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The Influence of Affluence on Prosocial Behavior

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Abstract

Popular wisdom has it that excessive material wealth leads to decreased prosocial behavior. This notion has empirical support in the literature, but there are open questions about how strong, specific, and general this effect is. In this study, we aimed to test the hypothesis that increased socioeconomic status (SES) is associated with decreased prosocial behavior in a high-powered laboratory task. We find that there are no statistically significant differences in generosity as a function of social class. However, there are subtle - yet statistically significant - patterns linking SES and dark triad personality traits. We conclude that the relationship between SES and social behavior is considerably more nuanced than commonly believed.

Keywords: Levenson Self-Report Psychopathy Scale (LSRP), Dark Triad Dirty Dozen, Psychopathy, Narcissism, Selfishness, Generosity, Socioeconomic status, Affluenza

Introduction

Some studies have suggested that people of means tend to behave worse towards others and break the law more frequently than people from lower socioeconomic classes (Piff et al., 2012; Piff & Robinson, 2017). This pattern of behavior has been dubbed the "Asshole Effect" (Manne, 2014; Leinhart, 2019). The notion that material

wealth is detrimental to integrity has a long intellectual history, dating all the way back to the Bible: "And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." (King James Bible, 1769/2017, Matthew 19:24).

More recently, the existence of this effect has been tested - and supported - empirically in a series of experiments, as follows.

In a classic study, participants played a game of Monopoly that gave the advantage to some randomly selected participants by allocating them double the money and the ability to move the pieces twice as fast across the board. Even though these advantages were conferred randomly and thus being unearned, these “rich” players started to exhibit displays of social dominance, power, and celebration (Piff, 2013). When these rich players were questioned about their experience, they attributed their success to their actions, as opposed to luck or their unearned advantages (Piff, 2013). However, there are serious concerns about this interpretation. First, as these behaviors are exhibited in a game, it is unclear as to whether they would translate to the real world. Moreover, it is quite possible that participants were just excited about winning the game - no matter how. In other words, it is unclear whether these displays signified social dominance or just excitement.

However, the shortcomings of this laboratory experiment were complemented by a study with high ecological validity, in which observers stood at a busy intersection to observe whether drivers cut off other cars, the tendency to engage in this behavior was correlated with “vehicle status.” (Piff et al., 2012). However, in this study, vehicle status was assumed to be a reliable proxy for a person’s social rank and wealth, which is not necessarily valid: there are many potential confounding variables (such as in a situation of emergency) that could have influenced drivers to cut one-another off unrelated to “vehicle status”. Moreover, lower income households are known to procure vehicles beyond their means, particularly for short periods of time (Kurz & Li, 2015). In addition, even though participants were naive and blind to the hypothesis, calling a “cut-off” is ultimately based on a judgment call. As Berkeley students have well documented left-leaning tendencies (University of California, Berkeley, 2020), it is not implausible that their observations might simply confirm their anti-wealth biases.

Even in the face of such concerns - and

others, including the notion that greed was never properly operationalized in any of these studies, this general idea also makes sense from the perspective of basic psychology, specifically learning theory. It is widely accepted that behavior is under operant control (Skinner, 1948). In other words, behavior improves if it has fitting consequences. People who are misbehaving by acting anti-socially will refrain from such behavior if they are punished - or otherwise negatively reinforced - for doing so. Conversely, it is plausible that people of means are buffered from the consequences of their poor behavior. Thus, we would predict that these people will exhibit progressively antisocial behavior.

Therefore, the existence of this effect would make sense theoretically and seems supported by both controlled laboratory experiments and field studies.

However, there is reason to be skeptical about the generality and size of this effect. For instance, about ~95% of high-income households give to charity and are the income group with the largest donation rate as a percentage of income that makes 10 mil + USD/year (Meer & Priday, 2020).” In addition, field experiments have shown that affluent people who receive an unsolicited envelope with money are more likely to return this envelope than less affluent people (Andreoni et al., 2017), directly contradicting the predictions from previous studies (Piff et al., 2010). However, there are many differences between this design and the original studies (e.g., an international setting, different currencies, etc.) that it is difficult to know what factor is causally responsible for the differences in outcome. In addition to these caveats - perhaps the wealthy simply have excess funds to spare - but could still be treating their fellow human poorly in other respects. Ironically, concerns have been raised about the integrity of the affluence causing selfishness (Francis, 2012), so perhaps it is not just the wealthy who have an ethics problem.

Therefore, in this study, we aim to resolve these apparent contradictions. Specifically, we will test whether social class has implications for a

tendency to engage in prosocial behaviors.

Method

In order to study this issue empirically, we employed the following methods.

Participants

Undergraduate students were recruited from New York University via the SONA Systems Portal and participated in the study for course credit. As adequately high statistical power is necessary (Wallisch, 2015), a total of 622 participants (404 female, 195 male, 23 nonbinary or not disclosed) completed the study with the average age in our sample being 20.3 years.

Procedure

Participants began the study by signing the informed consent form upon being briefed about the study. Participants were then trained on how to use the experimental interface, which we had created in MATLAB. For the duration of the study, participants sat alone in a testing room with the computer and the study on full screen. There was no time limit to answer the questions; however, on average, the participants took two hours to complete the study. All questions in the study were randomly interleaved, drawing from the Levenson Self-Report Psychopathy Inventory (LSRP), the “Dark Triad Dirty Dozen Test” inventory, and a generosity task that was inspired by Jones & Rachlin (2006). Participants also completed questions about demographics as well as their self-indicated social class. Upon completion of the study, the participants were properly debriefed. All procedures were approved by the IRB at New York University (UCAIHS).

Measures

The three instruments used in this study - Levenson Self-Report Psychopathy Inventory (LSRP), the Dark Triad Dirty Dozen (DTDD),

and measures of generosity each contain items presented to the participants in a randomized order to each participant to avoid order effects.

Dark Triad Dirty Dozen Scale

The Dark Triad Dirty Dozen Test (DTDD) is a 12-item personality inventory that consists of three facets: Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy (Jonason & Webster, 2010). The participants are asked to rate each given item on a 7-point Likert scale, with 1 implicating strong disagreement and 7 meaning strong agreement. DTDD is considered to be a reliable and valid test (Jonason & Webster, 2010; Lee et al., 2013).

Levenson Self-Report Psychopathy Scale

The Levenson Self-Report Psychopathy Scale (LSRP) is a 26-item personality inventory that measures psychopathy on a 5-point Likert scale (Levenson, Kiehl, & Fitzpatrick, 1995). The LSRP presumes that psychopathic traits divide into two dimensions - primary and secondary psychopathy, where primary refers to lifestyle choices and secondary to emotional responses (Vaughn et al., 2009). The LSRP is considered to be a reliable and a valid test (Bowling, 2005; Brinkley et al.; Falkenbach et al., 2007; Fritz, & Lim, 2018; Gummelt, Anestis, & Carbonell, 2012; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010).

Generosity

During the social decision-making task, the participants had to make a decision between receiving or losing a certain amount of hypothetical money (\$20) or someone else receiving/losing a larger sum of money (Jones & Rachlin, 2006). In the task, there are six monetary amounts (\$20 to \$105), six social distances, and the possibility of receiving/losing the money, yielding a total of 72 unique trials, fully crossed. The responses were classified into two categories: selfish and selfless. While the selfish category would include the responses in which the participant chose to either gain money or someone else to lose the money, the selfless category would

include the opposite response; someone else gains money or the participant loses the money. Next, we compute a generosity index. The generosity index works in the following way: if the participant picked the selfish choice 72 times, they would be classified as 0% generous. Alternatively, if they choose the selfless choice 72 times, they would be classified as 100% generous, with everything in between. In order to prevent the impact of potential response bias, we ensured to randomize the location of the selfish/selfless choice button between left and right.

Socioeconomic status

We asked participants to indicate their socioeconomic status (lower or lower middle class ($n = 119$), middle class ($n = 185$), upper middle class and upper class ($n = 318$)) by self-identification.

Analysis

We analyzed the data recorded using these methods by performing Kruskal-Wallis tests, due to the ordinal nature of our data. Data were analyzed using MATLAB 2019b (Mathworks, Natick, MA). As we perform several tests, we adopt a conservative alpha-level of 0.005 to avoid alpha-inflation (Benjamin et al., 2018).

Results

Does socioeconomic status affect prosocial behavior in a generosity task?

A central prediction of the “Asshole Effect” hypothesis is that people with higher SES would act less prosocially. Here, we operationalized prosocial behavior as generosity in a social discounting task in order to test this hypothesis, see Figure 1.

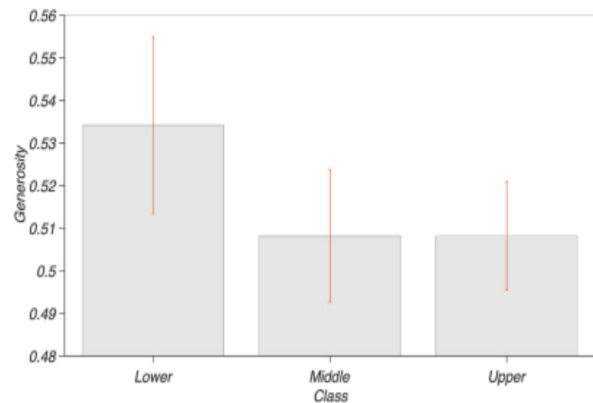


Figure 1: Generosity as a function of social class in a social discounting task. The x-axis represents self-identified social class; the y-axis represents the proportion of prosocial choices in a social discounting task. The height of the bar denotes the mean response of the group. Red error bars represent the standard error of the mean.

As shown in figure 1, it is true that participants who identify as part of the lowest social class do exhibit the most generous behavior, but the difference to other social classes is not significant ($H = 0.902$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.64$). Moreover, even if this difference was significant, the effect size would be marginal, as the absolute difference in prosocial behavior between the lowest and the highest social class is about 2 percentage points.

Does socioeconomic status manifest as elevated anti-social traits?

Even if SES does not manifest in a generosity task in a lab, it is conceivable that it shapes a certain outlook on life that could be characterized as an anti-social attitude. This attitude can be captured by the LSRP and Dirty Dozen psychopathy scale. Thus, here we investigate whether this is the case, see Figure 2.

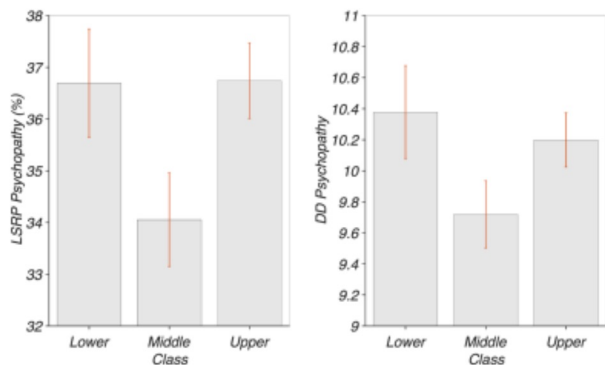


Figure 2: Psychopathic traits as a function of social class. The x-axis represents self-identified social class; the y-axis represents the degree of psychopathic traits. The height of the bar denotes the mean response of the group. Red error bars represent the standard error of the mean. Left panel: Psychopathic traits as measured by the LSRP. Right panel: Psychopathic traits as measured by the Dirty Dozen scale.

Figure 2 shows a consistent pattern across both scales - members of the middle class exhibit the lowest degree of psychopathic traits, with both upper and lower classes showing elevated levels relative to that. However, these differences are again not statistically significant: $H = 5.271$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.072$ and $H = 4.791$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.091$ for LSRP and DD Psychopathy, respectively. Significance aside, we observe that the absolute difference between these classes is minimal in terms of these measures.

Does socioeconomic status manifest in the form of other dark triad traits?

Even if socioeconomic status does not manifest as a lack of prosocial behavior or an excess of antisocial attitudes, it is possible that it is adjacent traits such as manipulateness and narcissism that contribute to the poor social reputation of the affluent, as suggested by Piff et al. (2012).

We explore this possibility in Figure 3.

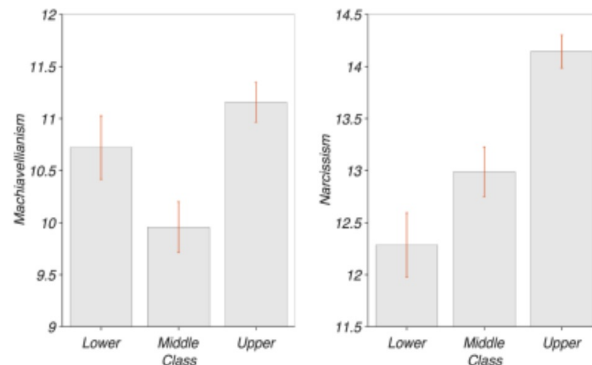


Figure 3: Dark triad traits as a function of social class. The x-axis represents self-identified social class; the y-axis represents the degree of dark triad traits, as measured by the Dirty Dozen scale. The height of the bar denotes the mean response of the group. Red error bars represent the standard error of the mean. Left panel: Machiavellianism. Right panel: Narcissism.

Here, we find another consistent pattern - participants who self-identified as members of the upper class were highest in terms of exhibiting dark triad traits such as Machiavellianism and Narcissism, and these differences are both significant: $H = 14.243$, $df = 2$, $p < 8.07e-04$ and $H = 35.825$, $df = 2$, $p = 1.6623e-08$ for Machiavellianism and Narcissism, respectively.

Does narcissism impact generosity?

Finally, to come full circle, we wonder whether narcissism is linked to generosity, even though SES is not. In a way, this can be considered as a manipulation check, as it is almost a foregone conclusion that increased narcissism would be associated with decreased generosity. Indeed, that is what we find, see Figure 4 - although there is considerable variability.

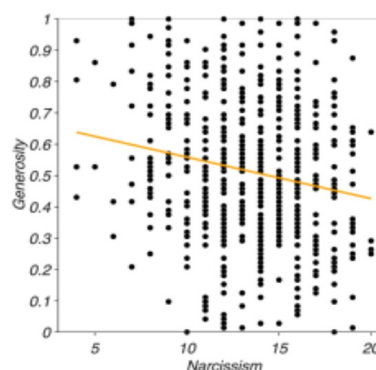


Figure 4: Generosity as a function of narcissism. The x-axis represents the Dark Triad Dirty Dozen score of an individual participant. The y-axis represents the generosity score of an individual participant. Each black dot depicts data from an individual participant. The orange line represents the least squares best fit lines.

This is an interesting pattern of results - increased narcissism is associated with decreased generosity. However, this association - while highly significant ($p = 2.58e-6$) is quite weak ($r = 0.187$), due to the considerable scatter visible in Figure 4. In other words, this allows for a dissociation between these variables - SES is linked to narcissism, and narcissism is linked to generosity, but SES is not linked to generosity, suggesting a highly dimensional space underlying these measures. Taken together, this nuanced pattern of results does increase our confidence in the validity of our findings.

Discussion

The question as to whether affluence causes a decrease in prosocial behavior has been studied for many years, yet previous attempts at answering this question have led to contradictions.

Here, we revisit this question with a high-powered and diverse sample in a generosity task under carefully controlled conditions. Doing so, we found that socioeconomic status is not predictive of prosocial behavior in this task. However - whereas differences in psychopathic traits were not significant, there are significant differences in other dark triad traits, with members of higher social classes exhibiting stronger such traits. That said, these differences are subtle in terms of the absolute effect size and - as such - probably cannot account for the differences claimed by proponents of the "asshole effect" hypothesis. In light of Piff et al. (2010, 2012, 2014, 2017), it is surprising that the effects of "affluenza" (Hayes, 2013; The New York Times, 2014; Frost, 2017) - having such ample means that they start to be deleterious for the development of proper social behavior - are so negligible. However, perhaps the operationalization of antisocial behavior in those original studies was too open to interpretation. Nevertheless, we do observe an interesting pattern of results, with people in the middle class usually exhibiting the lowest levels of psychopathic or machiavellian

(traits. It stands to reason that members of the lower classes, by definition, have fewer material resources and there is less of a buffer to cushion unexpected events. Therefore one could argue that manipulation might be an adaptive survival strategy. For instance, someone who cannot afford the essential services, might be tempted to acquire them by social engineering. Conversely, members of the upper classes might be manipulative in other ways, but not be as likely to be sanctioned and therefore suffer fewer consequences than their less wealthy counterparts. This pattern of results is in line with Andreoni et al. (2017) - arguably, people from a low SES background are more likely to keep the unexpected windfall because they need the money more.

Whereas we believe we found a compelling pattern of results, there are several limitations of this study. First of all, most of our participants are drawn from the pool of Psychology students at New York University. It is well known that such students are more likely to be unrepresentative in several important ways, including an increased level of agreeableness (Henrich et al., 2010; Litten et al., 2018,). In other words, these findings might not generalize to a more representative sample of the population. Moreover, not many members of our sample were genuinely in the "upper class," nor did many come from true poverty - in other words, most of our participants hail from different shades of the middle class. The coarseness of these SES brackets might obscure true differences in behavior or traits of people from extreme poverty vs. extreme wealth. This issue is compounded by the fact that our SES measures are self-reported. Some participants might simply be unaware of their social class. In addition, our sample is rather young. It would be quite informative to compare young wealth - which almost by definition is unearned - with the wealth of older people, which might be earned. However, it stands to reason that it is perceived social class, not actual financial resources that drive the psychological effects resulting from SES. Finally, whereas we did not experimentally create wealth, which - in principle - limits the causal scope of conclusions one can

draw from such results, this concern is not applicable to our study, as one should see deleterious effects of affluence on behavior, if the original hypothesis was true. That said, strictly speaking, we cannot assess whether - to put not too fine a point on it - an attitude of entitlement, which underlies much of narcissism, as measured by the Dirty Dozen Scale (Kowalchuk et al., 2021) leads to affluence, or whether the affluent can afford to exhibit such an attitude. Yet, this is where the age of our sample works in our favor - due to the youth of our sample, it is implausible that the attitude created the wealth, it is more plausible that it is the wealthy background that creates the attitude of entitlement.

These limitations provide an opportunity for future research. This research might be focused on either recruiting a more representative sample, or specifically targeting participants from extreme wealth backgrounds, to amplify the contrast between extreme poverty and extreme wealth, and include a wider age range. Finally, it might be worthwhile to further elaborate on the conceptual distinction between selfish and unethical behavior (Dubois et al., 2015). That said, we did not find that affluenza strongly modulates prosocial behavior or dispositions. Instead, we found a compelling and plausible pattern of results across multiple behavioral and dispositional domains.

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