A Study of Moral Development in Mormon Culture

Steve Foster Gilliland
Brigham Young University - Provo

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A STUDY OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT IN
MORMON CULTURE

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Department of Family Life Education
of
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Steve F. Gilliland
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Many of the early psychological and sociological theorists have considered the moralization of the individual an important key to understanding social-psychological development. Sears has noted that research concerning the internalization of cultural norms is "one of the most important problems facing students of personality development today." (Johnson, 1965, 478) Not only is an understanding of moral development important to an understanding of human behavior, but the issue of moralization is of great concern to those interested in the survival of cultures. Parents, teachers, religious leaders, and many others continually are faced with the question of how to bring moral values into the lives of people. Those who make and those who enforce laws, whether on a local or on a national level, must face this problem. The success or failure of coming generations to internalize the moral standards of their culture will have a major influence on the survival of that culture.

Durkheim (1925) saw morality as not only vital to the culture but also to the individual. He said that man needs a consistency of behavior. He needs a balanced life as far as the satisfaction of his emotional and physical needs are concerned. In order to fulfill these needs and to actualize his potential, man needs controls given him by society. Instead of burning up his energy in a never-ending attempt to satisfy his appetites, man is given controls by society in the form of moral norms so that he can channel his energies and reach his potential.
In the literature, morality is found to be studied from at least four points of view:

1. Moral behavior results from the functioning of the superego which fixates in early childhood.
2. Moral behavior is the result of a combination of traits.
3. Moral behavior is the result of the personality type of the individual.
4. Moral behavior is the result of the gradual development of cognitive orientation.

**Moral Behavior as the Result of the Superego**

Freud (1923) states that the male child at a very early age develops an "object cathexis of his mother". His "sexual wishes in regard to the mother become more and more intense and the father is perceived as an obstacle to them." (Freud, 1923, 705) The child reacts to these frustrations by developing a strong identification. The child's anxiety over counter-aggression by the parent or over the anticipated loss of parental love leads him to repress his hostility, internalize the father's prohibitions, and model his behavior after that of the father. This complex of the "internalized father" is referred to as the ego-ideal or superego. (The daughter follows a reverse pattern by internalizing the mother's moral ideals when frustrated in her affection for her father.) The superego gives one the capacity to turn his hostility inward in the form of guilt feelings when one does not conform to the internalized standards.
Those who accept this interpretation of moral development feel that the superego is developed early in childhood and continues to be an inhibiting force throughout the life of the individual. Moral behavior, then, is partly motivated out of a fear of guilt (Erikson, 1950).

In their study of transgression reaction in a shame culture versus transgression reaction in a guilt culture, Grinder and McMichael proposed three aspects of guilt, remorse, confession and restitution. They found that fewer of the children in the shame culture had developed a strong conscience in comparison with those in the guilt culture. They concluded that:

The postulated social learning hypothesis predicts that being susceptible to guilt should serve as a cue for resistance to temptation, yet of the three guilt scales, only remorse shows a significant relationship with resistance to temptation. (Grinder, 1963, 507)

Those who propose guilt as a deterrent to transgression believe it inflicts the individual with a "psychic pain". Aronfreed, (1961, 238), in his study of guilt concludes that as children transgress a rule they become anxious, and self-punitive guilt responses are instrumental in reducing anxiety instead of being pain-inducing.

Allinsmith and his team of researchers were faced with the problem of, "How does one know a certain reaction to transgression is the result of guilt?"

The existence of internalized standards is not demonstrated merely by conformity to a norm. And internalization cannot be demonstrated merely by apparent guilt feelings, atonement, defense against guilt, or self-punishment following a misdeed. What looks like guilt may be partly or entirely fear, and, as will be shown, some behavior resulting from defense against guilt is hard to distinguish from fear. A man may resist temptation, not solely to avoid guilt, but to get approval or to avoid the disapproval of others. (Miller, 1960 142)
They solved this problem by using stories where the "hero" transgressed without any chance of being discovered. They discovered a relationship between severity of guilt and early childhood experiences such as the reported time of weaning and toilet training. But they found no relationship between these early experiences and resistance to temptation (Miller, 1960, 162-173).

This brings up the question as to when the child does develop a resistance to temptation whether because of guilt, fear, cognitive judgment, good habits, or ego strength.

Those who propose guilt as a deterrent to transgression usually also subscribe to the superego strength point of view that the core of the character develops and is stabilized in the first few years of life.

So far as we can tell, there is a learning of internal control that goes on mainly in the years before puberty, perhaps even chiefly in the first six to ten years, determining the extent to which conscience will operate throughout all the rest of life. (Sears, 1957, 703)

Burton, et al., in studying four-year-olds found no relationship between the severity of toilet training and sex training and resistance to temptation (Burton, 1961, 703).

Punishment fantasies seem to occur early and decline with age. Confession increases with age. Direct guilt or self-criticism is rare in younger children but is highest in children ages twelve to thirteen (Aronfreed, 1961). The above findings seem to oppose the point of view that the basis of a person's moral character is stabilized in childhood and that guilt plays an important role in the motivation of moral behavior.
Morality as a Combination of Traits

One of the earliest studies of moral behavior was by Hartshorne and May (1930). Following the tradition of William James (1892) and others, they considered morality to be the result of a set of good habits or traits that were learned by the individual. Their sample consisted of approximately 850 children, in grades five through eight, from three communities located near New York City. They used a series of tests to measure: (1) "the child's ability to foresee the types of consequences that might follow from simple types of activity"; (2) the child's moral judgment; (3) where the child draws the line in moral conduct; and (4) the child's moral conduct. Four types of behavior were studied: deception (honesty), co-operation (service), inhibition (self-control), and persistence (Hartshorne, 1963, 433-434).

They found little correlation between age and moral conduct. There was a relatively high correlation between age and moral knowledge, but not as high as the correlation between intelligence and moral knowledge. Girls seem to be significantly higher than boys in self-control and service. Children whose parents were engaged in professional occupations were significantly more honest than children whose parents were unskilled. Perhaps one of the most significant discoveries was that moral conduct was more a result of the situation than a set of traits or good habits. Children who would be honest in some situations were not honest in others.

Very little correlation was found between moral knowledge, attendance at Sunday School, or other kinds of character education classes
and conduct (Hartshorne, 1963, 440). It appears from this study that moral conduct is in large part a result of an individual decision in a specific situation and not a set of traits or good habits.

Burton, et al., did a factor analysis on the results of the more reliable Hartshorne and May tests and found some support for the trait viewpoint. But it was concluded that "these data cannot be used to infer the existence of a situation-free tendency to be honest or to inhibit cheating. It indicates rather that situations which are very similar will elicit similar tendencies to cheat." (Kohlberg, 1963a, 283-284)

They found higher correlations between measures of reputation, even when the measures were obtained from different groups of judges, than they found between different measures of actual conduct. Also, there was found a slightly higher correlation between the reputational scores and conduct scores than between the conduct scores themselves.

They concluded from this that:

When enough opinions can be gathered with reasonable care and from contrasted sources— as from pupils, teachers, and parents—the resulting score becomes a fair substitute for an elaborate and expensive program of objective testing. (Hartshorne, 1930, 369)

**Morality as the Result of a Personality Type**

Taking this into consideration, Havighurst and Taba used reputation measures to study sixteen-year-olds in a Midwestern city. They proposed five personality types: (1) Self-Directive, (2) Adaptive, (3) Submissive, (4) Defiant, (5) Unadjusted. Five traits were selected as representative of the traits which make up moral conduct: honesty, responsibility, loyalty, moral courage, and friendliness.
The "Self-Directive Individual" is reflective and critical concerning morality, basing his behavior on moral principles. The "Adaptive Individual" takes on the current environment without much thought. The "Submissive Person" is moral because of a concern about punishment from those in authority over him. The "Defiant Person" rejects the generally approved moral beliefs and principles. The "Unadjusted Individual" is confused over moral beliefs and principles (Havighurst, 1949, 182-184).

Like Hartshorne and May, they found a very low correlation between strength of belief in a set of virtues and behavior.

Moral beliefs are formed by accumulating reactions to immediate situations, not by a conscious formulation of a generalized code of conduct. . . . It is also quite evident that expediency and emotional factors play an important part in making decisions and force individuals to sacrifice some of their abstract beliefs. (Havighurst, 1949, 95 & 89)

They found that even though the individual teen learned the values and standards of his own home and social class, the high school culture was a major socializing influence for him. Conformance to the peer norms seemed to have more influence on the reputation score than social position.

Following a neo-Freudian orientation, Peck, Havighurst, et al, (1960) studied youths intensively from their tenth to their seventeenth year. The researchers proposed five different levels of character maturity; (1) Amoral, (2) Expedient, (3) Conforming, (4) Irrational-Conscientious, and (5) Rational-Altruistic. They used a battery of methods to gather data on the teens including interviews, objective tests, sociometric and projective tests. As they compared the data on persons at the differing levels, they found two "central threads" running through the character-type sequence:
From Amoral to Rational there is increasing ego strength, including all the characteristics of rational, emotionally mature, integrated personality functioning. A second theme is that of increasing strength of conscience, in the sense of increasingly firm, increasingly internalized moral principles which act as an effective guide to behavior. (Peck, 1960, 170)

They found what appeared to be four qualitatively different kinds of conscience progressing through the character levels. The conscience of the "Amoral" and the "Expeditious" seem to consist mainly of a collection of frustrating, unrealistic prohibitions. Another conscience type, that of the "Conforming Individual", consists of the authority-oriented kind of person who tends to do what people they respect expect of them. The "Irrational-Conscientious" is characterized by a firmly organized body of internalized moral rules that are unquestioned. The fourth kind is found in "Rational-Altruistic S's". It consists of a firm set of moral principles which are open to rational questioning and testing. They also propose that in the process of character maturation, those who become rationally altruistic are different in their impulses than those at lower levels.

It is customary to point out the maturation of reasoning powers and of measures for self-control. However, in pointing out that a great many selfish, primitive "id" impulses remain active in all of us throughout life, Freud and some of his followers either minimized or overlooked the fact that in people whose psychological superego functions: there is also a maturing of at least some part of the impulse life into desires which are inherently socialized and ethical by nature. . . . In short, the id grows up, too, in the healthily developing person. (Peck, 1960, 173)

An important finding of this study was that the family played a major role in the development of these personality types.

Hoffman's findings also throw some light on Freud's theories. He found that power assertion on the part of the parent has a negative influence on moral development. He also found parental love withdrawal "to be
unrelated to moral development in any consistent manner". This is not what the Oedipal approach to conscience formation would predict. Hoffman also found that very important factors in moral development are "affection and inductive discipline (especially other oriented)." (Hoffman, 1964, 50)

From his initial studies, Hoffman defined three types of preadolescent response to moral judgment situations: (1) an external type (judging in terms of apprehension or punishment), (2) a conventional type (emphasizing moral convention or referring to moral authorities), and (3) a humanistic type (judging in terms of consequences to the interests and feelings of others and stressing "interpersonally relevant moral values such as trust"). (p. 67) He found that different parental patterns of discipline and relationship with the child seemed to produce different types of moral judgments and responses to guilt. These results are very similar to those found by Peck and Havighurst (1960).

Morality as a Developmental Phenomenon

Thus far, morality has been viewed as the result of a superego or conscience that is fixated in early childhood, as a set of traits or good habits, and as the product of particular personality types which develop as the results of family, peer, and other influences. Another explanation of moral behavior is given by those who believe that morality is a gradual product of development where the individual invariably progresses through certain stages.

Turiel (1965, 3-4) has summarized this point of view:

1. The stages of development are defined by structural wholes and not by any isolated pieces of behavior. (The study of the way a child
responds rather than merely the study of the accuracy of his responses allow an understanding of thought structures, which are modes of thought that can be generalized from many types of responses.)

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

3. The order of succession of the stages is constant, but the age at which they appear is relative to the environment, which can either provoke 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 a stage at the same age because the environment has much to do with the attainment of the stages.)

Early theorists have emphasized that the child is not able to play a social role until he is able to "take" the role of others toward himself (Mead, 1934). It takes a certain level of cognitive maturity to have the social awareness necessary for social role-taking.

Piaget (1932) explains that as the child is able to take the role of the other in the peer group, he begins to transfer the basis of his conduct from external authoritarian commands to that of internal principles. Because of the cognitive limitations of the child of three to eight, he confuses moral laws with fixed physical laws. He cannot distinguish between the subjective and objective aspects of his experience; therefore, rules seem to be absolute things. His egocentrism saddles him with the inability to distinguish his own perspective from that of others. He considers parents and other authority figures as all-knowing and perfect.

An autonomous justice morality develops in the average child at about eight to ten years of age and eventually replaces the earlier morality based on unquestioning respect for the adult.
Piaget proposed three levels of morality:

1. Morality of constraint which is characterized by the belief that:
   a. Something is bad because of the physical consequences (moral realism).
   b. Everything is either totally right or totally wrong and all people accept this.
   c. Something is bad because it elicits punishment.
   d. Severe, painful punishment should always be used for transgression.
   e. All accidents and punishments are attributable to God (Immanent Justice).
   f. (No concept of reciprocity of relations to others.)

2. An intermediary stage where the child internalizes rules without evaluating them.

3. Morality of co-operation which is characterized by the belief that:
   a. Something is bad because of the person's intent to do harm (intentionality in judgment).
   b. The rightness or the wrongness of an act is relative to the circumstance or the person's point of view (relativism in judgment).
   c. Something is bad if it causes harm to others or violates a rule.
   d. Punishment should be restitutive.
   e. God is not the cause of all accidents and punishments.
   f. Reciprocity is a good reason for treatment of others.

Piaget's theory is, to summarize the research results, validated only in its description of the young child's morality as oriented to obedience and to punishment and as ignoring subjective ends and values, and in its assumption that these features of child morality decline with age and development in various cultural settings. (Kohlberg, 1963a, 320)
The Kohlberg Hypothesis

Kohlberg (1958) used Piaget procedures in studying the moral judgment of 72 boys from age groups of ten, thirteen and sixteen living in Chicago suburban areas. Half of each group consisted of popular boys (according to classroom sociometric tests), while half consisted of socially isolated boys. All groups were comparable in I.Q.

The data consisted of tape-recorded interviews focused upon ten hypothetical moral dilemmas. The situations used were ones in which acts of obedience to legal-social rules or commands of authority conflicted with human needs or the welfare of others.

In analyzing the data, Kohlberg attempted to determine the value orientation of each boy. From this he was able to define six types of moral orientation which he grouped into three levels as follows:

Level I. Premoral.
Type 1. Punishment and obedience orientation.
Type 2. Naive instrumental hedonism.

Level II. Morality of Conventional Role-Conformity.
Type 3. Good-boy morality of maintaining good relations, approval of others.
Type 4. Authority maintaining morality.

Level III. Morality of Self-Accepted Principles.
Type 5. Morality of contract, of individual rights.
Type 6. Morality of individual principles of conscience.
(Kohlberg, 1964, 400)

Level I. Premoral

The first level of development Kohlberg proposes, the Premoral, is characterized by placing value in external, quasi-physical happenings or needs rather than in persons or standards. The first type orients his moral judgment to the avoiding of punishment. Right and wrong to him is
defined in terms of the amount of punishment involved. He is very egocentric and seeks to avoid trouble or discomfort. He has a lack of awareness of the relativity of value and, therefore, cannot differentiate between the values of self and society. He is oriented to a submission to external compulsion by authority figures. This type, in many respects, parallels that of Piaget's morality of constraint except the research by Kohlberg and Brener tends to discount Piaget's contention that the child at this stage is motivated by a belief in the sacredness of the rules of the adult world (Kohlberg, 1963b, 21). Hoffman's external type also corresponds to this stage.

The type two person sees an act as right inasmuch as it satisfies his needs and/or is pleasurable. He has a greater awareness of the distinction between one's own interests and the interests of others. Since right is defined in a relativistic way, there is less reliance upon the moral dictates of authorities. He has an orientation to exchange and reciprocity as long as it satisfies his own hedonistic ends. Piaget's Autonomous Stage corresponds descriptively with Kohlberg's type two person. Peck and Havighurst's Amoral and Expedient Types very closely parallel Kohlberg's first level.

**Level II. Morality of Conventional Role-Conformity**

The second level of moral judgment is characterized by conformity to the expectations of others, especially those in authority. Respect for authority is based on a belief in its goodness and correctness rather than on the fear of the power of the authorities as in the first level. There is an increasing concern with the purpose of rules and commands. The
person at this level has learned to take the role of the other and to anticipate possible approval or disapproval of others.

The type three person is oriented to being a "good boy". He is aware of the other's attitudes. He seeks to please and to help others and to gain their approval. He is especially seeking the praises of his parents or other authority figures. Things are right to him because they gain approval. He tends to conform to his perception of what the majority or "normal" behavior is. His parallel is found in the Adaptive Type Person in the Havighurst and Taba study.

The type four person is more oriented to doing his duty, to showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake. He is concerned about receiving approval from authorities and avoiding their censure. He is oriented to strict conformity to rules and tends to punish self and others for violating them. He is concerned about his and others' rights. His parallel in the literature is Havighurst and Taba's Submissive Person. Peck and Havighurst's Conforming Person corresponds very well with the level two individual as well as Hoffman's Conventional Type.

Level III. Morality of Self-Accepted Moral Principles

A person at the third level is characterized by a morality of self-accepted principles. He accepts the possibility of conflicts between norms but has internalized his own standards. The type five person recognizes an arbitrary element or starting point in rules or expectations for the sake of agreement. Right and wrong for him are oriented toward the rules of the system which are not seen as being morally sacred or
unalterable as in stage four thinking. Since this type of moral judgment involves an understanding that rules and duties exist for the purposes of increased harmony and protection of the rights of individuals, it reflects an attitude of respect for other individuals rather than respect for authority, per se. He has a contractual, legalistic orientation. His moral judgments are based on rationally accepted moral rules. Peck and Havighurst's Rational-Altruistic Person corresponds closely to Kohlberg's type six individual. This person bases his moral judgment on self-chosen principles. Kohlberg describes a moral principle as:

An obligatory or ideal rule of choice between legitimate alternatives, rather than a concrete prescription of action. Philosophically such principles are designed to abstract the basic element that exists in various concrete rules, and to form an axiomatic basis for justify-ing or formulating concrete rules. Moral principles, of course, are not legally or socially prescribed or sanctioned, they are social ideals rather than social realities. (Kohlberg, 1963b, 28)

He is oriented to such principles as fairness, justics, mutual respect and trust of other individuals. As he violates these principles he faces self-judgment and possible self-condemnation. Conscience is not seen as an unconscious personality construct but as a rational-self-judgment. These principles are open to re-evaluation by the individual. They guide him in rule-conflict situations.

From his study Kohlberg found that:

1. The first two types of thought decrease with age.
2. The next two types increase until age thirteen and then stabilize.
3. The last two types increase until age sixteen.

Using the Guttman Quasi-Simplex Correlation Matrix that is based on the assumption that the lower the correlation between two types of thought
the more they are separated from each other in a developmental sequence, it was discovered that the six types seemed to follow a developmental sequence. Kohlberg reasons that if the stages form an invariant sequence the acquisition of a higher type is not likely to be a direct learning of content taught by cultural agents, but is rather a restructuring of preceding types of thought. This interpretation is strengthened by the trend toward negative correlations between the higher and lower types of thought. Such negative relations suggest that higher modes of thought replace or inhibit lower modes of thought rather than being added to them. This in turn suggests that higher types of thought are reorganizations of preceding types of thought. (Kohlberg, 1963b, 27)

It was also found that by quantifying the results of each interview and converting them into a "Moral Maturity Score", it was possible to differentiate between: (1) different age groups (ten, thirteen, and sixteen), (2) groups on different socio-economic levels, (3) delinquents from non-delinquents.

The only statement Kohlberg was able to make as to the cause of moral development was that "greater social participation and responsibility in general is related to greater moral development in general". (Kohlberg, 1958, 339)

A study by Turiel (1965) gives further support to Kohlberg's hypothesis of moral development. His subjects were forty-four middle-class boys from the New Haven public schools between the ages of 12:0 and 13:7.

He found that boys of a particular moral type, when exposed to teaching at a moral level one stage higher than their own, will more readily change in the direction of that level than those taught at two stages above their current level or those taught at one level below. He concluded that his results supported the Kohlberg hypothesis because:
If the stages do form a true developmental sequence, then it should be easier for subjects to understand and utilize concepts that are directly above their dominant stage than concepts that are two stages above.

The developmental interpretation is also strengthened by the finding that the influence towards the next higher stage was more effective than the influence towards the adjacent lower stage. Subjects assimilated the higher stage more readily than the lower stage even though they could understand the concepts of the lower stages as well as, if not better than, those of the higher stages. Hence, we have an indication that the attainment of a stage of thought, involves a reorganization of the preceding modes of thought, with an integration of each previous stage, rather than an addition, to new elements of the later stages. (Turiel, 1964, 25-26)

Studies concerning moral behavior such as resistance to cheating seem to support the Kohlberg hypothesis. Thirty-two of the original Sears, Maccoby and Levin S's were given the Grinder Ray Gun Test for cheating after having been interviewed by Kohlberg. The level one children cheated most while the level three children cheated least.

Brown, et al., administered the Kohlberg instrument to thirty-five undergraduates at Michigan who were also given a cheating test. The Conventional S's cheated much more than the Principled S's (Kohlberg, 1965).

An examination of the Kohlberg stages reveals that moral development would require a certain degree of cognitive development. Peck and Havighurst support this point of view.

... Rationality might not necessarily imply good moral behavior. It was thought, on the other hand, that the most effectively moral behavior would probably require highly rational perception and choice of action. (Peck, 1960, 13)

The Hartshorne and May and also the Peck and Havighurst studies found general intelligence substantially correlated with moral behavior. Hoffman's studies found reasoning on the part of the parents significantly correlated with moral behavior.
Glueck and Glueck consistently found that those parents who used reasoning more often as a means of discipline had less delinquent children than those parents who used more physical punishment (Glueck, 1957, 132).

Other factors found in the literature to be related to moral behavior also tend to underline the importance of the cognitive aspects of moral development:

1. The ability to anticipate future events and select the more important future outcomes.
2. The capacity to maintain stable, focused attention.
3. The control of unsocialized fantasies.

Burton, et al., found that physical punishment seems to be more efficient in producing resistance to temptation in four-year-olds than is psychological punishment, and certainly more effectual than attempting to train by just 'reasoning'.

... But with greater cognitive development, and perhaps increasing identification, the psychological techniques gain in power to influence the child's internalization of parental standards. (Burton, 1961, 705-706)

Kohlberg's hypothesis would predict such results. As the child matures cognitively, he is able to assimilate higher stages of moral reasoning.

The Kohlberg hypothesis appears to be a useful approach to moral development and has found much empirical support. It seems, though, that further study is warranted because of the limited sizes of the samples tested.
The above studies only used samples of boys. Studies concerning sex differences in moral behavior seem somewhat contradictory. Jones (1960, 796) states that

In studying the incidence of serious misconduct in school and delinquent behavior among boys and girls, we find the evidence to be conclusive. More boys than girls are found guilty of antisocial behavior.

Other studies seem to indicate "no substantial general differences between boys and girls in conformity to internalized moral standards."

(Kohlberg, 1963a, 310) Studies related to a sense of justice seem to find boys at a higher level than girls (Kohlberg, 1963a, 311-312). It has also been found that adolescent boys seem to be significantly more mature in moral judgment than girls (Kohlberg, 1964, 406). Kohlberg states that if greater social participation and responsibility is related to greater moral development, then boys would be expected to develop to a higher moral level earlier than girls because of the roles they are called upon to play by society.

Considering the inconsistencies of the above findings, it appears that further research is needed in moral development that includes girls as well as boys.

Gesell, et al., (1956) found some moral and ethical differences between fourteen and fifteen years-old youths and other youths interviewed. The above studies did not include youths at these ages. Certainly studies should be done including teens at these ages.

The above studies were also done in a culture that is somewhat heterogenous as far as religion is concerned. Would the results be any different if the Kohlberg study were to be applied to a culture that was
somewhat homogenous in religion? Would the same results be found in a culture that strongly encouraged moral development?

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or the Mormon Church, places strong emphasis on the moral development of its members. Parents and families are instructed to teach their children and each other the doctrines of the Church and to encourage each other to conform to the Church teachings. To supplement the home training, weekly Sunday School classes are provided for those four years of age and older. Youth organizations are also sponsored by the L.D.S. Church for those four years old and older. With the exception of a few General Authorities, the programs and functions of the Church are carried out by the lay members of the Church. The male members of the Church twelve years of age and older are invited to participate in a program designed to train them for Church leadership and service. Each member is encouraged to attend a weekly meeting in which he is recommitted to conforming to Church principles and is further instructed.

The L.D.S. Church also provides a daily religious education program for students in the ninth through the twelfth grades on a released-time basis. This is called the L.D.S. Seminary program.

The L.D.S. culture is very strongly value-oriented. The Church urges support to patriarchal families and also is obedience-oriented. Certain areas of participation are denied to those who do not conform to Church teachings.

The Mormon culture appears to be different in many ways than other American cultures. Vogt and O'Dea (1953) discovered some definite dif-
ferences between the Mormon culture and other United States cultures studied as to values and attitudes concerning the community. Christensen and Carpenter (1962) found differences in values and sexual behavior between the Mormon and other cultures. Kohlberg (1965) has suggested that his developmental hypothesis can be applied cross-culturally. A test of the Kohlberg hypothesis in the Mormon culture may give an indication of its usefulness as an explanation of moral development in cultures that strongly emphasize moral behavior.
CHAPTER II

METHOD

The problem considered by this study is: "Can the stages of moral development hypothesized by Kohlberg be differentiated in a culture that strongly emphasizes moral behavior such as the Mormon culture?"

Hypothesis

The following hypothesis was proposed: In the L.D.S. culture, a developmental sequence in moral orientation will appear in the moral judgments of children in the ninth through the twelfth grades.

Design and Procedure

Subjects. Since most students attending high schools and junior high schools in areas with a high concentration of Mormons are permitted to attend the daily religious education classes of the L.D.S. Seminary and a high percentage of the L.D.S. students in these schools attend Seminary, it was decided to test students in the Farrer Junior High School (ninth grade) and the Provo High School (tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades) Seminaries. Provo is a predominately Mormon community, containing both rural and urban elements. Provo High School draws students from Provo and adjoining rural areas. Farrer Junior High School draws from a predominately middle class area of Provo. It was found from the information sheet that accompanied the instrument that the Farrer Junior High sample had a disproportionately large number of upper middle-class subjects. This was ascertained from the occupation of the parent. (See Appendix A.)
Students in two classes from each of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades served as the sample. These grades were selected because:

1. These are the four grades in which the L.D.S. Church provides Seminary classes.

2. It was decided to use a written instrument in order to be able to test a larger sample than had previously been reported.

3. It was not found that fourteen through fifteen and seventeen through nineteen year-old students had previously been included in a test of the Kohlberg hypothesis.

The original sample consisted of 153 students. Nine were eliminated from the study because they failed to complete the instrument. One was eliminated because it was quite apparent from his answers and artwork that he did not take the study seriously. One other was eliminated because she was non-Mormon.

The final sample of 142 students is described in Table I. Their ages ranged from 14:6 to 19:3 years.

**Instrument.** It was decided to use a written instrument prepared by Kohlberg that contained stories and questions from the interview procedure he used. The written instrument was selected because of the larger number of subjects it would make possible for use.

A pretest was given to a group of high school students as a check on time and procedures and to give some experience in scoring the instruments. It was found that the majority of the students were able to finish five of the ten stories in the forty minutes that would be allowed to administer the survey. Following the recommendations of Kohlberg
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ninth Grade</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth Grade</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleventh Grade</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelfth Grade</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>74</strong></td>
<td><strong>68</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
received by personal communication, stories were selected that seemed to most effectively differentiate between the different levels of moral development. The stories were intended to develop a conflict between acts of obedience to legal-social rules or commands of authority and human needs or the welfare of others. They are followed by questions that attempt to indicate the S's moral judgment type. (See Appendix B.)

An information sheet was placed on the front of the instrument giving basic instructions and asking for name, grade, sex, father's occupation, religion, date of birth, and other pertinent information. (See Appendix A.)

Validity of the instrument. The Kohlberg instrument was used on the assumption that the S's judgments concerning the five stories were an indication of his reactions to every-day moral judgment situations. Relevant studies appear to provide some support for this assumption (Kohlberg, 1965).

According to the Kohlberg developmental sequence, conformity to a rule is not necessarily an indication of a high level of morality. But it could be concluded that the higher the moral development, the more consistent would be behavior to the more general norms of society. Kohlberg (1958, 135-137) found significant correlations between ratings by teachers of thirty-four ten-year-old boys and their scores from the instruments (Moral Maturity Scores). The rating scale selected for the current study was used because it seems to evaluate consistency of behavior and a sense of commitment to values. (See Appendix D.)
The subjects were asked to rate themselves and each member of the class. They were then asked to place a check mark by the names of each student they knew quite well. The teachers also rated each student following the same procedure. The students' ratings were used to correlate with the students' Moral Maturity Scores as an indication of the validity of the instrument.

The results from the behavior rating scales are found in Table II. The rating by all class members was found to be significantly correlated with the Moral Maturity Scores throughout the grades. The correlations ranged from .53 to .35. The ratings by the students who indicated they knew the S quite well correlated from .49 to .19. The students demonstrated considerable anxiety over being asked to rate each other. This may, in part, explain why those that said they knew the S quite well did not correlate as well in their ratings as did the entire class. They may have been fearful of rating a friend negatively or perhaps teenagers are less objective in their perception of the behavior of close friends than with other students they know.

Perhaps the difference between the teacher rating correlation in the Kohlberg study (.46) and in this study (.25 to .26) could be explained by the fact that teachers in the lower grades usually have the same students most of the school day, while in high school and junior high school the teachers usually have students for only one period. This greater contact with the student may lead to greater accuracy in assessing behavior. It should also be remembered that the teachers in this study are religion teachers in a religion-oriented culture. Students may find
TABLE II

CORRELATIONS OF MORAL MATURITY SCORE WITH BEHAVIOR RATINGS BY STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rated by</th>
<th>Entire Sample (n=142)</th>
<th>Ninth Grade (n=47)</th>
<th>Tenth Grade (n=38)</th>
<th>Eleventh Grade (n=23)</th>
<th>Twelfth Grade (n=34)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Class Members</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Members That Know S Well</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Who Reports Knowing S Well</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>.122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>-.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pressures to conform or at least appear to conform greater in the Seminary class than in the regular school classes. This may result in inaccurate perception by the teacher.

It can be concluded from these findings that the Moral Maturity Score does have a relationship to the student's actual behavior as described by his teachers and fellow students.

Procedure. After the teacher introduced the experimenter to the class, the following information was given:

1. This is an important survey being conducted by a graduate student from the Brigham Young University.

2. This is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in your opinions and ideas.

3. The information in these surveys will be kept strictly confidential. (The instruments were then passed to each student and he was asked to fill out the information sheet.)

4. You will find in this survey five stories each followed by a series of questions about the story. Please answer each question as completely as possible. It is very important that you not only answer "Yes" or "No" to the questions, but that you also write why you answered "Yes" or "No".

5. You should have plenty of time. I will let you know every so often as to how far you should be. Please do your very best. If you have any questions, please raise your hand. You may begin. (Students were notified approximately every ten minutes as to which story they should be working on so that they could properly space themselves.)
6. (During the last five minutes of the class period, the students were asked to fill out the Behavior Rating Sheet.) (See Appendix C.)

**Scoring.** Numbers from one to 142 were drawn from a hat and were assigned to each instrument. The number was placed on each information sheet, story instrument, and rating sheet. The information and rating sheets were then detached from the story instrument. This was done to control against bias in scoring.

Each story was scored across the full range of instruments as an aid to consistency. Also, the order of scoring was reversed with each story. There is a possibility that the knowledge of the scores a subject received on previous stories may have an influence on the result of the story being scored. Therefore, the score sheet was placed to the back of the booklet so that the scorer would be unable to see previous results until he had come to a definite conclusion as to the score.

The questions were scored according to the "Global Rating Guide for Kohlberg Moral Judgment Situations". (See Appendix D.) This guide allows responses to each story to be rated as a whole. It takes into account the child's actual decision and also his spontaneous orientation. A percentage of the stories responded to was calculated on each of the six moral levels. These percentages were weighted according to the level they represent and totaled for each individual to determine his Moral Maturity Score.

**Scoring Reliability.** Four judges were selected who had obtained their Master of Social Work degrees. They were oriented to the Kohlberg hypothesis and the Global Rating Guide by the writer.
Four of the completed instruments were given to the judges to score. Their results were correlated with those of the writer, who scored all the stories. Those that correlated low with the scorer were reoriented and asked to rescore the instrument that correlated lowest. The correlations of these scores with the scorer's results were computed as an indication of scoring reliability. As can be seen in Table III, all the judges correlated highly with the writer and all but one correlated significantly. It can be concluded from this that the scoring of the instruments by the writer appears to be quite reliable when compared to the scoring of the judges.

Tests of the hypothesis. It has been proposed that the data of this study will demonstrate a developmental sequence in the moral orientation of children in the ninth through the twelfth grades. This hypothesis would predict that the Moral Maturity Scores of each grade would be significantly different from the scores of the other grades and would increase from the ninth through the twelfth grades. To test this proposition, analysis of variance of the means of the Moral Maturity Scores for each grade was carried out. The statistical model for this was:

\[ x_{ij} = M + A_i + e_{ij} \]

where \( x_{ij} \) represents the Moral Maturity Score of the individual student, \( M \) represents the overall mean of the Moral Maturity Scores, \( A_i \) represents the effect due to the difference between grades, and \( e_{ij} \) represents the random error.

Analyses of variance were performed for sex, grade and Moral Maturity Score and also for sex, age and Moral Maturity Score. The
### TABLE III

**PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE SCORING OF THE WRITER AND THE SCORING OF FOUR JUDGES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JUDGE</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>CORRELATION</th>
<th>SIGNIFICANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
statistical model for these was:

\[ X_{ijk} = \mu + \alpha_i + \beta_j + \gamma_{ij} + \epsilon_{ijk} \]

\( X_{ijk} \) represents the Moral Maturity Score of the individual student. 
\( \mu \) represents the overall means of the Moral Maturity Scores. \( \alpha_i \) represents the effect due to difference between ages/grades. \( \beta_j \) represents the effect due to sex. \( \gamma_{ij} \) represents the effect due to the interaction between age/grade and sex. \( \epsilon_{ijk} \) represents the random error.

It was proposed that the means would be significantly different beyond the .05 level.

Product-moment correlations were computed comparing the percentage usage of each of the six types of thought with each of the others throughout the sample. A quasi-simplex correlation matrix was constructed of these correlations as an indication of a developmental sequence from one type to another. It was proposed that within the matrix the correlations between two types of thought will decrease as these two types are increasingly separated in the developmental hierarchy proposed by Kohlberg.

The percentage usage of each of the six types of thought was computed for each age. It was expected that from age fifteen through age nineteen the usage of the first two types of thought would decrease and the usage of the fifth and sixth types of thought would increase.

All calculations, with the exception of the judges' correlations, were computed by the IBM Anovar, Stat 05, and Stat 08 programs.
CHAPTER III

RESULTS

The hypothesis proposed in this study was that in the L.D.S. culture, a developmental sequence in moral orientation would appear in the moral judgments of children in the ninth through the twelfth grades.

First test of the hypothesis. Table IV consists of the intercorrelations of the percentage usage of each of the six types of thought with each of the others throughout the sample.

Guttman proposed that if there is a developmental sequence, that is, if things learned at one stage establish some kind of organization of the nervous system which then has to be altered or reorganized by things learned at a later stage, then there would be a closer relationship between two adjacent stages than those further separated (Guttman, 1954, 278-288). In other words, the more two types of thought are separated, the lower the correlations between them should be. Guttman (1954) has called this pattern of intercorrelations an imperfect simplex or a "quasi-simplex". The correlations in Table IV are unlike those in Guttman's examples in that most of them are negative. This is due partially to the necessity for one percentage score to decrease as another increases.

Although the simplex in Table IV is not as perfect as the one found in Kohlberg (1958, 100) there is a slight tendency for the highest correlations to be found along the diagonal and to decrease as they move to the lower left corner. The only positive correlations fall on the diagonal. The correlations to types three and four that fall horizontally
### TABLE IV

MATRIX OF INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN SIX TYPES OF MORAL JUDGMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-.26</td>
<td>-.36</td>
<td>-.45</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-.29</td>
<td>-.30</td>
<td>-.19</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-.19</td>
<td>-.35</td>
<td>-.23</td>
<td>-.19</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
on the chart do not follow the expected pattern. Also, the correlations of type one to types five and six are not as would be predicted. This quasi-simplex seems to give only modest support to the proposed developmental sequence throughout the four grades.

Second test of the hypothesis. It was also proposed that the means of the Moral Maturity Scores for each grade would become increasingly large from the ninth through the twelfth grades, and that these means would be significantly different from each other. The data in Table V indicates that the means do increase through the grades.

Analysis of variance was computed on the means of the Moral Maturity Scores for each grade and was found to be not significant. (See Table VI.) Analysis of variance was also computed on the differences between the means for each age because S's of a particular age were not consistently in the same grade. This was also not significant. The failure to find significant differences may indicate that no developmental sequence does exist. Another interpretation of this finding may be that the sample is not broad enough and should include a wider range of ages as did the Kohlberg sample.

Third test of the hypothesis. An evidence of the nature of moral development in the Mormon culture is found in Figure 1. A comparison has been made with the developmental sequence found by Kohlberg (1963b, 15-16). He found that the first two types of thought decrease with age. In the Mormon culture type one seems to stabilize at a low level, while the type two decreases gradually. In the Kohlberg sample types three and four increased until age thirteen and then stabilized. In the current
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>MEAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>348.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>364.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>375.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>381.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entire Sample</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>365.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE VI

**ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF GROUP DIFFERENCES ON THE MORAL MATURITY SCORE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>M. S.</th>
<th>SUMS OF SQUARES</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8,005.2</td>
<td>24,015.7</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>N S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,237.1</td>
<td>2,237.1</td>
<td>10.02</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>872.8</td>
<td>218.2</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>N S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade and Sex</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>232.9</td>
<td>698.8</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>N S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age and Sex</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,872.1</td>
<td>7,488.4</td>
<td>4.44</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kohlberg (1963b, 16) Study

Mormon Sample

FIGURE I

PERCENT OF USAGE OF EACH TYPE BY EACH AGE GROUP
study type three increases gradually to age seventeen and then decreases. Type four fluctuates somewhat but overall makes a gradual decrease. Kohlberg found the last two types increasing. The fifth type of thought fluctuates somewhat in the Mormon sample but overall makes an increase, while type six increases. In considering the percentages for the nineteen-year-olds, one should be aware that there was a small sample of six boys and two girls. Perhaps with a larger sample, the increases and decreases between years eighteen and nineteen would not be so extreme.

Other Findings

Sex differences. The previously discussed studies by Kohlberg and Turiel have been limited to boys. Analysis of variance were run with sex as a variable to see if the inclusion of girls in the sample may have had an effect on the failure of the means of the Moral Maturity Scores to be significantly different. Girls were found to be significantly higher than boys in their Moral Maturity Scores; but this difference did not seem to effect the significance of the intra-grade differences. (See Table VI.)

When the sex factor is introduced into the comparison of the means of Moral Maturity Scores by age, the nineteen-year-old boys appear to be significantly higher than the nineteen-year-old girls. (See Table VII.) This can partially be explained by the fact that among our nineteen-year-olds, there was a small sample of six boys and two girls. These boys scored considerably higher than the girls whereas throughout the rest of the ages, the girls scored considerably higher than the boys.

Table VII shows a comparison of the means of the Moral Maturity Scores broken down into age and sex and grade and sex. Age was determined
TABLE VII

A COMPARISON OF THE MEANS OF MORAL MATURITY SCORES
OF MALES AND FEMALES BY AGE AND GRADE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>GRADE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>337.5</td>
<td>378.1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>330.6</td>
<td>375.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>330.9</td>
<td>383.3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>340.8</td>
<td>386.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>357.0</td>
<td>391.7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>352.8</td>
<td>395.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>349.5</td>
<td>389.2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>380.8</td>
<td>381.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>428.2</td>
<td>334.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
by subtracting the year in which the S was born from 1966. It can be seen from the grade comparison that the boys seemed to increase in moral maturity from the ninth through the twelfth grades. The girls in the sample seemed to increase through the eleventh grade. Girls have a consistently higher mean than boys. The only consistent pattern as far as age is concerned is that the girls are higher than the boys except for the nineteen-year-olds. (A possible explanation for this difference is given above.)

Moral Maturity Scores and Self-Ratings. An interesting phenomenon throughout the data can be seen by comparing Tables II and VII and Figure 1. The twelfth graders are the only group that has a high correlation between its Moral Maturity Scores and its self-rating. This may be an indication of a higher degree of personal insight and realism on the part of the seniors which would be important factors in the higher stages of moral development. Peck and Havighurst (1960) found that the more morally mature individual was also more insightful and realistic. The twelfth grade males seem to approach the moral maturity level of the females. During this period some extreme changes in these students' developmental patterns can be seen.

The senior year in high school opens up many new opportunities for social participation, status, and leadership. The testing was done in May, a time when twelfth graders are concluding their high school experience and are preparing for some rapid role changes. For both senior males and females college, an occupation, marriage, or all three may be seen at the end of the graduation line. Nineteen-year-old males scored exceptionally high. In the Mormon Church, the nineteen-year-old male is
eligible to be ordained an Elder and to be called on a mission for the Church. Great emphasis is placed in the Seminary and other Church programs on preparation for a mission. Also, the draft looms on the horizon. The above data seem consistent with the finding by Kohlberg that "roles entailing more participation and responsibility" stimulate greater moral maturity (Kohlberg, 1964, 406).

When the means of the percentage usage of each type of thought for the entire sample are placed on a graph, as is shown in Figure 2, they form a curve that is similar to a normal curve. Had the sample been large enough, this would be an indication that a developmental sequence does exist since phenomena in nature when organized and graphed seem to approximate a normal curve (Hammond, 1962, 63). This does seem to indicate that the most common types of judgment used by the sample are the types three and four, which are characterized by a morality of conventional role-conformity. This can probably be explained as a result of the emphasis on conformity to L.D.S. norms that is characteristic of the Mormon culture.

Discussion of the results. Generalizations of the above results to the Mormon culture should take into consideration that the sample may not be entirely representative of the Mormon culture. The ninth grade sample had a disproportionately large number of upper middle-class subjects. A small percentage of L.D.S. high school and junior high school students do not attend Seminary. The sample was not randomly selected.

The results of this study should give encouragement to those who believe that moral development can be objectively studied. It may be of
FIGURE 2

PERCENT OF USAGE OF EACH TYPE
BY THE ENTIRE SAMPLE
value to those scientists seeking to understand human behavior. Both
those who study the individual and those who wish to study and compare
cultures may find Kohlberg's hypothesis a valuable approach.

If children develop morally by following the sequence proposed by
Kohlberg, an understanding of the child's current level of development
would aid the parent or teacher in determining the most effective
approach to help the student advance to the next stage. Turiel (1965)
found that teaching boys at the stage higher than their current stage is
more effective than teaching two stages above or one stage below. In
evaluating his methods, a teacher may find himself teaching values too
difficult or too elementary for the child to effectively assimilate.
The Kohlberg instrument may permit a teacher to determine the develop-
mental level of his class as an aid to planning an effective classroom
experience. It may also give him a means of evaluating his effectiveness.

Durkheim (1925, 120-121) stated that

... to teach morality is neither to preach nor to indoctrinate; it
is to explain. If we refuse the child all explanation of this sort,
if we do not to [sic] try to help him understand the reasons for the
rules he should abide by, we would be condemning him to an incomplete
and inferior morality. Such teaching far from harming the public
morality--as has sometimes been alleged--is henceforth its necessary
condition.

If moral development closely parallels cognitive development as the
Kohlberg hypothesis suggests, perhaps a more rational approach in teach-
ing values would be more effective. This means that parents and teachers
themselves must know why certain principles or standards are of value.
As was discussed in Chapter One, many studies support this point of view.
The Kohlberg hypothesis and studies related to it should be of particular value to those interested in cultures that strongly emphasize moral behavior. It seems to provide useful guidelines for more effective moralization of the members of society.
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Previous studies have indicated that the moral development of the child may follow a "developmental" process. That is, the child progresses through an invariant series of stages, each characterized by certain modes of thought. As the child passes from one stage to another, he integrates the old stage into the new one. Kohlberg proposed a hierarchy of six stages through which the child would progress on his way to moral maturity. His hypothesis has been supported by empirical evidence.

Research findings have indicated that the Mormon culture appeared to be different in values and moral behavior than other United States cultures. Kohlberg has suggested that his hypothesis could be applied cross-culturally. The purpose of this study was to determine whether the stages of moral development proposed by the Kohlberg hypothesis could be differentiated in a culture that strongly emphasizes moral behavior such as the Mormon culture. It was proposed that in the Mormon culture a developmental sequence in moral orientation would appear in the moral judgments of children in the ninth through the twelfth grades.

The above grades were selected because previous studies concerning the Kohlberg hypothesis had not included youths ages fourteen through fifteen and seventeen through nineteen. Studies have indicated that there are some ethical differences between youths at these ages and those at ages previously tested. Also, testing of children at younger ages would not permit the use of a written instrument. There was also an available sample of youths in these grades.
The sample consisted of 142 students from L.D.S. Seminary classes in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. They each completed a written instrument containing questions about five stories, each posing a moral dilemma. The instruments were scored with the "Global Rating Guide for Kohlberg Moral Judgment Situations" which gave a Moral Maturity Score for each S. Correlations between the scoring of judges and the writer on four instruments were from .785 to .97.

Each S gave each of his fellow class members a behavior rating. The mean of the ratings each S received within each grade correlated from .53 to .35 with the Moral Maturity Score.

The following results seem to support the hypothesis:

1. The matrix of intercorrelations of the percentage usage of the six types of thought tends toward a quasi-simplex.
2. The Moral Maturity Score means increased through the grades.
3. The nature of the moral development generally followed the expected pattern of the percentage usage of the first two types of thought decreasing and the fifth and sixth types of thought increasing.

A finding that does not support the hypothesis but that is not necessarily negative to a developmental point of view was that the means of the Moral Maturity Scores when compared by age and by grade were not significantly different.

The following conclusions may be made from the data:

1. The results of this study, although not confirming the hypothesis, suggest that the moral development of children in the L.D.S. culture
may follow a developmental sequence. Even though statistical significance was not achieved, the findings seem to give observable support to Kohlberg's hypothesis.

2. Results from this study suggest that girls in the grades nine through twelve may be significantly higher in moral maturity than boys in the same grades.

3. The moral judgments of teenagers in the Mormon culture seem to generally be characterized by conformity to expected roles, showing respect for and seeking the approval of authority images, and strict obedience to rules.

Further research would be valuable in the following areas:

1. Extend the research over a broader sampling of ages, into the elementary and college ages. A longitudinal study would be of value.

2. Study of the kinds of parental behavior that stimulate moral behavior.

3. Research into various approaches to teaching values at each level of moral development that would stimulate further development.

4. Research into the relationship of the level of moral judgment to actual behavior.

5. Further research into sex differences in moral development.

6. The creation of an instrument that could be scored more objectively for more practical use in the classroom, family, or for research over a large sample.

7. The refinement of concepts basic to this approach and their organization into a conceptual framework.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
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Kohlberg, L. The development of children's orientations toward a moral order, Vita humana. 6, 1963, Pp. 11-33, (b).


APPENDIX
APPENDIX A

INFORMATION SHEET

Instrument No._______

NAME__________________________________________

SEX (M)____ (F)____

SCHOOL________________________________________

GRADE IN SCHOOL (9)____ (10)____ (11)____ (12)____

RELIGION______________________________________

PRIESTHOOD (IF L. D. S.)_________________________

FATHER'S OCCUPATION____________________________

DATE OF BIRTH (month) (day) (year)

Instructions for Decision Stories and Questions:

The purpose of these stories and questions is to get at your opinions and ideas. Please write down all the ideas or feelings they bring to mind rather than giving "Yes" or "No" answers. Each story is printed on a separate page and is followed by a page of questions for you to answer. If there is not enough space after the question, use the other side of the page to continue (writing the number of the question you are answering).
Inst. No._______

1. 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.
0. Should Joe refuse to give his father the money? Why?

2. Does his father have the right to tell Joe to give him the money? Why?

1. Does giving the money have anything to do with being a good son? Why?

6. Which is worse, a father breaking a promise to his son or a son breaking a promise to his father?

6a. Why should a promise be kept?
II. Joe wanted to go to camp but he was afraid to refuse to give his father the money. So he gave his father $10 and told him that was all he made. He took the other $40 and paid for camp with it. He told his father the head of the camp said he could pay later. So he went off to camp, and the father didn't go on the fishing trip.

Before Joe went to camp, he told his older brother, Alexander, that he really made $50 and that he lied to his father and said he'd made $10. Alexander wonders whether he should tell his father or not.
10. Should Alexander, the older brother, tell their father that Joe had lied about the money or should he keep quiet about what Joe had done? Why?

12. Why would a teenager think he shouldn't tell on a friend or a brother?

15. Which is more important, being a loyal son or a loyal brother? Why?

7. If the father finds out, should he punish Joe for lying and going off with the money? Why?
Several years later, the grown up brothers had gotten 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.
70. If you had to say who did 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?

74. Would you feel like a worse person stealing like Al or cheating like Joe?

71. Why shouldn't someone steal from a store anyhow?

75. Who would feel worse, the storeowner who was robbed or the man who was cheated out of the loan? Why?

73. Which should the law be more harsh or strong against, stealing like Al or cheating like Joe? Why?
III. 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 about $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.
21. Should Heinz have done that? Was it actually wrong or right? Why?

23. 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? Why?

25. 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.

23a. If the husband does not feel very close or affectionate to his wife, should he still steal the drug? Why?

24. 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.

Would you steal the drug to save your wife's life? Why?

If you were dying of cancer but were strong enough, would you steal the drug to save your own life? Why?

30. Heinz broke into 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?
Heinz was sent to 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.
80. Should the tailor report Heinz to the police? Would it be right or wrong to keep it quiet? Why?

81. Is it a citizen's duty to report Heinz? Would a good citizen? Why?

84. If Heinz was a good friend of the tailor, would that make a difference? Why?

82. Should Heinz be sent back to jail by the judge? Why?
APPENDIX C

Please place in the column to the right, the number of the description that best describes each student's behavior.

**BEHAVIOR DESCRIPTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completely Trustworthy</th>
<th>Reliable</th>
<th>Conforming</th>
<th>Unreliable</th>
<th>Untrustworthy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can always be depended on to do whatever he knows is right regardless of what he wants at the moment.</td>
<td>Usually follows rules mostly right even in order to keep out of trouble around to check up on him.</td>
<td>That best describes each student's behavior.</td>
<td>Can only be depended on to follow rules if someone is around to check up; e.g., might cheat if he thought he could get away with it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Number of the Description That Fits Him/Her Best**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Members</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LANETT PALMER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALAN MOONEY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAREN JOHNSTON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALAN HALLIDAY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIANE BRIDGE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAWNETTA ROBERTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOUG LOWE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DENNIS DAVIS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLEEN JOHNSTON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAE MALMSTROM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JANICE CROFT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRANT FIRLEY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOANNE ADAMSON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BECKY SCHOFIELD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAM ASHWORTH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REINER HECHTLE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEAN ADAMSON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RANDY RASMUSSEN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEPHEN JACKMAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PLEASE PLACE A CHECK MARK BY THE NAMES OF THOSE YOU KNOW QUITE WELL.**
APPENDIX D

EXAMPLE OF GLOBAL RATING GUIDE

Situation II

Type 1 - Unlimited tendency to tell authority.
1. **Value.** No localization of responsibility for confessing. 
   Punishment not modified by father's judgment of culprit as "good" 
   for confessing. May be some illogical sense of participation in 
   badness by sharing secret.
2. **Choice.** Tell.
3. **Sanction.** Concern to avoid punishment and trouble by the father. 
   May unrealistically expect inevitable punishment.
4. **Rule re lying.** Lying concern is in terms of punishment and of 
   keeping secrets.
5. **Brother role.** On probe, mentions brother's anger but this is unim-
   portant because of mutual subordination to parents. May say even a 
   friend should tell, so telling is not part of a "good" family role.
6. **Authority.** No invocation of a basis for father's authority. 
   Father seen as trying to find out what's going on rather than to 
   correct lying.
7. **Justice, (Reciprocity).** No concern for the justice of brother's 
   punishment. No concern for reciprocity or contract with brother. 
   May say to tell even if promised not to.

Type 2 - Oriented to own interests. The basic fact is that the brother 
will be angry because he was told on, while the father won't know 
actor kept the secret.
1. **Value.** Thinks it is brother's own business to tell but not because 
of the goodness of confessing oneself.
2. **Choice.** Keep quiet.
3. **Sanctions.** Avoid punishment for everyone by keeping quiet.
4. **Lying rule.** Little concern about lying.
5. **Brother role.** May be some sympathy with brother's wish to get to 
camp. Some wish to avoid brother's anger, as well as labels of 
squealer, etc.
6. **Father's authority.** Conformity is limited to concern about his self-
   fish anger. Father and brother are equivalent in this regard.
7. **Justice.** Reciprocity is on a future exchange basis.

Type 3 - Oriented to helping both father and brother and keeping approval 
of both, but the superior attachment to the father and the lying ele-
ment determine choice.
2. **Choice.** May be reluctant, but says to tell if brother won't.
3. **Sanction.** A basic concern is disapproval by the father.
4. **Lying.** Concerned that concealment is a form of lying and will lead 
to lying himself. Lying is a form of not being good, which arouses 
disappointment and disapproval by father, upsets the relationship.
5. **Brother role.** Some feeling that brothers do "stick together," that brother will be disappointed, disapprove, feel unloved. Some idea also that actor should be concerned about the character and conformity of the brother and represent or intercede for the father with him.

6. **Authority.** Some idea that father ought to know to handle situation well, in a non-punitive sense. He should know for brother's welfare at camp, etc.

8. **Justice.** It's good, nice, fair to pay back a favor to brother. Remaining quiet not originally seen contractually, but is only involved if brother actually kept quiet for actor previously.

**Type 4 -** May not be very different from Types 1 and 3, but more categorical and punitive rather than punishment-avoiding.

1. **Value.** Some concept that it's the brother's responsibility to tell and only then the actor's.

2. **Choice.** Tell.

3. **Sanction.** Some concern that the lying should be punished or corrected; whereas the orientation of Type 1 was to avoid punishment for both.

4. **Lying.** Lying is categorically seen as "doing wrong".

5. **Brother.** Thinks brother will know he deserved punishment, did wrong, and hence will not feel retaliative.

6. **Authority.** Father's job to maintain the rules.

8. **Justice.** Reciprocity elements recognized but outweighed by maintaining the order, by "2 wrongs don't make a right."

**Type 5 -** May not be very different from Type 2 except in containing more intermediate type elements.

2. **Choice.** Perceives situation as partial obligations to persons partially in the wrong, and hence as a conflict of personal feelings of loyalties. Ambivalently tends to resolve it by not telling.

3. **Sanction.** Some concern about either partner feeling the actor is not siding with him.

4. **Rule.** Feelings about lying enter in only if directly asked by the father. Lying may be seen as not so bad "in brother's situation."

5. **Role.** A fairly impersonal orientation in terms of respecting the situational rights of the brother.

6. **Authority.** The father's rights are limited by his antecedent behavior in the situation.

8. **Justice.** Formalistic concern for contract.

**Type 6 -** The only, warmly felt and non-prudential belief that the brother should not be told on.

2. **Choice.** Definitely don't tell.

5. **Role.** A sense of relationally maintaining the trust of the brother, perhaps in terms of playing the "good authority" to the brother.

6. **Authority.** A good father would not expect confidences to be violated.

8. **Justice.** As in 5. Concern for trust in addition to Type 5 aspects.
A STUDY OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT IN
MORMON CULTURE

Abstract of a Thesis
Submitted to the
Department of Family Life Education
of
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Steve F. Gilliland

August 1966
ABSTRACT

Previous studies have indicated that the moral development of the child may follow a "developmental" process. That is, the child progresses through an invariant series of stages, each characterized by certain modes of thought. As the child passes from one stage to another, he integrates the old stage into the new one. Kohlberg proposed a hierarchy of six stages through which the child would progress on his way to moral maturity. His hypothesis has been supported by empirical evidence.

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APPROVED

[Signature]
Chairman, Advisory Committee

[Signature]
Member, Advisory Committee

[Signature]
Chairman, Major Department