genişlemesini sağlar ve bu da pozitif dış grup davranışlarını geliştirir. Sonuç olarak, bir toplum, daha

evrensel ahlaki değerler olan adillik ve bakım gibi güçlü ahlaki kimliklere sahip bireyler yaratmalıdır, bu da bu insanlar arasında daha kapsayıcı bir ahlaki çemberi mümkün kılabilir. Karşılığında, insanlar kim olduklarına göre ayrım yapmak yerine kendi erdemleri için yardım ve ahlaki cesaret gösteren insanlara sahip olabiliriz. Bu tür yardımsever davranışların teşvik edilmesi, bir toplumda farklı gruplar arasında olumlu teması mümkün kılacak ve bu da azalan gruplararası tehdit ve ahlaki dışlamayı sağlayarak yardımcı olma döngüsünün başka bir yönü haline gelebilir.

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