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Does civic engagement predict moral behaviors? A test of moral theories
by
Ally Osterberg

Honors Thesis
In Leadership Studies
University of Richmond
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Advisor: Dr. Crystal
Hoyt

Abstract

Does civic engagement predict moral behaviors? A test of moral theories

Ally Osterberg

Committee members: *Dr. Don Forsyth, Dr. Sylvia Gale, Dr. Crystal Hoyt*

For various reasons, many students at institutions of higher education choose to partake in civic engagement. Evidence suggests that civic engagement may make students better people. This study tests that hypothesis under the competing frameworks of moral licensing and moral consistency through donation behavior and self-reported scores on various games. Additionally, this study seeks to understand if involvement in civic engagement impacts schemas of leadership. This study supports the theory of moral consistency and concludes that there is a correlation between involvement in civic engagement and perceptions on whether leaders should be civically engaged. We found that the amount of civic engagement did not predict cheating behavior, but that it did predict donation behavior and leadership perceptions. A better understanding of the potential benefits and drawbacks to civic engagement efforts at institutions of higher education can help inform the decisions and ways in which engagement is integrated on university campuses.

Keywords: Civic Engagement, Moral licensing, Moral Consistency, Leadership, Schemas

Signature Page for Leadership Studies Honors Thesis

Does civic engagement predict moral behaviors? A test of moral theories

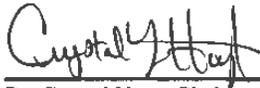
Thesis presented

by

Ally Osterberg

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Ally Osterberg has been approved by his/her committee as satisfactory completion of the thesis requirement to earn honors in leadership studies.

Approved as to style and content by:



Dr. Crystal Hoyt, Chair

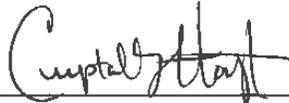


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Chapter 1. Introduction

At many institutions of higher learning, a large portion of students partake in civic engagement. Some do so out of choice, by joining a community service oriented organization, volunteering on their own, or in another way. Others do so to fulfill requirements, be it for a course, a major, a scholarship, or another requirement. Some that believe that involvement in community service and other civic engagement activities make students better citizens that are more empathetic, more engaged with their community, and more moral (Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, & Atkins, 2007; Windsor, 2015). While some evidence exists regarding the former two, no evidence exists that civic engagement actually makes students more moral. This study aims to discover any link that may exist between civic engagement and morality under the theory of moral licensing.

The goals of this research are two pronged. First, we examine the relationship between morality and civic engagement. Through a moral licensing lens, we begin to answer the question: *Does being civically engaged make students more or less moral as demonstrated through their actions?* In other words, *Does civic engagement predict cheating?* Secondly, we examine prosocial and donation behaviors as a method to test for moral licensing. *Does civic engagement predict prosocial intentions and donation behavior?* Lastly, we aim to gain a greater understanding of the impact that civic engagement has on schemas of leadership and the ways that civic engagement may impact students' perceptions of leadership and leaders. *Does civic engagement predict leader schemas?* Does it impact students' perceptions of what leaders should care about? In addition to these primary goals, through this research, we examine the impact that students perceive their civic engagement to have on themselves and on the community, in their

own words. *Are students impacted by their civic engagement and do they feel that they are having a meaningful impact?*

Civic Engagement

For this study, civic engagement is defined using a Thomas Erlich, renowned Stanford professor, definition. Erlich states, “Civic engagement means working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes” (Erlich, 2000). Thus, civic engagement is a form of active participation that works to better a community or group of people.

Many universities have several ways through which students can become civically engaged. Opportunities such as community based learning classes and service learning classes, student organizations that volunteer, advocacy groups, scholarships that require or encourage civic engagement, and more all encourage students to learn and assist in the community (Civic Engagement, n.d.). If students want to be civically engaged, there are plenty of options. Even if some students have no desire to be civically engaged, they may be required by a course to do so. Specifically, there is a growing trend of service learning (also known as Community Based Learning) on college campuses where students, as part of their course and, therefore, grade, are placed with a nonprofit organization, school, or government institution where they volunteer or otherwise help out for a period of time. These service learning courses are growing in popularity not only among institutions, but students themselves (Service Learning, n.d.).

At the University of Richmond, where this study was conducted, examples of civic engagement include activities such as Community-Based Learning courses where students are

required to volunteer or assist local non profits, schools, and government organizations, Service-Learning Spring Break trips (SEEDs), week-long immersive trips where students engage in service learning and community service projects focused on specific issues communities in West Virginia, Detroit, and Louisiana face, and select Living-Learning programs (Sophomore Scholars In Residence [SSIR] or Endeavor events). Some SSIR and Endeavor classes include service learning trips or community service components. Other examples include involvement as a Bonner Scholar (these scholars are required to complete around 240 hours of civic engagement each academic year) and volunteering with on or off campus organizations (Bonner Scholars, n.d.). Additionally, some students are required to take part in community based learning for their major, including all Leadership Studies students (Justice, n.d.). This list is not a comprehensive one, and during the current study students were able to subjectively decide what activities counted under this definition in an effort to be fully inclusive of all civic engagement opportunities students may choose to take part in. Voting by itself is not considered a form of civic engagement for the purposes of this study.

Literature that suggests that partaking in civic engagement may make students better people. A 2008 study found that civic engagement increases students' emotional intelligence and motivates them toward conscientious community action (Bernacki and Jaeger 2008). Thus, students who participate in civic engagement may be more empathetic, understand others better, and be more likely to volunteer in the future. Other literature suggests that civic engagement may impact students' values and lead them to have greater social responsibility (Eyler, Giles, Dwight, Braxton, 1997) and that service work helps students morally develop (Boss, 1994). This last claim was tested by a researcher who had students complete a morality test before and after a semester of service work to see if their service work impacted moral development and moral

reasoning. She found that it did by studying the competency with which students discussed and solved moral dilemmas using standardized written dilemmas found on the Defining Issues Test distributed to the class at the beginning and end of the course. She also noted that the service students did developed their moral sensitivity, reliability, and motivation. Service work was considered a form of “personal development intervention.” However, despite research on positive attributes that students may develop or gain through their civic engagement, there is no research that tests whether civic engagement can make students better people by being more moral as demonstrated through their actions. Morality, defined as the differentiation of intentions, decisions, and actions between those that are distinguished as proper (right) and those that are improper (wrong) as a construct of justice (Long & Sedley, 1987), is a key part of being a good person, and it is important to know the potential role that civic engagement may play in impacting this.

Moral Licensing and Moral Consistency

To test whether civic engagement may make students more or less moral as demonstrated through their actions, we use a moral licensing framework. Moral licensing theory is the idea that, when recalling prior moral behavior and actions, people may actually be more likely to make future immoral decisions. They feel they have already shown their morality in past actions and therefore do not fear being labeled as a ‘bad person’ (Conway & Peetz, 2012). For example, an employee who spends all morning assisting a coworker may refuse to put in overtime (Zhong et. al, 2009). Prior research shows that participants who are able to demonstrate their morality initially will later act in directly contradictory ways. For example, in a 2001 study, participants who had the chance to explicitly disagree with racist statements (and therefore show their

morality and lack of prejudice) were more likely to later feel ‘licensed’ to choose a white person for a job over someone from a different race (Effron et. al. 2009). A similar 2010 study found that participants who freely chose eco-friendly green cleaning products in an online cleaning store were more likely to cheat on a subsequent task (Mazar & Zhong 2010). Lastly, and quite relevant to the current study, a 2012 study found that participants who recalled their own moral actions subsequently displayed fewer pro-social intentions (Conway & Peetz, 2012; Jordan et al., 2011). These participants felt they had demonstrated their morality and commitment to good deeds through past actions, and, after reflecting on these actions, did not feel the need to prove their morality in subsequent tasks.

Contrary to the work on moral licensing, there is also a wealth of research showing a very different effect. Sometimes, reflecting on past actions can strengthen one’s likelihood of acting in a moral way, rather than diminishing it. The theory of moral consistency states that a person who sees themselves as a genuinely moral person will act in accordance with this and strengthen their self-view and reputation as a moral person (Joosten, van Dijke, van Hiel, & De Cremer, 2014). Moral consistency research shows that a salient self-concept as a moral person promotes moral behavior (Joosten et al., 2013). People who identify as moral and consider their morality to be important to who they are will act moral, even when given the choice and incentive not to.

A 2007 study found that those who viewed themselves as moral, rather than their actions as good, were more likely to subsequently display prosocial behaviors. This study used donations to charities, through either time or money, as a way to measure prosocial behaviors. The authors wrote that, “A consumer's moral identity (the extent to which this image is an important part of his or her self-concept) may motivate choices and the pursuit of actions that demonstrate social

responsiveness to the needs of others” (Reed, Aquino, Levy, 2007). This article also quoted a William Damon and Daniel Hart textbook that says, “people whose self-concept is organized around their moral beliefs are highly likely to translate those beliefs into action consistently throughout their lives” (Damon & Hart, 1992). The more a person thinks about their good work as a reflection of their identity as a moral person, the more likely they are to act in ways that strengthen that reflection.

A 2019 study found that when morality is important and central to individuals' identities, moral choices tend to emerge despite opportunities to behave immorally. In this study, participants read four scenarios in which their peers “approved of and encouraged immoral behavior (examples included theft, cheating, deception, and drunk driving), and were subsequently asked to respond with the degree to which they believed the scenario was immoral, the likelihood that they would act in a similar or dissimilar way despite pressure from their peers, and the likelihood that they would convince their ‘immoral’ peer of the right thing to do. Results revealed that, despite being encouraged to behave immorally, strong moral identity predicted individuals' moral responses in three of the four situations. Drunk driving followed a different pattern. Results showed that participants who considered morality important and central to their identity were more likely to make a moral choice when given the choice (and pressure) to make an immoral choice (Sonnetag, McManus, Wadian, & Saucier, 2019).

An important question arose in the literature: when do people engage in moral licensing and when do they engage in moral consistency? A 2012 study by Conway and Peetz that studied moral licensing actually found that when recalling actions that occurred over a year ago, participants were more likely to engage in moral consistency. Researchers found that this is because when recalling actions that happened so far in the past, participants were more likely to

think abstractly about their actions rather than concretely. This abstract thinking encouraged participants to think about how their actions aligned with who they are, not just what they do. It is important to note that these results were unique to moral self-perceptions. It only mattered what the participant thought of their own morality, not how others perceived them (Conway & Peetz, 2012). This study shows that integrating one's actions as a part of their identity rather than a transaction impacts their likelihood of engaging in moral consistency. The more one feels they are a moral person and considers morality a value, the more likely they are to act in a way that confirms that.

Similarly to the Conway and Peetz study, a 2015 study by authors Mullen and Monin tried to understand what causes some people to exhibit moral licensing behavior and others to exhibit moral consistency behavior. They studied levels of construal and the impact that these levels and other factors had on a person's likelihood of displaying licensing or consistency behavior. When behavior is thought about at a higher construal level, or a higher level of abstraction, individuals are more likely to exhibit consistency, whereas when behavior is thought about concretely, licensing behavior is more likely to be exhibited.

Importantly, they also found that the way in which a person views the relationship between their actions and goals is pivotal to the type of behavior they will exhibit. Actions and behaviors that are viewed as progress towards a goal are more likely to exhibit licensing, while a person who sees their actions and behaviors as a commitment or underlying value are more likely to exhibit moral consistency. This means that students who see their civic engagement as progress towards some sort of requirement (course requirement, scholarship requirement, organization requirement, etc) are more likely to exhibit licensing behavior, while students who

view their civic engagement as a commitment to themselves, the community, their values, etc, are more likely to exhibit consistency behavior.

Mullen and Monin also found that people who have conflicting goals are more likely to exhibit licensing, as well as individuals who do not identify with the cause they are working with and/or for. Students who engage with causes they care deeply about may engage in consistency behavior, while students who engage with issues they are neutral about or disinterested in may exhibit licensing behavior.

While a wealth of information exists on the effects of civic engagement on students and on moral licensing, there is not a wealth of information that researches the relationship between these two topics. In this study we focus on the potential for civic engagement to lead to moral licensing when asked to think concretely, or transactionally, about their civic engagement. Specifically, we test a potential link between civic engagement and moral licensing such that students, when primed to think concretely about the good they are doing or have done in the community and impact they are making on others through their service and engagement, may feel that they have already built up a bank of moral credits through their service and therefore have the wiggle room to make an immoral choice. They may feel ‘licensed’ to exaggerate or cheat on subsequent tasks.

Research Question #1: Does civic engagement predict cheating?

This leads to our first research question: *Does civic engagement predict cheating?* We decided to test moral licensing and moral consistency through the immoral behavior of cheating. Research about the theory of moral licensing suggests that the more students report specific concrete behaviors associated with civic engagement, the more likely they will be to

exaggerate their scores during subsequent tasks. That is, they are likely to believe they have built up a bank of moral credits as a result of their altruistic civic engagement and will exhibit moral licensing behaviors. On the contrary, research on the theory of moral licensing suggests that the more students report specific concrete behaviors associated with civic engagement, the less likely they will be to exaggerate their scores during subsequent tasks. That is, they are likely to internalize their civic engagement and incorporate it into an identity they hold. This identity will be centered around civic engagement, giving back, and being a good person, and so participants will be less likely to engage in behaviors that are in opposition to their idea of ‘being a good person.’

Research Question #2: Does civic engagement predict prosocial intentions and donation behavior?

Another way that we decided to test moral licensing and moral consistency was through declared prosocial intentions and demonstrated donation behavior. If moral licensing is supported, there will be a negative relationship. That is, the more students are civically engaged, the less they will declare future prosocial intentions and donate their participation compensation. If, however, moral consistency is supported, then students will be more likely to declare future prosocial intentions and donate their participation compensation when they are more civically engaged.

Civic Engagement and Perceptions of Leadership

In addition to testing for the potential of an unexplored adverse impact of civic engagement, moral licensing, we also test for the potential of an unexplored advantageous

outcome: the possibility that civic engagement might influence what students expect from leaders. Students who engage in civic engagement may in turn believe leaders should also be civically engaged, care about similar issues, or have a relationship with their community. It is possible that participating in civic engagement may alter students' schemas of leadership as they mold their schemas of leaders based on personal experience.

Schemas are created and altered based on personal experiences, beliefs, and self identities (Seel, 2012). A person's self identity can alter their schema of something, including leadership. Macdonald, Sulsky, and Brown write that, "activating self-identities through priming may also influence leadership perceptions. Specifically, followers' perceptions of what constitutes 'effective leadership' are partially based on the followers' self-identities" (Macdonald, Sulsky, & Brown, 2008). Additionally, "self-identity has been shown to play a major role in cognition, emotion, motivation, and behavior and, as a result, may affect follower perceptions of leadership" (Hanges, Lord, & Dickson, 2000; Lord et al., 1999).

A person's involvement in civic engagement can influence their self-identity. Being civically engaged can impact the way a person defines their values, morals, commitments, interests, and themselves (Crocetti, Erentaite, Zukauskienė, 2014); therefore, this civic engagement can influence a person's self identity. The influence that civic engagement has on self-identity means that civic engagement can also have an influence on schemas, including schemas of leadership.

Students engaged in civic engagement may look up to the professor, older student, mentor, or other person who led their civic engagement activity. If so, students may incorporate characteristics about this person into their schema, or prototype, of a good leader. Prototypes are categorical representations that are the most typical examples a person sees or has a heuristic for

(Lord et. al, 2020). When incorporating characteristics of a leader, they look up into their prototypes of leaders, and students would likely include the characteristics that they associate most with that leader; if the person is a leader in the field of civic engagement or the student got to know the leader through civic engagement work, then that is likely to be something the student remembers. Therefore, students will remember and incorporate into their schemas civic engagement or personality traits associated with civic engagement, such as empathy, altruism, and social awareness. Civic engagement could also impact perceptions of leadership in this way through role models. Individuals are likely to incorporate leadership traits they admire into their leadership style; therefore, it is important to understand if civic engagement may also be influencing the prototypes a person has for a leader.

It is important to understand how civic engagement may impact leadership schemas through self identity. Those who have leadership schemas that include civic engagement may be more likely to vote for leaders who are civically engaged and be a civically engaged leader themselves. This is information that leaders need to know so they can prepare for and adjust their leadership if leading a group of civically engaged individuals. If a positive correlation exists between civic engagement and perceptions of leadership, that means that civically engaged followers may be more likely to see a leader as a good leader if they are also civically engaged. This is important to know to be able to best connect with followers. It is also important to understand *how* civic engagement may be impacting leadership, if it is doing so. Currently, no research studies this link.

Research Question 3: Does civic engagement predict leader schemas?

This leads us to our third research question: *Does civic engagement predict leader schemas?* Research and general understanding of schemas suggests that the more students consider civic engagement an important part of their college experience and/or a part of who they are, the more they will include civic engagement in their leadership schemas. That is, they will be more likely to believe that good leaders are civically engaged and good leaders care about civic engagement.

Non-primary Goal

Finally, another, non-primary, goal of this research is to better understand the reasons and ways that students engage in civic engagement. This study includes a data collection component that will measure the reasons students do or do not participate in civic engagement, various impacts that their engagement may have had on them, their views, and future plans, including enhanced views on race, poverty, future careers, and prosocial intentions. Students will be able to subjectively write about the impact their civic engagement had on themselves and on the community, allowing researchers and other University departments to better understand what students gain from civic engagement. This data will be a vital part of priming students in preparation for the moral licensing tests, but it will also stand alone as important data for different departments to better understand students' views on the civic engagement offered by this University.

With our research goals and questions in place, we are able to begin our research.

Chapter 2. Methods Section

Participants.

Two hundred and fifty-six students at the University of Richmond completed this survey. Of those 256, 143 responses were considered valid. To be valid, the participant must have consented to taking the survey, identified as a current Junior or Senior at the University of Richmond, and completed at least 90% of the survey. Only juniors and seniors were allowed to participate due to COVID restrictions that First-year and Sophomore students may have faced in their attempts to be civically engaged and volunteer off-campus or in groups. Additionally, First-year and Sophomore students simply have not had as much time and as many opportunities to be as engaged as Junior and Senior students. Of the one hundred and forty-three participants, ninety were female. Thirty-nine participants listed the Robins School of Business, eighteen listed the Jepson School of Leadership Studies, and eighty-one listed the School of Arts and Sciences as their home school.

Recruitment

Participants were recruited through University wide newsletters, Groupme messages, and word of mouth. See Appendix C for marketing materials. Interested students were referred to an online survey link. This recruiting process took place over the course of a month.

Procedure

Eligibility

Upon beginning the survey (see Appendix B for full survey), participants first gave their consent to taking part in the study. They then indicated their class year. These steps were taken in order to determine eligibility.

Civic Engagement

Participants were asked a number of questions about their civic engagement during their time at the University of Richmond. These questions began with questions about their quantity of civic engagement and strength of association between civic engagement and their identity.

Participants were then asked about the source(s) of their civic engagement and the exact semester(s) they were civically engaged. This section was comprehensive in order to gain a full picture of the quality and quantity of students' civic engagement, as well as their subjective perceptions regarding their engagement.

Next, participants were asked to respond to three open-ended questions. These questions were designed to encourage participants to reflect on the civic engagement they have done during college and the tangible good they feel they have done. Participants answered one question about what they did in the community and one about the impacts of their work that they have seen. Participants were also asked about any reasons that they have not been as engaged as they would like. These open ended questions were asked for two reasons. They were primarily asked to prime participants to think about the good they have done in the community and the ways in which they are a good person and have demonstrated their commitment to others. On the flipside, these questions were also used to prime participants who have not been civically engaged to reflect on their lack of civic engagement and tangible good deeds. Rather than thinking about the ways in which they have already demonstrated that they are a good person, these participants were primed to think about the fact that they have not yet demonstrated they are a good person in this way. The secondary purpose of these questions was to gain information about students' civic engagement or lack thereof on campus. Finally, participants were given

examples of direct and indirect service and were asked to indicate which type(s) of service they did.

Two Games

After being primed to think about their civic engagement and good deeds, participants played two “games.” Participants were told these games were designed to test relationships between civic engagement and cognitive reasoning. They were also instructed to self-record their scores so that they could self-report at the end of each game. The goal of these games and the system of self-reporting was to give participants the opportunity to cheat by exaggerating, or lying, about their scores, thereby giving them the chance to engage in moral licensing. Lastly, participants were notified that the four participants with the highest combined point totals from both games would receive an additional \$25 gift card. There was deception involved in this incentive; in actuality, all participants were entered into a random raffle to enter one of four \$25 gift cards. This incentive was provided to encourage participants to lie about their scores on the games.

Game 1

The first game participants played was an anagram. Participants had one minute to make as many words out of the letters “ECEHRAELED SR” as possible. Participants wrote the words on screen, but were asked to keep track of their points on a separate sheet of paper or computer screen. A one minute timer was provided for reference, but the question did not automatically advance to the next page; it was on their honor that participants would only use the instructed

one minute. Participants were not aware that researchers could see how long they stayed on the page.

After advancing to the next question, participants were asked to self-report their total number of points (words found) from the anagram into the computer.

Game 2

The second game participants played was a number guesstimation game. Participants were once again reminded to self-record their responses so that they could self-report them and that the four participants with the highest scores would receive an additional gift card.

The four number guesstimation questions that the participants were asked included listing the length of the Mississippi River in feet and the number of tennis balls that can fit in a Boeing 747 plane. The questions were meant to be obscure; we wanted to find questions that we did not think participants would know the answers to.

Participants recorded their scores on screen, but, after answering the questions, were asked to self-report their total number of points based on answer ranges (i.e. if a participant guessed the Mississippi River was between 12,000,001 and 13 million feet, they earned four points). This was done to give participants more subjectivity in recording their scores. This range based scoring gave participants an opportunity to engage in moral licensing by easily exaggerating their true number of points. A participant who guessed, using the above example, 12 million, may choose to round up to the next point range. See Appendix B for exact questions and scoring rubrics.

Leadership

Another central goal of this study is to gather information about the ways that civic engagement impacts leadership schemas. Participants were shown the following definition of civic engagement for standardization: “Civic engagement means working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes” (Erlich, 2000). Participants then responded to a series of questions designed to assess their beliefs about the relationship between civic engagement and leadership.

Prosocial Intentions and Actions

In this section, participants indicated their likelihood of participating in various prosocial activities in the future. Immediately after advancing to the next page, participants were reminded that they will receive \$5 dollars for participating in this study. They were asked if they would like to keep the \$5 and receive it as a gift card or donate part or all of it to one of three local nonprofit organizations. Participants were able to specify how much of their \$5 they wished to donate. At the end of the study, participants were told that they would receive the full \$5 as a gift card and, if they indicated they would like to donate their money, a donation would also be made to a nonprofit in their chosen issue area.

Identity and Demographics

Next, participants were asked to respond to a series of statements related to the ways that civic engagement has impacted them. These questions were asked to gain a greater sense of

understanding the ways that participants internalized their civic engagement and saw it as a part of who they are. Lastly, participants were asked a number of basic questions about their demographics, including gender, race, political ideology, subjective socioeconomic status, and major at the University of Richmond. These questions were asked last to ensure that they would not be a potential moderating factor or unintentionally prime participants.

Debriefing

Upon completion of the survey, participants were notified of the slight deception that took place during the study. Specifically, while participants were told that the four participants with the highest scores would receive an additional \$25 gift card, this was not the case. Participants were incentivized with this gift card to encourage them to care about attaining a high score, but, in actuality, every participant was entered into a random drawing for a \$25 gift card. Participants were also notified that whether or not they chose to donate their \$5 participation gift, each participant would receive their \$5. If they had indicated they wished to donate their participation gift, a donation would also be made.

A note about funding

Participation compensation (\$5 per participant) came from a grant from the Jepson School of Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond. Donations to the nonprofit organizations were made by a private donor. Donations were made to Youthlife (education inequity), Shalom Farms (food inequity), and CARITAS (housing inequity) in the amounts of \$172, \$120, and \$67, respectively.

Measures

All measures can be found in Appendix B.

Civic Engagement: Perceived Engagement and Amount of Engagement

Civic engagement was assessed two ways. We assessed perceived engagement by computing the mean of a participant's responses on seven Likert scales that pertain to their subjective involvement in civic engagement. All Likert scales in this study were 7 point scales that ranged from strongly disagree to strongly agree. These items include questions about their quantity of civic engagement and how strongly they feel civic engagement is a part of their identity. Sample items include "Civic engagement has been an important part of my college experience," "Civic engagement is a part of who I am," and "I have done a lot of civic engagement in college" ($\alpha = .89$). This measure was designed to determine participants' personal perceptions of their involvement in civic engagement. It is a subjective rather than objective measure; this was intentional. In this study, we were more interested in how participants viewed their own engagement than how someone else may view it. However, we also understand that an objective measurable amount of civic engagement would be useful in gaining a fuller picture of students' civic engagement. Therefore, we assessed the amount of engagement by asking participants about their objective number of semesters being civically engaged since coming to college.

Prosocial Intentions

Participants indicated their prosocial intentions on four items measuring participants' likelihood of doing prosocial, altruistic behavior in the future. Participants were asked to move a

slider on a 0-100 point scale in increments of 20 ranging from highly unlikely to highly likely in order to display their likelihood of doing specific activities in the future. These behaviors included recycling, voting, and donating goods (but not money) to a charity, and donating money to a charity. The reliability of this scale was .74.

Donation Behavior

Donation behavior was measured by capturing how much of their \$5 compensation participants indicated they wished to donate to a local nonprofit. This question had two parts. The first item measure asked, “As a thank you for taking the time to complete this survey, you will receive \$5. Would you like to receive this as a gift card or would you like to donate it to a non-profit in Richmond?” Participants could say no or choose one of three local nonprofit organizations to which to donate. Nonprofits were identified by issue area (e.g. education inequity) rather than by name. This was done to limit any bias or pre-existing relationships participants may have with these organizations. The three issue areas were education inequity, food inequity, and housing inequity. The second part of the question gave participants the opportunity to indicate how much money they wished to donate. Participants could donate \$0 - \$5 in \$1 increments. Because most participants donated either all of the \$5 or none of it, we computed donation as a dichotomous variable indicating if they donated at all or did not donate (1=donated, 0 = did not donate).

Leadership Schemas

We assessed the extent to which participants view community engagement as an important part of their leadership schemas with a four-item scale. Sample items include “Leaders

should care about civic engagement,” and “Good leaders should be civically engaged.”

Participants responded on 7 point Likert scales that ranged from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The reliability of the scale was .84.

Cheating

We computed a dichotomous variable indicating if a participant had exaggerated or been dishonest when self-reporting their scores. If a participant exaggerated the number of words they found on the anagram or if they exaggerated the number of points they earned in the number guesstimation game, they were recorded as cheating. While there were other ways that participants could have been dishonest during the study, for example, by spending more time on the anagram than allowed and by googling the number guesstimation answers, the researchers ultimately decided that this was the measure of cheating that was the most objective and accurate measure of dishonesty. Analyses were conducted using these other measures of exaggeration, and the results were similar to that of this simple dichotomous measure.

Political Ideology

Participants were asked to respond to a single measure about their political ideology, “What is your political affiliation?” Participants responded on a 7 point scale that ranged from “Lean strongly to the left” to “Lean strongly to the right.”

Subjective Socioeconomic Status

Participants completed the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status (Adler et al., 2000). Using a ladder from 1 to 10 representing where people stand in the U. S., participants

indicated where they think they stand relative to others. Subjective Socioeconomic Status was not a predictor of donation or cheating behavior.

Gender

Participants were asked to select which gender they identified with. Options included Male, Female, Non-binary, TransMale/Transman, TransFemale/Transwoman, and Other. Four participants selected Non-Binary or Other. While coding results, this measure was dichotomized for simplicity to signify Female or not Female (Female or Other).

Chapter 3 Results.

See Table 1 (Bivariate Correlations) for results.

Primary Goals

The primary goal of this study was to test the competing theories of moral licensing and moral consistency. We wanted to see if participants, after being primed to reflect on the tangible good deeds they have done, would be more likely to engage in less moral behavior as demonstrated through dishonesty/exaggeration when offered an incentive as predicted by moral licensing theory. Alternatively, if participants who viewed their civic engagement as a part of their identity had internalized the good deeds they did, they might continue to act in ways that strengthened this identity, such as engaging in future prosocial behaviors and donation behaviors, as predicted by moral consistency theory. Finally, our secondary goal was to gather data on leadership schemas and the way that involvement in civic engagement may influence perceptions of good leadership.

Research Question 1: Does civic engagement predict cheating?

We first examined if involvement in civic engagement predicted dishonesty in the form of exaggeration regarding the points the participants earned in the two games. As shown in Table 1, civic engagement, measured either in terms of perceived engagement or amount of engagement, did not predict cheating ($p = .350$ and $.515$, respectively). Thus, these findings do not support the prediction that those who engage in more civic engagement would be more likely to engage in morally questionable behavior when incentivized to do so. Therefore, our results do not support

moral licensing. Additionally, the findings do not support moral consistency to the extent that greater levels of civic engagement are also not associated with less cheating behavior.

Table 1. Bivariate Correlations

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1									
2	.66***								
3	.08	-.06							
4	.26**	.17*	-.19*	.					
5	.38***	.33***	.01	.25**					
6	.37**	.30***	-.01	.15	.31***				
7	-.28***	-.20*	.00	-.13	-.18*	-.29***			
8	.15	.16	.16	.04	.21*	.14	-.11		
9	.21*	.16	.16	-.01	.16.	.19*	.19*	-.13	

Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

1 = Perceived Engagement, 2 = Amount of Engagement, 3 = Cheating, 4 = Donation Behavior, 5= Prosocial Intentions,
6= Leadership Schema, 7= Political Ideology, 8 = Subjective Social Status, 9 = Gender

Research Question 2: Does civic engagement predict prosocial intentions and donation behavior?

Our second research question honed in on different moral behaviors by examining whether involvement in civic engagement was a predictor of prosocial intentions and donation behaviors. In investigating this research question, we also tested the theories of moral licensing and moral consistency. If civic engagement and these behaviors of prosocial intentions and donation behaviors were positively correlated, then the theory of moral consistency would have been supported. If civic engagement and these behaviors had been negatively correlated, then the results would support moral licensing. Looking at Table 1, our results show that both measures of civic engagement positively predict both prosocial intentions as well as donation behaviors. Thus, the more that students perceived themselves to be and were civically engaged in their undergraduate years, the more they reported intentions to be prosocially engaged in the future and the more likely they were to donate money when given the opportunity to do so. Therefore, these results supported the theory of moral consistency.

Next, we explored whether the association between civic engagement and prosocial intentions was still significant when controlling for the other significant predictors of prosocial intentions, including political ideology and subjective socioeconomic status (see Table 1). To test this, we conducted regression analyses looking at how civic engagement, along with political ideology and subjective social status (SSS) were predictors of prosocial intentions. Both perceived engagement and amount of engagement remain robust predictors of prosocial behavior at $p < .001$ when controlling for participants' political ideology and SSS.

We conducted similar analyses exploring whether the association between civic engagement and donation behavior remained significant when controlling for the other

significant predictor of donation behavior: cheating. In this study, interestingly, but not surprisingly, the more participants cheated, the less money they donated. Thus, we conducted regression analyses looking at both engagement and cheating as predictors of donation. Both cheating and perceived engagement were significant predictors at $p=.016$ and $p<.001$, respectively. Additionally, cheating and amount of engagement remained predictors of donation as well, $p=.028$ and $p=.057$, respectively, though amount of engagement is only marginally significant. Amount of engagement was determined objectively by looking at how many semesters a participant was involved in civic engagement. Perceived engagement was a subjective measure based on how involved participants indicated they were and how important they considered civic engagement to be to their college experience.

Research Question 3: Does civic engagement predict leader schemas?

Our third research question related to leadership schemas and the ways that involvement in civic engagement impacts the way that students view good leadership. As can be seen in Table 1, both perceived engagement and amount of engagement were robust and strong predictors of civic engagement-imbued leader schemas ($ps <.001$). Students who engaged more and had strong perceptions of themselves as someone who is heavily involved in civic engagement were more likely to believe that leaders should also hold this identity while in their positions of power. Finally, we explored whether the associations between civic engagement and leader schemas were still significant when controlling for the other significant predictors of leader schemas including political ideology, prosocial intentions, and gender (whether participants identify as female or not; see Table 1). Specifically, the more progressive participants were, the more they had prosocial intentions for the future, and if they identified as female compared to other

genders, the more likely they were to think that leaders should prioritize engagement in the community. To test whether civic engagement predicted leader schemas beyond these other variables, we conducted regression analyses looking at how civic engagement, along with political ideology, prosocial intentions, and gender were predictors of leader schemas. Both perceived engagement ($p=.006$) and amount of engagement ($p=.029$) remain robust predictors of leader schemas.

Non-primary goal:

A non-primary goal of this research was to better understand the ways that students at the University of Richmond engage in civic engagement. Participants were asked three open ended questions. The first and second helped researchers analyze what students were doing in the community and whether they felt they were having an impact. We found that students who were more engaged and held their engagements for longer periods of time (multiple semesters or years) were more likely to indicate that they felt they were making a difference. The third question analyzed the factors that were leading to students' lack of engagement. The top three reasons students reported not being as engaged as they would like were the COVID-19 Pandemic, lack of transportation to off-campus service sites, and a lack of information about community engagement opportunities.

Chapter 4. Discussion

In this work, we tested two morality theories to explore whether civic engagement impacts college students' morality and leadership schemas, as well as their prosocial intentions and behavior. We tested moral licensing, which states that people who have a chance to publicly declare their past good deeds will subsequently act in morally questionable ways (Conway & Peetz, 2012), and moral consistency, which states that people internalize their good deeds and will subsequently act in ways that strengthen this moral identity (Joosten, van Dijke, van Hiel, & De Cremer, 2014). This research did not support moral licensing, but did support moral consistency. The more that participants were civically engaged, the more likely they were to donate their participation compensation and the more likely they were to indicate they intended on engaging in prosocial behaviors in the future. Additionally, this research found that civic engagement has correlations with leadership schemas. The more that participants were civically engaged, the more they believed that leaders should be civically engaged.

This study alone cannot solve the debate between moral consistency and moral licensing. While this study supported moral consistency, that does not mean that moral licensing does not exist. There are several other ways that people may engage in moral licensing. Many other morally questionable behaviors exist besides cheating in which people can engage with moral licensing. Prior studies provide examples of these types of behaviors (Zhong et. al, 2009; Effron et. al. 2009; Mazar & Zhong 2010; Conway & Peetz, 2012; Jordan et al., 2011). Additionally, there may be research methods that are more likely to capture moral licensing than the ones we used, such as oral interviews or opportunities to morally engage with incentives other than the monetary ones this study used. Future studies may see different results with higher incentives, such as \$15 participation compensation or \$100 cheating incentives. Results may also differ if

participants had the chance to describe their good deeds to a group of peers rather than writing them down for researchers to read, or if they completed a civic engagement activity immediately prior to taking this study. Another alternative future studies could include is feedback. After indicating their involvement or lack thereof in civic engagement, participants could receive moral praise or criticism from researchers.

One notable strength of this research is that we used behavioral measures. Behavioral measures are under-utilized in social psychological research. This study examines two behavioral measures: cheating and donation behavior. This study was able to capture participants' actual decision (or lack thereof) to cheat on the two games. Additionally, this study captured participants' real donation behavior. At the time they decided to donate, participants were under the impression that they were donating their actual money. It was not until later that participants learned that, regardless of donation behavior, all participants would still receive \$5. This study measured the real decision that participants would make, not only hypothetical future intentions. Behavioral measures are not often collected in social science research. This research demonstrated that civic engagement predicts actual, not hypothetical, donation behaviors.

The positive relationship between engagement and donation supports the moral consistency theory. It suggests that the more people engage, the more they internalize this identity and the more they engage in behaviors consistent with this identity. After reflecting upon the tangible good deeds they have done, participants acted in ways that showed they have internalized these good deeds into an identity that they will continue to act upon and strengthen even when incentivized not to. Civic engagement truly has become a part of their identity.

It is important to note that the design and sequencing of the study may have made it more likely that participants acted in line with their internalized identity. Due to the structuring of the

survey, participants may have felt pressure to ‘put their money where their mouth is.’ Immediately before deciding to donate, participants were asked about their likelihood of donating money to charities in the future. Participants who indicated that they were highly likely to donate money to charities in the future may have felt as if they had no choice but to now donate. Not only is this significant for its support of moral consistency; it is a notable donation technique.

In order to test the correlation between civic engagement and donation behavior, future studies could raise the monetary incentive or provide a split incentive. If participants chose to keep the money, they would receive \$5. However, if they chose to donate it, then the organization they chose to donate to would receive \$10. This would help test participants’ commitment to donating.

The correlational findings of relationships between civic engagement and leadership schemas are significant. These results suggest that civic engagement is an identity that participants internalized for both themselves and also for what they want and expect from their leaders. This has implications for leadership as a whole. These results suggest that an individual's beliefs about what makes a leader a good leader can be based upon identities that the individual holds. Leaders who know this may use this information to relate to followers in a better way. These results also support moral consistency. Participants have internalized their civic engagement involvement into an identity that impacts other areas of their life. In this section of the study, participants responded to leadership perception questions in a way that was consistent with their involvement in civic engagement. This suggests that consistency can extend beyond morality. Moral consistency may suggest an overall consistency in the belief systems of what others should care about.

People show their moral behaviors through the actions they take. Group and leader influences can impact the actions people decide to take. If leaders are being impacted by moral consistency and civic engagement, then the decisions they make that impact others may be influenced by this moral consistency and civic engagement.

These findings have implications for followers as well and the way that they perceive their leader. Followers who are civically engaged may prefer leaders who are also civically engaged. They may respect leaders more who fit into their schemas, and if followers have incorporated civic engagement into their leadership schema, then they will be more likely to respect leaders who are civically engaged. This has serious implications for any leader -- teachers, politicians, etc -- who is trying to lead a group of civically engaged individuals, especially if that leader works with social issues in any way. One way to gain validation as a leader to this type of group is to be civically engaged.

This study has specific implications for the Jepson School of Leadership Studies. The Jepson School of Leadership Studies requires all students to take a course, Justice and Civil Society, that has a community based learning (CBL) component. CBL is a type of civic engagement. It is important for Jepson to understand the impact that required out-of-class activities have on students. Additionally, part of the mission of the Jepson School of Leadership Studies is to “advance the understanding of leadership and the challenges of ethical and effective engagement in society” (*Mission, n.d.*) Civic engagement is a common type of engagement, but is one that *must* be done ethically and effectively. Understanding the competing theories of moral licensing and moral consistency can help schools such as Jepson understand the ways in which their curriculum may influence future leadership.

Another core part of Jepson's purpose is to "educate people to take an active role in the world" (*Mission, n.d.*). Civic engagement can be a great tool to do this by giving students opportunities to apply their learning in a hands-on way in the community. It can be a method of encouraging students to take action on social issues that matter to them. As seen in this study, many participants internalize the civic engagement they do into an identity they hold. Given this, civic engagement done in college could be a way to form students' civic identity into a characteristic they will carry throughout life.

This study also has implications for universities in general. As universities continue to expand and promote civic engagement opportunities, it is important that they understand the true impact of these opportunities on those who serve. As mentioned in the introduction, there is a belief that community engagement makes students better, more moral people. If universities begin promoting and/or requiring civic engagement based on this belief, it is important that they know the validity of that claim. This study suggests that civic engagement may be a useful method of increasing students' moral identity and better prepare them to enter the world. More studies will need to be conducted to further determine a link between moral consistency and civic engagement. Future studies could follow college students throughout their entire college career, tracking their civic engagement over the course of four years. This study could have students do similar surveys as this one multiple times during their time in college and look for patterns in moral licensing and consistency.

This work has implications for faculty who teach Community Based Learning courses or lead students in any type of civic engagement. This study showed that people who are civically engaged believe that good leaders should also be civically engaged. In classroom settings, a teacher is a leader. Therefore, students who are civically engaged are more likely to believe that

their teacher should also be civically engaged, especially if that teacher is requiring civic engagement. Students may lose respect for faculty who don't play an active role in the community. They may also view them as less effective teachers/leaders. If a professor or faculty member decides to teach a Community Based Learning course, then they need to be prepared to also become involved in the community. It is likely ideal if students are able to watch their professor serve in the community, or if their professor serves alongside the students, but even hearing about it is better than nothing.

This work does have limitations. First, this study cannot be used to determine causation, only correlation. Because we did not (and could not) experimentally manipulate the amount of civic engagement students undertook during their time at the university, it is possible that there is another factor that is related to civic engagement that is driving these results. It is possible that there is another factor that co-occurs with those who are civically engaged that is driving our observed results. This is something that future studies can explore. From this study alone, it is not possible to conclude that civic engagement causes donations or shifts in leadership schemas.

Another important limitation of this study is the potential for misremembering. In reporting their number of anagram words or points earned in the number guesstimation game, participants may have written down an incorrect answer because they genuinely did not remember their true number. We tried to prevent this by asking participants to self-record their scores, but some participants did not do this. This potential for misremembering does not impact donation behavior.

To address some limitations, future studies could increase funding for participants by compensating them more and/or increasing the monetary incentive to cheat. Alternatively, researchers could offer different, non-monetary incentives, as some participants may not respond

to monetary incentives. Future research could manipulate the order of the survey to investigate whether the sequence of the study had any impact on results. In a long term study, researchers could attempt to manipulate participants' level of civic engagement by placing some participants in a cohort that does 'x' amount of hours of engagement each week and others in a cohort that does not engage with the community. Finally, future studies that build upon this one could also focus on different immoral behaviors besides cheating. Future studies may choose to focus on, for example, stealing and incentivizing participants to engage with moral licensing in this way. Cheating and lying about game scores are not the only way for participants to engage with moral licensing. However, if future studies were to focus on lying, they may choose to ask participants to solve unsolvable tasks or puzzles. This would eliminate the limitation of misremembering actual point totals that this study encountered; if a participant reported that they solved an unsolvable puzzle, then it would be clear that they were lying.

Conclusion

In this study, we tested the competing theories of moral licensing and moral consistency to better understand the morality impacts of civic engagement. Our data supports moral consistency and does not support moral licensing. Participants who were civically engaged were more likely to donate their participation compensation to a local nonprofit organization. In a separate finding, civically engaged participants indicated that they perceived good leaders to also be civically engaged. These findings have implications for institutions that hope to create better prepared, more engaged citizens.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	SD
1	4.93	1.18
2	3.71	2.42
3	.49	.5
4	.53	.5
5	84.14	14.99
6	6.48	.7
7	2.91	1.703
8	5.64	1.634
9	.65	.48

1 = Perceived Engagement, 2 = Amount of Engagement, 3 = Cheating, 4 = Donation Behavior,
 5= Prosocial Intentions,
 6= Leadership Schema, 7= Political Ideology, 8 = Subjective Social Status, 9 = Gender

Appendix A. Measures

Perceived Engagement

1. I have done a lot of civic engagement in college
2. Civic engagement has been an important part of my college experience
3. Civic engagement is a part of who I am
4. I seek out opportunities to become involved with the community
5. Being civically engaged has enhanced my academic experience
6. Civic engagement helped me become more self aware
7. My civic engagement experience(s) has impacted my post-graduate interests

Amount of Engagement

1. Which semesters did you participate in civic engagement?

Cheating

1. Please insert your total number of points from the anagram game
2. Please enter your self-recorded total number of points from the number estimation questions.

Donation Behavior

1. As a thank you for taking the time to complete this survey, you will receive \$5. Would you like to receive this as a gift card or would you like to donate it to a non-profit in Richmond?
2. How much of your \$5 would you like to donate? (Even if donating \$0, please click "0")

Prosocial Intentions

1. Please move the slider to display your likelihood of doing the following activities in the future:
 - a. Volunteer
 - b. Recycle
 - c. Donate money to charity
 - d. Vote
 - e. Donate goods (not money) to charity

Leadership Schemas

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements about relations between leadership and civic engagement.

1. Leaders should care about civic engagement
2. Good leaders should be civically engaged
3. Leaders should care about broader community
4. Leaders should take action on social issues

Political Ideology

1. What is your political affiliation?

Subjective Social Status

- 1.

Think of this ladder as showing where people stand in their communities.

People define community in different ways. Please define it in whatever way is most meaningful to you.

At the top of the ladder are the people who have the highest standing in their community.

At the bottom are the people who have the lowest standing in their community.

Where would you place yourself on this ladder?



On which rung of the ladder would you place yourself?

Gender

1. With which gender(s) do you identify?

Appendix B. Questions

Senior Thesis

Start of Block: Informed Consent

Welcome to the research study! Please take a moment to read this consent form.

You are being asked to take part in a research study on civic engagement, future outcomes, and cognitive reasoning. Details about this study are discussed below. It is important that you understand this information so that you can make an informed choice about being in this research study. If you have questions, please feel free to ask the researcher for more information.

Purpose and Procedure

The purpose of this University of Richmond research project is to study the factors surrounding civic engagement, including what students have gained from their civic engagement, what may preclude a student from being involved in civic engagement, and what kinds of outcomes are associated with civic engagement involvement. You will be asked to answer a series of questions and play a few logic games. Please try your best to give us the most authentic responses. The estimated time to complete this experiment is 10 minutes.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this project is voluntary and you are free to skip questions or withdraw your consent and discontinue participation in the project at any time without penalty. Contact Information This research is being conducted by Ally Osterberg and Dr. Crystal Hoyt. If you have any questions about the project, Ally Osterberg can be contacted at ally.osterberg@richmond.edu.

Possible Risks and Benefits

There are no more than minimal risks to you as a research subject. Aside from getting some satisfaction from contributing to this investigation, you will receive a \$5 Amazon gift card. Additionally, participants will have a chance to win 1 of 4 \$25 Amazon gift cards.

Confidentiality of Records and Use of Information and Data Collected

Your individual results will remain confidential. To ensure the confidentiality of records, we are not recording any identifying information. Information collected in this study will be used in aggregate form only. This data will be widely disseminated through a variety of methods including publications, presentations, and data sharing.

Payment Information

You will be compensated for your participation in this study with a gift card of \$5 and a chance to earn an additional \$25 gift card. Protections and Rights If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Chair of the University of Richmond's Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects of Research at (804) 484-1565 or irb@richmond.edu for information or assistance.

Statement of Consent

By clicking below, I indicate that I have read and understand the above information and I consent to participate in this study. Additionally, I certify that I am 18 years of age or older.

Do you consent to taking part in this study?

- I consent (1)*
- I do not consent (2)*

Skip To: End of Survey If Do you consent to taking part in this study? = I do not consent

End of Block: Informed Consent

Start of Block: classyear

Which is your anticipated graduation year?

- 2022 (1)*
- 2023 (2)*
- 2024 (3)*
- 2025 (4)*

End of Block: classyear

Start of Block: Civic Engagement

Timing

First Click (1)

Last Click (2)

Page Submit (3)

Click Count (4)

Civic engagement is defined by Thomas Ehrlich as "[. . .] working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes."

Examples at UR can include, but are not limited to, activities such as Community-Based Learning courses, SEEDs trips, some SSIR activities, involvement as a Bonner Scholar, and volunteering.

Based on this definition, please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

I did a lot of community service and/or community engagement in high school

- o Strongly disagree (1)*
- o Disagree (2)*
- o Somewhat disagree (3)*
- o Neither agree nor disagree (4)*
- o Somewhat agree (5)*

- o Agree (6)*
- o Strongly agree (7)*

I have done a lot of civic engagement in college

- o Strongly disagree (1)*
- o Disagree (2)*
- o Somewhat disagree (3)*
- o Neither agree nor disagree (4)*
- o Somewhat agree (5)*
- o Agree (6)*
- o Strongly agree (7)*

Civic engagement has been an important part of my college experience

- o Strongly disagree (1)*
- o Disagree (2)*
- o Somewhat disagree (3)*
- o Neither agree nor disagree (4)*
- o Somewhat agree (5)*
- o Agree (6)*
- o Strongly agree (7)*

Civic engagement is a part of who I am

- o Strongly disagree (1)*
- o Disagree (2)*
- o Somewhat disagree (3)*
- o Neither agree nor disagree (4)*

- o Somewhat agree (5)*
- o Agree (6)*
- o Strongly agree (7)*

I seek out opportunities to become involved with the community

- o Strongly disagree (1)*
- o Disagree (2)*
- o Somewhat disagree (3)*
- o Neither agree nor disagree (4)*
- o Somewhat agree (5)*
- o Agree (6)*
- o Strongly agree (7)*

Page Break

What was the source of your civic engagement? Check all that apply.

- Required for a course (1)*
- I am a Bonner Scholar (2)*
- Through a social Greek organization (fraternity or sorority) (3)*
- Through a non - social Greek organization I am involved in on campus (4)*
- Something I applied for or pursued on my own (5)*
- I have not participated in civic engagement (6)*
- Through a religious institution I am involved in (7)*
- Other (8) _____*

Which semesters did you participate in civic engagement?

- Fall 2018 (1)*
- Spring 2019 (2)*
- Fall 2019 (3)*
- Spring 2020 (4)*
- Fall 2020 (5)*
- Spring 2021 (6)*
- Fall 2021 (7)*
- Spring 2022 (8)*

Was any background information provided about the communities you were engaging with?

- Yes (1)*
- No (2)*
- Other (3)* _____

Page Break

Timing

First Click (1)

Last Click (2)

Page Submit (3)

Click Count (4)

In 1-3 sentences, please briefly describe your civic engagement - what did you do? How long did you do it? Have you been involved in multiple ways or with multiple communities?

In 1-3 sentences, please briefly describe, using specific examples, the impact you feel that your civic engagement had on the community and/or the organization you worked with.

If you have not been as civically engaged as you would have liked, or if you have not been civically engaged, please describe in one sentence any factors that have led to this.

Page Break

Through your civic engagement, have you participated in direct or indirect service?

Direct Service is service in which we are in the middle of the population we want to impact. This may include mentoring children, cleaning up a park, volunteering in an animal shelter, or handing out meals, even if you did these virtually.

Indirect Service is service that indirectly affects the population we want to impact, including 'behind the scenes' work. This may include packing meals, fundraising, sorting donations, raising awareness about a cause, or administrative assistance, even if you did these things virtually.

Which type(s) of service have you engaged with?

- o Direct Service (1)*
- o Indirect Service (2)*
- o Both direct and indirect service (3)*
- o Neither direct nor indirect service (4)*
- o I'm not sure (5)*

End of Block: Civic Engagement

Start of Block: game 1

We have two logic games for you to complete. These are designed to test relationships between civic engagement and cognitive reasoning. Scores will be self reported at the end of each game.

The four participants with the highest combined point totals from both games will receive an additional \$25 gift card.

Page Break

The first logic game is an anagram. An anagram is a word formed by scrambling the letters of another word. Please find as many words as possible in one minute using the letters provided. Proper nouns and first names are not eligible. Do not use outside resources. A timer has been provided for your reference. After one minute is over, please advance to the next game.

Page Break

Timing

First Click (1)

Last Click (2)

Page Submit (3)

Click Count (4)

ECEHRAELEDSR

List your answers in the text block below. Please write each answer on a new line (Press "Enter" between each word). Record 1 point for each word you find.

Page Break

Please insert your total number of points from the anagram game

End of Block: game 1

Start of Block: game 2

*The second game is a series of numerical reasoning questions. **Please have something to write with nearby so that you are able to record your responses. You will not be able to review your answers once you advance to the next page.** If you don't know the answer to a question, guess! Points will be awarded for number ranges. Do not use outside resources. Correct answers will be displayed at the end of the game.*

Remember, the four participants with the highest combined point totals from both games will receive an additional \$25 gift card.

Page Break

Timing

First Click (1)

Last Click (2)

Page Submit (3)

Click Count (4)

Remember to record answers on a separate piece of paper!

How long is the Mississippi River (in feet)?

Page Break

Timing

First Click (1)

Last Click (2)

Page Submit (3)

Click Count (4)

Remember to record answers on a separate piece of paper!

How deep is the Indian Ocean at its deepest point (in feet)?

Page Break

Remember to record answers on a separate piece of paper!

How many tennis balls can fit in a Boeing 747 airplane?

Timing

First Click (1)

Last Click (2)

Page Submit (3)

Click Count (4)

Page Break

Remember to record answers on a separate piece of paper!

How many square miles is Grand Canyon National Park?

Timing

First Click (1)

Last Click (2)
Page Submit (3)
Click Count (4)

Page Break

Answer to Question 1: 12.36 million

If your answer was between:

1-1 million feet: Record 0 points

1,000,001- 4 million feet: Record 1 point

4,000,001 - 8 million feet: Record 2 points

8,000,001 - 12 million feet: Record 3 points

12,000,001 - 13 million feet: Record 4 points

13,000,001 - 17 million feet: Record 3 points

17,000,001 - 21 million feet: Record 2 points

21,000,001 - 25 million feet: Record 1 points

25,000,001+ : Record 0 points

Page Break

Answer to Question 2: 26,401 feet

If your answer was between:

0-5,000 feet: Record 0 points

5,001 - 10,000 feet: Record 1 point

15,001 - 20,000 feet: Record 2 points

20,001 - 25,000 feet: Record 3 points

25,001 - 27,000 feet: Record 4 points

27,001 - 32,000 feet: Record 3 points

32,001 - 37,000 feet: Record 2 point

37,001 - 42,000 feet: Record 1 point

42,000+ feet: Record 0 points

Page Break

Answer to Question 3: 688,705

If your answer was between:

0-200,000: Record 0 points

200,001 - 400,000: Record 1 point

400,001 - 600,000: Record 2 points

600,001 - 650,000: Record 3 points

650,001 - 700,000: Record 4 points

700,001 - 750,000: Record 3 points

750,001 - 950,000: Record 2 points

950,001 - 1,050,000: Record 1 point

1,050,001+: Record 0 points

Page Break

Answer to Question 4: 1902 square miles

If your answer was between:

0 - 400 square miles: Record 0 points

401 - 800 square miles: Record 1 point

801 - 1,200 square miles: Record 2 points

1,201 - 1,600 square miles: Record 3 points

1,601 - 2,000 square miles: Record 4 points

2,001 - 2,400 square miles: Record 3 points

2,401 - 2,800 square miles: Record 2 points

2,801 - 3,200 square miles: Record 1 points

3,201+ : Record 0 points

End of Block: game 2

Start of Block: Enter points

Please enter your self-recorded total number of points from the number estimation questions.

End of Block: Enter points

Start of Block: Leadership

Civic engagement is defined by Thomas Ehrlich as "[. . .] working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and

motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes."

Given this, please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements about relations between leadership and civic engagement.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)	Not Applicable (8)
Leaders should care about civic engagement (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Good leaders should be civically engaged (2)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
My civic engagement has changed the way I view leadership (3)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leaders should care about broader community (4)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Leaders
should take
action on
social issues
(5)

0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

Page Break

End of Block: Leadership

Start of Block: intentions

Please move the slider to display your likelihood of doing the following activities in the future:

Highly Unlikely Neither Likely Highly
Unlikely unlikely nor likely Likely
Likely

0 20 40 60 80 100

Volunteer ()	
Recycle ()	
Donate money to charity ()	
Vote ()	
Donate goods (not money) to charity ()	

End of Block: intentions

Start of Block: donation

As a thank you for taking the time to complete this survey, you will receive \$5. Would you like to receive this as a gift card or would you like to donate it to a non-profit in Richmond?

- o I would like to receive my \$5 as a gift card to my email address (1)*
- o I would like to donate the portion of my \$5 that I indicate below to a local nonprofit that works to reduce education inequity in Richmond (2)*
- o I would like to donate the portion of my \$5 that I indicate below to a local nonprofit that works to reduce food inequity in Richmond (3)*
- o I would like to donate the portion of my \$5 that I indicate below to a local nonprofit that works to reduce housing inequity in Richmond (4)*

*How much of your \$5 would you like to donate?
(Even if donating \$0, please click "0")*

No Donation

Full Donation

0 1 2 3 4 5

<i>I would like to donate this amount: ()</i>	
--	--

End of Block: donation

Start of Block: identity

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements

	<i>Strongly disagree (1)</i>	<i>Disagree (2)</i>	<i>Somewhat disagree (3)</i>	<i>Neither agree nor</i>	<i>Somewhat agree (5)</i>	<i>Agree (6)</i>	<i>Strongly agree (7)</i>
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disagree
(4)

<i>Being civically engaged has enhanced my academic experience (1)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Civic engagement helped me become more self aware (2)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>My civic engagement experience(s) has impacted my post-graduate interests (3)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Being civically engaged has made me feel like a more moral person (4)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>As a result of being civically engaged, I feel a greater sense of belonging on campus (5)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Because of my civic engagement, I believe that having an impact on community problems is within my reach. (6)

0 0 0 0 0 0 0

It is possible that some community service may be more harmful than helpful (7)

0 0 0 0 0 0 0

I am involved on campus at UR (8)

0 0 0 0 0 0 0

I am involved off campus (9)

0 0 0 0 0 0 0

The campus culture at UR is one that promotes civic engagement (10)

0 0 0 0 0 0 0

Page Break

End of Block: identity

Start of Block: Demographics

With which gender(s) do you identify?

- Male (1)*
- Female (2)*
- Non-binary (3)*
- TransMale/Transman (4)*
- TransFemale/Transwoman (5)*
- Other (6)* _____

With which racial and ethnic group(s) do you identify? Select all that apply.

- Asian (1)*
- Black or African American (2)*
- Hispanic/Latinx (3)*
- Indigenous or Native American (4)*
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander (5)*
- White (6)*
- Other (7)* _____

Page Break

On which rung of the ladder would you place yourself?

- 1 (1)*
- 2 (2)*
- 3 (3)*
- 4 (4)*
- 5 (5)*
- 6 (6)*
- 7 (7)*
- 8 (8)*
- 9 (9)*
- 10 (10)*

Page Break

What is your political affiliation?

- Lean strongly to the left (1)*
- Lean to the left (2)*
- Lean slightly to the left (3)*
- Neutral (4)*
- Lean slightly to the right (5)*
- Lean to the right (6)*
- Lean strongly to the right (7)*

What is your home school?

- Robins School of Business (1)*
- Jepson School of Leadership (2)*

o School of Arts and Sciences (please specify major) (3)

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: debrief form

Thank you for taking part in our research. The study that you just completed looked at civic engagement, views on leadership, and moral licensing. Because of what we are studying, we had to use minor deception in today's study. Specifically, you were incentivized with a \$25 gift card in the 'games' section of the study, but how you performed will not impact your likelihood of receiving a gift card. Rather, we were interested in understanding which participants would exaggerate their scores and whether or not that correlated with involvement in civic engagement. All participants will be entered into a random drawing to win one of four \$25 gift cards.

Regardless of whether you chose to donate your \$5 or receive it as a gift card, all participants will receive a \$5 gift card for participating and to be entered into the \$25 raffle. If you indicated you wanted to donate your money, a donation to that organization will also be made.

In order to keep answers fully confidential, please email osterbergresearch@gmail.com in order to receive a code for your \$5 gift card and enter the \$25 raffle. Please include your full proper name, UR ID number, and date you completed the survey. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Ally Osterberg (ally.osterberg@richmond.edu). Thank you for your cooperation and participation.

End of Block: debrief form

Appendix C. Marketing Materials

Announcement in a campus-wide school newsletter called ‘Spiderbytes’:

“Subject: Paid Opportunity to Participate in Research

Are you a junior or senior interested in receiving a \$5 gift card with the chance to earn up to \$30? If so, consider taking a short 10 minute survey that examines relations between civic engagement and reasoning. No civic engagement is necessary to be eligible.

Access the survey at the URL listed below. Questions may be directed to Ally Osterberg at osterbergresearch@gmail.com”

Text/Groupme message:

“Hi everyone! I am conducting a survey for my senior thesis and I would really appreciate it if you would consider participating! It is open to all juniors and seniors and takes about 10 minutes to complete. As a thank you for your time, you will also receive a \$5 gift card (with the chance to earn more). I am looking at relations between civic engagement and reasoning, but no civic engagement is necessary to be eligible! Reach out to me with any questions at ally.osterberg@richmond.edu

Here is the link: [insert link]”

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