

MORAL JUDGEMENT AND ITS SOCIOLOGICAL CORRELATES:
A STUDY OF NEWFOUNDLAND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

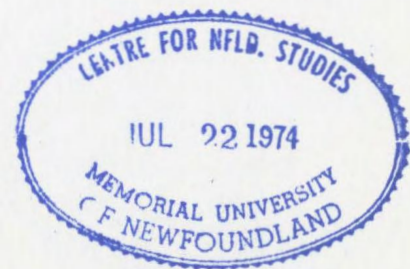
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JOHN RICHARD BURSEY

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A STUDY OF NEWFOUNDLAND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

by



John Richard Bursey

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requirements for the Degree of
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ABSTRACT

This project attempts to investigate the existence or non-existence of associations between moral orientation as measured by the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale (1958) and certain sociological factors. A sample of 301 first-year Newfoundland university students are sorted into types of moral reasoning according to their responses to the Kohlberg scale. Six hypotheses are then tested. It is found that higher social class strata are related to level of moral orientation; that religious affiliation, practice and degree of religiosity are unrelated to level of moral orientation; that sociopolitical participation and political orientation are unrelated to level of moral orientation. Findings relating to religion and social class are consistent with those found by Kohlberg (1968; 1971). -Results regarding sociopolitical participation and orientation show differences from those of Turner and Whitten (1971) and Haan, Smith and Block (1968).

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Tables	iv
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
II THEORY AND RESEARCH	5
A. Definition of Moral Judgement	5
B. Theoretical Overview	8
C. Sociological Factors	19
D. Hypotheses	27
III METHODOLOGY	30
A. Introduction	30
B. Subjects	33
C. Pilot Study	34
D. Main Study	35
E. Sampling Procedure	41
F. Analysis	41
IV RESULTS	46
Part I: Moral Judgement Scores	46
Part II: Descriptive Information	47
Part III: Hypotheses	57
V DISCUSSION	69
APPENDIX A	76
BIBLIOGRAPHY	88

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
Table I	Distribution of Subjects by Moral Stage	46
Table II	Moral Orientation and Sex	48
Table III	Moral Orientation and Age	50
Table IV	Moral Orientation and Student Living Accommodations	52
Table V	Moral Orientation and Present Social Relationships	54
Table VI	Moral Orientation and Long Term Vocational Goals	55
Table VII	Moral Orientation and Home Communities	58
Table VIII	Moral Orientation and Denomination of Childhood	60
Table IX	Moral Orientation and Degree of Religiosity	61
Table X	Moral Orientation and Church Attendance	62
Table XI	Moral Orientation and Degree of Participation in Sociopolitical Activities	64
Table XII	Moral Orientation and Political Orientation	66
Table XIII	Moral Orientation and Social Class	68

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

If one engages in sociological research during these turbulent and troubled times, he soon realizes the traditional questions relating to his discipline have yet to receive adequate attention. The academic necessity not only to realize the state of sociological knowledge, but also to realize the frailty of a thesis at this level, tends to saddle the student with ambivalence. Yet, if he can discover a research problem which invites thought and permits flexibility, his research endeavour will be a less ominous experience.

The first major concern of this project sprang from the viewpoint that consideration of moral judgement ought to embrace both sociological and psychological dimensions. Differences between these two disciplines still give rise to perennial discussion, most of which is sterile. Any distinctions between them have become more uncertain with the increasing variety of work regarded as sociology and the development of certain kinds of psychology. Still, the modal psychologist and his concerns appear far removed from the modal sociologist.

Interactions logically should exist. Man is a social animal. Society modifies and perhaps even creates certain of his mental mechanisms from naught. Consequently, sociology requires effective exchanges with psychology if investigations of vast topics, such as moral feelings and language use, are to be successful.

The initial interest in conducting research on moral judgement tempered with sociological factors emerged after reading Jean Piaget's book, The Moral Judgement of the Child. Piaget describes this work as preliminary research. It furnished the basis for his cognitive-development approach to moral development, which emerged from his position midway between psychology and sociology. Methodologically one could criticize his empirical evidence. But his clever interactionist approach stimulated my research.

The consideration of Piaget's research led to exploration of various theories and research strategies germane to the cognitive-developmental approach to moral development (Baldwin 1906; G.H. Mead 1934). These fragmented theories are subsumed in the approach of Lawrence Kohlberg (1958; 1963a; 1963b) who has criticized much of Piaget's theory and through an integrative process has devised his own schema of stages.

Available documented research, mainly using Kohlberg's approach, has considered young children as subjects and has concentrated on theoretical verification. Theoretically, this approach appears solid, but the available research demonstrates that adequate evidence of sociological factors associated with moral orientation has yet to be gathered. The major objective of this project was to identify moral judgement stages among first year native Newfoundland university students, in response to moral dilemmas contained in the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale (1958): In this manner hypotheses relating to the existence or non-existence of associations between the different moral stages and certain sociological factors were tested.

Development of an M.A. thesis is limited by available facilities, research experience and technical expertise. Aware of these limitations and motivated to gather useful data, it was decided to sample Newfoundland university students. It was quickly realized, however, that it was impractical to use senior undergraduates since resources were unavailable for mail questionnaires. Since only first year students were accessible at the university, they were selected as the sampling population. Not only were they accessible, but also they appeared relatively uncontaminated by the university setting.

4

The majority of entrants were born in urban or small town environments. They appear committed to obtaining a degree, interested in acquiring a good job, and passive to the inadequacies facing the university and the wider community. Since only one university exists in the province and migration from it for university training is minimal, a broad cross section of the society attends this institution.

Research endeavours force many arbitrary decisions. Noting the contemporary societal conditions in Newfoundland, the following sociological factors were used in an attempt to link them with different moral orientations: social class, religious affiliation and practice, and sociopolitical orientation.

Only one published study (Haan, Smith, and Block, 1968) has considered sociological factors and moral orientation among college students. It has been a valuable guideline for this project. However, its utility is limited, since the project was conducted in the United States and used a sample different from that of the present study.

CHAPTER II

THEORY AND RESEARCH

A. Definition of Moral Judgement

Moral judgement is the process of reaching decisions concerning moral questions. When a person makes a moral judgement, he is asking such questions as, whether an act is right or wrong, whether it ought to be done or ought not to be done, whether the one who performs it is guilty or innocent, praiseworthy or blameworthy.

Philosophers appear to be unable to reach agreement upon an ultimate principle which would define "correct" moral judgements. Yet, most philosophers agree upon the characteristics which constitute a genuine moral judgement (Hare 1952; Kant 1949; Sidgwick 1901; Mandelbaum 1954).

Moral judgements are judgements about the good and the right of action. Not all judgements of good and bad are moral judgements, however; many are judgements of aesthetic or prudential goodness or rightness. Unlike the judgements of prudence or aesthetics, moral judgements tend to be universal, inclusive, consistent and grounded on objective, impersonal or ideal grounds (Kohlberg 1958).

Most people appear to have the basic idea of moral standards and some understanding of the process by which a

decision is reached. Nevertheless, it is necessary to state further how moral questions and judgements are distinguished from other types of questions and judgements. When social psychologists deal with the development of moral judgement, moral codes or moral conscience, they directly or indirectly ask subjects questions of two kinds. They ask whether a certain act in the opinion of the subject is right or wrong, ought or ought not be done ... then, they ask why (Piaget 1932; Kohlberg 1958).

The philosopher Brandt has defined a statement expressing a moral judgement as one which uses one of the terms should, ought, bad, good, worse, better, right, wrong, in its normative sense. Such a term is said to be used in its normative sense whenever, "it is used assertively in a context of appraisal of conduct, and would be said by speakers and hearers to be roughly synonymous with 'moral obligation'" (Lepley 1957: 163). Hollingworth (1949) concludes that the use of "ought" implies a consideration of the consequences of a decision; and further, that if the consequences of a decision relate to the welfare of a human being, then the decision involves a moral value.

Lawrence Kohlberg (1958) defines morality by making a definition of moral judgement. First, he defines morality as action based on a moral judgement, rather than, for example, conformity to cultural roles or avoidance of

punishment. Kohlberg states: "A man is moral if he acts in accordance with his conscience" (Kohlberg 1958:5). He presents formal criteria, irrespective of the content of a particular judgement, which distinguish moral judgements from judgements in general.

These criteria are the basis for his Moral Judgement Scale. This project accepts these criteria as an adequate definitional foundation. The criteria are as follows:

- (i) Moral judgements have motivational value. This is implied in Kohlberg's statement that "moral judgement is oriented to or preceded by a value judgement".
- (ii) "Moral judgements are viewed by the judge as taking priority over other value judgements." This criterion suggests that moral action involves a willingness to overcome opposition, if necessary. Thus, it often involves conflict.
- (iii) "Moral actions and judgements are associated with judgements of the self as good or bad." Yet Kohlberg relates that moral judgements tend to be considered objective by their makers.
- (iv) "Moral judgements tend to be justified or based on reasons which are not limited to consequences of that particular act in that situation--. The interests, values or purposes to which appeal is made in thought or argument about the moral attitude are more or less of an ideal nature.... Usually moral judgements are related to legitimate claims or expectancies of other moral agents."
- (v) "Moral judgements tend towards a high degree of generality, universality, consistency and inclusiveness (Kohlberg 1958:8-12).

B. Theoretical Overview

Learning theory has tended to treat moral behavior as an individual's adherence to the rules and customs of the dominant culture. Learning theorists, through research, have attempted to determine the antecedent conditions of morally conforming behavior in children. Characteristic of this work is that of Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957) in which the child-rearing practices utilized by the parents were correlated with measures of the intensity and frequency of morally conforming responses. They have also examined moral development as internalization, which occurs through the mechanisms of conditioning, reinforcement and identification (Eysenck 1960; Sears 1960). Mention should be made of the contribution made by Mowrer (1950) in which learning theory was applied to the problems of personality dynamics, including moral judgement. Although Mowrer's work constituted little more than a pregnant suggestion, it did demonstrate that moral judgement could be thought of in terms of general laws of learning and intellectual operations.

Psychoanalytic based research has also tended to view moral development as the internalization of certain types of cultural values. Both Sears, et al. (1953) and Whiting and Child (1953) found a relationship between the development of inner control or conscience and the degree of maternal nurturance. Payne and Mussen (1955) and

Schoeppe and Havighurst (1952) found a similar relationship between inner control and the degree of identification with the father. Yet, the psychoanalytic framework places its primary emphasis on conflict and conflict reduction postulating that a superego resulting from the reduction of Oedipal conflict is the faculty which stringently dictates the moral code (Freud 1960).

As just seen, central to the learning and psychoanalytic theory approach is the relationship of moral responses to such environmental variables as punishment and internalized parental attitudes. Yet moral development can be approached differently.

Developmental theory postulates that the same moral responses considered by psychoanalytic and learning theorists can be explained by means of different types of cognitive processes. It is based on the transformations of moral thought, and assumes that the organization of thought in children differs from that of adults. Differences are regarded as related to content of thought and the process by which the thought is formed. Thus, differing modes of thought represent age related sequential changes in the form of stages, in which there exists some continuity between the various moral stages.

The criteria for defining the developmental stages with regards to mental structure have been proposed by

Inhelder (1954) and Inhelder and Piaget (1958). A summary of them follows:

(i) The stages of development are defined by structural wholes and not by only isolated bits of behavior.

(ii) The passage from an inferior stage to a superior stage is equivalent to an integration: the inferior stage becomes part of the superior stage. Each new stage contains elements of the new stage, with the old one being integrated into the new one rather than being added to it. As such, a child must pass through a previous stage before he can attain a new one.

(iii) The order of the succession of stages is constant, but the age at which they appear is related to the environment, which can either promote or impede their appearance. Each individual must pass through the series of stages in the prescribed sequence. Although the stages are age-related, all individuals will not necessarily reach each stage at the same age because the environment has much to do with the attainment of stages.

These criteria apply to the development of modes of thinking concerning both physical and social objects.

Kohlberg (1969) feels they are made more applicable to social development by the following additional assumptions:

(i) Affective development and functioning are not distinct realms. Affective and cognitive development are parallel; they represent different perspectives and contexts in defining structural change.

(ii) There is a fundamental unity of personality organization and development termed the self. While there are various strands of social development, such as moral development, these strands are united by their common reference to a single concept of self in a single social world.

(iii) The basic processes involved in "physical" cognitions are also basic to "social development". In addition, however, social cognition always involves role-taking i.e., the awareness that the other is in some way like the self in a system of complementary expectations. Accordingly, developmental changes in the social self reflect parallel changes in concepts of the social world.

(iv) The direction of social or self formation is towards an equilibrium or reciprocity between the actions of the self and those of others towards the self. In its generalized form this equilibrium is the end point or definer of morality, conceived of as principles of justice while in its more individualized form it defines relationships of love; that is, mutuality and reciprocal intimacy.

The greatest part of developmental research in the area of morality is rooted in the work of Piaget (1932). However, the theoretical position taken by Piaget has been only partially supported by subsequent investigators. (Kohlberg 1963a, presents a comprehensive review of this literature.)

Kohlberg (1958; 1963a) has systematically studied moral development within a developmental theory framework. The standardization of method of observation and quantitative data have permitted him to construct a sophisticated theoretical approach to moral development. In this approach Kohlberg accepts the basic cognitive-developmental approach developed by Piaget (1932).

In developing his stages Kohlberg retained certain aspects of Piaget's schema and placed it into a more refined, comprehensive and logically consistent framework. His

final system consists of six developmental stages, each of which receives definition in terms of its position on different moral attributes, including those used by Piaget (Hoffman 1964:276).

The six developmental stages constructed by Kohlberg have been ordered into three levels of moral orientation (Kohlberg 1958; 1967). The basic themes and major attributes of the levels and stages are as follows:

Level One: Premoral

At this level, moral value resides in external physical happenings, in bad acts or in quasi-physical needs rather than in persons and standards. The control of conduct is external in two senses: (a) the standards conformed to consist of outer commands or pressures and, (b) the motive is to avoid external punishment, obtain rewards and have favours returned.

Stage I: Obedience and punishment orientation. Stage I defines the sociomoral order in terms of differentials of power, status and possessions, rather than in terms of equality or reciprocity. The principles maintaining the social order are obedience to the strong by the weak, and punishment by the strong of those who deviate. Punishment is feared like any other aversive stimulus, rather than because of its impersonal implications. There is belief in objective responsibility.

Stage II: Naive hedonistic and instrumental orientation. Stage II has a clear sense of fairness as quantitative equality in exchange and distribution between individuals. Positively, it prescribes acts of reciprocity conceived as the equal exchanges of favours or blows or acts of co-operation in terms of a goal of which each person gets an equal share. Negatively, it deems non-interference in the sphere of another person.

Level Two: Morality of Conventional Role Conformity

Morality at this level is defined in terms of performing good acts and maintaining the conventional social order or the expectations of other individuals. The definition of good and bad goes beyond mere obedience to the consideration of rules and authority. Control of conduct is external, in that standards conformed to are rules and expectations held by those who are significant others by virtue of personal attachment or delegated authority. Motivation is largely internal.

Stage III: Good boy morality of maintaining good relations.

The Stage III sense of justice centers on the Golden Rule ideal of imaginative reciprocity, rather than exchange. Related to this is the conception of equity in Stage III; i.e., it is fair to give more to a more helpless person because you can take his role and make up for his

helplessness. Both ideal reciprocity and equity orient obligation to initial unilateral helping followed by gratitude, rather than strict equal exchanges. The socio-moral order is conceived of as primarily composed of dyadic relations of mutual role-taking, mutual affection, gratitude and concern for one another's approval. The Stage III notions fit best in the institutions of family and friendship, which are grounded in positive interpersonal relationships.

Stage IV: Authority and social-order maintaining morality.

Stage IV defines justice in terms of a system, a social order of roles and rules which are shared and accepted by the whole community and which constitute the community.

In terms of role-taking, this means that each actor must orient to the other's orientation as part of a larger shared system to which they both belong and to which all are oriented. Stage IV positive reciprocity is exchange of reward for effort or merit, not interpersonal exchange of goods or services. Negative reciprocity is even more clearly centered in the social system: vengeance is the right of society, and is conceived not as vengeance but as paying your debt to society. Orientation to "doing your duty" and to showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake are important at this stage. People at Stage IV take the perspective of others who have legitimate rights and expectations in a

situation. Virtue must be rewarded.

Level Three: Morality of Self-Accepted Moral Principles.

Morality at this level is defined in terms of conformity to shared or shareable standards, rights or duties. This level is unlike the previous ones in that the possibility of conflict between two socially accepted standards is acknowledged, and attempts at rational decision-making between them are made. Control of conduct is internal, since the standards conformed to have an internal source. The decision to act is based on an inner process of thought and judgement concerning right and wrong.

Stage V: Morality of contract, individual rights and democratically accepted law. At this stage, norms of right and wrong are defined in terms of laws or institutionalized rules, which are seen to have a rational basis (i.e., they express the will of the majority). The social contract which is the basis of the stage V socio-moral order, is a justice conception which presupposes reciprocity of the partners, to the agreement and equality between them prior to agreement, though the form of agreement takes priority over substantive justice, once agreement has been reached. Duty and obligation are similarly defined in terms of an abstract concept of contract rather than the needs of individual persons. When

conflict exists between human need, law or contract, though sympathetic to the form, the Stage V individuals believe the latter must prevail because of its greater functional rationality for society.

Stage VI: Morality of individual principles of conscience.

At Stage VI, the sense of justice becomes clearly focused on the rights of humanity independent of civil society, and these rights are recognized as having a positive basis in respect for the equal worth of human beings as ends in themselves. Orientation is not only to the existing social rules and standards but also to conscience as a directing agent, mutual respect and trust, and principles of moral choice involving appeal to logical universality and consistency. Conduct is controlled by an internalized ideal that exerts pressure toward action that seems right regardless of the reactions of others in the immediate environment. If one acts otherwise, self-condemnation and guilt result. Though aware of the importance of law and contract, moral conflict is generally resolved in terms of broader moral principles such as the Golden Rule. The individual at Stage VI is aware of the demands made upon him in a situation by rules, laws and previous commitments, and he may undergo much agony if these considerations conflict with his conscience.

Kohlberg (1958 and 1969) should be consulted if a complete rationale for the six stages is required.

There is empirical evidence that the six stages form an invariant developmental sequence in which attainment of an advanced stage is dependent on the attainment of each of the preceding stages, and that a more advanced stage is not simply an addition to a less advanced stage, but rather represents a reorganization of less advanced levels. The evidence is derived from a variety of sources: age trends in various cultures and social classes (Kohlberg 1963a; 1968), a Guttman "quasi-simplex" pattern in the correlations between the stages (Kohlberg 1963a), and longitudinal studies of individual development (Kohlberg 1970).

Evidence of sequence is suggested not only by the regular age order of stages, but also by patterning within the individual. If a child is predominantly at one stage of thought, for example Stage III, the remainder of his thinking tends to represent neighboring stages, in this case the second and the fourth (Kohlberg 1963a). The notion of sequence also implies that the child's capacity to learn new modes of thought is contingent on their match with his current stage of thought. Experimental studies (Turiel 1966; Rest, Turiel and Kohlberg 1969) demonstrate that by eliminating the present stage reached by a subject, he commences assimilation of moral judgements one stage above it, and assimilates to a lesser extent judgements

two or more stages above or one or more stages below it.

Empirical evidence has shown the existence of parallelism between cognitive and moral stages (Kohlberg 1968; 1971). Yet, this correspondence is imperfect.

Kohlberg predicts that all children at a given moral stage will pass the experimental task at the equivalent cognitive stage, but not all children at a given cognitive stage will pass the equivalent moral experimental task (Kohlberg and DeVries 1969).

Other findings demonstrate that all adolescents and adults using Stage V or Stage VI reasoning are also capable of formal reasoning on the Inhelder and Piaget pendulum and correction problems. Many adolescents and adults capable of the latter show no Stage V or Stage VI moral reasoning (Kohlberg 1971). The results mentioned above are further supported when moral judgement is correlated with mental age. While mental age on standard intelligence tests is not a direct indication of Piaget Cognitive Stage, the two tests correlate well (Kohlberg and DeVries 1969).

The research reported by Kohlberg and Kramer (1969) concluded that no further age increases in moral maturity occurred after the age of twenty-five years. This suggests that high school scores on moral judgement maturity are predictive of adult moral maturity scores.

C. Sociological Factors

This project was based on the theoretical framework developed by Kohlberg. The major focus of the endeavour is to test the existence or non-existence of associations between certain sociological factors and moral orientation. In approaching these factors, previous research findings of Kohlberg and his associates are included as well as other data germane to the consideration of these factors as possible influences on moral development.

The following sociological factors are considered: religious affiliation and practice, sociopolitical orientation, and social class.

(A) Religious Affiliation and Practice.

Religion in Newfoundland involves various forms and elements. The observer quickly perceives the visible pattern and hierarchy of the Roman Catholics, the parishes of the Anglicans, congregations of United Churchmen, and the storefronts of the fundamentalist assemblies.

It is assumed that religion involves a tradition of making sense of the world. Moreover, it involves a set of organizations through which those who hold similar ideas are linked into various bodies of believers. Religious organizations in Canada recruit their members unequally from the society that contains them. Orientations toward declaring one's sins in private or public, toward believing in a literal interpretation or a continual reinterpretation

of the Bible, toward acquiescing to the status quo or rejecting it, find unequal resonances in a population that is differentiated in its style of life and its access to power and responsibility.

Kohlberg (1971) states that no important differences exist in the development of moral thinking between Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Buddhists, Moslems and atheists.

Children's moral values in the religious sphere appear to progress through the same stages as their general moral values. Both cultural values and religion are important in, selectively elaborating certain themes of moral life, but they are not the only factors in the development of basic moral values. According to Kohlberg (1967) there is remarkably little use of religion among American children in their responses to moral dilemmas, regardless of their religious affiliation. In less religiously pluralistic societies, for instance Turkey, more religious concepts are introduced into moral responses, but mostly at the lower levels of development. Few differences between Protestants and Catholics are apparent when the general level of moral judgement is considered. Studies do show, however, that exposure to parochial schooling increases intentionality of moral development on Piagetian tests. Yet, it should be noted that this is equally true for both Protestants and Catholics (Boehmn and Nass 1962; Brink 1963).

A nationwide Opinion Research Centre survey reported by Kohlberg (1967), found that a large majority of Americans stated their morality was dependent upon their religious beliefs. Subjectively they may be correct. Objectively, however, studies since those of Hartshorne and May (1928) have found no relation between experimental measures of honesty and type or amount of religious participation or education.

However, Haan, Smith and Block (1968) in researching moral reasoning among certain groups of young American adults produced data which suggested that subjects with a principled moral orientation were more frequently agnostics, atheists or areligious, while conventionally moral individuals tended to retain the religious beliefs of their childhood and attend church. Premoral individuals tended to be non-theistic and poor church attenders.

(B) Sociopolitical Orientation.

The political sphere has long been the exclusive sanctuary of the adult world. Yet, the effects of the body politic have reached certain segments of the young population as seen during the sixties and seventies in Paris, Berkeley, New York and Montreal. Yet, documented research relating moral orientation to sociopolitical orientation among Canadians is unavailable.

A recent study conducted in the United States by Turner and Whitten (1971) indicates that polarization of Americans into different political camps, such as left wing versus right wing and militant versus pacifist, can be traced to the levels of moral development which guide these individuals through most of their daily activity. Certain moral perspectives appear to impel radical while certain others appear to impel conservative interpretations of reality. They found that adults who thought of themselves as politically conservative consistently referred to law, order, and authority maintenance (Stage IV, Kohlberg) in making their moral judgements. Self-possessed liberals and moderates tended to make Kohlberg Stage V judgements. Radical citizens, however, showed an interesting distribution. Although most evinced the Kohlberg Stage VI, a large minority tended to make egocentric (Stage II, Kohlberg) judgements.

Haan, Smith and Block (1968) in their study of moral reasoning among certain groups of young American adults considered sociopolitical activity and political orientation. Their results show morally principled individuals as most politically radical and highest in degree of participation in sociopolitical concerns. Little sociopolitical agreement with their elders was evident among this group, and they gave their parents little credit for what they are today. Conventionally moral

individuals showed more political conservatism and a greater degree of inactivity in sociopolitical matters. They appeared to have few political differences with their conservative parents. Among the premarital group males tended to consider themselves political liberals or radicals, while the females considered themselves moderate liberals.

Political polarization of the population similar to that studied by Turner and Whitten (1971) is nowhere to be found in Newfoundland. In fact, only a small proportion of the eligible voters are active in conventional party politics. Social activism is infrequently observed. The population is politically homogeneous in its orientation, which tends to be moderate or conservative.

Initially, the author intended to hypothesize that he would turn up findings similar to those of Haan, Smith and Block (1968). However, from observations of Newfoundland society, and in particular the university environment, it is unrealistic to predict the existence of an association between participation in sociopolitical issues and moral orientation. Newfoundlanders, including students, also appear middle of the road (moderate) in their political orientation. Thus, to predict the existence of an association between type of political orientation and moral orientation was inappropriate.

A closer inspection was made of the university environment, with special reference to the sampling

population used for the project. Students have little experience of participating in sociopolitical issues. No sociopolitical interest groups exist on campus. This indicates few people are orientated towards such participation, and that few opportunities exist for those who might want to become involved. Radical, left wing and militant groups are non-existent, as is the overt polarization of students on any sociopolitical issue. In summary, the university population appears in harmony with the wider community with relation to sociopolitical matters.

These observations have major importance when applied to first year students. The majority of these people are young (16 to 18 years) since they immediately entered university after high school graduation. Literally no opportunity exists in their pre-university environment to participate in sociopolitical matters or to be exposed to other political orientations, besides those held by their parents or other adults. In Kohlberg's (1964) developmental perspective the role of socializing agents and institutions is primarily that of providing role-taking opportunities, since the young person is viewed as developing morality in his own terms. The sampling population used in this project have emerged from pre-university environments where role-taking opportunities related to the sociopolitical sphere were non-existent.

Now they are immersed in the university environment, which possesses a similar sociopolitical opportunity structure.

Thus, the socializing agents in both these situations hold a narrow range of political orientations, and provide little opportunity for participation in sociopolitical issues. By comparison, the environment from which Haan, Smith and Block (1968) selected their sample has a variety of these socializing agents and associated role-taking opportunities.

The media no doubt have exposed the subjects to protests, social action and different political orientations. Yet, little of this exposure has been manifested in subjects' behavior.

Hodgetts (1968:15) in a study of Canadian high school students, presents a similar overview. He found that the majority of English speaking high school graduates were without the knowledge and the attitudes they should have to play an effective role as citizens in present-day Canada. The most widely held attitude of the students was either complete indifference or deep cynicism towards politics and political life. In this context, Hodgetts suggests, the most politically socialized are simply those who have absorbed the greatest number of generally accepted political norms.

Hodgetts' conclusion generally supports my observations on the Newfoundland setting. Sociopolitical activism among the students is minute. In fact, they are unfamiliar with the basic democratic institutions, their core rights and duties under the rule of law, and the responsibilities of those elected to public office.

(C) Social Class

Reviews of several studies, conducted in many cultures, of social-class differences found in conjunction with Piagetian or Kohlberg measures of moral judgement all demonstrate the same thing: that the direction of age change on all measures is the same for lower-class and middle-class children. However, middle-class children tend to advance further on these measures than do lower-class children (Kohlberg 1963a). Since this has been a consistent finding, it was decided to test the association using Newfoundland students.

Many difficulties confront those who attempt to utilize social class as a research variable. Without hesitation this author agrees with Littlejohn (1963:111):

A social class is neither a mere category arbitrarily defined by myself on the basis of one or more characteristics, such as property or ownership, nor is it a group in a strict sense of the term as implying clear cut boundaries and a constitution laying down a limited set of relationships among its members. A class is rather for its members one of the major horizons of all social experience; an area in which most social experience is defined.

Canadian sociology does have social class scales for research purposes. Cognizant of its limitations, the Blishen Scale for Canada (1967) was found to be appropriate. In relating the concept of the Blishen Scale the following definition of class phrased by Duncan (1961:116-117) is relevant:

A man qualifies himself for occupational life by obtaining an education; as a consequence of pursuing his occupation, he obtains income. Occupation, therefore, is the intervening activity linking income to education. If we characterize an occupation according to the prevailing levels of education and income of its incumbents, we are not only estimating its social status and its economic status, we are also describing one of its major causes and one of its major effects.

The Blishen Scale casts occupations into seven different categories. The large majority of the sample used in this present study have close family ties. No wonder, they are young (16-18 years). It was appropriate, therefore, to measure the social class of the subjects in relation to the ranking of their parents' occupations.

D. Hypotheses

This project sought to verify the existence or non-existence of associations between moral orientation, as measured by the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale, and certain sociological factors. This initial research among Newfoundland university students attempted to verify the following hypotheses:

(A) Religious Affiliation and Practice. Existing empirical evidence suggests that a person's religious faith, frequency of church attendance, and degree of religiosity are unrelated to moral orientation. These findings have been consistent in western societies.

Hypothesis I: The religious faith in which a person is raised is unrelated to his level of moral orientation.

Hypothesis II: The degree of religiosity which a person professes is unrelated to his level of moral orientation.

Hypothesis III: The frequency of a person's church attendance is unrelated to his level of moral orientation.

(B) Sociopolitical Orientation. Available research data suggests a person's professed political orientation (i.e., reactionary, liberal, moderate, etc.) and degree of participation (i.e., extreme, moderate, slight, etc.) in relation to sociopolitical issues are associated with his level of moral orientation. Yet, observations of the Newfoundland setting have suggested other conclusions.

Hypothesis IV: A person's professed degree of participation in sociopolitical issues is unrelated to his level of moral orientation.

Hypothesis V: A person's professed political orientation is unrelated to his level of moral orientation.

(C) Social Class. Aware of Kohlberg's consistent finding that middle-class children advance further on the moral judgement scale than lower-class children, the following

association between social class and level of moral orientation was predicted.

Hypothesis VI: People from higher social strata are higher on measures of moral judgement than people from lower class strata.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

(A) Introduction

Research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure.

One version of the naturalistic thesis proclaims that inquiry in the social sciences can be called scientific, only if conducted in accordance with the methods of the physical sciences, particularly physics. Yet, it is futile to argue whether or not a certain design is scientific. The author agrees with Suchman (1962:40) "Design is the plan of study and as such is present in all researches, uncontrolled as well as controlled, subjective as well as objective."

Indeed the matter is complex. The degree of accuracy desired, the level of proof aimed at, and the state of existing knowledge, all combine to determine the degree of "science" in one's design.

In contrast to the direct and predetermined relationships of the natural world, relations between the phenomena of the social and psychological sphere are

indirect. Direct relationships seldom exist, for the human has the capacity to interpret. Thus, two persons can conceivably react differently to the same objective influences. This process of interpretation allows the social scientist few ways of controlling for extraneous or intervening variables.

This project attempted to test certain hypotheses drawn from the theory and research associated with moral judgement. The concept of causality is germane to these hypotheses. Common sense thinking about causality states that one factor (X) may provide a complete explanation for a relationship with factor (Y). However, the social scientist rarely, if ever, expects to find a single factor or condition that is both necessary and sufficient to bring about an event. Rather, he finds contributory or contingent conditions, both of which operate to make the occurrence of an event probable, but not certain. In fact the dominant position in modern science approaches causality in terms of multiple determining conditions rather than in terms of a single factor that always leads to a given event. Thus, here the word cause means: "one of a number of determining conditions which together make the occurrence of a given event probable" (Sellitz, et al., 1959).

The hypotheses tested in this project conform to the view of causality presented. The author will simply

infer from observed data, with some specified degree of certainty, that a factor (X) is a condition for the occurrence of (Y).

Research Hypotheses:

In this section the propositions derived from theory and research are stated as operational statements capable of statistical validation.

Hypothesis I: The religious faith in which a person is raised is unrelated to his level of moral orientation.

Religious faith refers to Christian denominations such as The Anglican Church, The United Church, and The Roman Catholic Church. Level of moral orientation refers to the stage scored on the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale.

Hypothesis II: The degree of religiosity which a person professes is unrelated to his level of moral orientation.

Degree of religiosity was measured by an ordinal scale.

The student was asked to indicate how religious he was (i.e., very religious, moderately religious.....). Level of moral orientation refers to the stage scored on the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale.

Hypothesis III: The frequency of a person's church attendance is unrelated to his level of moral orientation.

Frequency of church attendance was measured by an ordinal scale. The subject was asked to indicate how often he attended church (i.e., frequently, weekly, occasionally). Level of moral orientation refers to the stage scored on

the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale.

Hypothesis IV: A person's degree of participation in sociopolitical issues is unrelated to his level of moral orientation.

Degree of participation is measured by an ordinal scale (i.e., extreme, moderate, slight....). Moral orientation refers to the stage scored on the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale.

Hypothesis V: A person's professed political orientation is unrelated to his level of moral orientation.

Professed political orientation was measured by a nominal scale. It refers to relative political position such as reactionary, conservative, liberal and radical. Moral orientation refers to the stage scored on the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale.

Hypothesis VI: People from higher social strata are higher on measures of moral judgement than people from lower class strata.

(B) Subjects

The population studied was composed of native Newfoundlanders who are full-time first-year students at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Initially, a random sample of 548 students or approximately twenty-nine percent of the total first year enrollment of 1900 students was collected. The original sample was significantly reduced for the following reasons: (a) There are limitations in the paper-and-pencil version of the Kohlberg

Moral Judgement Scale (Haan, Smith and Block 1968). Thus, subjects who demonstrated a mixed moral type were eliminated to increase the probability of homogeneity among the stage groups. Approximately forty percent (219 subjects) of the initial sample were excluded for this reason. (b) Approximately five percent (28 students) of those who successfully completed the Moral Judgement Scale were removed for miscellaneous reasons (i.e., non-completion of the questionnaire, bad handwriting, etc.).

Thus, 301 subjects or fifty-five percent of the original sample drawn, were used in the data analysis. This sample constitutes approximately fifteen percent of the first-year enrollment. Yet, the bias introduced by the procedures outlined, places severe limitations on the breadth of the inferences which can be made from the data.

(C) Pilot Study

Before the final draft of the data collecting device was prepared for distribution among the subjects, a pilot study was conducted. Approximately 30 first-year students were drawn at random over a period of two weeks.

This pilot study had four objectives:

1. To present the five moral dilemmas selected from the Moral Judgement Scale, so that an evaluation of the suitability of story content, phraseology and subsequent explanatory questions could be made.

2. To evaluate the overall design of the questionnaire, including the clarity, repetition

and inconsistency of its items.

3. To discover if the device tended to fatigue, thereby increasing the probability of insincere or dishonest responses.

4. To gather the general impressions of the students as to the content and design of both instruments. This commentary increased the author's awareness of question relevance and phraseology.

The pilot study had utility. Questionnaire design was modified by deleting certain questions and restating others. Subjects stated that the device did not fatigue them. Confidence in the choice of moral dilemmas was reinforced, since all subjects found the content clear in presentation and the questions easy to answer.

(D) Main Study

The objectives of this project require data for two purposes: (a) Data on the level of moral orientation among first-year Memorial University students. A paper-and-pencil version of the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale was used to collect this data. (b) Data on the sociological factors which permit the hypotheses derived from past theory and research to be tested. A questionnaire was used to collect this information. These instruments are reproduced in Appendix A. A brief overview of each follows:

(a) Moral Judgement Scale

A subject's moral stage can be determined by using all or part of the Moral Judgement Scale developed by Kohlberg (1958). The complete scale contains ten hypothetical conflict situations. These situations pose classical moral dilemmas and are followed by questions designed to elicit the subject's resolution of the situation and more importantly his supporting reasons.

The scale was initially designed for verbal administration. During the pilot study of this project, the verbal interview was used. It was found to be very time consuming, and those tested stated it was fatiguing. Also, the author realized that considerable experience was necessary to present the interview in a consistent and yet sensitive manner. Thus, a shorter and less time consumptive paper-and-pencil version of the scale, like that used by Haan, Smith and Block (1968), was selected.

The five dilemma situations used were favourably evaluated by students in the pilot study. Many stated they had enjoyed thinking about them and answering the questions. The five situations used were:

Situation One: Heinz steals the drug. (Number III in Kohlberg 1958).

Situation Two: Euthanasia. (Number IV in Kohlberg 1958).

Situation Three: Heinz escapes from jail. (Number VIII in Kohlberg 1958).

Situation Four: Joe's earnings; his father's position. (Number I in Kohlberg 1958).

Situation Five: Two brothers: borrowing and stealing. (Number VII in Kohlberg 1958).

(b) Questionnaire for Sociological Factors:

This instrument contained nineteen questions divided into four sections. Section I through Section III contained questions pertaining to a particular sociological factor. Consistent with the project objectives, each of these sections was designed to collect data relating to specific hypotheses. Most questions were ordinally scaled. The basic requirement for this scale is that one be able to determine for each individual or object being measured, whether that individual has more of the attribute in question than other individuals (Sellitz et al., 1959). Section IV contained nominally scaled questions bearing on the subjects' general background. A brief section-by-section outline of the questionnaire follows.

Section I: Religious Affiliation and Practice:

This section contained three questions. Question One centered on the religious faith in which the student was raised, such as Roman Catholic, Anglican, United Church. The other two questions established frequency of church attendance and professed degree of religiosity.

Section II: Social Political Orientation:

This section contained three questions. Question Four bore

on the political orientation of the subject (i.e.,
reactionary, conservative, moderate, liberal, radical).
The other questions probed the degree of participation in
sociopolitical issues of the subject and his parents.

Section III: Social Class: This section contained
three questions pertaining to the social-class position of
the subject. The Blishen Scale (1967), an ordinaly
scaled instrument, was used to place the occupations in
particular social classes. This ranking constituted the
measure of social class for this project. Two of the
questions focused on the mother's present work status and
occupation. However, only ten percent of the mothers are
working. Thus, consideration of mothers' occupations with
relation to social class was omitted.

Section IV: Descriptive Information: This section
contained ten items. Information regarding sex, age,
social relationships (i.e., single, married, engaged,
going steady), living accommodations (at home with parents,
with relatives, boarding, in apartment), type of community
in which subject was raised, date of university entrance
and long-term vocational goals was sought.

Subjects were asked to state the present conception
of their vocational goals. Initially, it was thought that
many categories would be needed to accommodate their
responses. However, the data collected needed little
categorization since the students conformed to a limited

variety of responses on this question.

Three questions concerning environment allowed the author to identify the home town of the subject, the community where he resided during high school, and his length of residence in the latter community. Community residence while attending high school was included to permit identification of those subjects who had to relocate to another community to attend high school. It was found that approximately eighty-eight percent of the sample considered the community in which they resided during high school to be their home town. In all these cases length of residence was greater than five years. Twelve percent of the sample considered their home town different from that resided in during high school attendance. In all these cases length of residence was less than five years. Thus, the home town stated by the student was used to categorize the general environmental situation in which he was raised.

Defining actual environmental categories was difficult. Communities in Newfoundland with a variety of industries and institutions, public services and facilities are easily classed. Available census data (1971) and personal knowledge of Newfoundland geography and commerce helped establish these as the most urbanized communities in the province. Over forty-five percent of the sample

were raised in such centres.

Though the urban centres are easily recognized, the majority of other communities in which subjects were raised resisted rigid classification. Less than eleven percent of the home communities could be convincingly categorized as rural, when compared with the other communities in which subjects were reared. A number of communities have both urban and rural characteristics. They are dependent on an urban centre because of a key industry or the centralization of public services. It was decided, therefore, to place these mixed home towns, except those which were relatively isolated, in one category. An outline of the three community categories follows:

(i) Urban Centres: These communities are the major industrial and commercial centres in the province. They contain the largest division of labour, heterogeneity of population and the major offices for government, mass media and law enforcement agencies. All have populations of at least ten thousand people. (Refer: Anderson, 1970:97).

(ii) Mixed Urban-Rural Towns: The majority of these communities have a population between four thousand and seven thousand people. There is variation in the degree of urban influence exerted on them, but in general they have the life style of a small town.

(iii) Isolated Areas: The facilities and services of these communities are noticeably fewer when compared with those of communities in the other environmental categories. Geographically, they were also isolated from the urban centres. All had a population of less than one thousand people.

(E) Sampling Procedure.

The author administered the instruments to groups of thirty to forty subjects in a classroom situation. In summary, subjects were instructed first to complete the Moral Judgement Scale in the arranged order (situation one to situation five) writing detailed answers to explain their position. Then, all questionnaire items were completed, unless a particular one was considered offensive. However, no items were omitted for this reason. The time required to complete both instruments ranged from fifty to sixty-five minutes.

(F) Analysis

The objectives of this project require three kinds of analyses: (a) score the moral judgement scale so that the moral orientation of subjects, by stage, could be determined; (b) analyze statistically the six hypotheses for the degree of confidence one can place in the associations found between certain sociological factors and moral orientation; (c) present a quantitative,

descriptive overview by stage. A brief discussion of each mode of analysis follows.

(a) Scoring for moral orientation:

Aware of the procedures developed by Kohlberg (1958) to determine moral stage, the rating procedure was selected as the main scoring tool. Using the rating form as a guide, the total response to a conflict situation was either assigned to one or two of the six stages. If the total response reflected one stage, then it was coded by that stage. If the total response reflected two stages, then it was coded by those two stages, with one of them receiving more weight than the other.

Each situation was allotted three points which were distributed among the coded stages. Responses to a situation assigned to one stage had all three points allotted to that stage. If responses were assigned to two stages, then the three points were divided between the two stages: the stage projecting greater weight received two points, and the other stage, one point. After all situations rated were scored in this manner, point totals by stage were computed for each subject. The author was careful to include in the study only subjects who clearly fit a particular stage. It was felt that greater homogeneity among stage groups could be obtained if an arbitrary cut off for the accumulated points was used. Thus, a subject was required to have on one stage, twice

the summed weight of any other for all five situations. Unless a subject achieved this, he was eliminated from further analysis. This procedure helped reduce the mixed-type effect, thereby increasing the probability of homogeneity among the stage groups. However, this arbitrary cut off technique reduced the original sample by approximately forty percent.

Rating was carried out on a situation-by-situation basis, rather than on a subject-by-subject basis. When all the protocols to a particular situation were scored, the next situation was scored for all subjects, and so on.

It was decided to use the detailed coding method (Kohlberg 1958) for the situations as a reliability check of the rating technique for scoring. The detailed coding method was devised and standardized from the responses given by subjects to questions contained in the scale (Kohlberg 1958). Each of the responses listed in the coding forms has been assigned a stage. A subject's responses to a given situation were separated into "thought content" units for detailed coding. Each unit was assigned a stage, as determined by the stage classification of that unit, in the coding form. After all situations were coded the total number of units assigned to each of the stages was determined.

The sparse detail in responses given by subjects tended to limit certain content areas in both scoring

procedures, but especially in the detailed coding method. Yet, careful analysis of the thought content available reinforced the view that scoring was adequate. Product moment correlations of $r = .882$; $r = .842$; $r = .794$; $r = .771$; $r = .821$ were found between the scores on the rating technique and the detailed coding method for situation one through situation five respectively.

(b) Statistical Analysis of Hypotheses:

Ordinal data relating to the hypotheses were analyzed by the chi-square test (Siegel 1956:175), and the Spearman rank correlation coefficient (R_s) corrected for large samples (Siegel 1956:212). Hypotheses for nominally scaled data were analyzed by the chi-square test and the contingency coefficient (C).

In using the chi-square test, the recommendations of Cochran (1954) were followed. If the tabulated data did not meet the basic requirements for a valid application of the test, adjacent categories were collapsed. This procedure was applied until fewer than twenty percent of the cells had expected frequencies of less than five and no cells had an expected frequency of less than one.

A significance level of $p \leq .05$ was adopted. Significance at $p \leq .10$ is also reported where the results have special interest.

(c) Descriptive Information:

A description is presented in percentages from the information collected through Section IV of the questionnaire. These background data are nominally scaled. In cases where the application of chi-square was applicable, the results are noted in the text.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The results of this project are best presented by dividing this chapter into three parts. Part I reports the results of the moral judgement scoring by stage; Part II presents the data generated through the descriptive items in Section IV of the questionnaire; and Part III reports the results of the hypotheses tested.

Part I: Moral Judgement Scores

Scoring procedures produced the stage distribution outlined in Table I.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS BY MORAL STAGE

Level	Stage	Number of Subjects	Percent
One	2	68	22.6
Two	3	115	38.2
	4	84	27.9
Three	5	34	11.3
Totals		301	100.00

These procedures arbitrarily eliminated subjects who manifested a mixed moral orientation, or those in transition between stages. The majority of transitional subjects were moving upward from Stage III to Stage IV. Upward movement from Stage II to Stage III also was evident. Very few subjects were moving from Stage I or to Stage VI.

The distribution of subjects reveals that sixty-six percent fall within the conventional level of moral orientation (Level Two). Data from other settings show a similar distribution (Haan, Smith and Block 1968). Yet, this American study shows the greatest percentage of subjects at Stage IV rather than Stage III as in the present study (see Table I). Yet, the majority of transitional subjects in the original sample, were moving upward from Stage III to Stage IV.

Part II: Descriptive Information

(A) Sex:

A chi-square test performed on these data showed no significance at the .05 level. Yet the stage compositions in Table II indicate a slight trend towards higher stage of moral orientation for females. In Stages IV and V, female representation exceeds the proportion of females in the sample (see Table II).

TABLE II

MORAL ORIENTATION AND SEX

Sex	Stages				Totals
	Two	Three	Four	Five	
Male	47(69.12)	77(66.96)	46(54.76)	20(58.82)	190(63.12)
Female	21(30.88)	38(33.04)	38(45.24)	14(41.18)	111(36.88)
Totals	68(100.00)	115(100.00)	84(100.00)	34(100.00)	301(100.00)

(B) Age:

A chi-square test performed on these data showed no statistical significance at the .05 level. No age trends across the stages exist (see Table III). Subjects were no younger than sixteen. Approximately five percent were older than nineteen. The age range for the distribution was sixteen to twenty-one years. Overall, approximately eighty-one percent of the subjects were between sixteen and eighteen. For Stage II, III, IV and V, the proportion of students between sixteen and eighteen were 80.9 percent, 84.3 percent and 79.4 percent respectively. The age distribution reveals that these subjects are perhaps too young to have had opportunities to become involved in political or adult social activities.

(C) University Entrance after High School:

Approximately eighty-five percent of the subjects entered university immediately after graduating from high school (Grade XI). Of the remaining fifteen percent approximately ten percent entered university one academic year following their graduation. The majority of subjects in this group stated they were upgrading their marks during the intervening year. The remaining five percent stated they entered university within three years after graduating from Grade XI. During this interim period they held a number of jobs. Again, however, the major cause

TABLE III.

MORAL ORIENTATION AND AGE

Age	Stages				Totals
	Two	Three	Four	Five	
16	10(14.70)	20(17.39)	11(13.10)	4(11.76)	45(14.95)
17	29(42.65)	47(40.87)	38(45.24)	16(47.06)	130(43.19)
18	16(23.53)	30(26.09)	16(19.05)	7(20.59)	69(22.92)
19-	13(19.12)	18(15.65)	19(22.61)	7(20.59)	57(18.94)
Totals	68(100.00)	115(100.00)	84(100.00)	34(100.00)	301(100.00)

for the interruption was the upgrading of marks.

These data suggest that the majority of students who intend to attend university enter either immediately after Grade XI graduation or as soon as they are qualified. It is interesting that no students who interrupted their educational career stated other interests or involvements, such as travel, sports, politics or social action groups as their reason for later entrance into university.

(D) Student Living Accommodations:

A chi-square test performed on these data was not significant at the .05 level. No trends are evident between the type of living accommodation and moral orientation. However, Table IV shows that forty-four percent of subjects in Stage V live at home. This finding is different from that of Haan, Smith and Block (1968), who found principled moral subjects were more likely to live on their own in apartments and houses. Approximately nine percent of the principled moral respondents in this project live in apartments. No subjects live alone. The remaining ninety-one percent live in more conventional surroundings. However, the data reported in Table IV provide a poor comparison with those of Haan, Smith and Block (1968). Over thirty percent of this sample are residents of St. John's, where the university is situated, or of communities close to St.

TABLE IV

MORAL ORIENTATION AND STUDENT LIVING ACCOMMODATIONS

Accommodations	Stages				Totals
	Two	Three	Four	Five	
University Residence	15(22.06)	22(19.13)	21(25.00)	7(20.59)	65(21.59)
At Home With Parents	24(35.29)	40(34.78)	24(28.57)	15(44.12)	103(34.22)
With Relatives	4(5.88)	5(4.35)	6(7.14)	1(2.94)	16(5.32)
Boarding	17(25.00)	38(33.04)	20(23.81)	8(23.53)	83(27.57)
Apartment Shared	8(11.77)	10(8.70)	13(15.48)	3(8.82)	34(11.30)
Totals	68(100.00)	115(100.00)	84(100.00)	34(100.00)	301(100.00)

John's. Given the age and early university status of these subjects, it is understandable that a large percentage of this group, whatever their moral stage, live at home. Also, among the subjects who reside elsewhere, selection of conventional accommodations probably sprang from parental guidance and the subjects' unfamiliarity with the new environment. No doubt, there exist individuals in both groups who desire to live on their own. However, lack of finances and the severe housing shortage in the city reduce their opportunities.

(E) Present Social Relationships:

A chi-square performed on these data showed no significance at the .05 level. No consistent trend emerges throughout the stages. Seventy percent of the sample (213 subjects) are single. This finding is congruent with the results relating to age and living accommodations reported earlier. The stage compositions (see Table V) show that as the stage level increases, the proportion of the subjects in the stage who profess going steady decreases. Also, the proportion of subjects who are married is proportionately at the higher stages.

(F) Long Term Vocational Goals: (See Table VI)

No trends across stages are evident. The stage compositions show that teacher predominates as the vocational goal of the subjects. Yet, the proportion who

TABLE V

MORAL ORIENTATION AND PRESENT
SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Status	Stages				Totals
	Two	Three	Four	Five	
Single	46(67.65)	84(73.04)	59(70.24)	24(70.59)	213(70.76)
Going Steady	17(25.00)	25(21.74)	16(19.05)	6(17.65)	64(21.26)
Engaged	1(1.47)	2(1.74)	4(4.76)	1(2.94)	8(2.66)
Married	4(5.88)	4(3.48)	5(5.95)	3(8.82)	16(5.32)
Totals	68(100.00)	115(100.00)	84(100.00)	34(100.00)	301(100.00)

TABLE VI

MORAL ORIENTATION AND LONG TERM VOCATIONAL GOALS

Vocational Choice	Stages				Totals
	Two	Three	Four	Five	
Teacher	24(35.29)	32(27.83)	21(25.00)	6(17.66)	83(27.57)
B.A. Degree	10(14.71)	15(13.04)	10(11.90)	4(11.76)	39(12.96)
Doctor	3(4.41)	11(9.57)	9(10.72)	4(11.76)	27(8.97)
Lawyer	2(2.94)	5(4.35)	2(2.38)	0(0.00)	9(2.99)
Accountant	4(5.88)	3(2.61)	5(5.95)	3(8.82)	15(4.98)
Social Worker	5(7.35)	6(5.21)	12(14.29)	7(20.59)	30(9.97)
Engineer	2(2.94)	6(5.21)	3(3.57)	4(11.76)	15(4.98)
Graduate Work	2(2.94)	4(3.48)	5(5.95)	2(5.89)	13(4.32)
Don't Know	16(23.54)	33(28.70)	17(20.24)	4(11.76)	70(23.26)
Totals	68(100.00)	115(100.00)	84(100.00)	34(100.00)	301(100.00)

selected it at each stage decreased as the stage level increased. It was selected 2.4 times, 2.1 times and 1.8 times more often than the second highest choice in Stages II, III, and IV, respectively. Among Stage V subjects teacher was the second highest vocational goal chosen. The largest proportion of Stage V subjects selected social worker as a vocational choice. In fact, social worker was chosen 1.2 times more often in Stage V than the second highest choice, teacher. The proportion of subjects choosing doctor becomes larger as the stage level increases.

Attainment of a B.A. degree or completing graduate work do not constitute vocations in themselves, but were, nonetheless, named by subjects. These choices may indicate either a misinterpretation of the question or a short-sightedness among the respondents. The stage patterns for these choices are, however, worth examination. The proportion of respondents who chose B.A. degree as their vocational goal was larger in Stage II and III, while the proportion of subjects who selected graduate work was larger in Stage IV and Stage V.

About twenty-three percent of the sample indicated they were uncertain about their vocational goals (don't know). Stage compositions indicate that a greater proportion of subjects in Stages IV and V have more definite vocational goals than do respondents in the

lower stage groups.

(G) Home Town Communities:

The home communities of subjects were divided into three categories. A chi-square test performed on these data showed significance at the .10 level ($\chi^2 = 12.48$; $.10 > p > .05$). The findings presented in Table VII show the proportion of subjects in the stages increases as the stage level increases. The opposite holds for the stage composition of mixed and isolated communities. Only a small proportion of this sample resided in relatively isolated areas.

Forty-three percent of this sample were residents of mixed communities. Identification of more subtle differences here would require the development of a more precise measuring instrument. The author was unable to develop this instrument. Thus, while the present categories are insensitive to the more subtle differences which may exist among communities in the mixed category, a weak association ($p < .10$) was still evident from the statistical tests.

Part III: Hypotheses

(A) Hypothesis I: The religious faith in which the subject was raised was found to be unrelated to his level of moral orientation. The chi-square test showed no statistically significant differences at the .05 level (see

TABLE VII

MORAL ORIENTATION AND HOME COMMUNITIES

Type of Community	Stages				Totals
	Two	Three	Four	Five	
Urban	22(32.35)	49(42.61)	47(55.95)	21(61.76)	139(46.18)
Mixed	37(54.41)	53(46.09)	30(35.71)	11(32.36)	131(43.52)
Isolated	9(13.24)	13(11.30)	7(8.34)	2(5.88)	31(10.30)
Totals	68(100.00)	115(100.00)	84(100.00)	34(100.00)	301(100.00)

Table VIII). A chi-square test, applied when the denominational groups were recategorized as Protestants and Roman Catholics, also showed no significance ($\chi^2 = .50$; $p > .05$).

(B) Hypothesis II: It was found that the professed degree of religiosity expressed by the subject is unrelated to his level of moral orientation. The Spearman rank correlation coefficient (R_s) corrected for large samples (Siegel 1956:212), showed no statistically significant association among the various groups (see Table IX).

Certain cells were collapsed to permit chi-square analysis. Very religious and moderately religious were subsumed by a top category, while slightly religious and irreligious were subsumed by a bottom category. The chi-square did not show significance at the .05 level ($\chi^2 = 0.60$; $p > .05$). Hypothesis II is confirmed.

(C) Hypothesis III: The frequency of church attendance of the subject was found to be unrelated to his level of moral orientation. Both the Spearman rank correlation coefficient corrected for large samples and the chi-square test showed no significance at the .05 level (see Table X). Hypothesis III is confirmed.

(D) Hypothesis IV: The degree of participation in sociopolitical activities was found to be unrelated to

TABLE VIII

MORAL ORIENTATION AND DENOMINATION OF CHILDHOOD

Religious Denomination	Stages				Totals
	Two	Three	Four	Five	
Anglican	22	40	31	8	101
United Church	10	23	15	8	56
Roman Catholic	27	43	32	15	117
* Other Groups	9	9	6	3	27
Totals	68	115	84	34	301

$$\chi^2 = 4.80; p > .05$$

$$C = .12; p > .05$$

*(Other groups include Salvation Army, Pentecostal and Baptist. To facilitate analysis these three groups were collapsed).

TABLE IX

MORAL ORIENTATION AND DEGREE OF RELIGIOSITY

Degree of Religiosity	Stages				Totals
	Two	Three	Four	Five	
Extreme	4	6	2	2	14
Moderate	27	43	33	11	114
Slight	25	48	31	14	118
Not at all	12	18	18	7	55
Totals	68	115	84	34	301

$$R_s = -.053$$

$$t = -0.92; p > .05$$

TABLE X

MORAL ORIENTATION AND CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Frequency of Attendance	Stages				Totals
	Two	Three	Four	Five	
Weekly	40	48	44	15	147
Monthly	12	25	13	3	53
Occasionally or Yearly	10	30	22	11	73
Never	6	12	5	5	28
Totals	68	115	84	34	301

$$R_s = .077$$

$$t = 1.33; p > .05$$

$$\chi^2 = 11.90; p > .05$$

moral orientation. The Spearman rank correlational analysis corrected for large samples failed to reach the .05 level (see Table XI).

Certain cells in Table XI were collapsed to permit chi-square analysis. Very active and moderately active subjects were grouped in a high category; slightly active and never active were subsumed in a low group. The chi-square analysis was also statistically insignificant ($\chi^2 = 6.45; p > .05$).

Since hypothesis IV predicted an absence of a relationship, this statistical analysis confirms it. Hypothesis IV is accepted.

Discussion:

Table XI shows that seventy-one percent of the sample (216 subjects) responded that they were slightly or never politically active. These responses appear reasonable since few opportunities exist in Newfoundland for individuals of this age group to participate in sociopolitical events.

Though no predictions were made about the degree of parental sociopolitical activity in relation to the subjects' moral orientation, the degree of association was tested by using the Spearman rank correlation coefficient, corrected for large sized samples. No statistically significant relationship was found for either mother or father.

TABLE XI

MORAL ORIENTATION AND DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION
IN SOCIOPOLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Degree of Participation	Stages				Totals
	Two	Three	Four	Five	
Extreme	1	3	9	5	18
Moderate	18	21	20	8	67
Slight	29	58	28	10	125
None	20	33	27	11	91
Totals	68	115	84	34	301

$$R_s = .087$$

$$t = 1.51; p > .05$$

father: $R_s = -.043$; $t = -1.43$; $p > .05$
($N=251$ since 43 respondents failed to answer)

mother: $R_s = -.043$; $t = -.74$; $p > .05$
($N=251$ since 46 respondents failed to answer)

(E) Hypothesis V: The professed political orientation of the subjects was found to be unrelated to their moral orientation. The data contained in Table XII are collapsed from the original categories of reactionary, conservative, moderate, liberal and radical. The chi-square test showed that no statistically significant relationship exists. The test therefore confirms the stated hypothesis. Hypothesis V is accepted.

Discussion:

Table XII shows that approximately forty-five percent of the subjects professed a moderate political orientation. This percentage is understandable. Most subjects have had no political involvement. Few opportunities exist in the province for individuals of this age to participate politically. Thus, they have little more than a textbook or mass media experience with political orientations like reactionary or radical.

A number of the subjects may well have misinterpreted the question. Though liberal and conservative are established political orientations, they are also the labels of the two major political parties in Canada.

TABLE XII

MORAL ORIENTATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION

Political Orientation	Stages				Totals
	Two	Three	Four	Five	
Reactionary-Conservative	18	30	15	3	66
Moderate	27	53	35	15	130
Liberal-Radical	20	27	32	15	94
Totals	65	110	82	33	290 *

$$\chi^2 = 10.70; \quad p > .05$$

$$C = .19; \quad p > .05$$

* (N = 301 was not used since eleven subjects stated they had no political orientation)

Though the author carefully clarified this point in the testing situation, subjects may still have answered the question by indicating their favorite political party.

(F) Hypothesis VI: Social class was found to vary directly with the level of moral orientation. The Spearman rank correlation coefficient corrected for large samples was significant at the .05 level (see Table XIII).

Table cells were collapsed to permit valid chi-square analysis: Professionals, upper-class, and upper-middle-class individuals were grouped in a top category; middle-class and lower middle-class individuals were grouped in an intermediate category; working class and poor individuals were grouped in a bottom category.

The chi-square test was not significant at the .05 level, though it was close to it ($\chi^2 = 12.40$; $.10 > p > .05$). The more powerful t test, however, established the existence of a significant degree of association. Hypothesis VI is confirmed.

TABLE XIII

MORAL ORIENTATION AND SOCIAL CLASS

Social Class Level	Stages				Totals
	Two	Three	Four	Five	
Professional upper-class	1	9	5	3	18
Upper middle-class	3	9	3	3	18
Middle class	3	8	16	4	31
Lower middle-class	13	28	16	11	68
Working class	19	21	21	6	67
Poor	26	37	22	7	92
Totals	65	112	83	34	294*

$$R_s = .164$$

$$t = 2.84; p < .05$$

* (N=301 was not used since fathers of seven subjects have died)

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

That there were comparatively few subjects from isolated communities, that the subjects used for analysis did not constitute a random sample, that the Moral Judgement Scale is better administered in an interview, and that only first year students composed the sample are the major limitations of this project.

Initially the author was interested in applying the Kohlberg scale to a variety of young Newfoundlanders. However, when it was found impractical to use different adolescent groups, university students were selected as the population from which a stratified random sample could be drawn. Other limitations presented themselves such that only first year students were available as the sampling population. A random sample of over five hundred students was initially selected. However, the scoring procedures eliminated the major benefits of this random selection. Only subjects who could be assigned to a pure modal type were included in the analysis. Thus, the inferences that can be made are limited. These limitations prevented the development of a representative profile of first year Newfoundland students on any dimension.

Use of first year Newfoundland students also meant a homogeneous group descriptively. This occurred because the sample composition provided no broad age range or range in experiences and involvements (i.e., sociopolitical involvement).

Overall, the sample was not large enough to permit exploration of many of the possible associations. Yet, the results do represent the profile of three hundred first year Newfoundland university students.

Aware that the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale yields its best results when presented in an interview, it was hoped at the commencement of this project to use the interview method. However, after testing the procedure, the author realized that his interview experience was insufficient to apply the interview guide consistently and sensitively. In summary, the most common problem encountered was the variation in applying the probing questions. There was a tendency by the subjects to wander from the topic. They forgot some of their statements in the course of the interview, so that each interview session was filled with incomplete viewpoints and arguments.

To prevent such inadequacies, the alternate paper-and-pencil test was selected. Cognizant of its limitations a large sample (548 subjects) was randomly selected. The detailed coding sheets and the more

simplistic rating guides devised by Kohlberg (1958) were used to score the protocols. Rating guides were used to assign the initial stage score, while the detailed coding sheets were used as a consistency check for the assigned scores. No alternative to these scoring devices was available. Requests were made to individuals working with the Kohlberg scale, but they were unable to provide the recently modified and more intensely developed version of the scoring manual. No doubt, there would have been less difficulty and a higher degree of accuracy if the modified scoring procedures had been accessible. Yet, in spite of these restrictions, the author is satisfied that the scoring is valid.

The questionnaire items used to generate data for hypothesis testing were based on the ratings of the subjects. Answers to these items should be understood as only temporary indicators of the subjects' participation and orientation in religion and politics.

No attempt was made to check the professed activity and participation of the subject with a more objective measure. The draft questionnaire did include a question which requested the subjects to indicate the social organizations and service groups to which they belonged, and to indicate their degree of participation and leadership in these groups. Their responses indicated that they joined only groups like Boy Scouts,

Girl Guides, Red Cross and church organizations. No doubt these organizations did provide certain opportunities. But, since the level of participation was moderate and since few were leaders, it was decided to omit the question from the final document. Further investigation of the sampled population confirms this low group participation.

The project tested six hypotheses regarding associations between moral orientation and sociological correlates. The results showed that the higher social strata hold higher levels of moral orientation. This finding is consistent with results found in other empirical research done with the Kohlberg Scale (Kohlberg 1963a).

Sociopolitical participation and political orientation were found to be unrelated to moral orientation. These results were predicted from observations of Newfoundland society. Young people in Newfoundland, and according to Hodgetts (1968) in other parts of Canada, generally show a low degree of interest and involvement in the political sphere. The sample in this project regardless of hometown environment and social-class position, showed a similar degree of political participation and were alike in their political orientation. Of course, as Kohlberg (1964) concludes, the upper social strata should have more access to the channels for political

participation. Yet, in Newfoundland no segment of the population has developed social action groups and political organizations equivalent to those Haan, Smith and Block (1968) were concerned with. Opportunities for political role-playing are slight in Newfoundland. Thus, it is of little surprise that sociopolitical participation is unrelated to moral orientation.

Political orientation shows a similar pattern. Few individuals in Newfoundland overtly manifest a political orientation and no groups exist that allow subjects to express a particular orientation. The overall society appears to manifest a similar political orientation. Thus, some subjects may have chosen the moderate category, because the population appears moderate in their orientation. Others may have professed to be moderate because they have yet to make any real political commitment.

Religion in the province is predominantly Protestant and Roman Catholic. The unrelatedness of religious affiliation and practice to moral orientation is consistent with results found by Kohlberg (1967). However, it is of little surprise. All subjects in the sample are Christians, and any sectarian divisions which may exist are eroding.

Descriptive data confirm that the sample is similar on many aspects. Sex and age were also cross tabulated with social class, religion, and political participation and orientation. No statistically significant associations were found.

Notes for Future Research:

To the author's knowledge, this is the first attempt to apply the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale to Newfoundland subjects. It is regrettable that the project was unable to produce a more representative profile of Newfoundland adolescents. This profile is necessary before moral orientation can be used as an explanatory tool in this setting.

Other researchers should endeavour to utilize the interview method in applying the Kohlberg Scale, since it is more reliable as a measuring instrument than the paper-and-pencil version. Also, care should be taken to insure that the interview content is applicable to each setting. The author found that only five of the Kohlberg Moral Dilemmas were meaningful to Memorial University students. Yet, before the complete set of dilemmas can be applied to the wider population, a thorough analysis of the story content and their questions should be made.

Of major interest is the relationship between social class and community. Other researchers must

develop a precise instrument which allows the links between social class, community environment, and moral orientation to emerge.

Newfoundland also provides the researcher with a homogeneous political orientation and few social action and protest groups. This stands in contrast to the urban United States. A sample of the adult population, stratified on major sociological dimensions, should produce different data from those of Turner and Whitten (1971).

APPENDIX A

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Sociological Research

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Please Note:

The appearance of this questionnaire is misleading. The spacing between questions and the spaces supplied for answers, have made the questionnaire exhibit that thick, boring and difficult appearance.

A brief description of the questionnaire may help put your task in perspective. It consists of two parts. Part A contains questions which require you to write down your thoughts and views in the spaces provided. Part B contains questions which require you to give answers by checking one of the supplied alternatives.

Please Complete All Questions

FORM A

Instructions for Stories and Questions

The purpose of the stories and questions which follow is to get at your opinions and ideas.

Please write down all the ideas or feelings the stories bring to mind, rather than giving "yes" or "no" answers.

Each story is followed by questions. Please answer them in the space provided on the sheet.

-
1. In Europe, a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make, but the druggist was charging ten times what the drug cost him to make. He paid \$200 for the radium and charged \$2,000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together \$1,000 which is half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, "No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it." So Heinz got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife.

- a. Should Heinz have done that? Was it actually wrong or right? Why?
- b. Is it a husband's duty to steal the drug for his wife if he can get it no other way? Would a good husband do it?
- c. Did the druggist have the right to charge that much when there was no law actually setting a limit to the price? Why?

Answer the next two questions only if you think he should steal the drug.

- d. If the husband does not feel very close or affectionate to his wife, should he still steal the drug?
- e. Suppose it wasn't Heinz's wife who was dying of cancer but it was Heinz's best friend. His friend didn't have any money and there was no one in his family willing to steal the drug. Should Heinz steal the drug for his friend in that case? Why?

Answer the next two questions only if you think Heinz should not steal the drug.

- f. Would you steal the drug to save your wife's life?
- g. If you were dying of cancer but were strong enough, would you steal the drug to save your own life?
- h. Heinz broke in the store and stole the drug and gave it to his wife. He was caught and brought before the judge. Should the judge send Heinz to jail for stealing, or should he let him go free? Why?

2. The drug didn't work, and there was no other treatment known to medicine which could save Heinz's wife, so the doctor knew that she had only about 6 months to live. She was in terrible pain, but she was so weak that a good dose of a pain-killer like ether or morphine would make her die sooner. She was delirious and almost crazy with pain, and in her calm periods, she would ask the Dr. to give her enough ether to kill her. She said she couldn't stand the pain and she was going to die in a few months anyway.

- 2a. Should the doctor do what she asks and give her the drug that will make her die? Why?

- 80
- b. When a pet animal is badly wounded and will die, it is killed to put it out of its pain. Does the same thing apply here? Why?

Answer the following questions only if you think the doctor should not give her the drug.

- c. Would you blame the doctor for giving her the drug?
- d. What would have been best for the woman herself, to have had her life for six months in great pain or have died sooner? Why?
- e. Some countries have a law that doctors could put away a suffering person who will die anyway. Should the doctor do it in that case?

Everyone should answer the remaining questions.

- f. The doctor finally decided to kill the woman to put her out of her pain, so he did it without consulting the law. The police found out and the doctor was brought up on a charge of murder. The jury decided he had done it, so they found him guilty of murder even though they knew the woman had asked him. What punishment should the judge give the doctor? Why?
- g. Would it be right or wrong to give the doctor the death sentence?
- h. Do you believe that the death sentence should be given in some cases? Why?
- i. The law prescribes the death penalty for treason against the country. Do you think the death sentence should be given for treason? Why?

3. While all this was happening, Heinz was in jail for breaking in and trying to steal the medicine. He had been sentenced for 10 years. But after a couple of years, he escaped from the prison and went to live in another part of the country under a new name. He saved money and slowly built up a big factory. He gave his workers the highest wages and used most of his profits to build a hospital for work in curing cancer. Twenty years had passed when a tailor recognized the factory owner as being Heinz, the escaped convict whom the police had been looking for back in his home town.

- 3a. Should the tailor report Heinz to the police? Would it be right or wrong to keep it quiet? Why?
- b. Is it a citizen's duty to report Heinz? Would a good citizen?
- c. If Heinz was a good friend of the tailor, would that make a difference? Why?
- d. Should Heinz be sent back to jail by the judge? Why?

4. Joe is a 14-year old boy who wanted to go to camp very much. His father promised him he could go if he saved up the money for it himself. So Joe worked hard at his paper route and saved up the \$40 it cost to go to camp and a little more besides. But just before camp was going to start, his father changed his mind. Some of his friends decided to go on a special fishing trip, and Joe's father was short of the money it would cost. So he told Joe to give him the money he had saved from the paper route. Joe didn't want to give up going to camp, so he thought of refusing to give his father the money.

- 4a. Should Joe refuse to give his father the money? Why?
- b. Does his father have the right to tell Joe to give him the money?

- c. Does giving the money have anything to do with being a good man?
- d. Which is worse, a father breaking a promise to his son or a son breaking a promise to his father?
- e. Why should a promise be kept?

5. Two grown up brothers got into serious trouble. They were secretly leaving town in a hurry and needed money. Alex, the older one, broke into a store and stole \$500. Joe, the younger one, went to a retired old man who was known to help people in town. Joe told the man that he was very sick and he needed \$500 to pay for the operation. Really he wasn't sick at all, and he had no intention of paying the man back. Although the man didn't know Joe very well, he loaned him the money. So Joe and Alex skipped town, each with \$500.

- 5a. If you had to say who did the worse, would you say Al did worse to break in the store and steal the \$500 or Joe did worse to borrow the \$500 with no intention of paying it back? Why?
- 5b. Would you feel like a worse person stealing like Al or cheating like Joe?
- c. Why shouldn't someone steal from a store anyhow?
- d. Who would feel worse, the storeowner who was robbed or the man who was cheated out of the loan? Why?
- e. Which should the law be more harsh or strong against, stealing like Al or cheating like Joe? Why?

On the distributed questionnaires at least 10 spaces were available for each answer.

FORM B

The questions which follow ask you to relate general information on a variety of topics.

The majority of these questions are answered simply by checking one of the supplied alternatives.

Any other instructional information necessary is explained in the particular question itself.

Section One

1. Indicate the religious faith in which you were raised.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| a) Anglican _____ | d) Roman Catholic _____ |
| b) Salvation Army _____ | e) Pentecostal _____ |
| c) United Church _____ | f) Other (specify) _____ |

2. How religious are you?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| a) extremely religious | _____ |
| b) moderately religious | _____ |
| c) slightly religious | _____ |
| d) not at all religious | _____ |

3. How frequently did you attend church in your home community?
(check one)

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| a) daily | _____ |
| b) weekly | _____ |
| c) bimonthly or monthly | _____ |
| d) occasionally or yearly | _____ |
| e) never | _____ |

Section Two

4. Your political position. Do you consider yourself politically a(n): (check one)

- a) reactionary _____
- b) conservative _____
- c) moderate _____
- d) liberal _____
- e) radical _____
- f) no political orientation _____

5. Your degree of participation in sociopolitical issues is:

- a) extreme _____
- b) moderate _____
- c) slight _____
- d) none _____
- e) don't know _____

6. Your parents' degree of participation in sociopolitical issues is (check one for each)

- | <u>father</u> | | <u>mother</u> |
|---------------|------------|---------------|
| a) _____ | extreme | a) _____ |
| b) _____ | moderate | b) _____ |
| c) _____ | slight | c) _____ |
| d) _____ | none | d) _____ |
| e) _____ | don't know | e) _____ |

Section Three

7. What is your father's present occupation (or last principal occupation if he is retired, deceased or unemployed)? _____

8. Does your mother work?

a) yes _____ b) no _____ c) not applicable _____

9. If your mother works, what is her occupation? _____

Section Four

10. What is the name of your hometown? _____

11. What is the name of the community in which you resided during high school? _____

12. How long did you reside there? _____ yrs.

13. Your sex is:

a) male _____ b) female _____

14. Please check your present age:

a) under 16 _____ d) 18 _____

b) 16 _____ e) 19 _____

c) 17 _____ f) 20 and over _____

15. Your present status is: _____

- a) single _____
- b) going steady _____
- c) engaged _____
- d) married, no children _____
- e) married, with children _____
- f) divorced/separated/widowed _____
- g) common law _____
- h) other (please specify) _____

16. Your present living accommodation is: _____

- a) a university residence _____
- b) at home (with parents) _____
- c) with relatives or family friends _____
- d) boarding _____
- e) apartment, or house with spouse _____
- f) apartment, shared _____
- g) apartment or house, alone _____
- h) other (please specify) _____

17. Did you enter university immediately after your graduation from grade eleven?

- a) yes _____
- b) no _____

18. If you answered no to the previous question

- a) What year did you graduate from grade eleven?

b) What did you do in the period between graduation from grade eleven and entering university?

19. What are your long term vocational goals at the present time, regardless of how tentative they might be?

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