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## Discussion

# Unfounded dumbfounding: How harm and purity undermine evidence for moral dumbfounding

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## ABSTRACT

Two paradigm-shifting ideas have gained widespread influence in current accounts of moral cognition: (a) that moral judgments are pluralistic, extending beyond domains of harm and fairness, and (b) that people's judgments are driven primarily by intuition, such that people are "morally dumbfounded" about the reasons behind their own judgments. An ongoing debate has emerged regarding the former claim of moral pluralism, with opposing sides in disagreement about whether moral judgments are best understood as reflecting multiple moral domains vs. a single moral domain. The current analysis demonstrates that however this debate concerning pluralism is resolved, evidence of moral dumbfounding is undermined. This evidentiary basis for intuitive moral judgment is therefore not well supported, and additional evidence indicates that moral judgments are more reasoned and malleable than the dumbfounding account would allow.

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## 1. Introduction

Current perspectives on moral cognition have been heavily influenced by two paradigm-shifting claims: (a) that moral judgments are pluralistic, reflecting concerns not just about harm and fairness but also about purity (among other concerns), and (b) that people are "morally dumbfounded" by their own moral judgments, ignorant of the factors that drive these judgments. The latter claim of moral dumbfounding has been taken as evidence that moral judgments stem primarily – if not near-exclusively – from processes of intuition rather than reasoning (Haidt, 2001). The former claim of moral pluralism has led to an ongoing debate, with opposing sides (Graham, 2015; Schein & Gray, 2015) in disagreement about whether purity is a distinct moral domain or whether it is subsumed under a unifying superordinate domain of harm. The current analysis illustrates how moral dumbfounding intersects with the moral pluralism debate; more specifically, it shows that however this debate is resolved, evidence of moral dumbfounding is undermined.

## 2. Moral pluralism and purity

It has long been held that morality reflects considerations of harm and fairness: immoral behaviors are those that are perceived as harmful or unfair toward individuals (or groups). A great deal

research in the past decade, however, illustrates that the scope of morality extends beyond these two domains. Moral Foundations Theory (MFT), the most prominent account of such moral pluralism, holds that moral judgments additionally reflect considerations of purity – or whether behaviors are unnatural, degrading, or disgusting – as well as loyalty and authority (Haidt & Joseph, 2007). Building upon earlier work that highlighted the moral significance of purity, especially among less westernized cultures (Haidt, Koller, & Dias, 1993), more recent studies under the MFT framework have provided systematic evidence for this moral domain, even among highly westernized cultures (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009; Graham et al., 2011; Koleva, Graham, Iyer, Ditto, & Haidt, 2012).

Purity concerns are represented in people's everyday experience of immoral acts (Hofmann, Wisneski, Brandt, & Skitka, 2014), and purity is often linked to specific emotional experiences, particularly involving disgust. Purity-based moral judgments are associated with higher levels of trait disgust (Horberg, Oveis, Keltner, & Cohen, 2009; Inbar, Pizarro, & Bloom, 2009) and are exacerbated by inducing disgust via various sensory modalities (Eskine, Kaciniak, & Prinz, 2011; Schnall, Haidt, Clore, & Jordan, 2008; Wheatley & Haidt, 2005; see Landy & Goodwin, 2015 for a meta-analysis of these effects). Notably, some evidence has shown that these induction effects emerge only for participants who are highly aware of the presence of the disgusting stimuli (Wisneski & Skitka, 2017) or of their own bodily sensations (Schnall et al., 2008), suggesting that people may perceive their own purity-based moral judgments to be normatively appropriate. Finally,

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purity is dissociable from harm in terms of both its elicitors and its consequences — for example, as compared to harm, moral perceptions of purity are less sensitive to an agent's intent (Chakroff et al., 2016; Young & Saxe, 2011), more likely to lead to person-based attributions (Chakroff & Young, 2015), and better predictive of moral judgments about particular violations such as suicide (Rottman, Keleman, & Young, 2014). Taken together, this work suggests that purity is a distinct moral domain that itself helps to explain people's everyday experience and expression of morality.

### 3. Moral dumbfounding: Demonstrated and undermined

Beyond illustrating the moral importance of purity, the literature has also advanced the claim that people are morally dumbfounded by their own judgments. According to this widely influential phenomenon, people often view behaviors as moral violations yet are unable to provide sufficient reasons why. In the paradigmatic illustration of this effect (Haidt, Björklund, & Murphy, n.d.), participants read “intuition” scenarios designed to depict harmless yet morally objectionable behavior (e.g., a brother and sister having consensual sex while using multiple forms of birth control; a woman eating a disease-free cadaver), as well Kohlberg's (1969) Heinz dilemma, which involves tradeoffs between prototypical considerations of harm and rights. Participants exhibited notably different responses to these cases, reporting that their judgments were based primarily on reasoning for the Heinz dilemma, but primarily on intuition for the incest and cannibalism cases. Moreover, participants not only frequently judged the incest and cannibalism behaviors to be wrong but also persisted in these judgments when challenged by the experimenter, typically appealing to (ostensibly non-existent) harmful consequences or steadfastly affirming that the behavior is wrong (Haidt et al., n.d.). This persistence in perceiving wrongness despite lacking compelling articulable justifications was said to indicate that participants were morally dumbfounded: that they were ignorant of the actual moral principles that drove their judgments. Similar dumbfounding patterns have emerged for other purity-violating but putatively harmless behaviors (e.g., engaging in unusual forms of masturbation: Haidt & Hersh, 2001).

The phenomenon of moral dumbfounding plays a central role in Haidt's (2001) influential Social Intuitionist Model, which argues that moral judgment is driven almost exclusively by intuition rather than reasoning.<sup>1</sup> More generally, the paradigmatic findings have gained widespread acknowledgement and acceptance in the literature as a hallmark of the intuitive nature of moral judgment (e.g., Ditto, Liu, & Wojcik, 2012; Teper, Zhong, & Inzlicht, 2015; Usoof-Thowfeek, Janoff-Bulman, & Tavernini, 2011; Van Bavel, Packer, Haas, & Cunningham, 2012).

Despite the prominence of moral dumbfounding in the literature, evidence for the phenomenon is sparse and not widely generalizable. Just a single study, though itself not specifically designed to assess the phenomenon, offers pertinent evidence of dumbfounding for non-purity violations (Cushman, Young, & Hauser, 2006). This study examined whether participants had conscious, explicit access to three principles shown to shape their harm-based moral judgments (e.g., that actions are morally worse than omissions). Cushman et al.'s (2006) results revealed that just one principle exhibited patterns consistent with dumbfounding (i.e., substantial rates of insufficient justifications for participants' own judgments, indicating an implicit, rather than explicit, usage of the principle). Consequently, there is little support for a broad

interpretation that dumbfounding is a pervasive feature of moral cognition. But even when considering only a narrower conception of moral dumbfounding (i.e., for paradigmatic purity violations), there are still strong reasons to doubt the veracity of this phenomenon. These reasons arise from competing perspectives about whether purity constitutes its own distinct moral domain.

The theory of dyadic morality (TDM) argues that perceived harm lies at the core of all moral judgments (Gray, Young, & Waytz, 2012; Schein & Gray, 2017); thus, purity is not its own moral domain but rather is a specific manifestation of the superordinate domain of harm. Evidence supporting this view shows that harm is the most cognitively accessible and morally impactful domain (Schein & Gray, 2015), and that even ostensibly harmless purity violations are perceived to be harmful (Gray, Schein, & Ward, 2014). In contrast, the pluralistic MFT account maintains that purity constitutes a moral domain distinguishable from harm (Graham, 2015). Evidence supporting this view shows that, as compared to perceptions of harm, perceptions of purity or sacredness are often stronger (Frimer, Tell, & Haidt, 2015), sensitive to different input factors (Dungan, Chakroff, & Young, 2017; Young & Saxe, 2011) and better predictive of certain moral judgments, such as those concerning self-directed violations (Dungan et al., 2017; Rottman et al., 2014). A fierce debate continues between these competing perspectives; but the truth of *either* perspective spells trouble for moral dumbfounding.

According to the TDM perspective, the putatively harmless purity violations typically used to assess moral dumbfounding (e.g., consensual incest) might not actually be perceived as harmless. Thus, people's moral objections to such behaviors might reflect their concerns about harm. In fact, participants often perceive actual or probable harm in the consensual incest scenario, which thereby explains their moral disapproval of the act (Royzman, Kim, & Leeman, 2015; see also Jacobson, 2012). Consequently, people's common insistence that moral dumbfounding behaviors are both immoral and harmful indicates not that they are dumbfounded by their own judgments but that perceived harm is precisely their basis for viewing the behaviors as morally objectionable. However, when people offered harm-based explanations, these were interpreted as indicative of dumbfounding, with the experimenter countering such explanations by insisting that “no harm was done” (Haidt et al., n.d.). Royzman et al. (2015) showed that this procedural approach of repeatedly countering participants' harm-based justifications yields merely the *appearance* of dumbfounding. With their justifications unflinchingly rejected by the experimenter, participants eventually admit that they lack any further basis for their moral objections; however, they privately remain unconvinced by the experimenter's counterarguments, holding firm to their original harm-based justifications (Royzman et al., 2015).

According to the pluralistic MFT perspective, purity is categorically distinct from harm, constituting its own moral domain. References to purity, then, should constitute valid psychological justifications of people's moral judgments.<sup>2</sup> That is, we should expect people to appeal to impurity, disgustingness, or unnaturalness when explaining their moral objection to supposed dumbfounding behaviors. And indeed they often do, but Haidt et al. (n.d.) again characterized such explanations as invalid: After participants judged that various purity violations were immoral, the experimenter's “main counter argument was that no harm was done, and that the fact that an act is disgusting does not make it wrong.” Purity-based explanations were therefore prevented — by researcher fiat — from constituting valid justifications for purity-based judg-

<sup>1</sup> The model nonetheless posits that reasoning can have substantial interpersonal influence over others' moral judgments (see also Mercier & Sperber, 2011), despite having minimal intrapersonal influence over one's own judgments.

<sup>2</sup> The question of whether reasons are psychologically valid — whether, descriptively, they were the inputs to one's judgment — is of course distinct from the question of whether these reasons are normatively valid or defensible.

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