

明知故犯？故意不道德行为的影响因素和心理过程*

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摘 要 故意不道德行为是指个体在明知行为违背了道德规范、但仍采取的不道德行为。研究表明, 故意不道德行为存在众多诱发因素, 其中道德自我概念具有重要的自我调节作用, 在行为发生前后都产生重要影响。本文对故意不道德行为的影响因素进行了梳理, 探索其行为前后的心理过程, 并对既有的研究框架进行了整合, 构建了从诱发因素、动机、心理冲突、调节、决策行为及行为后体验和调节机制的一系列过程。并在回顾的基础上, 提出了四点未来可能的研究方向, 包括强化不道德行为的作用机制探索、从心理动机视角理解和抑制不道德行为、对诱发不道德行为的无意识偏向的关注和拓展目前的研究方法和研究情境。

关键词 不道德行为 个体因素 情景因素 心理过程 道德自我概念

1 前言

不道德行为 (unethical behavior), 是指打破了日常行为规范的行爲 (Shu, Mazar, Gino, Ariely, & Bazerman, 2012)。按照行为动机, 可分为无意不道德行为和故意不道德行为, 前者指在没有意识到行为的不道德属性时做出的不道德行为; 后者指在明知行为违背道德规范的情况下采取的不道德行为 (Gino, 2015; Shalvi, Gino, Barkan, & Ayal, 2015)。本文重点关注故意不道德行为, 下文所提及的不道德行为即故意不道德行为。

不道德行为具有普遍性, 体现在形式多样化、领域多元化和人群广泛性三个方面。不道德行为研究属于道德领域的一个子课题, 但这并不意味着不道德行为就是道德行为的对立面。早期的道德研究聚焦于定义道德行为, 界定道德标准及指导人们“应该”做什么。近年来心理学、认知神经科学、管理学等学科的研究都表明道德行为增加并不意味着不道德行为减少, 反之亦然: 如一个热心资助贫困儿童的人有可能常占他人便宜, 而一个常偷拿公物的员工也可能对组织格外奉献。不道德行为的诱发因素和心理过程可能不同于道德行为, 近十年来, 国外大量关于不道德行为的研究涌现, 并在影响因素、

心理机制等方面取得了一定进展, 国内的相关研究及介绍则相对较少。本文尝试从上述问题出发, 对已有研究成果进行归纳总结; 同时有针对性地提出现有研究的不足并展望未来的研究方向。

2 不道德行为的影响因素

2.1 个体因素

认知因素。第一, 认知风格影响不道德行为的发生, Amos 和 Ilana (2016) 发现个体对胜利进行内归因时, 会体验到更高权力感, 进而有更多不道德行为; 外归因时该效应则不存在。第二, 认知资源负向预测不道德行为。消耗自我控制资源会增加不道德行为 (Barnes, Schaubroeck, Huth, & Ghumman, 2011; Mead, Baumeister, Gino, Schweitzer, & Ariely, 2009); 缺乏自我控制资源的个体表现出道德意识削弱 (范伟等, 2016; Gino, Schweitzer, Mead, & Ariely, 2011)、喜欢有诱惑的环境 (Mead et al., 2009) 的特点, 出现更多不道德行为。组织行为领域该效应同样存在, Lin, Ma 和 Johnson (2016) 发现高自我资源消耗会使得随后领导的辱虐管理行为增加。

人格因素。第一, 黑暗三人格包括马基雅维利主义、自恋和精神病态三部分 (Roeser et al., 2016)。其中

* 本研究得到国家自然科学基金项目 (7167021063) 和中科院心理所创新项目 (Y1CX193007) 的资助。

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DOI:10.16719/j.cnki.1671-6981.20180218

马基雅维利主义与不道德行为联系密切,如Turan(2015)以及Palomäki, Yan和Laakasuo(2016)在真实和虚拟情境中均发现高马基雅维利者有更多的恐吓、谎报行为; Castille, Buckner和Thoroughgood(2016)则提出马基雅维利主义也会诱发亲组织不道德行为,其本质是利己行为。Roeser等(2016)发现精神病态显著预测个体的欺骗行为,自恋则不能预测,这可能是因为自恋并不意味着低自我控制(Jonason & Tost, 2010)或敌意(Rauthmann & Kolar, 2012)。第二,大五人格中尽责性与不道德行为负相关,神经质则与不道德行为正相关(Cooper, Slaughter, & Gilliland, 2014; Stănescu & Iorga, 2013)。近年来,研究者提出“诚实-谦卑”的人格特质,形成大六人格模型, Hilbig和Zettler(2015)证实该维度负向预测欺骗行为, Cohen, Panter, Turan, Morse和Kim(2013)发现在组织中该维度负向预测员工的怠工、失职和反生产力行为。

生理因素。近年来不道德行为的生理基础和神经机制也备受关注, Shalvi和De Dreu(2014)发现催产素可以诱发更多的利群性谎言,但不会诱发自利性谎言; Lee, Gino, Jin, Rice和Josephs(2015)发现高睾酮激素和低皮质醇组合会诱发更多不道德行为。Boksem和Cremer(2009)发现前额叶额极区、额眶区受损的被试会表现出更多的不道德行为。未来可以通过对生理机制的更多探索(如脑成像研究和神经化学研究),尝试与道德行为的生理机制进行比较,明确二者之间的关系。

无意识因素。有限理性视角下,不道德行为常受到无意识因素的干扰,如情绪、内隐偏见等。首先,情绪会影响道德判断和行为选择(Reynolds & Ceranic, 2007),且这一过程难以被意识到。其次,内隐偏见客观存在,例如刻板印象效应(Merritt et al., 2012)、公平幻觉(Sezer, Gino, & Bazerman, 2015)、道德滑坡(Gino & Bazerman, 2009; Rilke et al., 2016)都能预测不道德行为的频率和程度,即使人们报告出公平、正义倾向,但在譬如招聘员工、分配利益、虚报隐瞒等实际行为中仍然表现出偏见甚至歧视。Sezer, Gino和Bazerman(2015)提出抑制不道德行为的一种方式就是重视无意识因素的潜在影响。

2.2 情境因素

人类的行为总是外在环境线索与内在因素交互的产物,著名的斯坦福监狱实验、米尔格兰姆电击实验都证明了情境因素对不道德行为的影响,此后更多的研究者对这一问题进行了探索。

第一,情境的模糊昏暗度。Pittarello Leib, Gordon-Hecker和Shalvi(2015)对以色列大学生研究发现,在模糊的情景中个体会做出更多自我服务性的不道德行为,以获取更多奖赏; Zhong, Bohns和Gino(2010)对北美大学生研究则发现,昏暗的灯光会造就一种虚幻的匿名感,进而增加不道德行为。

第二,环境中的警示线索。道德警示越清晰可见,个体的道德概念也就越清晰,进而抑制不道德行为(Gino, Ayal, & Ariely, 2009; Mazar et al., 2008); 道德警示出现的时间、位置和形式也会影响不道德行为, Shu等(2012)发现在合同文本前签名会提高合同的履约效率, Chou(2015)提出手写签名比电子签名具有更好的约束力。

第三,时间线索。Shalvi, Eldar和Bereby-Meyer(2012)发现在有外界诱惑的情形下,时间压力会放大人们的不道德程度; 在没有外在诱惑的情形下,时间压力会增加人们从事不道德行为的可能性; Sharma, Mazar, Alter和Dan(2014)发现面对诱惑,不道德行为会随时间流逝而增加, Effron, Bryan和Murnighan(2015)认为这是因为人们为了避免在过程中感到后悔和压力,因此更倾向于在最后一刻做出更多的不道德行为。

第四,人际线索。Shalvi, Handgraaf和De Dreu(2011b)发现相较于竞争关系,相互合作或相互受益的人际关系可以减少不道德行为的发生,杨继平和王兴超(2015)也证实德行领导会抑制不道德行为,但Yip和Schweitzer(2015)却发现在合作的氛围中虽然有助于提高组织信任,但信任和不道德行为的关系并非单一的,高信任也可能被当作一种便利条件利用,进而诱发更多的不道德行为,由此看来,合作对于不道德行为的影响可能还存在其他调节变量。

综上所述,个体因素和情境因素共同影响不道德行为的发生,这些个体因素在总体上是由于自利动机和自我控制驱动的,环境因素对其有增强和减弱的效应。

3 不道德行为的心理过程

3.1 不道德行为发生前的心理过程

体验心理冲突。自我概念保存理论(self-concept maintenance theory)认为面对诱惑,个体会权衡行为的外部利益和内部自我概念损耗(Mazar et al., 2008),最终表现为不同程度不道德行为的发生频率

的差异。在实际决策过程中，个体会通过适度宽容自己来维护积极的自我认知，既获取外部利益，又不损伤自我形象。个体根据自己的道德自我概念来界定不同程度的不道德行为，超出自己道德容忍度范围并破坏积极自我认知的行为称为严重不道德行为，而带来的利益远小于所付出的心理代价的行为则为轻微不道德行为，在这两种情况下，个体都会避免做出不道德行为的抉择；只有在行为既能够带来适度的外部收益，同时又不损害个体对道德自我的认知时，不道德行为才最有可能发生，可以其为舒适区 (Shalvi, Handgraaf, & De Dreu, 2011a) (如图1)。因此，个体在诱惑之下首先会对行为带来的利益和付出的心理代价进行权衡。

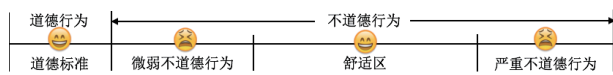


图1 不同程度不道德行为示意图

进行事前自我辩解。在觉知到内心冲突并确认舒适区后，个体会进行自我辩解具体包括如下三种辩解策略，策略的运用有可能拓展舒适区区间的上下限以诱发更大程度或更多可能的不道德行为。

3.1.1 代币偏好

外部利益以代币的形式出现时，会诱发更多占便宜行为 (Mazar et al., 2008)，如偷拿一只钢笔就比偷拿十元钱更易发生，因为代币可以在心理上给人造成一种行为与道德无关的错觉。2002年，长沙市望月湖社区推出了全国第一家“道德银行”之后，道德银行在全国风靡一时，但最终却大多无疾而终。从代币偏好的视角考量，银行的特点是有存有取，当道德账户充足时，人们会更可能做出不道德行为，如果这种行为的代价只是付出代币，可能会进一步疏离不道德行为与道德自我之间的联系。

3.1.2 自利性利他

自利性利他实质上仍是自利，将自我利益与他人利益捆绑在一起形成“共赢”关系，共享这种非正义的好处时，体验到的愧疚感更低 (Gino, Ayal, & Ariely, 2013; Shu & Gino, 2012)，通过责任分散机制能够有效减少不道德行为带来的心理威胁；如 Wiltermuth (2011) 发现当个体得知有他人共享收益时，会有更多不道德行为。

3.1.3 道德许可

道德许可是指通过回忆或预期自己道德行为的发生，为当下的不道德行为提供借口 (Merriett, Effron, & Benoît, 2010)，如 Krumm 和 Corning (2008) 提出公

开支持同性恋的人会更频繁地表现出对同性恋的歧视；Cascio 和 Plant (2015) 发现知道自己要进行义务献血的被试会在表达出更强烈的种族偏见。这说明过去的道德行为通过启动与自我相关的积极道德认知，予以不道德行为的授权，使得不道德行为舒适区间上限扩张。

虽然不道德行为的舒适区间可能受到多种因素的调节，但是目前的研究对舒适区的概念涉及相对较少，未来研究可以尝试从舒适区的视角出发，比较不同因素究竟是在多大程度上、通过何种方式来扩张或压缩舒适区。

3.2 不道德行为发生后的心理过程

体验道德失调。道德失调 (ethical dissonance) 是指由不道德行为与道德自我之间的冲突所带来的紧张感，强调的是一种心理体验和状态。道德失调具有三个特点：(1) 违背公认的正确标准；(2) 与认知失调类似，都包含有破坏社会规范、自我整合失败的过程，但是道德失调更加强调该过程对自我概念构成的威胁；(3) 通过态度转变不能缓解，因为转变对道德标准的态度意味着进一步沦丧 (Barkan, Shahar, & Dan, 2015)。杨小君、张羽璇和雷霞 (2016) 提出这种由不道德行为构成的威胁仅体现在内隐道德自我概念上。

事后自我辩解。体验道德失调时，既然无法使用转变态度策略，个体会通过行为及认知层面的辩解策略来修复自我概念，具体包括道德清洁、道德推脱和动机性遗忘、道德伪善等策略。

3.2.1 道德清洁

Wiltermuth, Newman 和 Raj (2015) 及 Zhong 和 Liljenquist (2006) 发现道德清洁是一种有效的事后自我辩解机制，道德清洁包括四种形式：心理清洁 (Ayal & Gino, 2011)，如进行忏悔；身体清洁 (Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006)，如反复洗手、洗澡等；道德补偿 (Wiltermuth et al., 2015)，如捐款、献血等爱心行为；自我惩罚 (Bastian, Jetten, & Fasoli, 2011)，如禁食、接受身体惩罚。道德清洁一方面相当于为过去的道德行为缴纳罚金缓解心理愧疚感，另一方面其本身作为一种美德行为可以增益道德自我概念 (王珏、吴明证、孙晓玲, 2016)，进而消除道德失调带来的紧张感，修复个体的积极自我形象。

3.2.2 道德推脱和动机性遗忘

社会认知理论提出在个体自我管理机能正常时，个体的内部道德标准会对不道德行为进行自我谴

责,抑制不道德行为发生;但当该机能失灵时,即个体主动切断不道德行为与自我谴责之间的认知联结,则会发生道德推脱效应(Bandura, 1999; Canner, 2008),道德推脱是一种认知策略而非行为。Shu, Gino 和 Bazerman (2011)发现不道德行为会诱发更多对道德标准的动机性遗忘,而道德推脱在这一过程中起中介作用;动机性遗忘会进一步松懈道德标准,诱发更多不道德行为,进而形成恶性循环,但这种恶性循环可能只出现在舒适区范围内。

3.2.3 道德伪善

Rustichini 和 Villeval (2012) 提出道德伪善即在道

德评价上对他人严苛,对自己宽容;道德伪善本质上是一种信念和行为不一致的心理现象(吴宝沛,高树玲,2012),可能还受到有利对比、责任扩散、责任转移等道德推脱策略(Barkan, Ayal, Gino, & Ariely, 2012)的影响。相对于直接的行为失范,道德伪善使得失范行为具有更高的隐蔽性,进而减小被群体驱逐和惩罚的风险;相对于道德坚守者,道德伪善则在“有利可图”时抛弃道德原则,促进个体从事不道德行为以获取更多利益(吴宝沛,高树玲,2012)。

综上,维持道德自我的动机不仅在不道德行为发生之前,也在不道德行为发生之后对个体的心理

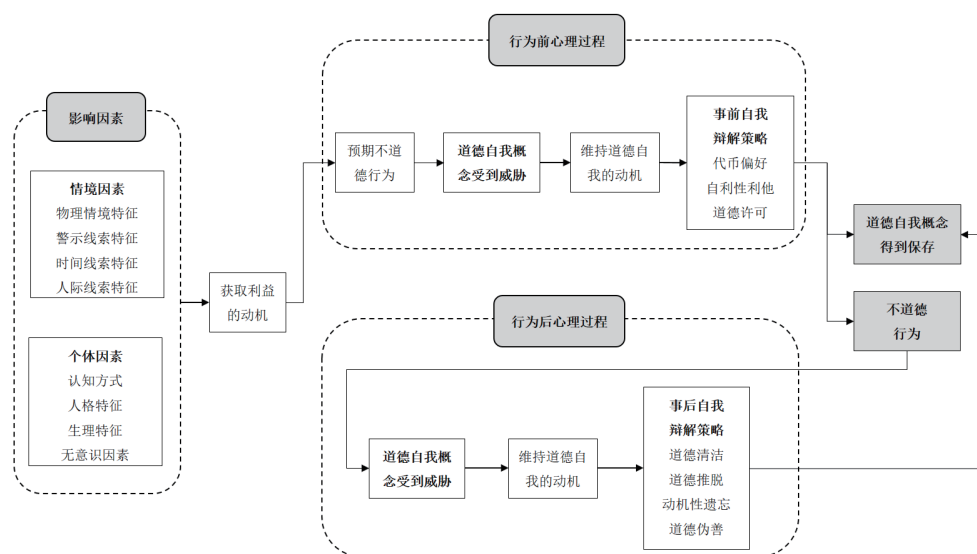


图2 不道德行为心理过程模型

过程产生影响。经由对诱发因素、动机、冲突、调节、决策行为和行为后体验及调节机制的梳理和探讨,可构建如下不道德行为的心理过程整合模型(图2),包括诱发不道德行为的因素、行为前心理过程和行为后心理过程三大部分。

4 未来研究展望

第一,强化不道德行为的作用机制探索。目前国外有关不道德行为研究多为独立的实证研究,国内在行为层面的研究则刚刚起步,仍缺乏整合性理论框架来解释不道德行为与其他变量之间的关系。且对于道德行为的研究更多集中在影响因素上,对于不道德行为的发生机制以及边界条件关注相对较少,未来需加强作用机制的探索,对该问题的关注能够有效地将现有研究结论进行整合,推动整个道德行为理论框架的建构。

第二,从心理动机视角理解和抑制不道德行为,

并关注不道德行为舒适区概念。从理性人视角看,不道德行为基于成本利益分析。但实际上,从事不道德行为的过程会受到心理动机的影响,存在不道德行为的舒适区,在舒适区内,个体发展出自我包容机能,Mead等(2009)称之为超道德性自私,即将自私行为与道德标准隔离开,避免进行道德审判。但舒适区的范围究竟是多大?是否存在个体差异和文化差异?尚缺乏细致深入的实证探索。Gino和Ariely(2012)发现具有创造力的员工更能包容和采取不道德行为,因为他们在创造力活动中展现出的灵活的思维方式、随机应变的行事风格也同样会在面对诱惑时发挥作用,此时其不道德舒适区可能得到了扩张;又如在集体文化中发现人们更容易相互依赖和放大特定事件影响,所以有可能会在集体文化中更易形成人际间的区间扩张效应。

第三,对诱发不道德行为的无意识偏向的关注。过去道德领域研究强调理性因素对行为的影响

(吴鹏, 刘华山, 2014), 而近十年来, 无意识因素受到关注, 体现在对无意不道德行为的关注和对诱发故意不道德行为的无意识因素关注增多。Reynolds (2006) 认为人类非理性、自动化、无意识的道德决策过程在实际决策中占到了极大比例。如内隐偏见、内隐动机对行为的影响就客观存在但难以被意识到, 而重视无意识因素的影响可能是抑制不道德行为的途径之一 (Sezer et al., 2015)。未来可以继续探索可能存在的无意识偏向种类及其对行为的影响, 对现有的理论体系进行完善。在此方面, 时间压力可能是一个有效的研究手段。Shalvi 等 (2012) 探索了时间压力对不道德行为的影响, 发现更长的思考时间会减少不道德行为; 但其对时间压力的操纵是被试间的, 所以无法回答无意识决策与意识层面决策是否是在个体内部随着时间进程发生转换, 不能解释不道德行为理性决策和感性决策之间的本质关系。但也有学者发现基于直觉和情感的决策具有更多的利他动机和道德行为发生 (Treviño, Nieuwenboer, & Kishgephart, 2014)。这到底意味着基于直觉的不道德行为决策过程存在其他调节变量, 还是不道德行为和道德行为是两个独立的构念? 未来研究可以采用认知心理学领域的反应逆转范式 (Lloyd & Miller, 2011) 来探索感性决策和理性决策差异及关系, 由此可进一步探索不同因素对不道德行为的影响究竟是基于感性的快速决策还是理性的思考。

第四, 在研究方法和研究情境中可以进行拓展。以往大多数结论都建立在单次数据上, 缺乏纵向数据的收集和追踪。但单次数据缺乏对不道德行为发生、发展规律的概括性, 未来可以尝试用日记法等建立个体的不道德曲线, 反映个体行为波动的真实情况及影响因素, 探索道德自我概念对不道德行为调节过程中的时间效应, 并寻找不道德行为前后波动或维持一致性的边界条件 (张宏伟, 李晔, 2014)。同时, 虚拟网络世界的匿名性、去个性化为不道德行为的发生提供了更多的机会和更低成本, 网络暴力、欺诈层出不穷, 研究网络情境下的不道德行为也至关重要。

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Violate Knowingly? Factors and Psychological Mechanism of Intentional Unethical Behavior

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Abstract Intentional unethical behavior, characterized by breaking the daily standards and violating the moral compass consciously, is currently widespread in the public fields and private spaces and gives rise to immense economic and social cost. In this paper, we constructed a process model of conducting intentional unethical behavior, which depicted the inducing factors and underlying pre-violation and post-violation psychological mechanisms from the perspective of self-concept maintenance theory and moral dissonance theory.

In psychology, behavioral ethics, management, and cognitive neuroscience field, loads of researchers have explored factors which would induce individuals to violate social norms consciously and conduct intentional unethical behaviors in specific cultural and social contexts. This paper reviewed the influence of both individual factors and contextual factors on intentional unethical behavior respectively. Individual factors refer to the personal characteristics or attributes, including physical, unconscious, cognitive factors and personality factors. Contextual factors refer to the external features when people perceive about the outside world, including surrounding settings, alert cues, time cues and interpersonal interactions. What's more, previous papers have showed that most of individual factors, in essence, drive people to behave unethically through thriving to obtain self-interest and through exploiting self-control resources, during which contextual factors would weaken or strengthen the effect.

But how do these factors exert impacts on people's intentional unethical behavior? According to previous studies, two competitive motivations (the motivation of maintaining moral self-concept vs. the motivation of grabbing the interest) play an underlying role in the process including the evaluation of potential costs and benefits, pre-justification of the impending violations, occurrence of unethical behaviors and post-justification of the happened violations. When facing temptations to conduct unethical behaviors or violations, people would first perceive the threats to be moral self-concept. The motivation of maintaining a positive self-image would be then activated and the pre-violation self-justification strategies (such as tokens preference, self-serving altruism and moral licensing) were to be adopted to buffer the inner conflict, which can help to balance the two motivating forces. Eventually people would conduct unethical behavior in comfort zone, where they gain some financial benefits but still maintain their positive moral self-concept. That means people would consciously avoid minor unethical behavior, which would not bring significant external interest, neither major unethical behavior which would be at the expense of spoiling positive self-concept. After conducting unethical behavior, moral self-concept would be threatened and thus the motivation of maintaining positive self-image would be activated again. In this situation, through specific post-violation self-justification strategies (such as moral cleansing, moral disengagement, motivated forgetting and moral hypocrisy), moral self-concept would eventually be protected.

Future research is expected to give more emphasis on exploring behavioral and psychological mechanisms, especially understanding and avoiding unethical behavior in the perspective of mental motivation and being aware of unconscious factors and processes. Longitudinal tracking methods and the unethical behaviors in the internet context are also supposed to be paid more attention in the future.

Key words unethical behavior, individual factors, contextual factors, psychological mechanism, moral self-concept