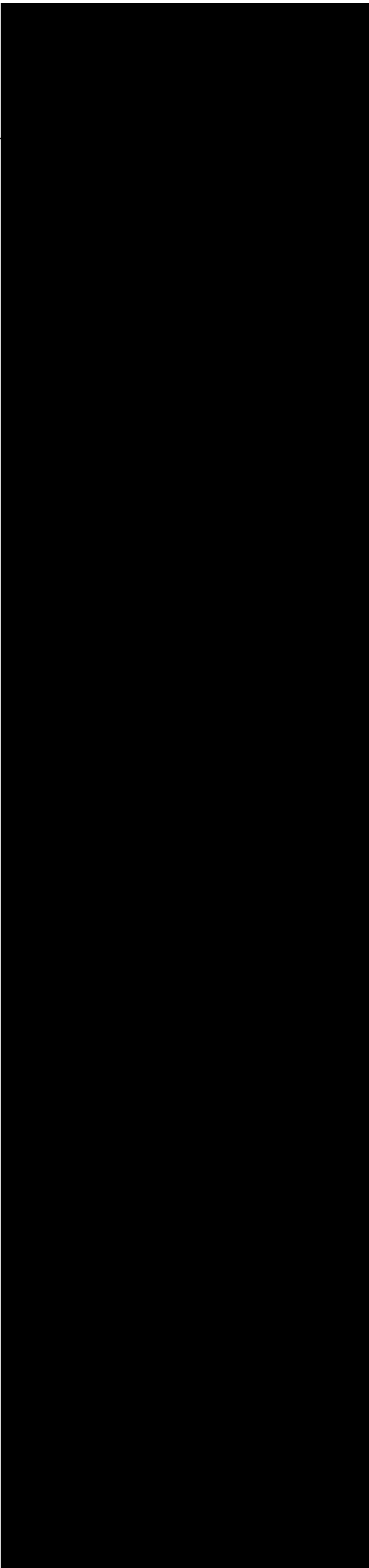


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# Shared beliefs enhance shared feelings: Religious/irreligious identifications modulate empathic neural responses

Siyuan Huang and Shihui Han

Department of Psychology, PKU-IDG/McGovern Institute for Brain Research, Peking University,  
Beijing, China

Recent neuroimaging research has revealed stronger empathic neural responses to same-race compared to other-race individuals. Is the in-group favouritism in empathic neural responses specific to race identification or a more general effect of social identification—including those based on religious/irreligious beliefs? The present study investigated whether and how intergroup relationships based on religious/irreligious identifications modulate empathic neural responses to others' pain expressions. We recorded event-related brain potentials from Chinese Christian and atheist participants while they perceived pain or neutral expressions of Chinese faces that were marked as being Christians or atheists. We found that both Christian and atheist participants showed stronger neural activity to pain (versus neutral) expressions at 132–168 ms and 200–320 ms over the frontal region to those with the same (versus different) religious/irreligious beliefs. The in-group favouritism in empathic neural responses was also evident in a later time window (412–612 ms) over the central/parietal regions in Christian but not in atheist participants. Our results indicate that the intergroup relationship based on shared beliefs, either religious or irreligious, can lead to in-group favouritism in empathy for others' suffering.

**Keywords:** Empathy; Religious belief; ERP; Pain; In-group bias.

How does the human brain understand and share others' emotional states such as pain? Recent neuroimaging studies have investigated this issue extensively as empathy for others' emotions is closely related to human social behaviour (e.g., Batson, 2011). Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) research has shown that watching others in pain, indicated by symbols of painful electric shock applied to others (Singer et al., 2004), painful stimuli applied to others' body parts (Gu & Han, 2007; Gu et al., 2010; Jackson, Meltzoff, & Decety, 2005) or pain expression (Han et al., 2009; Saarela et al., 2006), significantly activates a neural network consisting of the anterior cingulate, anterior insula,

somatosensory cortex, etc. (see Fan, Duncan, De Greck, & Northoff, 2011; Lamm, Decety, & Singer, 2011 for meta-analyses). In addition, the neural responses to perceived pain in others are associated with one's own empathy traits, distressed feelings and altruistic behaviour (e.g., Jackson et al., 2005; Ma, Wang, & Han, 2011; Singer et al., 2004).

The time course of empathic neural responses has been investigated by recording event-related potentials (ERPs) to perceived pain in others. Fan and Han (2008) first recorded ERPs to perceived painful and non-painful stimuli applied to others' body parts. They found that an early positive activity at 140–200 ms over the frontal lobe (P2) was of larger

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Correspondence should be addressed to: Shihui Han, Department of Psychology, PKU-IDG/McGovern Institute for Brain Research, Peking University, 5 Yiheyuan Road, Beijing 100871, China. E-mail: [shan@pku.edu.cn](mailto:shan@pku.edu.cn)

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amplitude to painful compared to non-painful stimuli. A long-latency positive component also showed increased amplitude to perceived pain in others after 380 ms over the central–parietal regions (P3). Pain expression compared to neutral expression also increased the amplitude of an early positive component at 120–180 ms (P2) over the frontal–central region (Sheng & Han, 2012). The amplitude of a following negative component (N2) was also decreased (or positively shifted) at 200–300 ms over the central region by pain expression. The modulations of ERP amplitudes by perceived pain in others have been replicated in the following studies: Decety, Yang, and Cheng (2010), Han et al. (2008), Ibáñez et al. (2011), Li and Han (2010), Sheng, Liu, Zhou, Zhou, and Han (2013). Taken together, the neuroimaging findings suggest that the key nodes of the emotional network are engaged in understanding and sharing of others' suffering and such empathic neural responses occur early during perception.

However, behavioural studies have shown that people do not empathize with others' pain equally. Participants report greater shared feelings with same-race than other-race individuals and show racial in-group favouritism in altruistic behaviour (Drwecki, Moore, Ward, & Prkachin, 2011; Johnson et al., 2002). In line with the findings of behavioural studies, recent brain imaging studies have uncovered the neural basis of racial in-group favouritism in empathy. An early fMRI study showed that both Chinese and Caucasian adults exhibited greater activity in the anterior cingulate in response to painful (versus non-painful) stimulations applied to same-race than other-race individuals (Xu, Zuo, Wang, & Han, 2009). The following fMRI research also reported increased activity in response to racial in-group versus out-group members' pain in the dorsal medial prefrontal cortex (Mathur, Harada, Lipke, & Chiao, 2010) and in the anterior insula (Azevedo et al., 2013; Sheng, Liu, Li, Fang, & Han, 2014).

ERP studies also reported evidence for racial in-group bias in empathic neural responses. By recording ERPs from Chinese adults in response to pain and neutral expressions of Asian and Caucasian faces, Sheng and Han (2012) found that the frontal/central P2 was of larger amplitude to pain versus neutral expressions and the P2 empathic responses were greater to racial in-group than out-group faces. In addition, the racial in-group favouritism in the P2 empathic responses was enhanced by oxytocin (Sheng et al., 2013). Similarly, Sessa, Meconi, Castelli, and Dell'Acqua (2014) reported that, for White participants, perceived painful versus non-painful stimulation applied to White faces resulted in

a positive shift of the ERP amplitudes in the N2–N3 time window (280–340 ms) whereas such empathic neural responses were significantly reduced when White participants perceived painful versus non-painful stimulation applied to Black faces. Thus, both fMRI and ERP findings indicate that empathic neural responses are significantly modulated by race-based intergroup relationships, being stronger to racial in-group compared out-group members.

Most of the previous studies of in-group favouritism in empathy for pain focused on the differential empathic neural responses to same-race and other-race individuals (but see Hein, Silani, Preuschoff, Batson, & Singer, 2010) and thus leave two open questions. First, does the racial in-group favouritism in empathic neural responses arise from perceptual processes of skin colour and facial features whereby people are more receptive to ethnic in-group members and their emotions? This is possible because there has been evidence that it is easier to recognize same-race faces and to interpret their facial expressions relative to other-race faces (Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002; Sporer, 2001). Second, is the in-group favouritism in empathy specific to race identification or a more general effect of social identification including that based on religious/irreligious beliefs? People of the same race may have different religious identifications that offer distinctive social group memberships (Burris & Jackson, 2000; Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010) and separate one religious community from another (Tiliopoulos & Mcvittie, 2010). To date, there has been no research that examines whether and how intergroup relationships based on shared beliefs affect empathy for others' pain.

The current work addressed these issues by recruiting Christian and atheist participants who were all Han Chinese in China and thus were identical in terms of race. We recorded ERPs while participants viewed pain and neutral expressions of Chinese faces that were marked as Christians or atheists so that participants shared religious (or irreligious) beliefs with half of the faces but not with the others. Findings of religion-based in-group favouritism in empathic neural responses would support a general effect of intergroup relationships on empathic neural responses. In addition, findings of similar in-group favouritism in empathic neural responses in Christian and atheist participants would suggest that philosophical belief systems that are held in high regard, either religious or irreligious, may be equally important for generating intergroup relationships and thus affect empathy for others' pain.

## METHODS

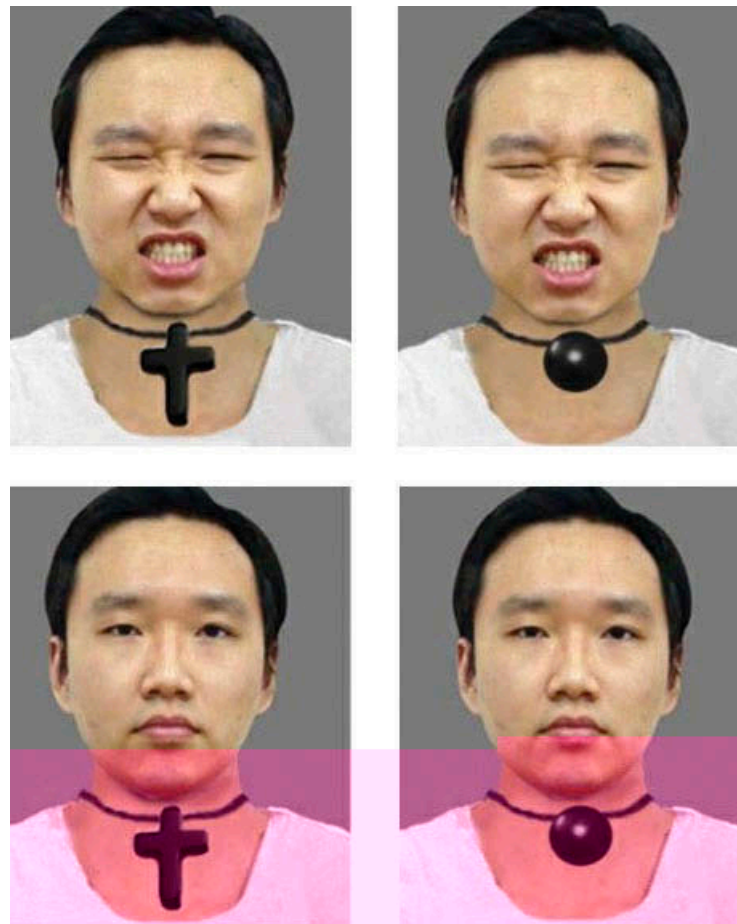
### Participants

Forty Chinese adults participated in this study as paid volunteers. Twenty participants were self-identified atheists (10 males,  $22.6 \pm 2.1$  (mean age  $\pm$  SD) years) and 20 self-identified Christians (10 males,  $22.1 \pm 2.3$  years). Christians were members of local faith communities and had been attached to the Christian communities for 1 to 18 years ( $4.9 \pm 4.6$  years) when participating in this study. Sixty-five percent of Christian participants reported to attend to Church or fellowship at least once a week, and 95% reported to pray every day and 90% reported to read the Bible everyday. Christian and atheist participants were matched on education. All participants were right-handed, had normal or corrected-to-normal vision, and reported no neurological

history. Informed consent was obtained prior to scanning. This study was approved by a local ethics committee.

### Stimuli and procedure

Stimuli were adopted from our previous work (Sheng & Han, 2012) and consisted of digital photographs of faces with neutral or pain expressions from 10 male and 10 female Chinese models. The stimuli were modified so that half models wear a necklace with a cross and half with a round pendant, as illustrated in Figure 1. Participants were informed that the models wearing a cross were Christians and the models wearing a round pendant were atheists. The assignment of each model to Christian or atheist category was counterbalanced across participants.



**Figure 1.** Illustration of the face stimuli used in the present study. Participants were informed that models wearing a cross were Christians and models wearing a round pendant were atheists. Each face was used as a Christian model for half participants but as an atheist model for other participants. This assignment was counterbalanced across participants.

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Before the electroencephalography (EEG) recording, participants completed two learning tasks in order to remember Christian and atheist models. In the first task, participants were presented with neutral faces of all models wearing a necklace with a cross or a round pendant. Participants were informed that the models with a cross were Christians and the models with a round pendant were atheists. Participants were asked to remember the social category of each model. Each face was presented on a screen until participants pressed a button. This encoding procedure lasted for about 5 minutes. In the second task, each face without a necklace (with pain or neutral expression) was presented on a screen until participants pressed a button to categorize the face as a Christian or an atheist. Each response was followed by a feedback on correctness. Each participant completed 6 blocks of 40 trials. After the learning task, participants were given a memory test (2 blocks of 40 trials) that used a procedure similar to that in the second learning task. The same memory test was conducted again after the EEG recording.

During the EEG recording, each photograph marked with a cross or a round pendant was presented in the centre of a 21-inch colour monitor, subtending a visual angle of  $3.8^{\circ} \times 4.7^{\circ}$  at a viewing distance of 120 cm. Each trial consisted of a face stimulus with a duration of 200 ms, which was followed by a fixation cross with a duration that varied randomly between 800 and 1400 ms. Participants performed judgements on pain versus neutral expressions of each face by a button press using the left or right index finger. In each block, 20 faces wearing a cross or a pendant were presented once in a random order. Ten faces

FC3, FC4), central (Cz, C3, C4) and parietal (Pz, P3, P4) regions. The time window for measuring the mean amplitude of an ERP component was centred at the peak of each component. Behavioural performances and ERPs were subjected to ANOVAs with expression (pain versus neutral) and intergroup relationship (in-group with shared beliefs versus out-group with different beliefs) as within-subjects variables and belief (Christian versus atheist participants) as a between-subjects variable.

## RESULTS

### Behavioural performances

The response accuracies of the memory tests before and after EEG recording are shown in Table 1. The mean response accuracy was high (88.6%). ANOVAs of the responses accuracies with intergroup

relationship as a within-subjects variable and Belief as a between-subjects variable did not show any significant effect ( $ps > 0.1$ ), indicating that participants remembered in-group and out-group faces similarly well before and after EEG recording.

The response accuracy of expression judgements during EEG recording was slightly higher for neutral than pain expressions ( $F(1,38) = 11.10$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , Table 2). ANOVAs of reaction times during expression judgements did not show any significant effect ( $ps > 0.1$ , Table 2), suggesting comparable task difficulty during expression judgements on in-group and out-group members in Christians and atheists. Participants reported greater pain intensity, stronger self-unpleasantness and less likability associated with pain than neutral expressions ( $F(1,38) = 6.56$ ,  $44.68$ ,  $15.68$ ,  $ps < 0.01$ , Table 3). However, these effects did not differ between Christian and atheistic models and between Christian and atheistic participants ( $ps > 0.05$ ). Participants reported less self-unpleasantness and greater likability linked to models who shared beliefs with participants compared to those who did not (

*out-group members all 1256 and 2105,*

$ps < 0.001$ ). In addition, the in-group bias in likability was stronger in Christian than atheistic participants ( $F(1,38) = 8.83$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), suggesting stronger in-group bias in explicit attitudes in Christian relative to atheistic participants. Christian and atheist participants did not differ in any subscale scores of IRI (see Table 4 for rating scores). The IAT D score did not differ significantly from zero for both Christian

(mean  $\pm$  SD =  $0.05 \pm 0.94$ ,  $t(19) = 0.26$ ,  $p = 0.80$ ) and atheist participants ( $0.12 \pm 0.72$ ,  $t(19) = 0.72$ ,  $p = 0.48$ ), suggesting comparable implicit attitudes towards the models who shared or did not share religious/irreligious beliefs with participants.

## ERP results

The percentage of the accepted trials for ERP analyses in each condition is shown in [Table 5](#). The mean percentage of accepted trials for ERP analyses was high (81.6%). ANOVAs of the percentage of accepted trials did not show any significant effect ( $ps > 0.1$ ), indicating comparable numbers of trials used for ERP

empathy traits, explicit and implicit attitudes, we calculated correlations between the ERP index of in-group bias (i.e., differential ERP amplitudes to pain versus neutral expressions of those with shared beliefs minus differential ERP amplitudes to pain versus neutral expressions of those without shared beliefs) and IRT scores, likability rating scores and IAT D score. However, these analyses did not show any significant effect ( $ps > 0.05$ ).

beliefs modulate empathic neural responses to other's suffering. Christian and atheist participants shared religious or irreligious beliefs with perceived models with pain or neutral expressions. As Chinese participants were presented with only Chinese faces in the current experiment, observers were equally familiar with facial features of the models with or without shared religious/irreligious beliefs. In addition, as each model's face was marked as both a Christian and an atheist (counter-

## DISCUSSION

The present study tested the hypothesis that the inter-group relationships based on religious/irreligious



Interestingly, subjective reports revealed in-group favouritism in the current study. Both Christian and atheist participants explicitly reported greater self-unpleasantness and less likability linked to the models with different versus same (religious/irreligious) beliefs, even though IAT did not show significant differences in implicit attitudes towards the models with or without shared beliefs. Moreover, Christian participants reported greater in-group favouritism in likability compared to atheist participants. This is discrepant from the results of our previous studies of racial in-group bias in empathy where self-reports of self-unpleasantness and likability did not differ between racial in-group and out-group members (Sheng & Han, 2012; Sheng et al., 2013; Xu et al., 2009). It appears that the racial in-group bias is strongly intolerable in the current Chinese society and this may result in the absence of any racial in-group bias in self-report in the previous research, even though racial in-group favouritism in empathic neural responses was observed in these studies. In contrast, explicit attitudes towards those with same or different religious/irreligious beliefs may be tolerated to a certain degree and this allowed participants in the current study to uncover their less likability and stronger unpleasant feelings linked to those who did not share religious/irreligious beliefs.

controlled and involved in enhanced evaluation and appraisal of others' pain (Fan & Han, 2008). Thus, the current ERP results indicate that religious and irreligious identifications similarly induced stronger neural activity associated with early, automatic empathic processing of the suffering of those with shared beliefs as opposed to those without shared beliefs. It is well known that religious beliefs produce significant effects on human social cognition and behaviour. For example, religious (Christian) identifications are associated with weakened self-face recognition (Ma, Han, & Botbol, 2012), enhanced tendency to avoid risk behaviours (Sinha, Cnaan, & Gelles, 2007) and reduced depressive symptomatology (Koteskey, Little, & Matthews, 1991). However, it remains unclear how irreligious beliefs influence human social cognition and behaviour (Johnson, 2012; Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Here, we showed neuroscience evidence that religious and irreligious beliefs lead to similar in-group favouritism in neural activity within a specific time course in response to others' suffering. Thus, irreligious beliefs may be as efficient as religious beliefs to generate social categories of others and to modulate human brain activity to the suffering of those with or without irreligious beliefs.

Unlike the empathic neural responses in the P2 and N2 time windows, the P3 amplitudes showed in-group bias in response to others' suffering in Christian but not in atheist participants. Thus, the late evaluation and appraisal of the suffering of those who do not believe Christianity were significantly reduced in Christian participants. In contrast, the late evaluation of others' suffering was not significantly affected by shared beliefs in atheist participants. Christians constitute a minority group of members of the current Chinese society.<sup>1</sup> There has been evidence that people from optimally distinct minority groups show greater in-group identification, greater satisfaction with their in-group members and higher self-esteem than members of nonoptimally distinct majority groups (Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001). Similarly, relative to atheists, our Christian participants who belong to a minority group in the current Chinese society might have greater in-group identification, which then resulted in stronger in-group favouritism in the late evaluation process of other's pain. Consistent with our findings, a previous fMRI study found that, relative to European-Americans, African-Americans as a minority group in the United States displayed greater empathic neural responses in the medial prefrontal cortex to the suffering of same-race versus other-race

individuals (Mathur et al., 2010). As the P3 component with the largest amplitudes over the frontal-central area is associated with the evaluation of novel stimuli for subsequent behavioural action (Friedman, Cycowicz, & Gaeta, 2001), our results suggest that, relative to atheist participants, Christian participants engaged more extensive evaluation of the suffering of those with shared beliefs in order to take further altruistic actions.

Previous research using minimal group manipulations also revealed in-group bias in empathy for pain. Hein et al. (2010) asked soccer fans to witness a fan of their favourite team or of a rival team experience pain and to choose to help the other by enduring the physical pain themselves to reduce the other's pain. They found that helping in-group members was best predicted by the anterior insular activation when seeing an in-group member's pain and by associated self-reports of empathic concern. Montalan, Lelard, Godefroy, and Mouras (2012) reported that participants who were assigned to different groups based on their cognitive performances also showed in-group bias in imaging others' painful feelings. Sheng and Han (2012) found that participants who were assigned to the same team for a competition game showed increased empathic neural responses to in-group but other-race members. In all these studies, an observer and a target to be observed did not have any interpersonal relationships. Similarly, participants and models were strangers to each other in the current study. Therefore, it is the intergroup relationship rather than interpersonal relatedness that plays a key role in modulations of empathic neural responses in these studies. However, these findings do not exclude the possibility that interpersonal relatedness may influence empathic neural responses in a specific situation. For example, Singer et al. (2006) found that an emotional link between an observer and a target resulted in variation of empathic neural responses in the anterior insula. Therefore, it may be proposed that both intergroup and interpersonal relationships shape empathic neural responses to others' suffering.

In conclusion, our ERP results showed evidence that shared religious or irreligious beliefs similarly increased empathic neural responses to others' suffering. Our results complement the previous research of influences of cultural experiences on human brain activity (Han & Northoff, 2008; Han et al., 2013). Our findings suggest that similarity in physical appearance between an observer and a target is not necessary for producing in-group favouritism in empathy and mere shared beliefs can enhance shared feelings in human adults. Such in-group favouritism

<sup>1</sup>The Blue book of religions: Annual report of religions in China. Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press. 2011.

in emotion understanding and sharing may play a fundamental role in human behaviour such as cooperation that strongly distinguishes between in-group and out-group members (Henrich & Henrich, 2007).

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