Moral Relativism Explained

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Abstract

Moral relativism, as I understand it, is the claim that there is not a single objectively true morality but only many different moralities, just as there is not a single true language but only many different languages. Different people may have different moralities as reflected in the way they act and the ways they react to the actions of others and there is no objective way to show that one of these moralities is the only correct one. An account of what a morality is and what it is to have a particular morality might resemble David Lewis' account of what a language is and what it is to have a language. Moral theory might emulate current linguistic theory in various ways. However, moral relativism is not a semantic claim about how to understand moral judgments. For example, it is not the view that a moral judgments is implicitly relational with a hidden parameter representing the morality in relation to which the judgment is made. To repeat: moral relativism is the claim that that there is not a single objectively true morality but only many different moralities.

In this paper, I explain my understanding of moral relativism and indicate why I reject certain objections to it. I mention considerations that I take to support it, but I do not suppose that these considerations will be persuasive to all of those who do not already accept it.

1 What Is Moral Relativism?

According to moral relativism, there is not a single true morality. There are a variety of possible moralities or moral frames of reference, and whether something is morally right or wrong, good or bad, just or unjust, etc. is a relative matter—relative to one or another morality or moral frame of reference. Something can be morally right relative to one moral frame of reference and morally wrong relative to another.

It is useful to compare moral relativism to other relativisms. One possible comparison is with motion relativism.¹ There is no such thing as absolute motion or absolute rest. Whether something is moving or at rest is relative to a spatio-temporal frame of reference. Something may be at rest in one frame of reference and moving in another. There is no such thing as absolute motion and absolute rest, but we can make do with relative motion and rest. Similarly, moral relativism is the view that, although there is no such thing as absolute right and wrong, we can make do with relative right and wrong.

Paul Boghossian suggests a different comparison.² When people decided that there were no witches and no such thing as witchcraft, they did not become relativists about witches; they gave up their beliefs about witches. It would have been a mistake for them to conclude that witchcraft is a relative matter, so that someone could be a witch in relation to one witch framework but not in relation to another. An individual might be *believed* to be a witch by someone else, but that is not to say the individual *is* a witch relative to the other person's opinion. In contrast, whether something is moving or not is relative to a spatio-temporal framework, not to anyone's opinion about whether it is moving.

Boghossian suggests that a morality is constituted by opinions about moral right and wrong, so moral relativism is like witch relativism. Boghossian concludes that the proper response to the thought that there is not a single true morality is to stop believing in moral right and wrong. The proper response is moral nihilism not moral relativism.

Now, I think that response is too quick. There are other more relevant comparisons, with what we might call *football relativism*, *legal relativism*, and *linguistic relativism*.

Football relativism is the sensible idea that there are different actual and possible versions of football with different rules; whether something deserves a penalty is relative to which version of football is being played. Legal relativism is the view that whether something is legal is relative to a legal system and there are different actual and possible legal systems. Linguistic relativism is the obviously correct view that the (linguistic) meaning, if any, of a certain sequence of sounds is relative to a language. (Davidson famously illustrates the point with the observation that the sentence "Empedocles leaped" does not mean in English what the similar sounding

¹Gilbert Harman, "Moral Relativism," in Gilbert Harman and Judith Jarvis Thomson, Moral Relativism and Moral Objectivity (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996) pp. 3-5,

²E.g., Paul Boghossian, "The Maze of Moral Relativism," New York Times July 24, 2011

sentence "Empedokles liebt" means in German.³)

These comparisons are more illuminating than Boghossian's comparison with witch relativism. The proper response to the discovery that there are different languages, different legal systems, and different versions of football is not to deny that that there are any linguistic principles, legal regulations, or rules of football.

2 Having a Morality

Different groups of people may play different versions of football. Different societies may have different legal systems. Different people speak different languages. And different people may have different moralities. Moralities accepted at one time may fail to be accepted at another time. Individuals within any given group may have different moralities. A particular person may accept different mutually incompatible moralities at different times and even at the same time.

What is it for a group or an individual to have a particular morality? In some ways it is like having a particular language with a particular syntax and vocabulary. Your morality is reflected in and explains something about the way you act and about the ways you react to the actions of others. You may have a morality in this way without being able to give anything like a precise specification of the principles of that morality, just as you are not able to give a precise specification of the grammar of your language. You may accept some aspects of a morality as a member of a group ("our principles"), you may accept some aspects simply for yourself ("my principles"), and you may accept some aspects simply as what's right.

Moral relativism finds that there is no objective way to establish that a particular morality is the correct morality one and concludes that there is no reason to believe in a single true morality. This is compatible with the possibility of certain *moral universals* just as there seem to be linguistic universals. I will come back to this point later.

3 Ways in Which Actual Moralities Differ

In trying to think about moral relativism, it is useful to keep in mind the many differences in the moralities that people accept and live by. Moralities differ in what they imply about abortion, capital punishment, euthanasia,

³Donald Davidson, "On Saying That," in Donald Davidson and Jaakko Hintikka, Words and Objections, Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1969, p. 163.

religion, etiquette, slavery, caste systems, cannibalism, eating meat, what sorts of experiments on animals are permitted, and what sorts of experiments on human beings are permitted. They may differ concerning the relative importance of chastity in men and women, how many wives or husbands people can have, homosexuality, incest, and whether people in their twenties have special obligations toward their parents. They differ about whether there is an obligation not to lie to strangers and whether there is an obligation to help strangers who need help. They differ concerning the relative importance of equality versus liberty, who gets what, preserving natural beauty, and the acceptability of littering.

Differences in moralities among people I know include differences about vegetarianism, wearing leather, extreme utilitarianism, extreme egoism, what counts as plagiarism and whether plagiarism is wrong. There are also the moralities of those in certain gangs or "organized crime."

It is hard to believe that we all have the same morality at bottom.

Compare with the question whether we all have the same religion at bottom. Someone I know was once asked by an immigration officer to specify his religion. He replied that he was an atheist. The immigration officer replied, "I haven't heard of that one, but we all worship the same god, don't we?"

Do we all have the same legal system at bottom? Natural Law theorists may argue that we do in that the basic legal system is the same. To be sure there are various local regulations concerned with details and specific circumstances. In this view, "laws" that violate the principles of natural law are not really valid. There can still be conflicts, however. For example, if two legal systems claim sovereignty over the same territory, whether a particular couple are married might be answered differently in the two systems. So, there is still the possibility of legal relativity even in a natural law framework.

We might ask whether we all have the same language at bottom. Chomsky argues that there is a universal grammar that applies to all languages that children learn without instruction; there are merely "superficial" differences of vocabulary and word order.⁴ But this isn't to say we all have the same language.

 $^{^4\}mathrm{Noam}$ Chomsky, New Horizons in the Study of Language and Mind, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

4 Why Believe There Is Not a Single True Morality?

The main reason to believe there is not a single true morality is that there are major differences in the moralities that people accept and these differences to not seem to rest of actual differences in situation or disagreements about the facts.

It is hard for me to believe that all moral disagreements rest on different opinions about the facts or confusions of one or another sort—disagreements about abortion, capital punishment, euthanasia, vegetarianism, homosexuality, egoism, and utilitarianism. Differences in attitude and practice about these issues occur among people within the same larger society. There appears to me to be no objective way of settling these disagreements. That yields an argument for moral relativism that is similar for arguments for relativism about rest and motion, football, law, and language. However, I doubt that such an argument will be persuasive for anyone who is not already a moral relativist.

5 What Are Moralities?

5.1 Comparison with Languages

To believe in moral relativism is to believe there is more than one possible morality. But what is a morality? And what is it to have a morality? One way to answer these questions resembles David Lewis' discussion of parallel questions about language. Lewis identifies a language with an abstract assignment of meanings (connected with truth conditions) to linguistic expressions and he identifies having that language with participating in a convention of truthfulness and trust with respect to that assignment.⁵ Similarly, an explanation of what a morality is might have two parts: One part identifying a morality with certain moral principles, the other saying what it is for people to have a morality with those principles.

There are several kinds of moral principles: requirements and permissions about what has to be done and what may be done, rankings of various things as better or worse, and specifications of morally virtuous or vicious actions and character traits.

For a group to have a morality with such principles involves members of the group being motivated to adhere to the requirements, to rank things in

⁵David Lewis, "Languages and Language," *Minnesota Studies in the Philosophy of Science*, Volume 7, Keith Gunderson, ed., *Language Mind and Knowledge*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis (1975) pp. 3-35.

accord with ranking principles of the morality, to assess actions and character traits as specified in the morality, to develop virtues and avoid vices, to bring up children appropriately, etc.

5.2 Comparison with Games

Moralities can also be compared with a games that are at least in part defined by their rules: football, baseball, soccer, golf, chess, bridge, solitaire. Often there are several versions of a game with minor differences in their rules. The rules of professional baseball change over time and differ in certain respects from the rules of other versions of school baseball, just as your language, your "idiolect," may differ from mine in various respects: vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar, or semantics.

The rules of a game or a morality might be describable propositionally, but participants may not be able to provide such descriptions. Roughly speaking, to be engaged in a particular game or morality is to be disposed or committed to acting in certain ways.

5.3 What Distinguishes Your Morality from Other Standards You Accept?

It is not easy to say what distinguishes your morality from other standards you accept. Are your moral standards the standards you treat as applying to everyone? But perhaps you take them to apply only to people in a group to which you belong. Or only to yourself!

Are your moral standards your most important standards, those which take precedence over other standards. But perhaps you take some other standards to be more important than what you take to be moral standards. Could religion be more important to you than morality? Could your religion conflict with your morality?

Are your moral standards the standards you would feel guilt or shame for not living up to? Couldn't someone who follows the same moral principles you follow but who is not susceptible to guilt or shame accept those principles as moral principles?

Do psychopaths have moral standards? Do selfish egoists have moral standards?

6 Explaining Moralities

A morality might be part of a religion. Given the importance of religion to a culture, this might explain the importance of morality. At least, it might help to explain moral motivation among those who are religious. Given the variety of religions, this sort of explanation might yield a form of moral relativism. Religions are often in competition with each other. On the other hand, it is not clear that *all* the rules of religion are moral rules. Religious dietary rules are sometimes taken very seriously with the weight of moral principles. Should we count them as moral rules? Is this a substantial issue or a merely verbal one?

There are putative explanations that take basic principles of morality to be knowable a priori, perhaps in something like the way in which basic principles of logic or mathematics are sometimes taken to be knowable a priori. Some explanations of this sort suppose that there are variety of such basic moral principles: do not steal, do not harm others, keep your promises, help those who need help, etc. Some explanations suppose that there is a single basic principle from which others can be derived, something like the Golden Rule: treat others in the way you want to be treated yourself. Kant's version of this idea disallows pure egoism as a form of morality. Moral relativism denies that any view of this sort can account for all of morality.

Possibly related are psychological theories or morality by Piaget, Kohlberg, and Gilligan in terms of stages of moral development. 6

There are possible evolutionary explanations of aspects of moral motivation. Human sympathy or empathy might have such an explanation. Perhaps incest strikes people as deeply wrong because in the evolutionary past those without an aversion to incest were less likely to have healthy descendents with the result that almost everyone today has such an aversion.

Some explanations appeal to moral conventions that people adhere to out of self-interest. In Hume's version such conventions count as moral if sympathy or empathy with people affected by the following of those conventions leads to impartial approval of the conventions.⁷ One or another version of the Golden Rule might be accepted in part for self-interested reasons and in part because of sympathetic approval of the results of general acceptance

⁶Jean Piaget, *The Moral Judgment of the Child*, London: K. Paul, Trench, Truner, 1932. Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Philosophy of Moral Development*, San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981. Carol Gilligan (1982). *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.

⁷Hume uses "sympathy" in A Treatise of Human Nature and "benevolence" in the Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals.

of that rule.

Adam Smith's Theory of the Moral Sentiments presents a sophisticated account of moral development that anticipates Freud. As a child you have a self-interested reason to do things your parents will approve of and avoid doing things your parents will disapprove of. You try to anticipate the reactions of others by imagining how they will react. You imagine being them with their inclinations toward approval and disapproval. In this way you acquire an internal impartial spectator or conscience (or superego) by internalizing the attitudes of external spectators and acquire their attitudes as those of part of your self. Smith suggests that the internalized attitudes tend to be idealized more impartial versions of the attitudes of external spectators. Nevertheless Smith's general account is overtly relativistic with interesting discussions of how cultures differ.⁸

Contemporary anthropologists find certain themes or aspects that are used differently in different social moralities. Shweder, et al. discuss various roles that "The Big Three of Morality," namely Autonomy, Community, and Divinity, play in various moralities. Alan Fiske, who takes morality to consist in "relationship regulation," finds four types of moral relation: communal sharing, authority ranking, equality ranking, and "market pricing" which different social groups use in different ways. While many of the social aspects and relations discussed by Shweder, Fiske, and others occur to some extent among some nonhuman animal groups, divinity and market pricing do not.

7 Analogies between Linguistics and Moral Theory

I now want to say something more about analogies between morality and languages and how moral theory might be modeled on linguistic theory with

⁸I discuss this in "Moral Agent and Impartial Spectator," in Gilbert Harman, *Explaining Value* Clarendon Press: Oxford, 2000, pp. 181-195.

⁹Richard A. Shweder, Nancy C. Much, Manamohan Mahapatra, and Lawrence Park, "The 'Big Three' of Morality (Autonomy, Community, Divinity) and the 'Big Three' Explanations of Suffering," in Allan Brandt and Paul Rozen, eds., New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 119-169.

¹⁰A. P. Fiske, Structures of Social Life: The Four Elementary Forms of Human Relations: Communal Sharing, Authority Ranking, Equality Matching, Market Pricing. New York: Free Press, 1992. See also, Tage Shakti Rai and Alan Page Fiske, "Moral Psychology Is Relationship Regulation: Moral Motives for Unity, Hierarchy, Equality, and Proportionality," Psychological Review 118 (2011), pp. 57-75.

possible implications for moral relativism. ¹¹

Considering ways in which human languages differ from animal communication systems, it has seemed plausible to many linguists that humans have something like an innate language organ. Similarly, considering ways in which human morality goes beyond anything in nonhuman animals, it may be useful to consider whether there is something like an innate moral organ.

It has been said that humans are the rational animals, where rationality is exhibited in human language and perhaps also in human morality. Indeed, perhaps language and morality are deeply connected.

How did language evolve? Presumably something happened to some early humans that made it possible for them to think and communicate with each other in ways that other animals cannot. This gave these humans advantages that enabled them to have more descendants than other early humans. In one version of this story, 12 the evolutionary advantages come from the ways in which those humans could argue and reason with each other and so do better than unaided other humans. An alternative theory might be that what happened to the relevant early humans is that they first acquired an ability for recursive representation that allowed them more complicated plans and other thoughts. That by itself could give them evolutionary advantages over other early humans and could also make possible more complex communication and argumentation. 13

Here are some aspects of language that may be relevant to an analogy between language and morality, or between linguistics and moral theory. First, by "language" linguists do not mean what ordinary people mean. A language in the ordinary sense consists in many dialects that are more or less intelligible to each other. Using "language" in that ordinary sense, there is a famous saying that "A language is a dialect with an army and a navy."

An individual speaker of a language may actually use different dialects of that language in speaking to different people—family, business associates, friends, etc.

In fact, the unit of study in Chomskean linguistics is an internally repre-

¹¹For a more extensive discussion of these analogies, see Erica Roedder and Gilbert Harman, "Linguistics and Moral Theory," in *The Moral Psychology Handbook*, edited by John Doris and others, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 206-245.

¹²Hugo Mercier and Dan Sperber, "Why Do Humans Reason? Arguments for an Argumentative Theory," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 34 (2011) pp. 57-111.

¹³See Noam Chomsky, "Some Simple Evo-Devo Theses: How True Might They Be for Language?" in Richard K. Larson, Viviane Déprez, and Hiroko Yamakido, *The Evolution of Human Language: Biolinguistic Perspectives* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 45-62.

sented "I-language," the internal representation of the speaker's competence. "Core" I-language is determined by certain principles and parameters, e.g., whether the head of a phrase goes before or after its complement. Acquiring an internal I-language derived from local speakers is largely a matter of setting a few parameters and acquiring vocabulary. A typical child does not need to be taught the local language but easily picks it up from others. The child acquires an I-language that is influenced by a local dialect.

An adequate moral theory might be in some respects analogous to such a linguistic theory. Just as some linguists use the term "language" in a special narrow way for I-language, moral theorists may want to use the term "morality" in a special narrow way for I-morality.

Just as the speaker of a language has a somewhat different way of speaking (dialect) with different people (family, business associates, friends, etc.), a particular member of a group may have different moral relationships with different people, different moral dialects or I-moralities. Just as the unit of study in Chomskean linguistics is an I-language, the unit of study of a morality might be an internally represented "I-morality."

Core I-morality might be determined by certain principles and parameters for example indicating what things are included under divinity, autonomy, and community and what aspects of social relations involve communal sharing, authority ranking, equality ranking, and market pricing.

Perhaps, acquiring a dialect of the local morality is a matter of setting a few parameters. It would follow that a typical child would not need to be taught the local morality. The child would easily pick up morality from others. Or better: the child would acquire an I-morality that is influenced by the local morality.

So, just as there are various different mostly mutually incomprehensible languages, there may be various different mostly mutually incomprehensible moralities.

8 The main argument for moral relativism

There seems to me to be no objective way to determine which moral framework is the one true morality, any more than there is such a way to determine which spatial framework is absolutely at rest, which rules of football are the absolutely correct rules, which legal system is the absolutely correct system of natural law, or which language is the one true language.

In other words, it seems to me that there is no reason to believe there is such a thing as the one true morality.

8.1 Moral Relativism is not a linguistic or conceptual thesis.

This sort of moral relativism is not the thesis that there is a hidden parameter in the syntactic or semantic structure of a moral judgment that picks out one or another morality framework.

It is also not the thesis that ordinary moral judgments are false or lack a truth value.

The relation between truth conditions and syntactic or semantic structure is not straightforward.

Compare moral relativism again to motion relativism. We often take ordinary judgments about motion to be true if they are true in relation to a framework salient to the judger even if the judger is unaware of motion relativism.

In the dispute between Galileo and Bellarmine as to whether the earth moves, the dispute seems explicitly to presuppose that there is such a thing as absolute motion and rest and to concern whether the earth is absolutely at rest. So, in that particular case we might count them both wrong because of this false presupposition. Or we might count Galileo as right because we see him as "more right" than Bellarmine.

8.2 How might moral relativists assess the moral judgments of those who are not moral relativists

Moral relativists might take others' moral judgments to be true if they are true in relation to a salient moral framework.

If a judgment explicitly presupposes that there is a single true morality, moral relativists might count it wrong because of its false presupposition (in a way parallel to the Galileo/Bellarmine case).

In any event, moral relativism is not directly about this issue. Moral relativism denies that there is a single true morality.

Moral relativism asserts that there are facts about what is right or wrong in relation to one or another moral framework This should be uncontroversial!

Moral relativism denies that there are nonrelational facts about what is right or wrong, although there might be certain universal facts about moralities of a certain sort in the way there are linguistic universals.

What to say about ordinary moral judgments is a further issue.

8.3 Some mistakes about about moral relativism

"Relativism implies that ordinary moral judgments are all mistaken."

Response: relativism is not a theory about the content of such judgments. Similarly, the relativity of motion or mass or simultaneity does not entail that ordinary judgments about these topics are mistaken.

"Relativism implies that people are mistaken about the truth conditions of their moral judgments."

Response: this objection rests on an incorrect view about language and truth conditions Again, compare the dispute between Bellarmine and Galileo.

"If moral judgments are relative to moralities that consist in propositions about what one ought to do or not do, and those propositions are nonrelative, then to accept such a morality is to accept nonrelative moral propositions. But if those propositions are relative, there is a vicious circularity In any event, we get a position that conflicts with ordinary thought"

Response: moralities do not consist in such propositions.

8.4 Moral relativism is compatible with moral realism

Moral relativism is compatible with supposing that the relevant relations are real.

8.5 Some Further Questions

"Why not reject morality?"

One can reject the idea that there is a single true morality, yet still have or participate in a morality (or moralities).

"How can there be a moral disagreement among moral relativists who accept different moralities?"

Consider two moral relativists. They both agree that D is right in relation to moral framework M but wrong in relation to moral framework N. One accepts morality M, the other accepts morality N. They may say that they disagree about whether D is right. But they may also be clear that their disagreement does not consist in any disagreement about what's true.

They do disagree in attitude, of course. One is favors morality M, the other morally favors morality N. But that is not to suppose that some sort of noncognitive analysis is appropriate for ordinary moral judgments, any more than noncognitivism is appropriate for understanding the rules of football, the laws in a legal system, or the principles of the grammar of a language.¹⁴

¹⁴I believe that this point is related to the very interesting type of relativism discussed by Carol Rovane, e.g. in "Relativism Requires Alternatives, Not Disagreement or Relative

To repeat: Moral relativism is the theory that there is not a single true morality. It is not a theory of what people mean by their moral judgments.

Again: I do not pretend that I have provided support for moral relativism that would convince someone who is not already a moral relativist. I have only tried to explain the view and show how someone who accepts it would respond to various objections.

Truth," in A Companion to Relativism, edited. by Steven D. Hales, Blackwell, 2011, pp. 31-52.