

MORAL CONFORMITY IN OPEN AND CLOSED GROUPS:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MORAL DECISION - MAKING
AMONG MORMON, CATHOLIC AND PUBLIC SCHOOL
CHILDREN

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
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A. GARY SHEPHERD

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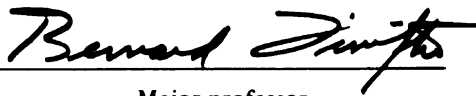
MORAL CONFORMITY IN OPEN AND CLOSED GROUPS: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MORAL DECISION-MAKING
AMONG MORMON, CATHOLIC AND PUBLIC
SCHOOL CHILDREN

presented by

A. Gary Shepherd

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Sociology

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Bernard Smith".

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ABSTRACT

MORAL CONFORMITY IN OPEN AND CLOSED GROUPS: A
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By

A. Gary Shepherd

At its most general level, this study has been concerned with investigating the impact of social structure on socialization of conformity to moral standards. The social structural feature of concern here is degree of system aperture-closure. Moral standards are represented by presumed adult conventions regarding good and bad behavior. Conformity is analyzed in terms of responsiveness to influence source, i.e., self standards vs. parent standards vs. peer standards. Socialization processes take on an inferred status (since they are not actually measured in this study), serving theoretically as the link between open-closed system constraints and degree of conformity to moral standards.

At a more specific level, this study represents a critical response to a line of research initiated by Urie Bronfenbrenner, Edward Devereux and other investigators at

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Cornell University. The Cornell studies have examined moral preferences of school children in a number of countries (ranging from the United States to the Soviet Union), and have concluded that children reared in collective socialization settings tend to adhere to more acceptable moral standards than do children reared in individualized socialization settings. The present study attempts to extend the implications of the Cornell studies by (1) examining and defining more carefully the larger social and cultural contexts in which moral socialization occurs, and (2) refining the conceptualization and measurement of moral preference.

The general social variable focused on in this study is the degree to which social systems differ with regard to "aperture-closure." Three basic dimensional sets for defining open-closed systems were extracted from the literature. These dimensions include: system "linkage" (i.e., degree of exchange and interdependence between systems), system "consensus" (i.e., with regard to beliefs, norms, and values), and system "conformity-deviance sanctions." Of these basic dimensions, one--the dimension of "consensus"--was selected as being most amenable to measurement in the present study. An empirical indicator of "consensus" was developed (the "Index of System Engagement," or ISE) and applied to the groups being studied.

Groups from which samples were drawn for testing were intended to represent, on an a priori basis, social

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systems that could be expected to vary along the open-closed continuum. These groups were Mormon, Catholic and Public School children. The ISE proved to be useful in distinguishing the Mormon and Catholic samples in predicted ways (necessary information for the ISE was not available for Public School children). Thus, significantly higher ISE scores for Mormon children (controlling on sex and social class) supported the a priori designation of Mormons as representing a relatively more closed system than Catholics.

Reconceptualization of relevant moral issues involved differentiating categories of moral responses made available to children in the previous Cornell studies. Critical reading of the original Moral Dilemmas Test (MDT) suggested that two basic types of underlying moral dimensions were being measured. The first type of moral response consisted of situations wherein the child is required to resist peer pressures to behave in "anti-social" ways. Potential positive or negative adult sanctions, depending upon the response, are implicit in the dilemma situations. The present study contends that the socially approved response in this kind of situation (from an adult perspective) represents a "negative-passive" morality. The second type of moral response reflected in the MDT involved situations that require performance of an act that affirms a moral principle and implies a benefit for the recipient of the act. This kind of moral response is called, in the present study, "positive-active" morality.

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Since positive-active decisions appear to be morally more fundamental than negative-passive decisions, and since the original MDT consisted of a larger number of negative-passive dilemma items, additional positive-active dilemmas were created to supplement the old items. All of the MDT items (both old and new) were subjected to factor and cluster analyses. These analyses provided support for the theoretical distinctions by producing item clusters that could consistently be identified as negative-passive vs. positive-active. In addition, a third dimension was also discernable from a sub-set of the original MDT items; this consisted of dilemmas that emphasized a certain achievement orientation. Arguments were presented that diminished the moral importance of achievement orientation and thus questioned the desirability of including such items in the MDT.

Children's responses to the MDT were analyzed across three experimental conditions: (1) Base--children were told that no one would see their answers to the dilemma items; (2) Adult--children were told that their parents would see their answers to the dilemma items; and (3) Peer--children were told that their classmates would see their answers to the dilemma items. Although statistical significance was not always obtained, comparisons between responses of the three samples did provide suggestive support for several hypotheses. For instance, when only the original, conceptually undifferentiated MDT results were examined, rankings were in the predicted direction: on

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over-all conformity to conventional moral standards, Mormon children were highest, Catholics next, and Public School children were lowest. When the basic moral dimensions underlying the modified MDT were analyzed separately, the same over-all rankings were obtained, but with some important differences. First, isolating negative-passive MDT items resulted in Mormons being even more conforming to conventional standards compared to Catholic and Public School children. When, however, responses to positive-active MDT items were isolated, Catholic and Public School children were at least as likely to conform to conventional moral standards under the Base and Peer conditions as were Mormon children. These differences in degree of conformity to the two basic moral dimensions are interpreted as supporting the notion that closed social systems will place greater stress on sanctioning the behavioral outcomes of negative-passive moral situations. With regard to positive-active moral standards, the supported notion is that closed systems will have only a relatively perfunctory concern that differs little from positive-active concerns manifested in more open systems.

These conclusions find modest additional support from the correlations between ISE and MDT scores. Although the strength of these associations turned out to be disappointingly small, some encouraging evidence can be gleaned from the patterning of association. For instance, Mormon correlations between ISE and negative-passive MDT scores

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were consistently positive and higher than for Catholics across sex and social class controls for the three experimental conditions. On the other hand, when correlations between ISE and positive-active scores were examined, increases were found in the incidence of negative relationships, as well as a consistent decrease (sometimes reversal) in Mormon-Catholic differences across sex and social class controls for the three experimental conditions.

Ambiguous and/or negative findings of this study are generally characterized by the "smallness" of many of the predicted differences between samples and the blurring of some of these differences when general patterns are broken down into component parts for subanalyses. Weaknesses in the instruments and procedures employed in the study are examined as potential causes for some of the ambiguous results. Suggestions for remedying flaws of measurement, design and sampling are detailed. Also suggested are additional new measuring instruments and procedures that should help improve the interpretation of results obtained in any further replications. Such replications would help to place the study of comparative moral behavior more firmly within a social matrix.

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COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MORAL DECISION-MAKING
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By

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And finally, to Dr. Bernard Finifter, my committee chairperson, who easily stands out from among all who have helped. Dr. Finifter brings together an unusual command of the social psychological literature, finely honed methodological skills, and a creative mind. This happy combination has provided me with a constant and generous source of provoking ideas and technical evaluation. Dr. Finifter has always left room for disagreement on particular issues but, at the same time, has always insisted that my own thinking reflect the same high standards of thoroughness and critical analysis that he demands of himself. Far beyond the exercise of doing an acceptable piece of dissertation research, this is what a graduate education should be all about.

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Introduction

Ultimate concern with "moral" issues is inherent in the subject matter of the behavioral sciences. For instance, moral issues implicitly underlie most of the specific substantive topics grouped under the broad conceptual canopy of socialization, with socialization rightfully regarded as constituting the core of social psychological inquiry (Clausen, 1968:3). Within the realm of early socialization concerns, psychology proper focuses on the consequences of specific child-rearing practices and the growth of cognitive and emotional capacities during that period when the child is learning to distinguish "right" from "wrong," culminating in a more-or-less coherent system of values and moral beliefs.

Sociology proper reflects this same focus at the more general conceptual levels of social control and deviance.

Ideally, the over-all child-rearing patterns typical of given social groups are examined to see how these practices, by eventually producing conforming group members,

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There exists a vast and sprawling literature dealing with the moral aspects of socialization. It appears that the greater weight of this literature favors a psychological perspective. Psychologists have made explicit their interest in moral questions, have formulated theoretical and empirical problems that reflect this explicit interest, and have thus produced many valuable insights concerning the psychology of moral activity. These insights are generally classifiable under three broad areas of psychological emphasis: (1) Social learning--most often associated with modeling and imitation of "preferred" conduct paradigms, exemplified by Bandura (1969); (2) Cognition--paradigms of moral judgement and the acquisition of moral concepts, exemplified by Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1963); and (3) Internalized "feeling" states--conscience or super-ego based guilt paradigms, exemplified by Freud (1930).¹

Contemporary sociology, however, has shown less interest in stressing the direct moral implications of socialization theory and research (Inkeles, 1968; Maccoby, 1971). While discussion of social values and normative influence has always been central to sociology, efforts are not usually made to explicitly distinguish moral values from other kinds of values.² Thus, specifically moral values and their social antecedents tend to remain

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obscured in much sociological analysis rather than stand out as clearly recognized variables in their own right. With the exception of studies that have attempted to link social class to differences in parental values, child-rearing techniques, and environmental pressures,³ relatively little actual research has been addressed to the influence exerted by social structural variables on the acquisition and expression of moral values.

The present study is a response to this lack. Through it, I have attempted to examine one potentially important relationship between the social organization of a given group, the particular socialization techniques that are likely to reflect the organization of the group, and the moral consequences for children who are exposed to particular kinds of socialization experiences within their group.⁴

The social structural variable that I am most concerned with in this study is the degree to which a group is either "open" or "closed" to the introduction and/or expression of alternative norms and values. The socialization experience that I am most interested is the degree to which children are exposed to a consistent set of values and norms. And the moral behavior that I examine is the degree to which children conform to group standards of right and wrong when under pressure to deviate. The general hypothesis that has guided this study has been, simply, that the more "closed" the social

structure of a group, the more likely there will be conformity to the moral standards of that group.

Objectives of the Present Study

The research antecedents of my study are largely found in the work either conducted or inspired by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1967, 1970a, 1970b) and Edward Devereux (1970, 1972) of Cornell University. These Cornell studies imply much concerning relationships between social structure and moral behavior of the young by making cross-cultural comparisons of the degree of manifest congruence that exists between adult and children's standards of behavior. Provocative cultural differences have been found, particularly by contrasting moral decision-making patterns of Russian and American children. Peer group norms in the Soviet Union conform amazingly to idealized adult standards, while peer group norms in the U.S. tend to conflict with idealized adult standards. One of the important variables that has been proposed by Bronfenbrenner to account for these differences is the degree to which childrens' major socialization experiences are structured, consistent and coordinated.

This initial line of research has been carried out elsewhere by others. However, apart from varying cultural settings, these studies have been more in the spirit of virtual replications, and therefore have not evolved new conceptualization of the problem, nor refined measurement

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of the variables involved, nor offered much critical evaluation of surface findings. Although the establishment of stable empirical findings is, of course, important, one cannot help but eventually ask what such findings may mean, not only in and of themselves, but beyond themselves in their implications for other issues.

For instance, may we validly infer that, on the whole, children of particular social groups are in some sense "more moral" than children of other groups? What are the actual moral dimensions that are to be compared? To what degree might these dimensions differ from conventional conformity? What do the relevant socialization differences tell us about the larger systems which produce them? Do system differences imply the operation of general variables that potentially may be applied to the analysis of "moral socialization" at many social levels, from small groups, through sub-cultures to nation-states?

The study represented is an attempt to deal with some of these questions through a type of extended or "systematic" replication of the Cornell projects.⁵ In conducting this systematic replication, I have dealt with the same basic research problem and employed the same basic research strategies. I have utilized the original test instruments and attempted to sample from the same age group of children. However, I have also drawn samples from new populations, representing different kinds of sub-cultures. I have attempted to refine and add to the original test

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instruments, as well as introduce some new measures of unexplored variables. And, most importantly, I have tried systematically to conceptualize those aspects of the problem that appear to link social structure to moral conformity in children.

More specifically, my study has three major goals: (1) to identify and measure general social-structural variables that lead to distinctive socialization experiences for children in different social systems; (2) to relate socialization differences to distinctive patterns of moral conformity; and (3) to modify the view of comparative moral behavior implied in the Cornell studies and, in the process, refine the instrument which has been used to measure moral orientation. Before elaborating the intentions of the present study, however, it will be helpful to summarize briefly the Cornell research that has been carried out to date. A condensed presentation of cross-cultural findings is given in Table 1.⁶

Review of Relevant Literature

Bronfenbrenner (1962) initiated this line of inquiry with an article detailing his field observations of the intensive "character education" program that operates in the Soviet school system.⁷ The crux of this program involved an overriding stress on collective responsibility for living up to a consistently presented set of social standards. From the beginning elementary school

Table 1

Cross Cultural Comparisons of Childrens' Mean MDT
Scores as Reported In Bronfenbrenner (1975:485)

Country	N	Base	Adult	Peer	Mean Across Conditions
U.S.S.R.					
1. Boarding	188	13.82	15.62	15.04	14.83
2. Day	165	11.81	12.49	12.32	12.20
3. Hungary ^a		13.28	15.17	13.74	14.06
4. Czechoslovakia ^a		10.36	10.38	7.64	9.46
5. Poland ^a		6.94	7.60	3.90	6.14
6. Japan ^a		3.77	4.62	2.90	3.76
7. Canada ^a		3.58	4.27	0.91	2.92
8. West Germany ^a		1.79	4.43	2.26	2.83
9. Great Britain ^b	274	3.71	3.12	1.05	2.63
10. U.S.A.	158	2.43	2.96	1.27	2.22
Israel	400				
11. Kibbutz ^a		2.26	1.80	0.62	1.56
12. City ^a		2.77	1.22	0.52	1.50
13. Holland ^a		1.27	2.10	0.16	1.18
14. Scotland ^a		1.31	1.77	- 1.89	0.40
15. Switzerland ^{a, c}		- 1.59	- 0.76	- 3.91	- 2.09

^aSample size not available.

^bBeloff and Patton (1971) results; not included in original Bronfenbrenner table.

^cSwiss children were, on the average, one year older than children in other samples.

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days, children are placed into various organized groups or "collectives" that are set up to operate according to specified adult standards of behavior. The collectives then quickly become the focal points for rewards and punishments.

For instance, each child is a member of a series of "nested" collectives--his row, classroom, school, school district, etc. Competition among collectives--row with row, classroom with classroom, etc.--provide superordinate goals that foster cohesiveness while avoiding "in-group" vs. "out-group" antagonisms. Rewards and punishments are directed at various groups rather than at individuals. This, arrangement creates a strong teamwork ethic and transforms the peer group into a powerful secondary source of adult influence.

Indeed, according to Bronfenbrenner (1962:556) it is not long before the children's collective virtually "surpasses the family as the principle agent of socialization." Armed with explicitly developed adult criteria for evaluating performance and conduct, the collective is eventually given responsibility for regulating many of its own affairs. Procedures encouraged for accomplishing this regulation include reporting observed peer deviancy to the group and public self-criticism of personal faults. The observable consequence of this controlled peer socialization is that Soviet children appear to be unusually well behaved and conforming to established adult norms.

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These initial field observations were put to an empirical test several years later after Bronfenbrenner and his associates had developed an instrument (the "Moral Dilemmas Test") and procedure for measuring differences in conformity to peer vs. adult sources of influence in various moral situations (Bronfenbrenner, 1967). The Moral Dilemmas Test (hereafter referred to as the MDT) consists of a number of short stories which always pose the same underlying dilemma for respondents: whether to go along with friends who are urging and/or engaging in some behavior that would not be approved by adults, or to resist the pressure from friends and instead conform to the standard that would be approved by adults (see Appendix I for the full set of actual moral dilemma stories).

These stories are presented under different experimental manipulations, including telling respondents that (1) no one will see their answers ("Base" condition), (2) parents will see their answers ("Adult" condition), and (3) classmates will see their answers ("Peer" condition). These experimental conditions, and the MDT itself, are discussed more fully in Chapter III.

Bronfenbrenner administered the MDT to school children in both the U.S.S.R. (Moscow) and U.S. (Ithaca, New York). Results were dramatic and consistent with predictions (see summary in Table 1, lines 1 and 2 vs. line 10). Soviet children averaged much higher scores under all experimental conditions, indicating a pervasive

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adult orientation to moral standards (i.e., a high mean score signifies a reported readiness to conform to conventional, adult-approved standards. A low score indicates readiness to engage in mischievous activity being urged by friends in the dilemma story). This orientation was most impressively evident under the Peer condition; when Soviet children thought their classmates would know their responses, scores actually increased over those previously obtained in the neutral Base condition. In stark contrast, U.S. children's scores dipped to their lowest level when informed that peers would see all choices made in resolving the dilemmas. Girls were consistently more adult-oriented than boys under all test conditions for both groups.

The U.S.S.R. portion of this study was later replicated (Bronfenbrenner, 1970), because Bronfenbrenner recognized that the previous sample of Soviet children had been drawn exclusively from boarding schools. This fact suggested a potentially important intervening variable, since boarding school children are virtually cut off from the day-to-day influences of home and family, and are thus all the more intensively exposed to the molding impact of the Soviet educational system. Bronfenbrenner reasoned that where the number of primary socialization agents is reduced ("monistic" socialization), the child will be much more susceptible to consistent socialization influences. On the other hand, if the child is exposed to multiple socialization agents ("pluralistic" socialization),

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Bronfenbrenner infers that influence will become fragmented and expectations will tend to be conflicting.

Therefore, by sampling from regular Soviet day schools, in which children spend only part of the day while the rest of their time is occupied with family and neighborhood friends, Bronfenbrenner expected to find somewhat less adult-oriented morality than revealed in the boarding schools. Nevertheless, adult conformity was still expected to be considerably higher than was true for the earlier U.S. sample. These predictions, as seen in Table 1, were borne out. This demonstrated the importance of degree of exposure to homogeneous socialization experiences beyond just the operation of the children's collective.

Similar investigations have been carried out in other cultures. Without actually presenting the data, Devereux, Bronfenbrenner and Rogers (1969) refer to preliminary results of MDT testing among children in England. According to their summary, English children were consistently less "adult oriented" than even American children. Within the English sample, boys were reported to be generally more yielding than girls to peer pressure to violate adult norms. This sex difference is, of course, consistent with the findings in both New York and Moscow studies.

Responding to this tentative report, Beloff and Patton (1970) administered the MDT, under the usual experimental conditions, to a larger sample of British

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school children. At issue was a more conclusive test of the assertion that socially desirable response tendencies among British children would be relatively low, with pronounced peer pressure in opposition to adult standards. This expectation was partly based on the observation of an apparently high societal value placed on the functioning of independent peer group cultures (i.e., free from adult intervention) in Great Britain.

Mean MDT scores showed that British children are indeed strongly affected by peer pressure along "anti-social" lines, but actually no more so than U.S. children. In fact, "Base" and "Adult" scores per se were a little higher than for their U.S. counterparts. However, belief that parents would audit test results did not lead to greater shift to adult conformity (when compared to scores initially obtained under the Base condition) for British boys and actually decreased scores for British girls. One particularly important outcome of Bronfenbrenner's Soviet testing was repeated here: Adult orientation of children attending boarding schools was uniformly greater than that of regular day school students. Also, as before, girls' scores were always higher than boys'.

MDT scores have also been obtained from a sample of Canadian school children (Mason, 1972). Not surprisingly, given presumably similar socialization environments, scores under each of the three test conditions are very close to those achieved by U.S. children in the initial

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Bronfenbrenner study. One difference that does emerge is a slight tendency for Canadian boys to decrease their scores under the Adult condition, whereas, of course, U.S. boys showed a slight increase in their scores. Canadian girls were consistently higher than Canadian boys under all conditions.

Results of MDT testing have also been reported for Israeli children (Rim and Seidenross, 1971). In a non-Kibbutz sample, it was found that "anti-social" peer influence--for both boys and girls--was even stronger than for U.S. and British children. As in Great Britain (but to a greater degree) the Adult condition actually served to decrease conformity to conventional standards. Another surprising outcome was the fact that Israeli girls' scores were uniformly lower than the boys' scores.

These findings are difficult to interpret because Rim and Seidenross provide so little concrete information about their sample and no discussion at all of the social and cultural variables operating in Israeli socialization (urban, non-Kibbutz) that led them to hypothesize that "in a conflicting situation, with pressure from peers vs. adults, children in Israel would be more responsive to the pressure of their age groups (p. 36)."

A separate study of Israeli children, very recently published by Bronfenbrenner and others (Bronfenbrenner, et al., 1975) lends some clarification to questions raised by Rim and Seidenross, as well as introduces new issues

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more directly relevant for the present investigation. In this study, Kibbutz and non-Kibbutz childrens' responses to the MDT were obtained and compared.⁸ The over-all scores for both groups of children were low and quite comparable to the results obtained by Rim and Seidenross. However, the pattern of responses under the three experimental conditions for girls in each group was interpreted to reflect differences in collective vs. family upbringing. Thus, Kibbutz girls consistently scored higher than Kibbutz boys across test conditions, achieving their highest score under the Adult condition. This pattern was just reversed for non-Kibbutz children, as Rim and Seidenross had previously found. In other words, girls raised under collective conditions were more "likely to shift their responses in the direction of conventional standards when threatened with social exposure (p. 484)."

Several speculations are offered as to why collective experiences should influence girls but not boys. These include citation of experimental evidence that girls may simply be more compliant with external conformity pressures (which are more prevalent in a collective setting), and the fact that Kibbutz boys are more exposed to the influence of both parents than are Kibbutz girls, thus providing boys with a more "pluralistic" socialization experience. Still, the overall conclusion is that the Israeli Kibbutz is a "less pure example of collective upbringing than the Soviet Boarding School (p. 485)."

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Bronfenbrenner and his colleagues also make interesting comparisons between Kibbutz children's responses and responses already obtained from children in the Soviet Union. The magnitude of scores under each experimental condition shows Soviet children to be overwhelmingly more adult-oriented than Kibbutz children. These over-all differences are explained as a function of adherence to a morally strict and authoritatively imposed Communist ideology for the Soviets, vs. an implicit value orientation in the Kibbutz that favors a certain degree of autonomy and self-assertion.

On the other hand, comparisons of scoring patterns revealed that Israeli and Soviet children both tend to respond in the same way to pressure from peers as to pressure from adults. In other words, MDT scores under the Peer condition were not much different from scores obtained under the Adult condition--a result rarely reported from testing in other cultural settings. It is suggested that this similar outcome is due to the existence of single, pervasive national commitments affecting both the old and young in both countries such that social pressure from peers acts in the same direction as social pressure from adults. In the Soviet Union this national commitment is again identified as the relentless development of Communist ideals; in Israel, as simple national survival.⁹

Several investigations have been carried out that employed the MDT without including experimental manipulations

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(e.g., the Adult and Peer conditions). Devereux (1972), for instance, administered a shortened version of the MDT (under the Base condition only) to samples of U.S. and German children. By varying the absence-presence of the childrens' teacher during the testing, Devereux was able to show that the German children--who were presumably reared in a more authoritarian and adult controlled environment--were significantly likely to be more conforming to adult standards when the teacher was present. U.S. children, on the other hand, were not significantly affected in their conformity by either the absence or presence of their teacher during testing.

These findings have at least two implications of interest here. The first implication is substantive: children who must live in strictly regulated, "authority-bounded" moral environments may simply comply with "correct" behavior when authority cues are present. This tendency would then naturally be at the expense of developing an autonomous sense of right and wrong. For German children, authority cues were provided by adults. But for Soviet children, within the children's collective, peers serve an analogous function since the peer group becomes an extension of adult expectations.

The second implication is methodological and involves the administration of the MDT in various cultural settings; i.e., in authoritarian groups it is possible that, even when teachers are absent from the room, the

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presence of adult experimenters may bias the children toward more adult-oriented responses. Again, this becomes problematic in assessing results of Soviet testing but not, apparently, for assessing middle class U.S. results.

Finally, Beloff and Temperley (1972) correlated MDT scores (again obtained only under the Base condition) of Scottish children with sociometric peer ratings. They found a consistently negative relationship between popularity and adult moral orientation for both boys and girls. At least within Scottish peer groups, then, the most attractive and influential members are precisely those children who stand most in opposition to conventional adult norms. In passing, it seems reasonable to speculate that, in the Soviet children's collective, this relationship would likely be just the reverse. Again, this should be the case since the peer group becomes a vehicle for imposing adult norms, and popularity within the peer group is importantly tied to exemplifying these norms.

Summary of Research Findings

One of the major implications coming out of the research reviewed above is that, in a number of Western countries, various societal values and norms regarding "proper" behavior are rather idiosyncratically presented to children. Relative lack of a consistent and articulated code of "proper" behavior is often thought to be partly a reflection of modern, urbanized society in which an

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increasingly broad range of institutional agencies supplant the traditional socialization role of the family (e.g., day care centers, schools, recreational programs, the mass media, etc.). These incursions of non-family institutions into the socialization process are not themselves, however, a matter of rational planning and coordination. Consequently, norms and values transmitted in these institutional contexts tend to be vague, situationally specific, and sometimes mutually contradictory.

A related feature of modern, urban society in the West, according to Bronfenbrenner, is an apparent decrease in the integration of youth and adult realms of activities, concerns and responsibilities. Largely cut off from rewarding ties to adult society, American children and youth develop strong identities within the age-segregated world of peer groups. To Bronfenbrenner and his associates, the evidence seems clear that, within these peer groups, normative standards of behavior often move in directions opposed to adult expectations.

However, there are other cultures and societies in which children's peer group norms appear to manifest very little conflict with adult expectations. In particular, as we have seen, Bronfenbrenner perceives and presents evidence for such a situation existing in the U.S.S.R. Although the Soviet Union is itself an industrial and increasingly urban society, the socialization of children there appears to be deeply affected by institutionally

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coordinated and ideologically based programs which unify the promulgation and acceptance of adult values and norms among the young. This is partially accomplished by purposive channeling of peer group sanctions into the service of adult standards via such organized social devices as the children's collective. The likelihood, then, that the Soviet child's own standards of conduct will differ markedly from adult standards is diminished, since (1) the child's world of group pressures and expectations is programmed to coincide with an adult world-view, and (2) the adult world-view incorporated into the child's peer group is itself a comparatively uniform and articulated one.

Although Bronfenbrenner refrains from saying so, in many ways the "children's collective" may be viewed as a microcosm of the ideal state of affairs desired in Soviet society at large. While moral consensus in the U.S.S.R. is, of course, far from absolute, basic values that are deemed important are carefully infused by the state into many levels of social functioning. For instance, De George (1969) notes the impact of officially sanctioned programs of moral emphasis in areas of life ranging from factory work to Soviet science and even to the Soviet legal system. According to De George, "Communist Morality" is seen by Soviet leaders as a possible instrument to replace rule of force and eventually perhaps even formal rule of law through the individual's internal control of himself, in

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Replacing law (some) by morality has to some extent already been implemented in the Soviet 'comrades courts.' In these courts minor offenses are informally tried . . . by one's peers. The offenses are often violations of the moral code not specifically covered by the criminal code . . . and the . . . penalties include public apology, social reprimands . . . etc. (p. 98).

Notwithstanding the vision of various Utopian ideals, it is difficult to imagine that a system of formal laws and official legal sanctions could actually come to be totally supplanted by universal internalization of "correct" standards, even within a closely controlled political state such as the Soviet Union. However, it must be recognized that, in the U.S.S.R. (and apparently to an even greater extent in the Peoples Republic of China),¹¹ this is a goal that can be seriously considered and even successfully implemented, on a modest scale, within some sectors of social life. Both of these facts appear to point to certain structural features of the Soviet system which facilitate, and perhaps even require, external imposition of moral consensus. In contrast, the relative diversity of values and diffuseness of socialization experiences that exist in the U.S. and other Western societies suggest somewhat opposite structural features. My attempt to explicate and generalize these system

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Some Limitations of the Cornell Studies
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Objectives

Although Bronfenbrenner, Devereux, and their associates have been concerned primarily with comparing collective levels of moral decision making among children in different cultures and societies, they do not go far in analyzing the kind of social features and arrangements that are conducive for particular socialization outcomes. For example, Bronfenbrenner contrasts the intentional and coordinated socialization experiences the Soviet child is exposed to, particularly through the children's collective in the schools, with the casual and laissez-faire moral indoctrination that typifies U.S. children's experience in school.

This comparison is both interesting and important enough, but other questions remain. For example, moral laissez-faire vs. moral collectivization is an obvious reflection of contrasting political and social structures. Would it be possible, then (let alone desirable), given these existing structures, for either country to successfully adapt the general socialization techniques employed by the other? Indeed, by turning the issue around, the general system of socialization that has in fact evolved

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in these or any other social system should help us to identify and analyze important group characteristics. That is, we should be able to examine specific social system processes, such as socialization, and then inductively move back toward characterizing the larger system that generates such processes. The utility of this procedure increases when we are dealing with more obscure social units than those represented by nation-states (although even in the case of presumably well known states there is certainly ample room left for more careful description and comparison of differences and similarities).

Phrasing our questions in these terms should also lead us to consider the usefulness of Przeworski and Teune's (1970) dictum that the ultimate goal of comparative research is to substitute names of variables for the proper names of social systems:

When we find that societies differ with regard to a particular characteristic, we can ask what it is about these societies that causes this difference. If the factor first considered does not answer the question satisfactorily, it is possible to consider other factors, gradually replacing the notion that 'nations differ' by statements formulated in terms of specific variables (pp. 29-30).

A major objective of my study, then, is to identify general social variables that contribute to the differential organization of socialization experiences for the young. One such variable that I have paid particular attention to is the degree of system "aperture-closure." The potential importance of aperture-closure as

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a structural dimension is suggested by the relatively homogeneous socialization process ("closed") in countries like the U.S.S.R. vs. the relatively heterogeneous socialization process ("open") in countries like the U.S.A. Again, although I wish to conceptualize aperture-closure as a continuum, reference to the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. in this preliminary context is not intended to establish either absolute poles or preferred units of analysis, but simply to make use of two fairly clear examples of contrasting system types for which a variety of information and data are already available. Definition and discussion of the open-closed variable is taken up in Chapter II.

A second social-structural variable of importance for studying socialization of moral behavior is level of social class. General formulations about the development and expression of moral orientations have too often been based only on middle class samples. This criticism is applicable to the Cornell studies and their off-shoots, most of which have attempted to characterize the broad moral orientation of youth in the U.S., Soviet Union, Great Britain, Israel, and other countries without paying systematic attention to differences that might be attributable to social class levels.¹² Apparently, some efforts have been made to include school children from different types of neighborhoods in order to improve the over-all representativeness of samples. However, most samples have still wound up having a "pretty heavy middle class bias" (see letter from Edward Devereux, Appendix III).

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Devereux (1972) did make some rough comparisons of working class and middle class moral decision making among both U.S. and West German children when authority-related cues were either absent or present in the testing situation. Not surprisingly, social class differences did emerge: the introduction of authority-related cues appeared to create a greater shift toward conformity with adult norms among working class than among middle class children. This finding is, of course, congruent with the large body of evidence that links lower and working-class home environments to a general pattern of arbitrary, authoritarian and punitive disciplinary techniques which, in turn, tend to mold children who "externalize" values rather than "internalize" them (see, for example, Miller and Swanson, 1960; Bronfenbrenner, 1961). Additional reasons often advanced for class differences in value orientation include emphasis in the home on obedience and conformity rather than on self-direction, which is taken as a consequence of typical working class occupational structures (Kohn, 1969; Berkowitz, 1966, 1967). Greater peer and environmental pressure experienced by lower class children to violate conventional norms has also been suggested (Psathas, 1957; Wilson, 1959).

While it seems evident that social class exerts an independent and powerful influence on the development of moral orientations, the strategy I have adopted for this study is to introduce social class primarily as a control

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Critical questions can also be raised about the basic conceptualization and measurement of moral orientation in the Cornell studies. Bronfenbrenner, Devereux, and others working with the same problem often appear uncritically to equate moral behavior with conformity to prevailing societal norms. This restricted viewpoint is further limited by employing a measure (the MDT), which emphasizes negative and passive moral expressions, i.e., behavior is counted as pro-social and, therefore, "moral," to the degree that a norm is not violated or that temptation to do wrong is resisted. Stress on moral prohibitions and degree of compliance with rules has both characterized much other research and been criticized before for the one-sided view that it fosters (Breznitz and Kugelmass, 1968). Aronfreed (1963), whose own work has included investigation of moral responses to transgression, concludes that

Most of the psychological research on moral behavior has focused on its prohibitive and punitive components. Yet people are obviously moral in a broader sense than that of merely avoiding reacting to transgressions . . . It is clear that the reinforcements which originally define transgressions and their consequences may

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A related shortcoming of the Cornell approach is that the actual content of the "moral dilemmas" used in the MDT appears inadequate as a sample of the theoretical domain generally understood to be encompassed by the concept of moral values. For instance, the moral principles that underlie the MDT items are few in number and do not seem to be as crucial in import as one would hope for in an instrument that purports to be a general measure of moral value orientation. These principles, as measured by the MDT, only include obedience to parents' wishes, achievement motivation, sympathy, rule adherence and rule enforcement. This narrowness of measurement scope and content is a common enough complaint about research in the area of moral values. As Pittel and Mendelsohn (1966) point out in their general review of moral measurements:

Many tests sample only a small number of moral or ethical areas . . . thus limiting their generality. The content typically sampled is based on categories of conventional morality or on the author's theoretical preoccupation. Many dimensions of behavior which are potentially morally salient are thereby excluded (p. 33).

If the MDT may be criticized on grounds that the moral dimensions which make it up represent too constricted a range and lack sufficient salience within the range that is encompassed, then we must call into question the kind of generalizing that seems to be implied by some of the Cornell studies. That is that children from certain groups tend

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to be "more moral" than children from other groups, not just specifically but in general.¹³ In order to adequately test this notion, it is necessary to expand the focus of moral concern to a correspondingly general level.

Therefore, another extension of previous research that I am attempting in the present study is to supplement the MDT with additional new items designed to (1) require positive and active responses to moral situations, i.e., the moral actor must do "good" rather than simply avoid "wrong-doing," and (2) reflect a broader range of moral values such as justice, altruism, sharing, keeping promises, etc. Elaboration of these objectives constitutes the second major conceptual focus of Chapter II.

CHAPTER I--FOOTNOTES

¹See Roger Brown (1965) for a very helpful review and integration of these three themes.

²Roger Brown (1965:404) makes this same point with the reminder that while "moral values carry a sense of absolute obligation, of 'ought' or 'should,' . . . other values [i.e., non-moral] carry only a sense of desirability, of 'I like' or 'I want.'" Aesthetic values, economic values, the values of success and of health generate preferences and yearnings rather than categorical imperatives."

³Comprehensive reviews of the literature on relationships between social class and issues related to the study of moral values have been carried out by Bronfenbrenner (1958) and Hess (1970).

⁴The theme of culture, socialization practices and personality consequences has been much more widely investigated, particularly by anthropologists. One recent sociological study of culture and personality that has some relevance for this dissertation is the attempt by Gonzalez and Tamayo (1974) to assess the extent that "open" societies produce "open-minded" persons and "closed" societies produce "closed-minded" persons. Their usage of open-closed society is confined to informal and intuitive categories while my own use of this same variable attempts a more systematic and measurable conception of open-closed social differences.

⁵Finifter (1973) has developed a very useful typology of replication strategies wherein the major generic distinctions are identified as being "virtual" replications, "systematic" replications, and "psuedo" replications. These replication modes are represented as intersecting with the type of data base used to produce a specification of sub strategies. By Finifter's scheme, my study represents the sub strategy of "inferential derivation"--the intersection of an attempt to systematically replicate with an independent sample. According to Finifter, "the inferential derivation replicator is free to construct a line of reasoning that only indirectly and

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⁶Data reported in this table for Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Japan, Holland and Switzerland have not, to my knowledge, been formally published and discussed in the literature.

⁷This program is more fully described in Bronfenbrenner's book, Two Worlds of Childhood; the U.S. and U.S.S.R. (1970).

⁸Using confession as an indicator of moral orientation, Luria, et al. (1963) have already demonstrated the greater sensitivity of Kibbutz children to transgression situations when compared to Israeli children who live at home with their parents.

⁹The notion that moral socialization may be affected by a general social characteristic such as "national commitment" points in the same direction as questions that I have posed in the present study. My attempt to arrive at a more systematic understanding of importantly involved social characteristics is taken up in the next chapter.

¹⁰Bronfenbrenner does not really elaborate, in his published reports, concerning the kinds of arrangements and preparations made in advance of his testing in Soviet schools. Without information to the contrary, we are led to wonder if students might not have been affected by prior knowledge that an American scientist would be coming to involve them in an experiment. Even if no prior knowledge of the experiment existed among students, the context of the actual testing would surely make clear the propaganda value of impressing American researchers with "correct" responses.

¹¹Sidel in Women and Child Care in China (1972), presents a fairly recent and informative observational report of the massive moral and political indoctrination program that permeates all phases of childrearing in China today.

¹²Bronfenbrenner is certainly not generally insensitive to the importance of social class factors. Indeed, his earlier work on social class differences in child-rearing practices is well known (1958). Nevertheless,

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consideration of social class differences is not apparent in much of the actual research done with the MDT. In Bronfenbrenner's case, it may be that class distinctions were difficult to make in the Soviet Union, since it is officially a "classless" society. However this may be, it should still be possible to distinguish between children whose parents are, say, bureaucrats vs. factory workers, a distinction that Kohn (1969) and Berkowitz (1966) have found to be important in the differential development of value orientations.

¹³For instance, in Two Worlds of Childhood, Bronfenbrenner makes it clear that he views his findings as pointing to "disruptive trends in the process of socialization in American society (p. v)" which are "of sufficient gravity to require some programmatic action (p. viii)." He then sharply contrasts this state of affairs with the effectiveness of Soviet upbringing methods. The empirical support for these assertions is found in comparing Soviet and American childrens' MDT scores. By implication, then, Soviet children are considered "more moral" than American children. Elsewhere, Bronfenbrenner (1968:203) explicitly equates higher MDT scores with a "greater claim to virtuous behavior."

CHAPTER II

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

In this chapter, I will attempt to sort out and discuss the conceptual issues that have been central to my investigation of conformity to moral standards. Chief among these issues are (1) establishment of "open" vs. "closed" systems as a theoretically general and important social-structural variable in the socialization of moral conformity; (2) clarification of the underlying moral dimensions which appear to be at issue in the testing context established by Bronfenbrenner and his associates; and (3) linkage of aperture-closure to dimensions of moral conformity through the development of theoretical hypotheses.

Open-Closed Systems

The original Bronfenbrenner studies can serve as a point of departure for developing the theoretical framework for the present study. As we have seen, Bronfenbrenner points to specific features of socialization in the U.S.S.R.

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to account for the large differences in degree of adult conformity between American and Soviet children. Some of these include: use of social models through large scale involvement of older children and adults to work with younger age groups; "character education" as an explicit and important expectation of the school system; employment of group forces in reinforcing desired behaviors within an enduring group context (i.e., peer and self-criticism, group rather than individual competition, group punishment and rewards, etc.); and the assignment of responsibilities in the name of superordinate goals of the classroom, school and community.

One outcome of these and related socialization strategies is the prevention of value conflict. Thus, because Soviet children are confronted with less divergence in moral outlook in their interactions with other persons in family, school and peer groups, their conformity to a more consistent set of standards is naturally increased. This explanation is given added credence by both Bronfenbrenner's (1970) and Beloff and Patten's (1970) finding that adult conformity is greater for boarding school children than for day school children, whether in the Soviet Union or in Great Britain. To account for this difference, one simply extends the original notion concerning imposed consistency of standards: boarding school children are exposed to fewer socializing agents while day school children are

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Now, the major theoretical task here is to place this analysis of differences in socialization settings within a broader, structural framework. One general structural concept that suggests itself as useful for this purpose is the notion of "open" vs. "closed" systems. This concept has been applied more at the level of individual cognitive systems as illustrated in the cognate approaches developed by Rokeach ("open-closed mindedness," 1960), Bierl ("cognitive simplicity-complexity," 1959), and Harvey, Hunt and Schroeder ("abstract vs. concrete cognitive functioning," 1961). Although specifics vary, a common focus for all these theories is how values, ideas, attitudes, and beliefs become patterned into coherent and interrelated systems, and the degree to which such systems, once constructed, are conducive and receptive to the input of new and variegated information from outside the system.

For instance, the "closed-minded" individual tends to maintain the homogeneity of an already fixed set of beliefs and assumptions by rejecting or distorting new and different cognitions. In contrast, the "open-minded" individual tends to be more receptive to new cognitions, at least for purposes of evaluation, and hence more flexible in modifying, enlarging and reorganizing his belief system when deemed appropriate.

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The mode of psychological integration preferred by individuals when confronted by diverse cognitive inputs from their environment poses a clear analogy for analyzing collective or social integration achieved by groups in the way they structure their normative systems. For instance, the rigid belief system of the closed-minded individual finds its counterpart in groups that are tightly bound to authoritarian ideology, sacred traditions, unquestioned group myths, pervasive taboos, etc. The closed-minded rejection of unfamiliar cognitions may be likened to such social phenomena as ethnocentrism, xenophobia, exclusive membership requirements, prohibition of social intercourse with outsiders, as well as the prohibition of dissemination and/or practice of alien customs, etc. Finally, closed-minded distortion of unfamiliar cognitions is analogous to out-group stereotyping.

As with the cognitive system of open-minded individuals, the social system of open groups reverses the above tendencies by virtue of its greater flexibility and adaptiveness. Thus, open social systems would be characterized by institutionalized procedures for making normative and ideological changes, allowance for freer social exchange with non-system members, greater permitted diversity of opinion and behavior, etc.

From this rough analogy, it may be argued (as indeed, Lauman and Schuman, 1967, have already done) that a closed-open conceptualization of social structure has

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much in common with such classical community dimensions as Folk-Urban, Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft, and especially Durkheim's Mechanical vs. Organic solidarity. In a "Mechanical" social structure, for instance, integration is said to be achieved through the fundamental likeness or homogeneity of its units. Thus, it is "closed" to differences between units. On the other hand, integration in an "Organic" social structure is brought about through the mutual dependence upon one another of dissimilar or heterogeneous units. Thus it is "open" to differences between units.

Open-closed group differences have fundamental moral implications that are most apparent in contrasting small, pre-modern communities with large, modern communities. For instance we can contrast the transmission of moral values in "simple" vs. "complex" societies: "In a tight knit and narrow community, all the influences bearing upon individuals are united in pressure towards social conformity," thus drastically reducing the incidence of moral deviancy and ensuring social unity (Bull, 1969:3). Or, as Ossowska (1970:43) sums it up, "In folk societies, moral order prevails, the binding together of men consists in common conceptions as to what is right, in common ideals, in common convictions as to the good life." All of this stands out vividly against the social and moral constraints operating in complex, urban groups wherein "a technical order predominates over a moral order . . . the bonds that

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Nadel's (1971) discussion of social control and self-regulation also lends substance to a conception of open-closed systems. Most of Nadel's examples of self-regulation are drawn from "primitive" societies where, because of their small scale and lack of internal differentiation, incentives to conform to normative standards are linked to inextricably related social roles. Thus, "the public standards of conduct are affected only because every man is both a family head and a potential rank-holder, a farmer and a possible candidate for Priestship (Nadel, 1971:8)."

However, a system of social control based on self-regulation need not be confined to simple societies, as we learned from DeGeorge's discussion of "comrade courts" in the Soviet Union, and as Silver (1966) makes clear in analyzing the orthodoxy requisites for role and status allocation that developed in the American South. Finally, as Nadel (1971) himself points out:

Highly complex societies, too, exploit it whenever they are organized on 'totalitarian' lines, e.g., when social promotion of any kind is impossible unless the candidate professes the 'right' kind of religion or political conviction or lives according to approved standards of morality (p. 9).

Of course, even in complex but non-totalitarian societies, self-regulation based on conformity to approved

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modes of conduct and thought is a critical element of social control and one of the basic functions of the socialization process in any group. However, the distinction to be made here is one of degree, since aperture-closure represents a continuum. One of the important distinctions implied in this continuum concerns the relative openness of groups in at least permitting a fair examination of ideas and modes of conduct that depart from the established norms (vs. out-of-hand-rejection).

The degree to which normative deviations are tolerated in a group, the degree to which such tolerated deviance is privately or publically acknowledged, and the range of deviant behaviors that may be engaged in without social stricture are the foci of Ryan and Strauss's (1954) conception of "loose-tight" social structure. Their notion has several apparent similarities with the conceptualization of open-closed systems that I am proposing here. Thus, a "loosely structured" society is characterized by social norms which explicitly admit a wide range of alternative channels of conformity. Behavior which nevertheless exceeds the variety of acknowledged normative bounds is still broadly tolerated. Finally, the values of group organization, formality, permanence and solidarity are underdeveloped such that group roles are subordinate to individual ends.

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All this is in marked contrast with societies toward the "tight" end of the continuum which increasingly come to reverse these same characteristics. In general, normative patterns will be clearly and narrowly marked with emphasis upon the observation of reciprocal rights and duties in specified situations.¹

Sperlich (1971) discusses the intolerance aspect of closed societies from a political point of view. Since the thrust of closed social systems is toward order, harmony, and consensus, Sperlich views such systems as being fundamentally anti-political, having little use for the conflicts implicit in political activities. According to Sperlich, the touchstones by which open and closed systems can be identified politically are, "regulation of conflict (no more than necessary) and suppression of conflict (as much as possible). No society is perfectly closed, but a society will move toward one or the other of these two types to the degree that it suppresses or welcomes and regulates diversity and conflict (p. 187)."

Sperlich's discussion is, in turn, admittedly much indebted to Popper's (1966) earlier, more philosophical work, The Open Society and Its Enemies. A case in point is Popper's attack on Plato's political theory which, according to Popper, provides the prototype for the "closed society":

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Maintainance of even a "working" consensus over time and in a world fraught with complex issues is obviously no easy matter. Various social mechanisms for accomplishing this are well known and include establishment of some minimal ideological bases for conduct that have both general applicability and broad appeal such that an articulated set of guiding principles can "resonate" with feelings, impulses, predispositions and circumstances common to group members (Tomkins, 1965).

In closed societies, ideology becomes increasingly explicit on the one hand, while increasingly employed to simplify and/or distort past and present problems on the other hand. In less developed closed societies, "magic" and myth making operate to reinforce group taboos and the prevailing worldview (Bergson, 1935). The function of myth is no less important in more developed, or modern, closed societies in which public opinion is manipulated, and ideologically supportive myths are promulgated through centralized control of information channels (Silver, 1966). In contrast, open societies are characterized by the permissible operation of rational critiques that challenge group myths (Bergson, 1935).

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The effectiveness of ideological coherence and propaganda control are heightened by a sense of moral legitimacy attached to system agencies. This is well illustrated in the Soviet Union where, as DeGeorge (1969) notes, the Communist party is recognized as the "guide and guardian of Soviet morality" as well as providing political leadership. Therefore, Party decisions "carry moral as well as political authority . . . Morality is thus a means of developing patriotic consciousness and strengthening the authority of the party (1969: 109)." Even routine labor is given a moral quality through appeals to Communist tenets: "Supervisors are encouraged to show workers how their work fits into the total scheme for producing Communism; it is hoped that when they understand how their work is socially useful and necessary, the moral satisfaction of doing their tasks may help to make up for the absence of creative satisfaction in the task itself (1969: 110)." Given widespread moral acceptance, public opinion can then be "properly formed by techniques of mass education and propaganda and . . . relied upon to continue the education of individuals. Public opinion is to correct the individual and to help him analyze and improve his conduct in the light of the collective. The criticism of the collective is to stimulate and reinforce individual self-criticism (1969:114)."

Where moral legitimacy is not accorded to the instituted authority structure Simmel (1964) reminds us

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of the paradoxical tendency towards closure of "secret societies" that spring up in opposition to the regime. The conflictful relationship between the two systems is not itself difficult to apprehend:

Where the overall aim of the general society is strong (particularly political) centralization, it is antagonistic to all special associations, quite irrespective of their contents and purposes. Simply by being units, these groups compete with the principle of centralization which alone wishes to have the prerogative of fusing individuals into a unitary form (p. 375).

But what is ironic, as Nisbet (1966) elaborates upon the phenomenon, is that

The effect of conflict, of persecution, can be as vitalizing to the secret society's sense of internal freedom as it can to its sense of cohesion. Secret societies often combine feelings of freedom on the part of their members. All that makes the members wish to withdraw from the felt oppressions and frustrations of the larger society causes them to wish to intensify the feeling of oneness within the secret society. Such intensification commonly leads also to centralization and rigor of authority within. Gradually the monolithic character of the small society comes to seem a very sign of the members' release from the tyrannies and corruptions of the outer society. In the totalism of its power, the secret society feels, not despotism, but a new form of freedom, one in which all may participate, one freighted with redemptive mission. The whole history of religious sects and revolutionary movements is illustrative of this (pp. 163-64).²

Of course, even in presumably closed societies (particularly in those that are also large and complex), we find discrepancies between the ideal and the actual and variation in acceptance and adherence to "preferred" group

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standards. Such discrepancies are illustrated, for example, in the difference in moral conformity between boarding and day school students in the Soviet Union. And, as we know, these discrepancies are much magnified in more open societies. What appears to be crucial for the individual, given the ever present likelihood of at least some value conflict in the society as a whole, is the degree to which the immediate social environment (e.g., family, friends, colleagues, and other "significant others") actually serves as a faithful and accurate mediator of the normative pressures exerted by the larger social system.

If conflict remains even within the immediate social environment, then individuals are likely to fall back upon the standards espoused by the most salient of their reference groups. A case in point is provided by Rosen (1955) who examined the immediate antecedents of Jewish adolescent attitudes toward the use of kosher meat--an issue that was a source of conflict in the Jewish community being studied. Attitudes about kosher meat--both positive and negative--were found to be highly related to the position taken by either family or peers, depending upon which one was rated as the most important reference group (measured by observation and sociometric reports). In another study relevant to the moral impact of reference groups, Johnson and Neal (1970) found that voluntary participation in pro-social activities (e.g., community action programs and the like) was significantly related to perceived reference

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A more systematic and abstract treatment of open vs. closed group phenomena is presented by Ziller (1965) who acknowledges a debt, by broad analogy, to the general systems theory approach developed by Bertalanffy (1950). The major distinction suggested by Ziller is that in closed systems, membership composition tends to remain stable and unchanging, whereas membership in open systems is in a state of constant flux. Several important consequences (having affinity with points already discussed above) are said to derive from this difference, and are summarized as follows.

First, normative structures and decision making are affected by development of different time perspectives. In closed groups, relationships are constant, long lasting, interlinked, and thus established traditions come to prevail. In open groups, however, relationships are transitory; "the future is indistinct," and thus actions are governed by expediency demands of the present. Interpersonal sanctions are more difficult to maintain in open groups. For instance, "in open groups, either a or b may leave the group voluntarily . . . [which] tends to reduce the power aspects of the relationship since the length of time is reduced over which either person is able to impose sanctions on the other (p. 169)." Reciprocity norms in open groups, therefore, tend to function between the individual and group

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Second, open groups are confronted with a more severe "equilibrium" problem than closed groups, due to such factors as changing leadership at inopportune times, . . . etc. One characteristic open group tendency for coping with these kinds of disruptive forces is an elaboration of formal role structure and secondary relationships: "Group members react to the position to which the new member has been assigned rather than to his characteristics as a unique individual (p. 167)."

Third, because of the continuous flow of members, Ziller affirms that in contrast to closed groups, open groups have an expanded frame of reference. As alternate modes of belief and participation become available in the environment external to the open group, non-conformity to group standards is perceived as being less important in its consequences. But in closed groups, "members learn only a definite course of ideas, opinions, beliefs, and values. They have little opportunity to listen to many ideologies and learn different beliefs (p. 168)." Therefore, the consequences of non-conformity to group standards are perceived as much more threatening in closed groups.

General Definition
Open-Closed Systems

Although membership fluctuates, it is that it treats the system as a theoretically generalizable entity. Sub-systems with quite opposite characteristics (e.g., an exclusive club) are organized in a way that approach coincidence. In a general sense, ultimately will

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General Definitions for Identifying Open-Closed Systems

Although somewhat limited by focusing primarily on membership flux, one of the virtues of Ziller's formulation is that it treats aperture-closure as a variable that can theoretically be applied to any social grouping. This generalizability is particularly useful in distinguishing sub-systems within larger systems--when the part may have quite opposite aperture-closure characteristics than the whole (e.g., a religious sect in a secular society, an exclusive club in a socially mobile society, a military organization in a democratic nation, and so on). This approach coincides well with my own intention in developing a general conception of open-closed systems that ultimately will be useful for understanding moral conformity.

I have attempted to assimilate those ideas reviewed above which best appear to serve this purpose and, in so doing, have arrived at three general dimensions which I consider to be fundamental in defining open-closed social systems. These three general dimensions are: (1) The degree to which a particular social system is linked to other social systems within the larger social order; (2) the degree of consensus among individual units of a system concerning issues that need to be resolved by that system; and (3) the degree to which a system is capable of

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sanctioning deviance from, or conformity to, established normative patterns.

Each of these broad characterizations may be broken down into more specific definitional points which I present below. Note that since open-closed represents a continuum, the descriptions are phrased in terms of relative closure. It may be assumed that relative aperture can be defined by simply reversing the directionality of the statements.

A. With regard to Linkage, a social system is closed to the degree that

1. little contact occurs between that system and other inclusive systems
2. when contact does occur with other systems, access to and exchange between the system in question and different systems are made difficult
3. that system is independent of other systems in regulating its own major social functions (e.g., political, educational, economic, etc.)

B. With regard to Consensus, a social system is closed to the degree that

1. within member networks of significant reference groups, unanimity exists in defining acceptable behaviors and beliefs
2. normative definitions are shared by all potential reference groups within that system
3. a common, system-generated ideology exists which gives direction, coherence, support and substance to normative definitions
4. the ideology is explicitly formulated and officially legitimized
5. the flow of information is controlled, and communication channels are subservient to ideological expression

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C. With regard to Deviance and Conformity, a system is closed to the degree that

1. sanctions available to that system for rewarding desirable behavior and punishing undesirable behavior are both powerful and cover a wide range of possible expressions
2. sanctions--and their individual consequences--are highly related to other areas of system functioning and control
3. sanctions and controls are accorded a high degree of legitimacy
4. the governing structure which administers formal sanctions and controls (and in whose name informal sanctions are justified) is authoritarian and centralized

The above definition has the virtue of bringing together a number of related conceptual elements that have previously been found to be important. It is obvious, however, that each sub-dimension is itself in need of further refinement, clarification of terms, and operational definitions, just as it is obvious that not all of these sub-dimensions could be easily comprehended by a single empirical research project. Indeed, some of the sub-dimensions point to specific variables that, taken singly, would be very difficult to measure empirically. For instance, we would no doubt be justified in regarding the political structure of the Soviet system as being authoritarian and centralized, but how much more so than that of, say, the U.S.? Or, if we are dealing with less inclusive systems, it would prove no easy task to empirically gauge the degree of difficulty of "access and exchange" between say, a Jewish population and the larger

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community in New York City compared to a Jewish population and the larger community of Moscow. In these kinds of cases, differences may be assumed to exist between the two units of comparison, but largely at a gross observational and experiential level.

Selection of Open-Closed Dimension of
"Consensus" for Elaboration in the
Present Study

Certain sub-dimensions defined above, however, may be more readily and intensively pursued in empirical study. These are some of the sub-dimensions that define the general system property of "consensus." The aspects of open-closed systems that come under scrutiny here are the degree of intentional patterning of norms and values into a coherent moral system, and the degree to which this system is supported by an extended network of groups of people who interact with each other mainly on the basis of these shared norms and values. The larger the number of norms and values that are shared, and the larger the number of potential reference groups that share them, the more "closed" we may define the system to be.

Laumann (1968) emphasizes a similar approach in examining open-closed friendship systems, or what he calls "radial vs. interlocking associational networks." In general, a radial or open associational system exists when the acquaintances of an individual do not interact among themselves. In an interlocking or closed system, however, an individual's friends also know and interact with one

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another. As associational networks become more interlocking, they are characterized by increasing intimacy, commitment, commonly held definitions of the situation, and thus greater social influence over given individuals located within the network. The antecedents of these theoretical expectations are, of course, well known for small group research on cohesiveness.

For the purposes of this study, then, "Consensus" is the open-closed dimension that receives primary attention. As will be shown later in Chapter III, "Consensus" is measured by a type of network analysis that takes into account the amount of contact among actors in a system who are assumed to share a set of common standards. The system actors of interest in the present context are: the child, who is presumably being socialized within the system, and the major agents of socialization for the child, including parents, teachers, relatives, siblings, neighbors, and the child's own friends.

Even though the measurement focus of this study will be on the "Consensus" dimension, it must not be supposed that the "Linkage" and "Sanction" dimensions become somehow reduced in actual importance for the particular systems being examined. Since the effects of these other dimensions on real life systems cannot be controlled for, their impact must be assumed, even though it is not directly measured. Therefore, I have tried to take into account these dimensions of open-closed systems by selecting systems for comparison in which differences between

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all of the dimensions may be assumed on an a priori basis. More accurately stated, populations representing separate sub-systems were first chosen for study that appeared to be distinguishable by the three general criteria that I have used to define open-closed systems. Once chosen, my intention is to demonstrate an empirical difference between population samples that derives from the specific criteria attached to the dimension of system consensus. Population descriptions, specific sampling procedures, and sample limitations are discussed in Chapter III.

Some Basic Moral Dimensions:
Negative vs. Positive,
Passive vs. Active

It now remains for me to clarify the moral dimensions that appear to be most relevant in the context of open-closed social systems and to suggest what I think the relationship may be between these particular social and moral dimensions. In so doing, however, it is certainly not my intention to attempt an extensive inquiry into the nature of "morality," the "good life," the "virtuous character," etc. Instead, I intend merely to elaborate the theoretical meaning of the two kinds of moral elements that I believe underlie the dilemma situations that Bronfenbrenner and his associates have developed. I have identified these two elements above as Negative-Passive moral orientation and Positive-Active moral orientation, and

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In general, Negative vs. Positive is constituted by contrasting motivational subcomponents of moral orientations. Negative refers to instrumental motivations that have their basis in fear of punishment. Positive refers to altruistic motivations that are based on empathy and norms of reciprocity. Passive vs. Active represent opposite behavioral subcomponents of moral orientations. Passive refers to either absence of behavior (as in refraining from an act that breaks a rule) or reactive behavior (as in moving the individual away from transgression of a rule). Active refers to affirmative behavior that attempts to express and concretely apply a general moral principle. Although there are four possible combinations of motivational and behavioral elements according to this scheme, I will be concerned here primarily with the Negative-Passive and Positive-Active combinations, since these are the combinations that appear most clearly in the MDT.³

Durkheim. These terms have recognizable echoes in Durkheim's (1965) famous analysis of those ritual elements which together constitute the Sacred community, e.g., the Negative cult and the Positive cult. The Negative cult consists of rites of abstention that forbid certain behaviors in order to keep separate the Sacred and Profane spheres of life:

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group of rites has the object of realizing
 of separation which is essential.
 Its function is to prevent undue mixings
 between one of these two domains from encroaching
 on the other, they are only able to impose
 prohibitions or negative acts. Therefore, we pro-
 vide the name negative cult to the system
 of these special rites. They do not pre-
 vent acts to the faithful, but confine
 to forbidding certain ways of acting;
 they take the form of interdictions, or as
 is said by ethnographers, of taboos (p.

viewing from the point of view of the Negative
 is good (moral) to avoid profane activity,
 the activity--at least in the religious context--
 is bad, since it contaminates and prevents one
 from sacred activity, which is good (moral).
 In addition to maintaining boundaries between
 the profane and the sacred, the Negative cult also serves as a prepara-
 tion for the actual expression of sacred activities,
 to the function of the Positive cult:

The importance of the Negative cult may
 be seen though it may indirectly have positive
 effects. It does not contain its reason for
 existing in itself; it introduces one to the
 sacred life, but it supposes this more than
 creates it. If it orders the worshipper
 away from the profane world, it is to bring
 him to the sacred world. Men have never
 reduced their duties towards religious
 life to a simple abstinence
 from commerce; they have always believed that
 they had positive and bilateral relations with
 sacred forces, whose regulation and
 maintenance is the function of a group of ritual
 acts. To this special system of rites we
 give the name of Positive cult (p. 366).

Malinowski identifies several distinct classes of
 the Positive cult, that constitute sacred

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behavior (e.g., sacrificial, imitative, representative and piacular). Each of these has concrete meaning and expression in specific religious activities, most clearly in primitive, totemic societies to which Durkheim resorted for illustrations. Generally speaking, however, all of these rituals touch upon the reciprocal nature of man's relationship with the Sacred and, indeed, upon the reciprocal relationships of men with one another which Durkheim viewed as the ultimate basis for all religious and moral beliefs. To engage in sacred activity is to define what these relationships should be and to "uphold and reaffirm . . . the collective sentiments . . . and ideas" which maintain the unity of the group (pp. 474-75). Thus, in their extrapolated, modern guise, we find certain aspects of the Positive cult reflected in such normative "virtues" as justice, love, self-abnegation, loyalty, etc.⁴

Negative-Positive and Passive-Active dimensions are at least implicit in many other of the innumerable conceptual forays that have been made into the bramble of moral definitions.⁵ In the more recent social psychological literature, two views of morality that are difficult to ignore, keeping these dimensions in mind, are the tremendously influential ideas of Piaget (1932) and the equally impactful contemporaneous ideas of Kohlberg (1963). The present study is not concerned, per se, with the twin problems that identify both Piaget and Kohlberg's work, e.g., individual moral development and moral reasoning.

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Nevertheless, their investigations of moral growth in the child via the gradual acquisition of increasingly sophisticated and complex moral percepts have pointed to several moral considerations that appear to be psychologically and socially crucial. That is, both Piaget and Kohlberg assert that, cognitively speaking, the development of moral ideas is synonymous with a natural movement toward increasing maturity. One implication of this assumption is that analysis and descriptive charting of moral reasoning at various stages of development should be helpful in uncovering those fundamental dimensions of moral principles that are presumably universal.

Piaget. Of the two, Piaget's conception of morality is simpler; only two general stages of development are identified, these being the well-known stages of "heteronomy" ("subject to another's law") and "autonomy" ("subject to one's own law").

Heteronomous characteristics that are of particular interest for evaluating the moral meaning of the MDT include the sacredness and inflexibility imputed to authoritatively posited rules, concern for scrupulously obeying such rules, and the notion of expiatory punishment when the rules are broken. There appears to exist at least an implicit connection between these heteronomous characteristics and the Negative-Passive combination that I perceive underlying many of the MDT items. There is, most

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gh heteronomy, as conceived by Piaget,
more than I have mentioned here, it is at
to suggest that heteronomous morality, in
s other characteristics, has a strong ten-
gative-Passive in orientation. The behavioral
orientation (Passive) is to avoid violating
y defined rules. The motivational basis of
on (Negative) is largely to avoid the con-
punishment that are inextricably linked to

nt characteristics of the "Autonomous" stage
inferential in their implications for a
e moral orientation. Nevertheless, as I
em, these relevant characteristics include:
ciprocity, equality and cooperation, empathic
view of rules as relative rather than absolute,
vioral motives rather than consequences; and
or restitution, when acknowledged rules are
rather than expiatory punishment.

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based on mutual trust and mutual respect require doing things for one's fellows, so that the cooperative enterprise may be maintained (recall the analogous function of Durkheim's Positive cult). Empathy and the development of role-taking skills are also important in this regard, because they lead to anticipation of, and active efforts to fulfill, peer needs. Even the preference for restitution when broken rules are involved implies an active moral sense rather than the passivity of the heteronomous malfactor being "justly punished" for misdeeds.

Positive elements of autonomous morality are also visible, chiefly in the emphasis placed upon delineating the intentionality behind an act rather than preoccupation with externally imposed rules that either proscribe or prescribe the act. Indeed, the flexibility with which rules are themselves viewed and handled implies an additional positive consequence, namely that in place of innumerable lists of concrete rules, one becomes increasingly inclined to guide his moral conduct in terms of general, overarching principles that are internally validated and thus not directly contingent upon fear of punishment or hope of reward.

Kohlberg. Actually, this last mentioned emphasis on general, guiding principles remains only a potential development to be inferred from Piaget's description of autonomous morality. It is, of course, Kohlberg who most

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insistently elevates the notion of general principles (as opposed to specific "virtues") to the highest pinnacle of moral development. The most general of these principles is justice:

Justice is not a concrete rule of action, such as lies behind virtues like honesty . . . To be honest means don't steal, don't lie, don't cheat. Justice is not a set of rules, it is a moral principle . . . a mode of choosing which is universal, a rule of choosing which we want all people to adopt always in all situations . . . There are exceptions to rules . . . but not exceptions to principles. A moral obligation is an obligation to respect the right or claim of another person. There is only one principle basis for resolving claims: justice or equality . . . A moral principle is not only a rule of action but a reason for action. As a reason for action, justice is called respect for persons (Kohlberg, 1970: 69-70).

The Positive-Active element implicit in Piaget's moral autonomy is clearly indicated above by Kohlberg. Mature moral choices are made on the basis of an internalized principle of justice which requires that actions be taken which insure both the rights and intrinsic worth of other persons.

Kohlberg's own formulation of growth toward moral maturity is more complex than Piaget's and involves six "stages." These stages are not a simple elaboration of Piaget's scheme, with heteronomy and autonomy remaining as poles while the ground between is more finely differentiated. Instead, as Hoffman (1970:277) notes, there is an internal mixing of these dimensions such that "elements of Piaget's heteronomy can be found in Kohlberg's stages 1 to 4 and

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Similarly, upon examination of Kohlberg's six stages, it is evident that the Negative-Positive dimension and the Passive-Active dimension are also variously combined within these stages.

For instance, stage I ("punishment and obedience orientation"), because of its preoccupation with external commands and avoidance of punishment, clearly reflects a Negative-Passive dimension. However, the next stage ("naive instrumental hedonism"), which is considered to still be at a "pre-moral" level, suggests the operation of both Negative-Passive and Positive-Active combinations. Thus, while "right action" is largely defined in terms of meeting egoistic needs, it is also occasionally so defined when needs of others are met as well. There is, at stage 2, an incipient sense of value relativity, egalitarianism and "orientation to exchange and reciprocity" (at least in a pragmatic way, i.e., "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," Turiel, 1973:235).

Stage 3 ("good-boy/girl morality"), with its stress on maintaining good relations with others by helping and trying to please and its definition of "goodness" in terms of conventional virtues, primarily reflects a Positive-Active dimension. However, stage 4 ("authority and social order maintainance"), in turn, appears to give greater weight to Negative-Passive orientations having to do with

"duty" and respecting authority, designated rules and "earned rights."

Stage 5 ("legalistic contract and democratic law") implies both a Negative-Passive concern with binding obligations ensuing from arbitrary (albeit consensual) laws and agreements, and a Positive-Active emphasis upon the "possibility of changing law in terms of rational considerations of social utility" (Turiel, 1973:236). Finally, at stage 6 ("principles of conscience"), Positive-Active elements are prominent in moral choice and action, as indicated earlier.

Negative-Positive, Passive-Active
As Structural Properties of
Moral Situations

For purposes of my analysis, the principal theoretical insight to be gained from the preceding discussion of Durkheim, Kohlberg and Piaget is the inference that Positive-Negative and Active-Passive moral dimensions do not necessarily represent substantive values per se, but rather are inherent structural properties of all moral situations and moral actions, from the morally simple to the morally complex. This would seem to be particularly true for the behavioral dimension of Active vs. Passive. Thus, an individual does not himself typically value his Passive response tendencies over his Active response tendencies, or vice versa (although moral theorists may do so). Rather, it is often the case that, given a particular kind of moral choice

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situation that does involve substantive values and standards, one simply acts in ways that can then be described as Passive or Active.

For instance, the situation at hand may simply involve a clear-cut prohibition with no other moral issues at stake: one either breaks a rule or does not, and the potential consequences for self, should the rule either be obeyed or violated, are known. In such a situation, one can only be "moral" (at least in conventional terms) by behaving in a Negative-Passive way, the morally mature along with the morally immature, because the situation does not call out for more advanced moral percepts.

The motivational component of Negative vs. Positive is, in actual situations, more ambiguous to determine. There do exist, after all, substantive altruistic values (i.e., clustering around the notion of helping others) that may operate quite independently of obvious situational considerations. One may entertain benevolent and generous impulses toward others as a conditioned response to social rewards in specified situations.⁶ But one may also achieve a disinterested and universalistic conception of the value of helping others, regardless of the immediate presence or absence of social rewards, as Kohlberg has argued and demonstrated in his ultimate stage of moral development.

It should be noted, however, that Kohlberg's highest state of moral development is a relatively rare achievement (and all the more so at younger ages when

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we can imagine relatively simple situations
 y Positive-Active moral issues, for instance
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 experience pressure to engage in the Positive-
 or of sharing his surplus. In this situation,
 eaves the status of a moral stereotype. It
 se that "everyone knows" is right for the
 the only action that a "good" person can take.
 urse, life abounds with moral situations that
 complicated and conflictful than the above
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Nevertheless, these simple examples do remind us that in real life prevailing social-situational contexts often have a way of channeling the content, logic and style of moral choice.

Statement of the General Hypothesis

By expanding our focus from specific social situations to the more or less consistent and enduring normative expectations that broadly characterize the culture of different social groups, we arrive at the central premises of this study: (1) Socialization experiences predispose group members toward culturally preferred moral standards; (2) Degree of aperture-closure in a community importantly influences the intensity and efficacy of socialization procedures which attempt to implant these standards. Consequently, conformity to culturally preferred standards is hypothesized to be a positive function of system closure.⁹

Modification of the General Hypothesis

Now that I have theoretically identified Negative-Positive and Passive-Active as situationally important moral dimensions, we can ask: What difference do these two moral dimensions make for the hypothesis of socialized conformity? What is the relationship of these moral dimensions to the social dimension of system aperture-closure?

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In developing the notion of system aperture-closure, I have already pointed to the proliferation of commonly held norms and accepted sanctions that characterizes closed groups. Now, when we consider that the combination of Negative-Passive morality embodies rule-prescribed abstention of behavior and the avoidance of punishment, it is easy to see that system closure and Negative-Passive morality are closely connected. One aspect of this relationship is suggested below.

By definition, closed social systems are characterized by intensive "boundary" defining and maintenance activities. "Undesirable" behaviors and attitudes--whether generated from outside the system or from within--are the objects of system defenses and function to identify for members the unique limits of the system (Cohen, 1966; Erickson, 1966). This is why "undesirable" behaviors tend always to elicit more explicit attention and efforts to regulate than "desirable" behaviors.

These regulatory efforts are more successful in closed systems wherein specific prohibitions are more readily articulated, shared and sanctioned when violated. There exists, in short, a greater range of rules that can be authoritatively invoked to explicitly define a greater range of unacceptable behaviors. It follows, then, that the more prohibitions, the greater the emphasis on a Negative-Passive morality. This must be true, since, by implication, the opposite of unacceptable behavior is "good,"

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special behavior is required at all--one need not abstain from engaging in activities that have been condemned as "bad."

In contrast to Negative-Passive morality, the composite-Positive-Active moral orientations, as I have shown, are not dependent upon a concrete and narrowly defined set of prescriptions and prohibitions. Instead, the articulation of general moral values to specific applications is required. The "good," the "moral," is achieved not by doing good, by engaging in overt behaviors that conform to specific standards, but by affirming and expressing deeply rooted principles.

Existence of Positive-Active moral values is not necessarily dependent upon degree of social closure. There may be as many--and even the same--values espoused as ideals in a closed system as in an open system.¹⁰ However, the social machinery of closed systems is usually geared to emphasize Negative-Passive standards rather than Positive-Active standards.

On the other hand, with their relatively greater emphasis on Negative-Passive standards, theoretical systems have fewer resources and energies available for actual application to positive moral concerns.

Therefore, if members of closed systems tend to be "more moral," it is most likely to be due to greater emphasis on conformity to Negative-Passive standards. But, at the very least, the "moral" of open group members should be reduced or

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disappear altogether when conformity to Positive-Active moral standards is considered.¹¹

Now that the original general hypothesis concerning the relationship between open-closed social structure and moral conformity has been specified, it would normally be appropriate at this point to develop more specific test hypotheses. However, because the test hypotheses will be closely tied to sample and measurement features that have not yet been presented, I will delay stating the specific hypotheses to be tested until all relevant empirical procedures have been described in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER II--FOOTNOTES

¹Empirical evidence to support the usefulness of "loose-tight" as a structural variable, along which a variety of different social and cultural groups may range, is reported in later field studies (Strauss, 1966; Strauss and Strauss, 1968).

²Nisbet's elaboration of Simmel on this point has clear historical relevance for the Mormons--the group which I have chosen as the "closed system" for this study. The early history of Mormonism is replete with violent conflict between the fledgling sect and civil authority (e.g., the bloody expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri and Illinois, the westward flight to the mountain "sanctuary" of Utah, the Federal army expedition to Utah soon afterwards to put down the Mormon "insurrection," the prolonged and bitter struggle between the U.S. government and the Mormons over the issue of polygamy, etc.). For many years the Mormons were regarded as a fanatical, traitorous, and perverted people under the absolute dominion of a tyrannical priesthood, therefore, constituting a dangerous social threat and a "cancer on the body politic." For their part, the Mormons regarded their persecutions as manifestations of a Satanic scheme to thwart the Kingdom of God and their persecutors as "gentiles" and wicked men. The Mormon ideal was to remain apart from the "ways of the world" and avoid all but essential contact with outsiders. In their aloofness and self-sufficiency, the Mormons were often accused of secret plotting and disloyalty to local as well as national government. Indeed, certain para military and para political groups were secretly organized among the Mormons (e.g., the "Danites," the "Council of Fifty"), albeit for avowedly different motives than those attributed by Mormon enemies. And, of course, the closely guarded Mormon temple rituals remained a source of "gentile" suspicion, but for the Mormons, a source of great spiritual strength. A summary account of these turbulent early years, along with an excellent sociological analysis of Mormon history's modern day legacy, is found in Thomas O'Dea's (1957), The Mormons.

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³Negative-Active and Positive-Passive are both logically possible combinations. For example, a Negative-Active situation may be said to exist whenever an individual is overtly engaged in deeds defined as moral but does so mostly for external reasons (e.g., fear of punishment, social censure, etc.), or for primarily selfish reasons (e.g., personal hopes for salvation, advance in status, etc.). Concrete examples of potential situations of this kind might include participation in a popular "worthy cause," public contributions to charity, preaching against sin, informing on wrong-doers, etc. On the other hand, a Positive-Passive situation may be defined as existing whenever an individual has the potential to harm and/or contribute to another's disadvantage but does not act or put into motion his advantage because of empathy/sympathy/"mercy" for the other.

⁴Apart from these abstracted and transformed social values, perhaps the most obvious direct linkage between modern moral systems and the positive cult in primitive societies is through imitative rites. Thus, in the most primitive religious groups, cultists engage in sacred imitative activity by ceremonially emitting the sounds and gestures of the totem animal while garbed in furs or feathers that are also representative of the animal. In modern religious systems, the believer sets before himself the life and teaching of the holy founder(s) as examples to emulate in the conduct of his own activities in order to more closely approximate and approach that which is deemed most sacred.

⁵Comprehensive general reviews of social science literature on moral issues can be found in Wright (1971), Hoffman (1970), and Aronfreed (1968).

⁶The suggestion that much altruism is an instrumentally conditioned response carries empirical as well as intuitive weight. For example, Weis et al. (1973), produced experimental evidence implying that the impulse to help others in need is importantly reinforced by anticipated reduction of guilty feelings, knowledge of adherence to the "norm of social responsibility," and reduction of fear of potential social sanctions.

⁷Kohlberg has conducted longitudinal studies of some of his subjects for over a decade. He reports continuing "stage" advancement in some of these subjects as they enter into their twenties (1970:73-75).

⁸It is useful to note, in this regard, that Kohlberg's "moral dilemma" items always involve a conflict between moral principles per se, rather than being concerned with influence source. Often times the conflicting principles may easily be translated into Negative-Passive vs. Positive-Active;

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e.g., respect for law vs. respect for human rights. Thus, in these dilemmas, one must choose one moral principle over the other. This kind of direct conflict between moral principles is not present in the original Cornell MDT items. Instead, only one moral rule is involved, and the conflict centers on abiding or not abiding that rule in the face of opposing social pressures. Several of the new MDT items that I have developed do imply a more complex juxtaposition of conflicting moral principles in the same situation. See especially Item #29, "The Crying Next Door," and Item #30, "The Rules of the Game," Appendix I.

⁹In the process of revising a draft of this dissertation, I encountered an amazingly similar hypothesis proposed by Bronfenbrenner in his very recently published article on Israeli moral socialization (Bronfenbrenner, et al., 1975). On page 485, Bronfenbrenner briefly alludes to a forth-coming publication that will try to further explain the clustering of high Communist MDT scores compared to lower non-Communist countries' MDT scores (see Table 1, p. 12 for a reproduction of this distribution). According to Bronfenbrenner, this research will "examine the relation across 13 countries between the average total score obtained in the dilemmas experiment and an index of sociopolitical pluralism developed by Vincent (1971). The index, derived from a factor analysis of the political characteristics of 121 nation-states, is based on such features as the presence of constitutional limitations on the executive, competitive elections, freedom for oppositional parties, etc. The correlation between the two measures was a significant $-.89$; in substantive terms, this means that the less pluralistic the political structure of the country, the more likely are its school children to subscribe to conventional moral values." By focusing on political organization and political expression, this index would appear to most closely correspond to my general open-closed dimension of "Conformity-Deviance." Bronfenbrenner's earlier mentioned hypothesis concerning "degree of overriding national commitment" is not explicitly tied to discussion of Vincent's political pluralism index. However, I would categorize such a national concern under my more general dimension of "Consensus." Left unconsidered by Bronfenbrenner and his colleagues are those social arrangements that would fall under my general dimension of "Linkage."

¹⁰This might not hold true for very primitive closed societies wherein ritual and taboo hold sway over virtually every aspect of group life, leaving "only the narrowest margin to action not governed by rules" (Piaget, quoted in Hoffman, 1970:268).

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¹¹Interestingly enough findings from an earlier Bronfenbrenner, Devereux and Rogers (1968) study (not involving the MDT) provide suggestive support for this hypothesis. Analysis of interview data in this study revealed that Soviet children, in contrast to American children, placed higher priority on neatness and obedience but less priority on telling the truth.

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CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES, PART 1:

TEST POPULATIONS AND SAMPLES

Introduction

In this chapter, I will identify and describe the test populations that will represent points along the open-closed continuum, and discuss the criteria and procedures used in drawing samples from the test populations.

RATIONALE FOR SELECTION OF COMPARATIVE POPULATIONS

The Mormons

When we think of open vs. closed systems as a continuum, we should be able to think of different social groups as being located at different positions between the open and closed poles, and then derive specific hypotheses that take into account the differential impact that these structures may have upon the socialization of moral values. Thus, even though we may assume that U.S. society in general constitutes a relatively "open" system,

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ly exist many less inclusive groupings that sub-systems that are relatively closed. Examples immediately to mind include any one of several organized and self-contained religious sects, such as the Hutterites, the Amish and Mennonites or the Black Muslims. Another such group--much less exclusive and isolated but thereby also more accessible for study--is the Black Muslims. This is the group I have chosen for the study as representing a comparatively closed

Mormons, or members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, are judged to represent, on the whole, an example of a relatively closed social system for some of the following reasons. Children growing up in the Mormon system are typically exposed to a high degree of highly organized, coordinated and articulated socialization contexts. Most of the experiences within these contexts are intended to reinforce the tenets of the Mormon belief and value system. This has often been noted--both by outside observers such as O'Dea, 1957, 1966; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961 as well as by the Mormon Church itself--that the Church provides a literal way of life for its active members through a comprehensive range of programs, commitments, and lay responsibilities. Youth involvement in Church sponsored activities is particularly high, including involvement in adult-oriented

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There are numerous observable features of the
community which lend weight to its being concep-
ed as a closed social system, particularly in Utah
where the main body of the Church is located. Ecologi-
cally, at 65 percent of the population of Salt Lake
City, the capital and largest Urban center of the state
and the headquarters of the Church--is Mormon.

Population increases in most rural areas of the state with
the majority of the population being practically all Mormon.³ The Church
exerts a good deal of influence, if not independence, in
many social, political, educational, and economic
affairs. For instance, the Church operates its own far-flung
welfare system which supplies needy members with assis-

sistance from foodstuffs, clothing, and household
expenses, home rent and loan payments.⁴ The Church owns

operates the largest church affiliated university in
the state, sponsors several junior colleges, and maintains
a complete system of seminary and institute programs
closely coordinated with the public schools. The Church

publishes a daily newspaper as well as a number of high
quality family magazines and has controlling interest
in the Salt Lake City area's largest radio and television

stations. Politically, Church and State cannot help but
interact on somewhat more intimate terms than elsewhere.⁵ At

the arena of local politics, Mormons dominate the

Scene, and it is a rare occasion when other than Mormon governors, congressmen, and senators are elected to office.

Again, the point in listing some of the activities in which the Mormon Church engages is to establish the range and pervasiveness of its contacts among members and hence its stature as a fully functioning social system. Given the fact that Utah Mormons are confronted by the Church at many levels in their lives, there are two additional and interrelated factors that are crucial in giving coherence and closure to the system. One is the ideological grounding that infuses all levels of Church activities. The second is the highly centralized and hierarchical authority structure which governs the Church.

To illustrate: An essential element of Mormon belief is that spiritual knowledge and doctrinal truth must be obtained through direct revelation. Although each individual may receive partial revelation to resolve personal problems, only the President of the Church (who is also "Prophet, Seer, and Revelator") is entitled to receive revelation pertaining to matters of dogma and Church policy in general. Since this revelation is believed to flow directly from a divine source, there can be little questioning of the truthfulness of principles that are declared to be its products. Accordingly, Church members are taught from an early age to obey Church

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doctrines, to honor priesthood authority, and to comply with leadership decisions.

The leadership and governance of the Church itself is based on a complex network of priesthood authority. The outermost roots of this network begin with organized, local groups of lay priesthood holders (including all males, 12 years old and over) and extend back up increasingly hierarchical levels of organization and authority to a body of men known as "The General Authorities." This body is subdivided, with the top positions occupied by "The Quorum of Twelve" and "The First Presidency" (i.e., the President and his counselors). The decisions these men make, and the programs they establish, are funneled back down the levels of organization. Both formal and informal pressures to support policies emanating from above are high, and conformity is almost always achieved.⁶

It must be kept in mind that the aperture-closure of any system is a relative characteristic. Thus, while Mormonism may be described as a relatively closed system, it should be obvious that there are other social systems that are decidedly more closed, including, for instance, the Soviet Union. Perhaps the greatest problem in this regard is the degree of system inclusiveness. That is, the process of Mormon socialization takes place within a sub-system that ultimately must and does accommodate many of its expectations with those of the larger, secular

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society. In contrast, the U.S.S.R. and other total societies, such as The Peoples Republic of China, are themselves the secular and sovereign definers and controllers of major socialization demands.

Because of this basic difference, we can assume that the over-all amount of closure in the Mormon system is, perforce, considerably less than for the Soviet Union or other totalitarian systems. Thus, Mormon children are not as consistently exposed to an ideologically determined socialization experience as we saw to be the case for Soviet children. Mormon children also undoubtedly have contact with a greater number of conflicting socialization agents and potentially contradictory role models through the public schools, non-Mormon friends, mass media, and other institutions of the larger U.S. society.

Nevertheless, if Mormon society is not as closed as Soviet society, nor even as closed as such secularly withdrawn American groups as the Amish or Black Muslims, it is probably more closed than many other sub-systems within the U.S. and elsewhere.⁷ Given this assertion, the logic of comparative inquiry requires the selection of additional groups for analysis that are assumed to be less closed than the Mormons. U.S. Catholics are one of the groups that I have chosen for this purpose.

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Catholics

Catholicism in the U.S. today rarely defines a comprehensive way of life for its members as it might have done centuries ago, or as Mormonism tries to approach as an ideal in Utah. On the other hand, as an organization, the Catholic Church is, of course, every bit as hierarchical and based on lines of priesthood authority as the Mormon Church. And, as with the Mormons, Catholic theology is absolutistic. Dogma is believed to be ultimately derived from a divine inspiration that has the capacity to be invoked at any time through ex cathedra pronouncements of the Pope. Where Catholics are strong in numbers and high in orthodoxy, therefore, one might reasonably expect that they would develop a moderately closed system.

But the fact is that Catholics do not typically form intensive, full-blown communal enclaves in the U.S. today. There remains, however, an important comparative reason for choosing Catholics as a population to compare with the Mormons. This is that all religious institutions are ostensibly committed to preserving and promulgating a particular set of moral and ethical standards. Thus, in addition to its social and community features, Mormonism is, after all, an organized religion. Therefore, the question that might be raised is, does religion in general, as an institutional system of moral beliefs, tend to induce greater conformity to adult standards of

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proper behavior among children of faithful adherents of any religion?⁸ Or are there predictable variations among religions, depending not so much upon the content and style of religious beliefs, but rather upon the organization and expression of religious life? If we find, for instance, that Catholics and Mormons--both Christian religious groups that share broadly similar conceptions of religious authority--produce children who rank differently on measures of moral conformity, then we would need to attribute this difference to features of social organization that go beyond belief systems per se (ceteris paribus).

U.S., Cross-Sectional

The final comparison group included for testing in the present study is U.S. public school children. Rather than simply make inferences from the original Bronfenbrenner data obtained in upstate New York, new samples have been drawn in order (1) to see if the original findings for U.S. school children are replicable over time and geographical location; (2) to introduce controls for social class, which was not done previously; and (3) to obtain U.S. children's responses to additional measures beyond those used by Bronfenbrenner.

I am assuming that heterogeneous groups of U.S. school children are representative products of a more open social system. This is, of course, relative to

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Mormon children, who are presumed to be more firmly engaged by a distinct sub-system within the larger U.S. system, and even to Catholic children, at least those who attend Parochial schools and are thereby exposed to a more particularistic and consistent set of values and expectations.

DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLES

Each of the samples drawn from the three major comparison populations (e.g., Mormon, Catholic, Public School) is essentially a purposive, non-random sample. However, efforts were made to draw all of the samples from units which allowed for the possibility of matching subjects on the following characteristics: age, sex, socioeconomic status, and race. Actual procedures of sample selection varied somewhat for each test population. Situational constraints accounting for this variation are discussed more fully below for each sample.

Mormon Children

Sampling Units. The usual sampling unit for the Moral Dilemmas studies has been the sixth grade, elementary school class room. But since the Mormon Church no longer operates primary or secondary educational programs (Mormon children attend public schools along with non-Mormons), it was necessary to identify some other, comparable sampling units. These were located from among several

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youth programs sponsored by the Mormon Church. Probably the most visible and important of the youth programs is the Mutual Improvement Association (MIA), which provides an organized outlet for recreational, athletic, theatrical, musical and speech activities, as well as religious instruction. Most Mormon youth attend MIA meetings which are held in neighborhood church buildings on a weekly basis. It was decided, therefore, that MIA classes would serve well as meaningful, reasonably accessible, sampling units.

Age groupings for separate MIA classes are made at two year intervals beginning at age 12, and usually run through the late teens to early twenties. Sizes of classes vary considerably but fall roughly in the range of 10-20 youths per class. The classes themselves are usually sex segregated, but a good portion of actual MIA activities are carried out in mixed sex groups.

Since the Bronfenbrenner studies (including the MDT) have been geared toward children at approximately a sixth grade level in school (11-1/2 - 12-1/2 years old), the ultimate sample drawn on Mormon children included only boys and girls from the youngest MIA age groups.⁹ However, this solution alone would still create a sample of somewhat older children compared to Bronfenbrenner's samples and my own Catholic and Public School children samples, because no Mormon child would be under twelve

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years of age, while, on the other hand, a good many children would be over twelve.

Therefore, another Mormon program, established for younger children, was resorted to as an additional sampling unit. This program is known simply as "Primary" and is essentially a junior version of MIA; again, classes are based on two-year intervals up through eleven years of age. When a boy or girl turns twelve, he/she "graduates" into the youngest MIA group.

Sampling Selection. The purpose and design of the research did not allow for random sampling of individual subjects within MIA and Primary classes; administration and interpretation of the MDT assume that any given set of respondents constitutes a natural peer and reference group. This is why I have referred to MIA and Primary classes as sampling units. But the question now becomes, how are these larger units to be selected? Ideally, a sampling frame of all MIA and Primary groups would be obtained, and then a random selection of these units would be carried out. There are two reasons why this procedure was not actually employed: (1) Church reluctance to officially sanction the study or provide a listing of MIA and Primary groups;¹⁰ and (2) limited resources (time, money) with which to organize and conduct the study among the many separate Mormon groups which would result from random sampling.

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An alternate scheme was to rely upon my own familiarity with Mormon Church organization and personal contacts with Church leadership at local levels in certain areas in order to recruit enough MIA and Primary groups to yield a minimum number of subjects for the study. Since I could be reasonably confident that most MIA or Primary groups are fairly well matched on age and sex distribution--irrespective of sampling procedure--my major recruitment concern was to identify distinct social class differences among the groups to be chosen.

Lacking more precise information from official Church sources, the social class distinctions that I eventually made are at a rather crude level, namely "middle" and "lower" classifications based on the residential area from which MIA/Primary groups draw their members. These classifications were facilitated by Mormon administrative organization of Church membership into geographic units known as "Stakes" (roughly equivalent to a Catholic Diocese) and "Wards" (a smaller unit within the Stake: roughly equivalent to a Catholic Parish). Population size of these two units varies a good deal; a Stake may include as many as 5,000 members, while a Ward may number as many as 800. Since Mormons constitute a high percentage of the over-all population of Salt Lake City, the geographic space taken up by individual Wards is relatively small--8-10 square blocks would be about the average. This fact makes location of particular Wards

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Through personal contacts I was able to secure permission to conduct my study in individual Wards from local Church authorities of several areas. One Stake, comprising seven Wards, and located in the central city area, became my "lower" social class source of MIA/Primary groups. "Middle" social class groups were obtained from single Wards in three separate Stakes, each Ward being located in an affluent Salt Lake suburb. Final sample size and distribution of characteristics are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Sex and Social Class Characteristics for
Mormon Sample

Sex	Lower Class	%	Middle Class	%	Totals
Boy	19	38	45	53	64
Girl	31	62	40	47	71
Totals	50		85		135

Catholic Children

Sampling Units. Sixth grade parochial school classes constitute the sampling unit for Catholic children. This choice simply mirrors, in a uniquely Catholic setting, the previous Bronfenbrenner, et al. studies of public school children. The advantages of school class

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rooms are, of course, that they facilitate administration of test and questionnaire forms, as well as permit the assumption that children responding in a class make up meaningful peer and reference groups for each other. Further assumptions for the Catholic sample are that most children attending parochial school come from fairly strong Catholic home environments,¹¹ and that the parochial school itself constitutes an environment which is permeated with specifically Catholic ideals, symbols, perspectives, expectations, etc. Thus, class room peer groups are commonly confronted with at least a potentially consistent set of general, Catholic, standards. The question remaining to be answered later in the analysis is the degree to which this presumed set of standards is diluted by other, "non-system" inputs.

Sampling Procedures. In some ways, it might have been desirable to sample parochial classes from the Salt Lake City area. It might be argued, for instance, that this procedure would hold constant all other environmental factors except Mormon and Catholic community and religious differences. However, since Mormon influence is so strong at most levels of life in Salt Lake City, while Catholics are a distinct and dispersed minority, it is more likely that the Catholic experience there will be more atypical than for Catholics elsewhere. For instance, it would be difficult to assess the degree to which certain

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local Catholic perspectives might be a reaction against the pervasive Mormon influence.

These considerations, compounded by lack of Catholic contacts in Salt Lake City as well as time and cost limitations, made local parochial schools in the Lansing, Michigan area seem a more feasible sampling alternative. Therefore, permission was obtained from the Lansing Catholic Board of Education to administer test materials in schools whose principals and faculty were willing to cooperate.

Cooperative agreements were reached with four schools, two of which draw students from predominantly lower income and central city areas, while the other two schools' boundaries coincide largely with middle income, residential areas. As with the Mormon sample, these classifications of "lower" and "middle" social class are arrived at informally on the basis of familiarity with the areas in question and discussion with school administrators. Final sample size and distribution of characteristics for Catholic children are shown in Table 3.

Public School Children

Sampling Units. Sixth grade classes are again the sampling units employed here. As with the earlier Bronfenbrenner samples of U.S. school children, assumptions are made that the public school does not actively promulgate an ideologically coherent set of moral standards, nor

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Table 3

Sex and Social Class Characteristics For
Catholic Sample

Sex	Lower Class	%	Middle Class	%	Totals
Boy	38	59	46	40	84
Girl	26	41	70	60	96
Totals	64		116		180

do children who attend public schools all come from homes which share relatively consistent parental values and normative expectations.

Sampling Procedures. The same arguments obtain for not drawing public school samples from the Salt Lake City area as was the case for the Catholic samples. An additional argument is that a fairly large proportion of students in Salt Lake public schools would, of course, be Mormon.

I turned, therefore, to Michigan public school systems for sampling possibilities. Ultimate selection of schools was constrained by the following requirements: (1) willingness of a given school district to participate in the study; (2) need for participating schools to be located in an urban setting in order to match the previous Mormon and Catholic samples; (3) relatively clear "middle" and "lower" social class distinctions between participating schools; and (4) homogeneity of students' race, since

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both the Mormon and Catholic samples were almost all white.

All of the above criteria were found to be satisfied by schools in Michigan's Battle Creek school district, including the initial requisite of official cooperation.¹² Fulfillment of the social class and race requirements among Battle Creek schools was established on the basis of results from a 1971 State-Wide school survey conducted by the Michigan Department of Educational Research and Assessment. Relevant data from this survey included both a social class index score¹³ and the proportion of white vs. non-white students for each school and school district in the state. The particular Battle Creek schools chosen for inclusion in the study all had white student proportions of at least 95 percent.¹⁴ At the same time, according to the index, two of these schools were rated low on students' average social class rating, while two other schools that were chosen ranked at relatively high average social class levels. Final sample size and distribution of characteristics for the Public School sample are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Sex and Social Class Characteristics of
Public School Sample

Sex	Lower Class	%	Middle Class	%	Totals
Boy	29	48	60	54	89
Girl	31	52	52	46	83
Totals	60		112		172

CHAPTER III-FOOTNOTES

¹Relevant descriptions and discussion of Hutterite social life are found in Peters (1965) and Schludermann & Schludermann (1969, 1971). Howard (1973) gives a succinct account and analysis of the Black Muslim movement. Redekop (1969) presents a rich and detailed analysis of "Old Colony" Mennonite group life in Mexico. This group has splintered off from the mainstream Mennonite organization of the U.S. and represents a fascinating modern day example of a religious sect withdrawing from, and struggling to remain pure of, the "world." I have made some preliminary investigation into the possibility of extending the testing reported in the present study to samples of Old Colony Mennonite children. If and when obtained, such sample results would represent much more clearly the effects of closed system functioning on moral socialization.

²Vernon (1962) found that one consequence of such high involvement appears to be unusually high religious self identification for Mormon youth. Thus, among Boy Scouts representing nine different religious denominations, Mormon Scouts were found to have the highest percentage of religious responses to the Twenty Statements Test ("Who Am I?"). Interestingly enough for this study, the only other group of boys that approached the Mormon level of religious identification were Catholic Scouts.

³See Christiansen (1963) and Anderson (1968) for population statistics.

⁴See Welfare Plan of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Salt Lake City: General Church Welfare Committee, 1952).

⁵One form that political involvement assumes is through both indirect and direct lobbying of legislative issues by Church leadership. For instance, Richardson and Fox (1972) analyzed voting shifts on abortion bills over a two year period in a Western state legislature and present strong evidence that Mormon legislators changed their stands to coincide with a negative position announced by the Mormon Church during the interim period. Williams

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(1966) describes more overt political tactics occasionally indulged in by the Church: "Communiqués to members of Congress are periodically sent by the First Presidency. Two famous ones were the 1946 admonition to the Utah Congressional Delegation to oppose a peacetime draft . . . and the 1965 letter to all Mormons in Congress to resist the repeal of 'right-to-work' laws. Another technique at the state level is to call Mormons in the legislature into 'Church headquarters during the biennial session for briefings on bills of concern to the Church (e.g., proposed changes in liquor laws)." The long history of Utah's own "right-to-work" legislation, in relation to the Mormon Church's concentrated efforts to sway both public support and official decisions, is well detailed by Davies (1966).

⁶ Illustrative of the Mormon Church's "tight" bureaucratic structure and its ramifications in members' lives is Kunz and Brinkerhoff's (1970) description of modern Mormon migration procedures: "If the Mormon migrant does not make contact in the new ward, the Church assumes the responsibility of 'searching for him.' Anyone who is rumored to be Mormon and who does not begin to attend his new ward will be visited by the local bishop. In addition, he is visited by representatives from each of the ward's departments or auxiliary organizations, that is, the Sunday School, Priesthood, Relief Society, Mutual Improvement Association, Primary, and so forth It is somewhat difficult for those who may desire to be inactive in the Mormon Church because of these organizational pressures If a Mormon does not "report in" at the new ward and has not allowed his past ward to ascertain his current residence, the Church then attempts to discover his whereabouts by contacting his relatives and others who know him. Their vast record system enables them to make these contacts. Thus, the method of transference of membership records and the intensive effort on the part of the Mormons to be concerned with the member's salvation and 'activity' tend to pressure them toward [more] conformity . . . (p. 219)." Vallier's (1962) comparison of Mormon and "reorganized" Mormon (an early splinter group from the main Church body) missionary systems arrives at some of the same general conclusions. Namely, that the Mormon Church has evolved (partly as a response to peculiar historical and geographic situations) into a cohesive, bureaucratized social system that seeks to integrate the individual member at all levels of life.

⁷ For instance, Douglas and Mauss (1968) constructed a "secularization" scale (based mostly on demographic variables such as education, rural/urban origin, region of origin, and age) and administered it to Mormon and non-Mormon samples drawn from a medium size Utah community.

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They found that 50 percent of the non-Mormon sample was "high" in presumed secularization while only 9 percent of the Mormon sample was rated "high." Even more relevant for the present study is Anderson's (1968) comparison of samples drawn from cities that were designated as being predominantly Mormon, Catholic, and Protestant on an index of religious communality (the four variables making up the index were: friendship choices, religious self-identification, religious participation, and inter-faith marriage attitudes). Anderson found that "the Mormon group quite decidedly displayed the most accentuated pattern of communality."

⁸The empirical evidence for this hypothesis has always been shaky and contradictory at best. Two of the best known positive findings include the modest relationship between children's attendance at Sunday School and their general honesty, found by Hartshorne and May (1930), and Allport's (1954) conclusion that "intrinsically" religious (but not "extrinsically" religious) persons tend to be slightly less prejudiced.

⁹Some of the MIA groups sampled wound up having so few youths in the youngest age group (12-13 years old) that it seemed necessary in several cases to include the next oldest age group (14-15 years) in the sample. This age discrepancy in some of the Mormon samples resulted in analysis problems that are discussed in Chapter IV.

¹⁰The letter reproduced in Appendix III is the final Mormon Church response to several inquiries of mine asking for official permission and cooperation in carrying out my study.

¹¹This assumption is empirically supported by the relatively high percentage of parents and relatives reported to be Catholic by children in my study: Fathers = 93.2 percent, Mothers = 96.6 percent, Father's Relatives = 77.9 percent, Mother's relatives = 79.1 percent.

¹²Earlier attempts to secure official cooperation from other area school districts were not successful. In general, public schools seem to be coming increasingly resistant to outside researchers who want to administer questionnaires or test instruments during school time. The Battle Creek School District, however, has been attempting to implement a special program in the area of values and citizenship development, and thus welcomed my study as a potential source of evaluation.

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¹³The social class index used for children in Michigan schools was made up from responses to 27 questionnaire items that inquired into relevant background and family information. Typical of the questionnaire were items such as: How many years of schooling did your father/mother complete? Do your parents rent the house or apartment you live in? How many grown-ups live in your house or apartment? How many cars and trucks that run does your family have? Does your father have a job? Has anyone in your family traveled in an airplane in the last year? And so on. Mean social class index scores for individual Michigan schools, based on these items, ranged from the low forties (indicative of low social class) to the high fifties (indicative of upper middle social class). The Battle Creek schools that I selected as "lower class" for this study all averaged scores in the low forties, while the schools I selected as "middle class" all averaged scores in the low fifties. More precise information concerning scale construction and characteristics may be found in Technical Report of the 1970-71 Michigan Educational Assessment Battery, Ninth Report, June 1972.

¹⁴So far, variability in non-white MDT scores has not been systematically tested. However, according to a personal communication from Edward Devereux (see Appendix III), plans for a dissertation project involving Black children in Urban ghetto settings were being formulated at about the same time my own project was being carried out.

CHAPTER IV
METHODS AND PROCEDURES, PART 2:
THE MORAL DILEMMAS TEST

Introduction

The Moral Dilemmas Test (or MDT) constitutes the first of two major research instruments that were applied to the Mormon, Catholic and Public School samples. Discussion and evaluation of this instrument--and the experimental procedures employed with it will be broken down into two parts; one dealing with the original, Bronfenbrenner-Devereux MDT items and the second with the new MDT items that I constructed and added to the original test.

THE ORIGINAL MDT

General Content and Format
Description of Test Items

This test has been developed out of the Bronfenbrenner and Devereux studies of the past decade, and presently consists of 36 hypothetical situations designed to reveal the degree to which a child will resist

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pressure from peers to violate a presumed adult moral standard. The general format that each of these test items assumes is illustrated in the following example:

The Lost Test

You and your friends accidentally find a sheet of paper which the teacher must have lost. On this sheet are the questions and answers that you are going to have tomorrow. Some of the kids suggest that you not say anything to the teacher about it, so that all of you can get better marks. What would you really do? Suppose your friends decide to go ahead. Would you go along with them or refuse?

Refuse to Go Along With my Friends			Go Along With My Friends		
Absolutely Certain	Fairly Certain	I Guess So	I Guess So	Fairly Certain	Absolutely Certain

Other of the original moral dilemmas include such situations as: going to a movie recommended by friends but disapproved by parents; joining friends in pilfering fruit from an orchard with a "no trespassing" sign; wearing clothing styles approved by peers but not parents; running away after accidentally breaking a window, and so on. (See Appendix I for complete set of Moral Dilemma Test Items.)

Scoring of Test Items

The six response categories for each moral dilemma item are assigned scale scores in the following way:

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Behavior Urged by Peers			Presumed Adult Preferred Behavior		
-2.5	-1.5	-0.5	+0.5	+1.5	+2.5
Absolutely Certain	Fairly Certain	I Guess So	I Guess So	Fairly Certain	Absolutely Certain

Use of a negative-positive scoring continuum facilitates keeping track of basic peer vs. adult orientation later on in the analysis. Scale direction on the test form itself, however, is reversed for half of the items in order to control for response set.

The 36 Moral Dilemmas are sub-divided into three sets of 12 items each, each set representing a separate test form. These three test forms correspond to three experimental conditions which will be described below. Thus, the maximum score that any subject can receive on a given test form is ± 30 ; a score of +30 would represent total adult orientation while -30 would represent total peer orientation. For earlier 10 item forms, Bronfenbrenner has reported split-half reliabilities ranging from .75 to .86 and a total reliability across forms of .94 (Bronfenbrenner, 1967).

Test Conditions and Experimental Design

The test conditions alluded to above, which required the establishment of three separate (but

presumably equivalent) Moral Dilemma forms, are as follows (see Appendix I for full procedural instructions):

The Base condition: This is always the first condition presented. Under this condition, subjects are administered one of the MDT forms having first been told that no one but the researcher will see their answers, and that individual anonymity will be strictly maintained. This MDT form is retrieved upon completion by subjects.

The Adult condition: This may be either the second or third condition, depending upon design specifications. In other words, its order of presentation is never fixed, rather it varies from subject group to subject group. In either case, a new MDT form is administered to subjects along with the revelation that this time individual responses to each new item will be charted and shown to parents and teachers. Completed forms are then gathered.

The Peer condition: New MDT forms are distributed, and subjects are asked whether they are curious to know how their class-mates react to situations like the ones that have already been presented. Inevitably, sufficient curiosity is aroused to permit administration of these new moral dilemmas with the understanding that individual results will be charted and shown only to the children themselves while the teacher and other adults are not present. Again, whether this is presented as the second

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or third condition varies systematically from group to group according to the design being used.

The crucial variable introduced by these above manipulations is the degree and direction of change in respondents' answers between the poles of supposed adult vs. peer surveillance. Bronfenbrenner and his colleagues interpret the resulting main scores in the following way.

The Base score is taken as the point of departure for gauging the effects of social pressure. The Adult score is presumed to reflect most directly the child's view of his parents' norms for the appropriateness of his behavior. The Peer score is interpreted as a function of the expectations of age-mates The total score across the three conditions measures the general tendency of the child to subscribe to adult vs. peer-approved alternatives (Bronfenbrenner, et al., 1975).

An important ethical question is also raised for the researcher in carrying out manipulations that are based on deception of subjects. At least one pair of researchers (Beloff and Patten, 1970) has tried to avoid this problem with the MDT procedures by having children imagine that parents or peers would have the opportunity to see various of their answers. However, this imaginative procedure proved ineffective in producing sufficient variation in responses compared to the more authentic appearing conditions created by deception. Beloff and

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Patten reluctantly concluded, therefore, that reliable results are obtainable only by deception. But they insist all the more strenuously on the need, at the conclusion of testing, for open and complete debriefing of subjects and appropriate researcher apologies for having misled the children about the potential consequences of their responses. This debriefing procedure was carried out with all subject groups in the present study.

A double Latin square design has been established in previous studies employing the Moral Dilemmas Test in order to control for order (i.e., of test conditions and dilemma forms) and setting (i.e., classroom and school) effects. A representation of this design is presented below:

Experimental Condition	School I		School II		School III	
	Class I	Class II	Class IV	Class V	Class VII	Class VIII
1st Base	Set Z	Set Z	Set Y	Set Y	Set X	Set X
2nd Adult	Set Y	Set X	Set Z	Set X	Set Y	Set Z
3rd Peer	Set X	Set Y	Set X	Set Z	Set Z	Set Y
	Class III		Class VI		Class IX	
1st Base	Set Z		Set Y		Set X	
2nd Peer	Set Y		Set X		Set Z	
3rd Adult	Set X		Set Z		Set Y	

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As can be seen, this design assumes that either three schools--each with three classes--have been sampled for every test population in the study, or, alternately, that three schools with two classes and three schools with one class have been sampled.

Sampling realities for this study, as discussed previously, did not permit strict adherence to this idealized design. For instance, each of the ten Mormon groups included in the sample must be considered as the equivalent of a single "classroom" within a single "school." Among the four Parochial schools that were available for inclusion in the study, two had two sixth grade class rooms, while the remaining two schools had only one classroom each. The situation for the Public schools was similar, with two schools having two classrooms, one school having one classroom, and the final school having three classrooms. A further consideration not taken fully into account by the original design is the possibility of sampling from schools of different social class levels within a given test population.

Given these design incongruencies, the procedure that I fell back upon was simply to randomly select the order presentation of MDT forms while systematically varying the order of adult/peer conditions for each class. This resulted in each MDT form being administered under each test condition at least once in each of the total Mormon, Catholic and Public School samples. However,

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order distributions turned out to be unbalanced between social class subsamples, i.e., some possible form-by-condition combinations were not achieved for both lower and middle class Catholics and Public school children.

Underlying Dimensions of the MDT Items

Careful reading of all 36 items across the three Moral Dilemma forms reveals a clear intention of the test to represent six different kinds of moral choice situations. These six general situations keep recurring under the guise of different specific details. They include the degree to which a child is willing to:

1. Attempt to dissuade friends from engaging in mischief;
2. Resist personal involvement in mischief which friends are actually carrying out;
3. Inform on friends to adult authority once an act of mischief has been committed;
4. Be obedient to parent wishes to refrain from behavior of which parents disapprove;
5. Express an achievement or self-improvement orientation;
6. Express altruistic behavior toward a peer who is being discriminated against by other friends.

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Each of these six a priori identifiable situations is given expression by two different dilemma items per form, making a total of six measuring items for each of the six situations across all of the forms.

Empirical Support Reported for
the A Priori Dimensionality of
the MDT Items

While a number of researchers have used the MDT, and several of these have informally agreed with the six situational dimensions listed above (Beloff and Patten, 1970; Beloff and Temperly, 1972), Mason (1972) notes that very little empirical information concerning the actual validity and reliability of these dimensions has been available. Thus the question arises: are the items that supposedly measure a particular dimension actually related to each other and, further, are the ostensibly same dimensions across test forms also actually related to each other?

It is possible, for example, that one of the items making up the "dissuasion" dimension of "form X" might refer to only a very minor prank situation, while the second "dissuasion" item might refer to a situation involving a more serious breach of conventional rules. The two items would thus be situation specific rather than constituting separate measures of a general dimension. The same potential problem is perpetuated at the level of comparing dimensions across test forms; i.e.,

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both of the items measuring "dissuasion" in form X might deal with less serious issues than the two items purportedly measuring "dissuasion" in form Y or Z, etc. This last point, of course, refers to the crucial issue of comparability or equivalence of the three MDT forms.

As part of a study of Middle Class Canadian children, Mason attempted to deal with these questions by administering all 36 of the original Moral Dilemma items under a "Base" condition. Responses were analyzed by a principle components factor analysis using an equimax rotation. The resulting factor structure of the 36 items corresponded very closely to the six situational dimensions defined previously on an a priori basis; Mason labeled these factors (1) Reforming, (2) Conforming, (3) Informing, (4) Taste, (5) Achievement, and (6) Sympathy, noting that "Reforming" and "Conforming" were highly correlated, while several "Taste" items (i.e., obedience and parent wishes) also loaded heavily on Reforming-Conforming.

Having essentially verified the intended dimensional structure of the Moral Dilemmas Test, Mason also examined separate form equivalence and found the inter-form reliabilities to be consistent and moderately high, i.e., $r_{xy} = .78$, $r_{xz} = .72$ and $r_{yz} = .78$. The estimated reliability for all 36 items pooled across forms was .91.

Critique of the Original MDT

Face validity and Mason's analysis show that the intended MDT dimensions emerge, and that these dimensions are fairly reliable, both within and between forms. However, the theoretical question raised earlier (see Chapter I, pp. 26-27) is appropriate to reintroduce at this point: How adequate are these dimensions for arriving at a general conception of moral choice and moral behavior?

Conformity to conventional rules, obedience to parent wishes, achievement orientation, informing on deviant friends, and sympathy for mistreated peers do not constitute a very impressive range of crucial moral issues. For instance, it is not obvious why "achievement orientation" per se ought to be regarded as a basic moral issue, and, while "informing on friends" certainly poses an interesting moral issue, it is not clear that a "pro" response would gain the moral approbation of most adults. Beloff and Patten (1970) felt strongly enough about the inappropriateness of "informing" type items that they eliminated them as a variable in their own analysis. Note, however, that the "informing" type item is very well tailored for the kind of peer "honor" system instituted in the Soviet Childrens' Collective. That informing is viewed from opposite poles in different kinds of social systems is itself, of course, an indication of open vs. closed patterns.

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Not only are many other important moral values neglected by the test, but the value dimensions that are represented tend to be measured by relatively trivial dilemma situations. For example, the Bronfenbrenner dilemmas designed to reflect conformity to conventional rules (e.g., presumably of honesty, respect for others' property, etc.) are too often based on mere mischief or relatively minor pranks, such as soaping windows or placing a rubber snake in a teacher's desk drawer.

Another conceptual weakness of the MDT items is the predominantly negative way in which they are presented and expressed; many of the dilemmas place far greater emphasis on passive and/or reactive resistance to temptation to do "wrong" rather than on affirmative action to do "right."

MODIFICATION OF THE MDT

Description of New Items Constructed to Supplement the Original MDT

In response to the above criticisms, I attempted a more adequate "sampling of the domain" of moral values underlying choice situations by constructing 12 additional items. Each of these twelve new dilemmas was designed to require an active moral choice that is based either on a presumably positive desire to help or benefit someone else, or on an abstract ideal.

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Among the new items, for instance, the child is required to choose between such alternatives as: lending his bike to someone who needs it vs. continuing on a bike ride with friends; voting for a friend who cheats in a contest vs. voting for a disliked peer who has not cheated; following through on a promise to substitute in a chore for a friend vs. backing out of the promise when other friends urge going to a movie instead; defending a peer against unfair criticisms made by the popular leader of the group vs. going along with the rest of the group by not saying anything, and so on in a similar vein through the remaining new items (see Appendix I for a complete set of new items).

Besides constructing items that stress positive, active responses, my initial intention for the new items was to introduce four additional value dimensions to the MDT: (1) justice, (2) altruism, (3) sharing, and (4) promise-keeping. The addition of these particular moral dimensions seemed both justifiable and desirable on a priori grounds of importance and relevance, and also in light of existing research in the area of moral development.

Construction of dilemmas that actually reflected the desired value dimensions proved a more difficult task than writing dilemmas so that they required Positive-Active choices. Pretesting of new items to establish their dimensional validity and reliability would have been, of

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course, the ideal way to proceed. However, delays and arrangement problems with potential pre-test subjects combined with looming time commitments with actual test subjects to preclude a pre-test analysis of the new items. Thus, prior to their actual administration in the study being reported here, the new moral dilemma dimensions could only be evaluated in terms of their face validity. On this basis, I classified three new items under each of the four a priori moral dimensions. Then, one item representing each a priori dimension was randomly assigned to each of the three MDT forms (i.e., four items measuring four dimensions for each form).

Empirical Evaluation of the Expanded
MDT (Original Plus New Items) Based
on Results from the Mormon, Catholic
and Public School Samples

In its final version, the expanded MDT consists of 48 total items. The three forms of the MDT are thus made up of 16 items each, 12 of these items representing the original test with its six moral sub-dimensions, while the remaining four items of each form represent the new moral dimensions. All Mormon, Catholic and Public School groups were administered this expanded version of the MDT according to the design specifications and test conditions described earlier.

Prior to examining the dimensionality of the expanded MDT, it is important to develop some confidence in the basic equivalence of the three MDT forms for the

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samples tested. The Mason results cited earlier (p. 101) revealed fairly good equivalence between the original MDT forms. Still, we would like to be sure that the same comparability holds true for the particular samples tested in this study, especially since the forms now include additional, untested items. If the assumption of equivalence cannot be made with confidence, then even though we might later conclude that the three forms are validly and consistently measuring the same underlying dimensions, we could not be sure that these common dimensions are equally weighted for each form.

For instance, the content of items making up a given moral dimension in form X might imply greater seriousness for the average respondent than the content of items measuring the same dimension in forms Y and Z. This could then lead to biased mean scores for X. Since not all subject groups received X under the same experimental condition (e.g., Base, Adult, or Peer), the biased score could in turn lead to erroneous group by experimental condition comparisons.¹

Equivalence. A difficulty arises, however, in attempting to determine degree of MDT form equivalence. Unlike the Mason study, no group of subjects in my study received all three MDT forms under a single experimental condition. This fact prevents me from simply intercorrelating individual separate form scores as Mason did. The alternate procedure that I resorted to was to compare

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mean group scores obtained for the three MDT forms under the Base condition. First, I combined all sample groups that had received form X under the Base condition, then all groups that had form Y under the Base condition, and finally all groups that had form Z under Base. The results of this comparison are as presented in Table 5.

Table 5
Mean MDT Scores Under Base Condition Only, All
Groups (Mormon, Catholic, Public
School) Combined²

MDT Form	N	Mean Score Original MDT Items	Mean Score New MDT Items
X	164	44.62	16.37
Y	149	44.48	15.45
Z	174	44.57	16.01
Total N = 487		differences between forms, $p < .99$	differences between forms, $p < .12$

This global analysis shows that the three MDT forms for the original items produce virtually identical overall scores when each form is administered under the Base condition. However, the distribution of new item mean scores across MDT forms tends to produce slightly discrepant results.

The particular pattern of form by condition combinations that emerged in this study only permits a sub-analysis for Mormon and Public School children; the

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Catholic sample did not produce the necessary X, Y, Z by Base combination. The two subanalyses that are available essentially replicate the results of the global analysis (Table 6).

Table 6

Mean MDT Under Base Condition Only, Mormon
and Public School Subanalyses

Mormons				Public Schools			
MDT Form	N	Mean Score Original MDT	Mean Score New MDT	MDT Form	N	Mean Score Original MDT	Mean Score New MDT
X	52	43.33	16.23	X	45	45.42	16.51
Y	39	42.38	14.81	Y	61	43.34	15.00
Z	44	45.09	15.92	Z	66	45.09	16.36
Total				Total			
N =	135	p<.53	p<.13	N =	172	p<.50	p<.11

One consistent difference between forms that does emerge from the above subanalysis is that Form Y always has the lowest mean for both the original and new items. While the absolute difference is not large, its existence does imply a potential degree of bias that could dilute the validity of comparative results in later analysis.³ Overall, however, the degree of form equivalence to be inferred from these results appears to be reasonably good.

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Dimensionality. We may now proceed to determine whether the expected dimensional structure of the expanded MDT obtains for the samples of this study. Since we would like to assume with some confidence that the moral dimensions being measured are more or less the same across test populations, the logical place to begin the analysis is at a global level, i.e., by pooling responses to all items across all samples. If a dimensional structure emerged at this level that is both distinct and expected, it would argue well for the relative generality of the MDT and ease the necessity for conducting numerous separate analyses of sub-sample responses.⁴

This global analysis was accomplished by submitting combined sample responses (Total N = 487) to all 48 MDT items to a two-step factor and cluster analysis procedure developed by John Hunter (1969) of the Michigan State University Psychology Department. First, using this procedure, a Pearson r correlation matrix of MDT scores was run through a principle components factor analysis (varimax rotation, communality in the diagonal). These initial factor analysis results were then automatically subjected to an oblique, multiple groups cluster analysis which allowed further refinement of the initial factors produced by the factor analysis.⁵

Four major factors finally emerged from this analysis and are presented in Table 7 in summary form (see Appendix IV for complete data presentation).

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Table 7

Major MDT Item Clusters Emerging From Cluster Analysis. All Sample Scores Combined, Experimental Conditions Ignored

Cluster	<u>A Priori</u> Items	N Items in Cluster	Alpha Reliability for Cluster
I	Inform Authority	6	.86
II	Dissuade Friends Resist Temptation	12	.84
III	Obey Parents Achievement	12	.80
IV	Sympathy New (Positive-Active)	18	.84
	Total Item	N = 48	

These findings support the intended dimensionality of the MDT and suggest a more inclusive way to conceptualize the moral dimensions represented. Although the six a priori dimensions are shown to be reduced to four, the new combinations are clearly interpretable in terms of the original factors. For instance, "Dissuading Friends" and "Resisting Temptation" items (Factor II) are temporally, substantively and cognitively tied together in the MDT, and, of course, this connection was also reflected by the high intercorrelations Mason found between these two types of dilemma items in his study. Mason did not report a high correlation between "Obey Parents" and "Achievement" dimensions, while my analysis brings these two together into a single factor (III).⁶ However, within this single

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factor, the two sub-dimensions are still plainly discernable by noting the rank ordering of factor loadings; five of six "Obey Parents" items have the highest loading, while the weakest loadings are obtained for the Achievement items.⁷

Factor IV shows that my attempt to clearly distinguish such moral sub-dimensions as justice, promise-keeping, etc., was not successful. However, I was successful in creating new dilemmas that all share a strong common element, and also in showing this same common element to underlie the original MDT "Sympathy" items. This factor thus constitutes a very important general category of moral dilemmas, corresponding to my basic intention of supplementing the original MDT "Sympathy" items with additional positive-active type items that require a "good" choice to be based on (1) an active behavioral component that affirms a moral principle, (2) an altruistic motivational component (i.e., perceived benefit for someone else by action), and (3) non-trivial situational content.

Since Factor IV empirically supports my general conception of Positive-Active type moral dilemmas, I would like also to find evidence--beyond face content evaluation--to justify reduction of the remaining MDT dimensions into a second general factor representing Negative-Passive type dilemmas.

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Relative to Positive-Active dilemmas, I perceive Negative-Passive dilemmas in the MDT as forcing a "good" moral choice to be based on (1) a passive behavioral component that stresses resistance against temptation to break conventional rules; (2) a motivational component implicitly based on fear of potential negative sanctions as consequence of breaking rules; and (3) relatively trivial situational content.

The argument can begin with reference to Mason's report of high intercorrelations found between "Dissuade," "Resist," and "Obey" dimensions (actual factor loadings and/or r 's are not given by Mason). This empirical finding of shared commonality among situational dimensions that are specifically different can also be teased out of my own data through a multiple groups cluster analysis. In this analysis, these original dimensions were arbitrarily designated as the clusters, and then a correlation matrix of these clusters was produced with the results as shown in Table 8.

Here we see that "Dissuade," "Resist," "Inform," and "Obey" dimensions are indeed highly interrelated with an overall intercorrelational $\bar{x} = .76$. The "Achievement" dimension is also interrelated, but to a lesser extent (intercorrelational $\bar{x} = .61$).⁸

Finally, all of the above interrelationships within moral subdimensions, as well as the distinction between Negative vs. Positive general dimensions, are

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succinctly mirrored when we arbitrarily rotate to only a two factor solution in a principle components factor analysis (Table 9).

Table 8

Intercorrelations for A Priori Clusters, Original
Cornell MDT Items. Samples Combined, Test
Conditions Ignored. Cluster Reliability
Alphas in Diagonal

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Dissuade	(.78)				
2. Resist	.95	(.75)			
3. Inform	.69	.75	(.87)		
4. Obey	.69	.85	.65	(.78)	
5. Achievement	.57	.62	.54	.71	(.63)

In this solution, only one, a priori "Negative-Passive" item is not clustered under Factor I. Factor I also includes four of the six Achievement items although these rank low on their factor loadings and also have low communalities. Factor II is entirely made up of a priori Positive-Active items, with the exception of one "Dissuade" and two "Achievement" items. As in Factor I, these two Achievement items have low loadings and low communalities.

The preceding evidence appears mostly to support the basic conceptual distinction that I wish to draw

Table 9

Factor Analysis of Expanded MDT, Samples Combined,
Test Conditions Ignored

<u>A Priori</u> Dimension	Item Name	Factor Loadings		
		I	II	Comm.
Inform	37. Ticket #3	70	16	46
Inform	10. Fruit #3	67	12	41
Inform	73. Snake #3	67	13	38
Inform	3. Halloween #3	67	13	39
Inform	44. Test #3	63	12	33
Inform	28. Window #3	60	15	31
Dissuade	35. Ticket #1	59	19	35
Obey	39. Movie	58	26	41
Resist	36. Ticket #2	57	26	37
Obey	7. Popular Friend	54	16	32
Resist	2. Halloween #2	54	23	36
Obey	24. Special Talk	51	24	34
Dissuade	42. Test #1	50	25	30
Dissuade	21. Snake #1	49	30	33
Resist	22. Snake #2	48	20	27
Resist	43. Test #2	48	31	31
Dissuade	26. Window #1	46	43	36
Dissuade	1. Halloween #1	46	29	29
Obey	33. Hat	46	28	29
Resist	27. Window #2	44	37	30
Achieve	40. Game	44	17	23
Obey	18. Sneakers	41	27	25
Resist	9. Fruit #2	36	34	22
Achieve	38. Afternoon	33	14	14
Obey	4. Sweater	31	24	16
Achieve	11. Summer Camp	28	24	15
Achieve	25. Personal Project	27	13	10
New M.D.	32. Amusement	21	57	36

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Table 9--Continued.

<u>A Priori</u> Dimension	Item Name	<u>Factor Loadings</u>		
		I	II	Comm.
Sympathy	41. New Kid	24	55	36
New M.D.	34. Queer Kid	25	53	34
New M.D.	48. Bike	16	49	30
Sympathy	6. Sick Friend	19	49	27
Sympathy	12. Foreign Kid	17	49	26
Sympathy	20. Class Picnic	27	48	28
New M.D.	45. Assignment	21	48	29
New M.D.	13. Grocery	17	46	24
New M.D.	47. Snowy Day	24	46	27
New M.D.	14. Ice Cream	0	44	18
New M.D.	46. School Trouble	40	43	30
New M.D.	29. Crying	2	42	16
Dissuade	8. Fruit #1	31	36	18
New M.D.	30. Rules	9	33	10
New M.D.	15. Contest	23	32	13
New M.D.	31. Substitute	9	31	8
Sympathy	17. Baby Sitter	18	31	13
Achieve	5. Class Project	17	25	8
New M.D.	16. Mistake	9	20	2
Achieve	19. T.V. Show	18	19	7

between types of moral dilemmas. The distinction is between (1) Negative-Passive morality, defined in the MDT by "Dissuade," "Resist," "Inform" and "Obey" items, and (2) Positive-Active morality, defined in the MDT by "Sympathy" and all new Shepherd items of my own construction.

A final distinction must be made for MDT "Achievement" items, which appear to constitute a relatively independent factor from the first two. This independence is not only empirical (i.e., the fragmented and low loadings of "Achievement" items on factors I and II; reduced Achievement cluster intercorrelations with all of the other a priori clusters), but also theoretical since the Achievement items, judged by their content and underlying assumptions, do not appear to fall neatly into either Negative-Passive or Positive-Active moral frameworks. Indeed, it is not clear why Achievement motives and behaviors (i.e., personal success, self advancement) ought to be conceptualized, per se, as constituting a legitimate moral dimension at all. Later in the analysis, therefore, Achievement items will be treated as a separate dimension.

Analysis of Separate MDT Forms. Having examined the dimensional structure of the expanded MDT at a global level (i.e., all 48 items pooled) and finding support for my conceptualization of basic moral dilemma types, I was now concerned to see if this same general dimensionality held true for each separate MDT form. My earlier comparison of mean scores for separate forms under the Base

condition revealed a fairly good equivalence in over-all score response. However, that comparison only demonstrated that none of the forms was significantly biased in favor of either adult or peer oriented responses. However, it did not establish that the moral dimensions underlying each form were necessarily the same, either in content or intensity. But, if I can now identify the same dimensional structure in each form, then the theoretical validity of the distinctions that I am trying to make will be enhanced, as will the general comparability of separate MDT forms.

My procedure at this point was the same as for the previous global analysis, except this time, of course, responses to each form were analyzed separately. Thus, a factor analysis was performed on the item correlations of each form (see Table 10). This first step produced only a single factor for each of the three forms, a puzzling and initially discouraging result, given the distinct factors produced when the forms are combined.⁹ However, closer consideration of these results does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that moral distinctions are invalid for separate MDT forms. One possible explanation that suggests itself is that, in the reduced form, moral distinctions are muted by a kind of general "method" factor imposed by the dilemma format that is built into all of the items, regardless of specific item content. That is, the "good" or "preferred" choice for each MDT item--in terms of conventional standards--is almost always apparent

Table 10

Separate Factor Analysis Results for Each MDT Form,
Samples Combined (N = 487), Test Conditions Ignored

Moral Dimension	Item #	Factor Loading	
		I	
Neg-Pass.	3	.65	Form X
Neg-Pass.	10	.62	
Neg-Pass.	1	.61	
Neg-Pass.	2	.61	
Neg-Pass.	9	.58	
Neg-Pass.	8	.54	
Neg-Pass.	7	.52	
Pos-Act.	6	.46	
Pos-Act.	2	.45	
Pos-Act.	13	.43	
Achiev.	11	.41	
Pos-Act.	15	.41	
Neg-Pass.	4	.38	
Achieve.	5	.32	
Pos-Act.	14	.26	
Pos-Act.	16	.06	Form Y
Neg-Pass.	26	.65	
Neg-Pass.	21	.64	
Neg-Pass.	23	.62	
Neg-Pass.	27	.62	
Neg-Pass.	22	.61	
Neg-Pass.	28	.59	
Neg-Pass.	24	.56	
Neg-Pass.	18	.52	
Pos-Act.	32	.52	
Pos-Act.	20	.51	
Pos-Act.	17	.36	
Pos-Act.	30	.33	
Pos-Act.	31	.32	

Table 10--Continued

Moral Dimension	Item #	Factor Loading	
		I	
Achieve	25	.31	
Pos-Act.	29	.26	
Achieve.	19	.24	
Neg-Pass.	36	.68	Form Z
Neg-Pass.	37	.67	
Neg-Pass.	39	.64	
Neg-Pass.	43	.64	
Neg-Pass.	35	.63	
Pos-Act.	46	.61	
Neg-Pass.	42	.60	
Neg-Pass.	44	.59	
Pos-Act.	34	.55	
Neg-Pass.	33	.54	
Pos-Act.	41	.54	
Pos-Act.	45	.47	
Achieve	40	.46	
Pos-Act.	47	.45	
Pos-Act.	48	.41	
Achieve	38	.34	

to the respondent. In other words, there is a general social desirability factor that is inherent in all of the dilemmas. Of course, for test purposes, the existence of this general factor is essential--without it, comparison of responses between Adult, Peer and Base conditions would be meaningless. But it does obscure dimensional distinctions between different kinds of "good" or "moral" choices. This may also explain why, when all of the MDT items are pooled across forms, the distinct factors that do emerge are nevertheless highly intercorrelated.¹⁰

One interesting and suggestive consistency that does emerge from the single factor of each form is that the rank ordering of the item loadings always shows a similar pattern, namely, it is always the case that Negative-Passive items load highest, while Positive-Active items load lowest. The achievement items also have low general factor loadings across forms, although their actual rank ordering within forms is not consistent.

In order to get around the analytical obstacle thrown up by the social desirability factor, I resorted again to a multiple groups cluster analysis. In this analysis, three clusters were arbitrarily formed around Negative-Passive items, Positive-Active items, and Achievement items, respectively, for each of the three forms. Not only did this procedure allow me to compare the reliability of these a priori clusters and the loading of each a priori cluster item (see pp. 125-127, this chapter for more detail on these

results and their application in determining strong and weak items), but it also produced a cluster-by-form correlation matrix which allowed me to apply the logic of Campbell and Fiske's (1959) "Multitrait-Multimethod Matrix" in assessing the validity of my three moral dimensions.

According to Campbell and Fiske, a multitrait-multimethod matrix consists of scores or measurements of one or more purported "traits" or characteristics that have been obtained from several different methods. For instance, one might be interested in validating a particular "personality" profile that includes such characteristics as "optimism," "assertiveness," "self confidence," etc. Scores on these characteristics may be obtained in different ways, including, for example, simple observational ratings by the researchers, by the subject's peers and by the subject himself. In order for the "trait" scores to be considered as representing valid dimensions of personality, the matrix must show that a given trait score is highly related to "same trait" scores across the different methods of measurement. This provides an indicator of convergent validity. On the other hand, the matrix should also show that supposedly different traits do not correlate too highly with each other, either within the same method or across different methods. This provides an indicator of discriminant validity.

Extension of this evaluative model to my own data results in the following translation: (1) "traits"

become the equivalent of my cluster dimensions, Negative-Positive, Positive-Active and Achievement, and (2) "methods" become the equivalent of the three MDT forms, X, Y, and Z. The matrix format produced by this translation and the resultant pattern of correlations is presented in Table 11.¹¹

Probably the first pattern to catch our attention in this matrix is the consistently high intercorrelation among all of the values in the matrix. A superficial reaction to these high correlations might be to question the discriminative validity of the dimensions. However, if my speculation concerning the existence of a general social desirability factor underlying all of the MDT items is correct, then we should expect these high correlations. The most telling checks--and the ones that the multitrait multimethod matrix is precisely designed to allow us--are whether or not (1) different form measures of a given dimension correlate particularly with each other, (2) these "same-dimension" correlations are higher than the correlations between "nonsame-dimensions" (i.e., correlations having neither dimension nor form measure in common), (3) a given dimension correlates higher with separate form measures of the same dimension than with different dimensions that happen to be measured by the same form, and (4) a consistent pattern of interrelationships emerges within all of the form by dimension comparisons.

Table 11

"Multidimension-Multiform" Matrix, Samples Combined (N = 487),
Test Conditions Ignored (Alpha Reliabilities In Parentheses
Main Diagonal)

Dimensions	Form X			Form Y			Form Z		
	Neg ₁	Pos ₁	Ach ₁	Neg ₂	Pos ₂	Ach ₂	Neg ₃	Pos ₃	Ach ₃
Neg ₁	(.79)								
Form X									
Pos ₁	.69	(.56)							
Ach ₁	.56	.62	(.46)						
Neg ₂	.88	.58	.47	(.82)					
Form Y									
Pos ₂	.63	.95	.44	.79	(.57)				
Ach ₂	.52	.47	.68	.52	.46	(.36)			
Neg ₃	.86	.56	.46	.83	.60	.45	(.84)		
Form Z									
Pos ₃	.65	.89	.47	.70	.90	.39	.72	(.75)	
Ach ₃	.65	.42	.78	.76	.46	.84	.77	.60	(.39)
Item N =	8	6	2	8	6	2	8	6	2

Employment of these criteria produces encouraging evidence for both discriminant and convergent validity of the three moral dimensions across MDT forms. First, we note that the largest coefficients in the matrix belong to "same-dimension" correlations (i.e., "validity coefficients"). Next, we see that all validity coefficients are larger than their row and column counterparts in both the "heterodimension-heteroform" triangles, and the "heterodimension-monoform" triangles. Finally, we see that the pattern of intercorrelations within all of the heterodimension triangles is quite consistent. Interestingly enough, the lowest correlations (although still substantial) in the matrix are those involving the Achievement dimension.

One problematic piece of information provided in the matrix is the low alpha reliabilities (main diagonal, in parentheses) for both the Positive-Active and Achievement dimensions. These weak alphas are partially accounted for by the small number of items that make up the dimensions in each form (only two items per form for Achievement, six items per form for Positive-Active).¹²

A final observation to be gleaned from the matrix concerns a kind of "form bias." Note from the following subset of correlations extracted from the matrix (Table 12) that the relationship between Negative-Passive and Positive-Active dimensions is always greatest within the same form.

Table 12

Intercorrelations Between Negative-Passive and
Positive-Active Dimension Scores. Within Same
Form vs. Different Form Comparisons

	$X_{\text{Neg-Pass}}$	$Y_{\text{Neg-Pass}}$	$Z_{\text{Neg-Pass}}$
$X_{\text{Pos-Act}}$	.69*	.63	.65
$Y_{\text{Pos-Act}}$	.58	.79*	.70
$Z_{\text{Pos-Act}}$	.56	.60	.72*

*Highest r within same form.

I think this pattern may be another reflection of the general method or "social desirability" factor discussed above. That is, all items, regardless of dimension, have a discernably "good" or adult preferred solution, hence all items correlate highly. In turn, the comparative strength of these correlations is increased by the direct association imposed on all items within a particular MDT form. This pattern is weaker for achievement items across forms (Table 13), suggesting that achievement (at least as represented by the MDT items) does not pose as clearly a "good" vs. "bad" moral dilemma for children respondents.

MDT Item Analysis: Criteria for Retention, Deletion and Standardization. In addition to producing a factor correlation matrix and alpha reliabilities for the factors, the multiple groups cluster analysis also generates a detailed item analysis of each factor. This allows me to try to increase the empirical strength of my three dimensions

Table 13

Intercorrelations Between Achievement by Negative-
Passive and Positive-Active Dimensions
Across MDT Forms

	X _{Ach}	Y _{Ach}	Z _{Ach}
X _{Neg-Pass}	.56*	.52	.65
Y _{Neg-Pass}	.47	.52	.76
Z _{Neg-Pass}	.46	.45	.77*
X _{Pos-Act}	.62*	.47	.42
Y _{Pos-Act}	.44	.46	.46
Z _{Pos-Act}	.47	.39	.60*

*Indicates highest r within same form.

for later analysis by identifying and then deleting "weak" items from the MDT.

The criteria that I established for identifying weak items include checking to see if (1) the communality of a given item with other items in the same cluster is low ($\bar{r} .20$), (2) the loading of a given item in its designated cluster is low ($\bar{r} .30$), and (3) the loading of a given item is high or higher on some other cluster than on its own. Criteria (1) and (2) are concerned with "convergent validity." Criterion (3) is concerned with "discriminant validity."

Since all of these criteria need to be taken into account in relation to each other, they should be regarded as guidelines rather than taken as separate, absolute rules.

Thus, for example, in making an ultimate decision whether to retain or delete, an item may rank "low" on one of the criteria, but satisfactorily on the others, and therefore be retained, or vice versa and be rejected. In borderline cases of this sort (which were relatively rare--a low rating on one criterion usually was associated with equally low ratings on the other criteria), I gave most weight to the discriminant power of an item, reasoning that this would provide the clearest results later in the comparative analysis of Mormon, Catholic and Public School responses.

The item criteria were applied to two sets of results, namely, the global cluster analysis which ignored forms and pooled items, and also the separate items-within-forms cluster analysis. Decisions to delete items listed in Table 14 were based on the information presented in that table.¹⁴

Table 14

Analysis Results for Weak MDT Items

	All MDT Forms Combined			Within Assigned MDT Form Only		
	Comm.	Neg-Pass Cluster Load.	Pos-Act Cluster Load.	Comm.	Neg-Pass Cluster Load.	Pos-Act Cluster Load.
<u>Neg-Pass. Items</u>						
4. Sweater	.15	.40	.31	.12	.30	.32
* 8. Fruit Tree #1	.20	.45	.42	.27	.52	.41
* 9. Fruit Tree #2	.23	.48	.41	.30	.55	.49
*26. Window #1	.36	.60	.55	.38	.62	.61
27. Window #2	.30	.55	.49	.33	.58	.59
<u>Pos-Act Items</u>						
15. Contest	.13	.37	.36	.18	.42	.36
16. Mistake	.02	.01	.15	.02	.14	.02
17. Baby Sit	.13	.29	.36	.09	.30	.33
31. Substitute	.08	.23	.28	.10	.31	.30
*46. School Trouble	.30	.53	.55	.36	.60	.57

*These items also showed relatively high loadings with their dimensional counterparts across separate MDT forms, i.e., "Fruit Tree #1" had a .44 loading on the Pos-Act Cluster in Form Y and a .37 loading on the Pos-Act Cluster in Form Z, etc.

CHAPTER IV--FOOTNOTES

¹Use of the Latin Square design helped alleviate this problem in the Cornell studies; i.e., any form-by-condition combination is assured for at least one group in every sample.

²Note that the mean MDT scores being compared here are based on the average sum of the absolute value for all items. Thus, the large absolute difference that appears between "original" and "new" MDT scores merely reflects the number of items that constitutes each set (e.g., "original" MDT item N = 12; "new" MDT item N = 4). The important comparison that is made, of course, is relative degree of consistency within item sets for each form.

³The bias, if it exists, would be most problematic for Catholics, since no Catholic group received Form Y under the Peer condition. On the other hand, four of the six Catholic groups did receive Y under the Adult condition. In this case, Catholic Adult scores may be slightly depressed, while Peer scores may be slightly elevated. In fact, it does turn out to be true that Catholic Adult scores are surprisingly low (see Chapter IV), but then so also are Adult scores for Public School children.

⁴Note that analysis at this level ignores the possible effects of Base, Adult and Peer test conditions. Again, no group received each test form under each condition.

⁵The factors produced by the factor analysis then become the clusters for the multiple groups analysis. A correlation matrix of these clusters is generated with communality estimates in the diagonal of the matrix. This matrix allows for checks on (1) within cluster, item correlations, (2) between cluster, item correlations, and (3) individual item correlations with each cluster taken as a whole, correcting for attenuation. One is then able to focus on the behavior of any single item, both in relation to its assigned cluster and its potential relation to any

other cluster. Based on this information, initial item-to-cluster assignments can be changed until, through successive multiple group analyses, an optimum item to cluster "fit" is achieved.

⁶It should be remembered that my factor analysis was performed on data obtained under the three experimental conditions, while the data for Mason's factor analysis was not obtained under any experimental conditions.

⁷One explanation for the explicit linkage between "achieve" and "obey" items is that Achievement standards may be viewed by children as extensions of their parents' wishes. This interpretation finds some support in the literature on acquisition of Achievement motivation as well as from the fact that Achievement items were the only MD's that consistently elicited increased scores under the adult condition for all test groups in this study.

⁸Although not shown here, correlations between Negative-Passive and Positive-Active clusters are also quite high (although about .20 points lower, on the average, than the Negative-Passive intercorrelations). Discussion of the meaning and explanation of these high correlations is carried out in more detail beginning on page 122 where cluster-by-form intercorrelations are examined.

⁹Because only one factor was generated, the cluster analysis that normally follows automatically in the PACKAGE routine was not activated.

¹⁰Note that a minimum eigen value of 1.0 is the criterion used by the Varimax routine in PACKAGE (see Hunter, 1969) to rotate to a new factor. When this conventional cut off criterion was over-ridden (using an oblique factor solution) by specifying three factors, regardless of eigen value, the desired Negative-Passive vs. Positive-Active distinction is fairly well sustained for each of the MDT test forms, i.e.,

	Form X	Form Y
Factor I =	6 of 8 Neg-Pass items with highest loadings;	5 of 8 Neg-Pass items with highest loadings;
Eigen	= 3.62	3.93
Factor II=	5 of 6 Pos-Act items with highest loadings;	5 of 6 Pos-Act items with highest loadings;
Eigen	= 0.66	0.69

¹¹The intercluster correlations are based on raw score means for the items in each cluster and are corrected for attenuation.

¹²Thus, when forms are not analyzed separately and items are combined, the resultant alpha reliabilities are: Positive-Active (with 18 items) = .83; Achievement (6 items) = .63.

¹³No Achievement items were deleted, because there are only two Achievement items per form to begin with. Note that, among the items deleted, several did have relatively high factor loadings and communalities (e.g., Window #1 and #2, School Trouble, etc.). However, these items also had such high loadings on other factors, both within and between forms, that they offer little discriminant validity.

CHAPTER V

METHODS AND PROCEDURES, PART 3: THE INDEX OF SYSTEM ENGAGEMENT

Introduction

The second major research instrument used in this study will apply only to the Mormon and Catholic samples.¹ It consists of a number of questionnaire items that inquire of the respondent's background characteristics and relationships with other people (see Appendix I for a complete reproduction of questionnaire items). Out of the responses to these questions, I have attempted to construct an index that measures one dimension of aperture-closure. The intent of this chapter is to explain the rationale and describe the construction of this index.

General Description of the Index of System Engagement (ISE)

My intention in creating this index of System Engagement (ISE) is to measure a theoretically important aspect of system aperture-closure, namely the degree to which individuals are integrated into or

"engaged" by the system. By implication, system engagement (SE) has primary reference to the "consensus" dimension of system aperture-closure. More specifically, system engagement may be defined by the number, intensity, duration, salience and variety of contacts that an individual has with system related activities and with other system members or representatives who share--and reinforce in each other--a common set of standards.

The general focus of the questions, therefore, is to find out whether parents, siblings, relatives, friends and neighbors are Church members and, where possible, whether these "significant others" are also active members. Other questions inquire of the child's own degree of Church involvement and participation in Church sponsored activities.

Data produced from these kinds of questions, as measures of "system engagement," are obviously limited. For one thing, the "background" questions used certainly do not cover all potentially important points of system contact. More importantly, responses to these items represent children's perceptions or guesses of relevant conditions rather than empirical certitude about those conditions. For instance, a child may only be guessing at how long a parent has been a Church member; he may underestimate, or overestimate (or even deliberately distort) participation rates of parents in Church activities, etc. Finally, the items identify only extrinsic, not intrinsic, involvement levels.

But, however crude, information obtained from the original items should allow me to at least roughly differentiate among respondents according to their apparent over-all level of system related contacts. This over-all level of SE will be expressed by an index score that is arrived at through the rationale and procedures outlined below. Let us begin first with a general overview of steps before going into a more specific explication.

As already indicated, there are five a priori dimensions or sources of system influence for which I have collected some potentially useful information. These are: (1) Parents (both Mother and Father); (2) Relatives (both Mother's and Father's); (3) Peers (ranging from best friends to acquaintances); (4) Neighbors; and (5) Church activities.² In turn, I assume that each of these first four sources may vary along three relevant attributes: (a) Church membership; (b) degree of Church activity or participation; and (c) Degree of "closeness" or intimacy with the respondent.

Data concerning each of these attributes are not available for all of the sources. But where data are available, from separate questionnaire items, the first step is to merge this data in order to create a scale that represents each of the five source dimensions. After this is accomplished, and since most of the data have been measured at an ordinal level, the next step is to convert each initial scale score into rank order scores.³ The final step

is to combine all of the rank order dimensional scores into a single index representing degree of "system engagement."

Validating and Scaling the Dimensions of System Engagement

Parents. There are several questions about parents that serve as indicators of parental time exposure to the system, including: (1) are father/mother members? (2) Were they "born members" or are they converts? (3) And if converts, for how long (five year interval response categories)?⁴ Responses to these questions can be simply combined into a single rank order scale (one for each parent) in the following manner:

<u>Score Rank</u>		<u>Membership Time</u>
6	=	Life (Born Member)
5	=	10 + years convert
4	=	5 to 10 years convert
3	=	1 to 5 years convert
2	=	0 to 1 year convert
1	=	Non-member

Thus, extreme scores on this "Time" subdimension are defined by parents who are born members vs. parents who are not members at all. Middle range scores are obtained by "convert" parents according to the length of their conversion time.

The relevant assumption underlying the "Time" subdimension is that the longer parents themselves have had contact with and have been exposed to system standards, the

more likely these standards will be reflected, transmitted, stressed, and reinforced when parents rear their children.

Another question concerning parents asks how often father/mother attend Church meetings, and thus represents an activity sub-dimension:

<u>Score-Rank</u>		<u>Activity Rate</u> (Attendance)
5	=	More than once/week
4	=	Once/week
3	=	Once/month
2	=	Few times/year
1	=	Does not attend

This goes beyond nominal system identification, and may be seen as one crude indicator of the actual degree to which parents are engaged by the system.⁵ The relevant assumption underlying this "Activity" sub-dimension is that parents will tend to place greater stress upon system standards in rearing children if they make personal investments in the system and/or have frequent, ongoing contacts with the system.

Now, given this information for "Time" and "Activity," I wish to combine (again, separately for each parent) these two sub-dimensions into a summary rank score representing potential degree of parent influence as system agents. The face validity for making this combination receives moderate empirical support from the correlations between the variables in question (Table 15).

Thus, given the available data, a maximum amount of potential system influence is claimed for the parent who is

Table 15

Correlations Between Parents' Attendance
and Membership⁶

	Mormons (N=121)		Catholics (N=178)	
	Father Attend	Mother Attend	Father Attend	Mother Attend
Member	.34	.26	.72	.39
Born Member	.36	.31	.38	.29

a lifetime member and, at the same time, attends meetings at a rate of more than once per week. Conversely, a minimum amount of system influence is assigned to the parent who is neither a member nor attends meetings. The remaining intermediary scores are assigned by the same logical combination of "Time" and "Activity" categories as presented in Table 16.

Table 16

Time/Activity Combinations

Time Rank	Activity Rank	Combined Rank Score Parent Influence
6	5	11
.	.	.
.	.	.
3	3	6
.	.	.
.	.	.
.	.	.
1	1	2

Relatives. Data on parents' relatives is even less exact. For instance, one question identifies the rough proportion of relatives who are nominally engaged by the system as members. But there is no information telling us how long relatives have been members or how actively they participate, as members, in the system. Thus, in order to use this variable, the more tenuous assumption must be made that system membership per se implies a certain exposure to, and acceptance and adoption of, system norms.

A second question does allow me to specify somewhat more the potential influence that relatives may exert on the child. This question concerns the degree of intimacy the child experiences in relation to his relatives, or "how close" he feels the relatives are to him and his family.⁷ The assumption here is that if relatives have frequent and close associations with the child and his family, their potential influence should increase. This "closeness" variable, in combination with the membership variable, should also provide another potential vehicle for socialization into system standards.

Again, as for the "Parent" dimension, the empirical association between the variables in question (Table 17) seems strong enough to justify their logical combination.

Table 17

Correlation Between Relatives and "Closeness"
to Respondent's Family

	Mormons (N=121)		Catholics (N=178)	
	Father Relative Closeness	Mother Relative Closeness	Father Relative Closeness	Mother Relative Closeness
Member	.39	.27	.31	.37

The procedure for actually combining the two variables into a summary rank score for "Relatives" is logically very similar to the procedure outlined for the "Parent" dimension. That is, the maximum score for these combined variables is achieved by that set of relatives who are all members and who also have an extremely "close" association with the responding child's own family. But, the minimum score is obtained when no relatives are members, regardless of how close the relatives may be to the child's family. This must be true, since I am trying to take into account different sources of system engagement. While "close" relations with non-member relatives may certainly constitute a positive normative influence, none of this influence can be seen as flowing from the relatives' own engagement with the system.

There exists a further complication in arriving at a scoring scheme that appropriately weights the two combined elements. Since the questions being responded to do

low for listing and linking of specific relatives, not be sure which relatives a child is thinking of the reports being "close" to his relatives whether "member" relatives or his "non-member" relatives? The question seems to be fairly well resolved if we add the "closeness" variable only when all or most relatives are rated as being members, and, further, that "closeness" be eligible for adding only if it is rated at a certain level. Weak ties to relatives cannot be expected to exert much influence, even if all relatives are system members.

The explicit working out of these criteria for combining variables is as follows. First the separate ranking variables:

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Rank Score</u>	<u>Relative Closeness</u>	<u>Rank Score</u>
	1	Not Close	1
	2	Somewhat Close	2
	3	Quite Close	3
	4	Extremely Close	4

the rank combinations of these two variables are shown in Table 18.

Peers. Information concerning peers is limited to respondent's perception of his friend's nominal Church affiliation. As is the case with relatives, no additional information is available concerning actual degree of friends' system involvement and activity. Therefore,

Table 18
Membership/Closeness Scoring Combinations for "Relative" Dimension

Subdimensions			Subdimensions			Subdimensions			Subdimensions		
Rank			Rank			Rank			Rank		
Member	Close	Score	Member	Close	Score	Member	Close	Score	Member	Close	Score
4	4	= 8	3	4	= 6	2	4	= 2	1	4	= 1
4	3	= 7	3	3	= 5	2	3	= 2	1	3	= 1
4	2	= 4	3	2	= 3	2	2	= 2	1	2	= 1
4	1	= 4	3	1	= 3	2	1	= 2	1	1	= 1

development of a peer dimension, given my data, must again depend upon the assumption that membership alone implies at least a certain amount of exposure to and sympathy with system standards.

Some further assumptions must also be made, including (1) friends have relatively frequent and close associations with one another; (2) friends are important norm carriers and norm modifiers; (3) friends who have been socialized within the same system context tend to reinforce, in each other, basic standards derived from that system; and (4) the "closer" friends are, the more direct influence they exert on each other.

The last assumption listed above is given concrete expression by questions that ask for the membership status of three different friendship categories: All Friends, Close Friends, and Three Best Friends. These distinctions now allow us to take into account a broader range of potential peer influence. Suppose that all three of a respondent's best friends are not members, even though the respondent lives in a predominantly Mormon or Catholic community. We would be justified in expecting some weakening of system influence for such a child, relative to other children in the community. But, on the other hand, we would also have to take into account the total weight of other peer contacts. If all other friends (except the three best) are members, then we would anticipate this "positive" influence to somewhat counteract the

potentially "negative" influence of the three, non-member, best friends.

The simplest way to assess these varying peer contributions, given the nature of the data, is again to produce rank scores as functions of the combined responses to the three "Friend" items.⁸ The logical connection between these categories is borne out empirically by the set of intercorrelations in Table 19.

Table 19

Intercorrelations Between Categories of
Friends Rated as Church Members⁹

	Mormons (N=121)			Catholics (N=178)		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
1. All Friends	---			---		
2. Close Friends	.67	---		.48	---	
3. 3 Best Friends	.52	.64	---	.37	.36	---

As with the "Parent" dimension, a simple additive procedure is used for combining these three variables to yield a single rank score. As can be seen from the variable categories presented below, the maximum rank score for "Friends" is 14, while the minimum rank score is 3.

All Friends		Close Friends		3 Best Friends	
Rank Score	% Member	Rank Score	% Member	Rank Score	% Member
1	None	1	None	1	None
2	A Few	2	A Few	2	One
3	Half	3	Half	3	Two
4	Quite a few	4	Quite a few	4	Three
5	All	5	All		

Neighbors. Questions yielding data on respondents' neighbors are the same as those previously discussed for respondents' relatives, namely (1) proportion of neighbors who are thought to be Church members, and (2) amount of contact neighbors are perceived as having with respondents' family. Assumptions and rationale for combining responses to these two questions, therefore, are the same as those used for developing a scale of relatives' influences. This includes assigning the minimum score to any combination that includes "no neighbors members," regardless of how much contact neighbors may have with respondent families, and further, that the "contact" variable only be counted in cases where "most" or "quite a few" neighbors are identified as members (see pp. 140-1 for similar response categories and the procedure for designating rank order combinations). The relevant correlations are shown in Table 20.¹⁰

Table 20

Correlations Between Neighbors Membership and
Contact with Respondents' Family

	Mormons	Catholics
	Family Contact	Family Contact
Member	.12	.30

Church Activity. The final a priori dimension for my SE index is based on a number of questions that inquire of the respondent's own participation in system-related activities. Of course, specific youth activities across Mormon, Catholic, or any other system are not likely to be strictly comparable in content. At a more general level, however, I am making the assumption that participation per se, in activities provided by the system, leads to increased interaction with both peers and adults in contexts that are organized precisely to further reinforce system norms and values. If a particular system places comparatively greater stress on providing and encouraging organized activities, then this fact itself becomes an important variable whose potential socialization consequences need to be taken into account.

Activities for Mormon children are highly structured. Those reported in this study include: Sacrament Meeting, Sunday School, MIA/Primary, Priesthood Meeting, Seminary, and Family Home Evening.¹¹ Both Priesthood and

Seminary participation are age restricted (12 and older), while Priesthood is further restricted to males only.

Catholic children's activity is less institutionalized and more "voluntary," thus making broadly applicable activities more difficult to list. Those finally arrived at for purposes of this study include: Choir, Clubs (i.e., "Children of Mary"), C.Y.O. (Catholic Youth Organization), Lent, Altar Boy (males only) and Confession.¹²

Participation in all of these activities, except "Family Home Evening" for Mormons and "Confession" for Catholics, is rated on a simple "Yes-No" format, depending upon the respondent's avowed "usual" involvement. Family Home Evening and Confession items, however, permit breaking down of participation rate into four categories. Therefore, before these last two variables can be appropriately combined with the other activity items, it is necessary to reduce these four response categories into the same participate/non-participate dichotomy that represents the other activity items. This is done because I have not established criteria for differentially weighing activities. Regardless of intrinsic importance attached to activities by system members, each activity is "counted" only insofar as it provides a potential context for recurring socialization experiences.

The rationale for collapsing "Family Home Evening" and "Confession" is based on the rate of participation normally expected of active members by each system

respectively. For Mormons, observance of "Family Home Evening" is expected on a regular, once-a-week basis. For Catholics, confession by parochial school children is generally encouraged more on a monthly basis. It also turns out that the most balanced empirical dichotomy is obtained when these expected participation levels are used as cut-off points (see Table 21).

An over-all ranking of Church activity can now be generated by simply tallying the affirmative activity areas for each respondent. Maximum and minimum participation score examples are provided in Table 22.

Combining Subdimensions Into a Composite Index of System Engagement

A final question remains prior to developing an over-all Index of System Engagement: How well do these a priori defined and constructed SE subdimensions actually go together? Is it justified to regard their combination into a summary score as a reasonable indicator of system engagement? A moderately positive answer is found in the intercorrelations among all of the SE subdimensions taken together (see Table 23).

Although there are exceptions,¹³ most of the correlations are positive and high enough to make us suspect that the dimensions, taken together, do share something in common for both Mormon and Catholic children. This

Table 21

Scoring Summary for Family Home Evening/Confession Variables

Participation Rate	Original Rank Score	Mormons		Catholics	
		Response %	Reduced Rank Score	Response %	Reduced Rank Score
Never	1	16.5	1	5.6	1
Few Times/Year	2	18.2	1	55.6	1
Once/Month	3	17.4	1	36.5	2
Once/Week	4	47.9	2	2.3	2

Table 22

Minimum-Maximum Church Activity Scores

	Participant	Non-Participant
Sacrament/Choir	2	1
Sunday School/Club	2	1
MIA/CYO	2	1
Seminary/Lent	2	1
Priesthood/Altar Boy	2	1
Family Eve/Confess	2	1
Maximum Score	12	
Minimum Score		6

Table 23

Intercorrelations Among SE Subdimensions

		Mormons							Catholics						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Father	1. ---								---						
Mother	2. .58 ---								.34	---					
Fath Relative	3. .44 .25 ---								.52	.12	---				
Moth Relative	4. .15 .25 .24 ---								.07	.43	.13	---			
Peers	5. .20 .29 -.10 -.17 ---								.23	.30	.22	.23	---		
Neighbors	6. .33 .24 .25 .04 .24 ---								.11	.01	.15	.10	.26	---	
Church Activity	7. .28 .25 .14 -.04 .10 .12 ---								.16	.16	.11	.19	.12	.20	---

conclusion is bolstered by the results of a Varimax factor analysis which, as shown in Table 24, produced loadings on only one factor.

Table 24

Factor Analysis of SE Subdimensions
(Yielding Loadings on Only One Factor)

Variables	Mormons	Catholics
	Factor Loadings I	Factor Loadings I
1. Father	.78	.63
2. Mother	.72	.55
3. Father Relatives	.52	.57
4. Mother Relatives	.24	.46
5. Peers	.27	.48
6. Neighbors	.46	.28
7. Church Activity	.35	.31

Given this reasonably encouraging evidence of commonality among the a priori subdimensions, the concluding step is to combine these in such a way that a single Index score is produced. Such an index is most conveniently interpreted (and also most conveniently modified when adding new dimensions in future research efforts) if it can be standardized so that the possible range of scores that the Index may take on (regardless of the number of dimensions included) always lies between 0.0 and 1.0.

My procedure for achieving this standardization was, first, to examine combined Mormon-Catholic frequency distributions for each of the seven SE subdimensions. Using the distribution of scores as guides, new rank order scores were assigned to each respondent for each dimension in terms of the categories as presented in Table 25.¹⁴

Table 25

Standardization of Rank Scores for SE
Subdimensions

SE Subdimensions	Degree of SE Influence	New Rank Score
1. Father	High	5
2. Mother	Medium High	4
3. Father Relatives	Medium	3
4. Mother Relatives	Medium Low	2
5. Peers	Low	1
6. Neighbors	None	0
7. Church Activity		

Post facto comparison of original and new rank scores for each of the SE subdimensions reveals the accuracy of "translation" to be very high, as seen in Table 26.

Intercorrelations Between Original SE Dimension Rank Scores
and Standardized SE Dimension Rank Scores

Original Rank Scores	Mormons							Catholics						
	Standardized Rank Scores							Standardized Rank Scores						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Father	.98							.98						
2. Mother		.98							.96					
3. Fath Rel			.94							.94				
4. Moth Rel				.93							.95			
5. Peers					.95							.95		
6. Neighbor						.98							.99	
7. Activity							1.00							1.00

Confident that my secondary ranking decisions had essentially altered the values of the original scores, as now able to combine all of the dimensions into a Secondary Index of System Engagement. The desired 0.0 to potential scoring range was achieved by the following formula:

$$ISE = 1/N \left(\frac{\sum D}{V} \right)$$

e:

N = Number of dimensions

$\sum D$ = Sum of dimension scores

V = Standardized maximum value for each dimension

Example, if a child were ranked at level 5 (highest) on seven of the SE subdimensions, then his total SE Index would be:

$$\begin{aligned} SE &= 1/7 \left(\frac{35}{5} \right) \\ &= 1/7 \times 7/1 \\ &= 1 \end{aligned}$$

the other extreme, a child were ranked 0 on all of the subdimensions, then

$$\begin{aligned} SE &= 1/7 (0/5) \\ &= 1/7 \times 0/0 \\ &= 0.0 \end{aligned}$$

CHAPTER V--FOOTNOTES

¹I have not attempted to construct an index of m Engagement for Public School children. These ren came from a variety of backgrounds, including l religious identification. Because of this round variety, it is simply assumed that the c school children, as a group, do not experience the fic sub-system engagement expected of Mormons and lics. And, of course, questionnaire items relevant etting at Mormon or Catholic engagement would need to dified appropriately for each identifiable public l subgroup, assuming that subgroups could be identi- Even the general background questions that I did f public school children met with resistance from teachers. These offending items (e.g., parents' ious identification, degree of religious participa- etc.) were not responded to in one of the public ls.

²Sibs' religious activity was originally intended potential system engagement variable. However, the ionnaire item was poorly structured, and so much sion and obvious error was created by the request timate sibs' activity levels, that I finally con- d to drop Sib activity as a variable from the analysis.

³An additional reason for developing rank order s is that the original raw scale scores have different ranges (i.e., minimum-maximum scores). These dif- ces need to be standardized so that eventually all e dimensional scores can be combined into a single with a possible range of 0.0 to 1.0.

⁴If parents were reported as dead, divorced or ome other reason absent from the home, then children instructed to respond in terms of the adults who had ost responsibility for the children over the longest d of time.

⁵ Obviously, one of the reasons why activity alone is a crude indicator is that it only documents outward behavior without measuring the corresponding inward attitude that is presumably crucial when we explain transmission of values that give meaning to particular activities.

⁶ Note that the N's for both Mormon and Catholic children are smaller than in the previous MDT analysis. This is due to cases where respondents had personal reasons for leaving early (during the questionnaire phase) and thus did not have time to provide responses to all of the background items.

⁷ "Close" was interpreted to respondents as meaning "How well do you get along with your relatives?"

⁸ This procedure does not allow for differentially weighting the three "friend" categories according to their relative importance as sources of influence. However, the relative importance of these categories is itself probably variable, depending on individuals and overall situations involved.

⁹ The difference in strength of correlations for Mormon vs. Catholic friends may be revealing the difference in population density of Mormons and Catholics in their respective communities. That is, at all levels of friendship, Mormon children are simply confronted with a larger proportion of Mormon peers to associate with.

¹⁰ The low correlation for Mormon neighbors may also partly reflect the ecological reality of a predominantly Mormon population. For instance, about the same proportion of Mormon and Catholic children report having at least "a little bit" of contact with neighbors (Mormons = 51%, Catholics = 55%). However, Mormon children identify a larger proportion of their neighbors as also being Mormon than Catholic children report Catholic neighbors. "At least a few or most Mormon Neighbors" = 78% vs. "Quite a few or most Catholic neighbors" = 42.1%). This means that while Mormon and Catholic families are about equally open in their neighbor relations, Catholics are probably thinking mostly of their Catholic neighbors, while the Mormons are less exclusive. This makes sense when we remember that in Utah, Mormons are a distinct majority and thus have much less need to actively carve out and maintain a separate sense of identity.

¹¹ "Family Home Evening" is an activity in which both parents and children are supposed to meet together for prayer and a spiritual lesson as well as social entertainment. Children are expected to contribute to all of the evening's activities.

¹²Several Catholic informants, including a Parish priest, suggested these. I decided to exclude attendance at Mass as an activity, since such attendance is compulsory in the Parochial schools included in this study.

¹³The negative exceptions are mostly found in correlations between parent's relatives and peers for Mormon children. One possible explanation of these negative correlations for Mormons (while the same correlations are positive for Catholics) may again be traced back to cultural differences. As argued previously, it is very likely that Mormon children will have Mormon friends, regardless of their family's church status, simply because the number of potential friendships available are greater. Thus, Mormon children whose relatives tend not to have friends are still likely to have other Mormon children as friends which, in turn, could be accounting for the positive correlations obtained on the three variables in question.

¹⁴The rationale for establishing rank order cut-points depended heavily on the frequency distribution of original scores for each dimension (i.e., an attempt to make the proportion of cases in each of the five new ranks as closely as possible), but also upon logical evaluations as to what numerical score could be reasonably assigned to what rank of as "high" or "low" or "medium," etc., relative to the dimension being measured. Judgements were most often called for in the intermediary ranks, since the extreme ranks were usually defined automatically by maximum-minimum scores.

CHAPTER VI

FORMULATING AND TESTING

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Introduction

In this chapter I will present and discuss the specific research hypotheses that have been derived from my general, theoretical hypothesis. After each research hypothesis has been discussed, analysis of data to test that hypothesis will then be summarized and evaluated. The general hypothesis was stated (Ch. II, p. 62) as follows: "The more closed the social system, the greater the conformity to conventional standards."

HYPOTHESES INVOLVING THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

The first variable specified by this general hypothesis implies that social systems differ in their degree of aperture-closure." Aperture-closure refers to linkages and changes with other, contingent systems as well as to internal functioning of single systems.

Selection of system populations from which to draw samples was determined on a priori grounds; i.e.,

systems were chosen that, on a common sense level, appeared to vary in the openness of both their external exchanges and internal operations (See Chapter III). However, once comparative systems had been decided upon logically, I then sought empirical evidence to test my choices by attempting to measure a particular dimension of system aperture-closure at the level of internal functioning which I identified as consensus."

Hypothesis I: System Engagement

For instance, the more closed the system, the greater the amount of significant contact that should exist between system members and system standards. Conversely, as systems become more open, the amount of contact between system members, in terms of system standards, should become reduced and/or diluted because of wider circulation and acceptance of competing ideas, values, lifestyles, etc. This aspect of aperture-closure, then, concerns degree of system and value consensus and is purportedly measured by my "Index of System Engagement" (ISE).

The potential importance of this measure lies not only in verification of my choice of particular system classifications, relative to each other, but also because it suggests a way to replace "proper names" (i.e., nominal system categories such as Mormons, Catholics, Russians, etc.) with a variable (i.e., degree of system closure). As Worski and Teune (1970) strongly emphasize, such a

ormation is requisite for the advancement of theory
on comparative analyses.

Specifically, one of the major premises of my study
t Mormon children, and to a lesser degree Catholic
ial School children, are implicated in relatively
l subsystems, compared to U.S. children in general
esented by Public School children in this study).
ermore, comparative differences in degree of closure
en Mormon and Catholic sub-systems should also be
strable.

For reasons discussed in Chapter V, degree of system
ement for Public School children is not empirically
red in this study. The assumption that Public School
ren represent the most open of the systems sampled is
rted only on a priori logical grounds. Therefore, the
test hypothesis can be stated only to include the
n and Catholic samples. This first hypothesis is:

- I. Mormon children will score higher on the ISE
than Catholic children

of Hypothesis I

Comparison of mean scores obtained on the ISE
als that Mormon children did score higher, on the
age, than Catholic children (Mormon SE = .674 vs.
olic SE = .589; see Table 27, line 8). However, even
gh this difference is in the predicted direction and is
istically very significant, the absolute difference in

of system engagement, as reflected by these two scores, do not appear to be as great as the previous theoretical discussion might lead one to expect. In other words, there seems to exist a consistent, reliable difference, but the magnitude of this difference, in theoretical terms, is not excessively large.

One way to investigate more closely this relatively small over-all SE difference is to make a comparative breakdown of SE components or dimensions. When this is done (Table 27, lines 1-8) we note that Mormon-Catholic differences are neither large nor consistent across all of the SE dimensions. For instance, Catholics score slightly higher on "Father's Relatives," "Mother's Relatives," and "Neighbors," while Mormons are slightly higher on "Father" and "Mother." Only "Neighbor" and "Church Activity" are significantly higher for Mormons--so much so that they alone account for the over-all significant difference in SE score.

Discussion of Results for Thesis I

Father-Mother Dimensions. Specific Mormon-Catholic differences (or the lack of them, in some cases) provide useful stimuli for discussion and interpretation. Beginning with the SE dimensions of "Father" and "Mother" it is appropriate to ask why the Mormon advantage was not greater as is shown in Table 27. Several possible explanations may be suggested. One is that the test samples might have

Table 27

Mean SE Dimension Scores

	Mormon	Catholic	Difference
Other	8.35	8.12	0.23
Other	8.63	8.61	0.02
Other Relatives	5.08	5.15	-0.07
Other Relatives	5.38	5.67	-0.29
Peers	12.16	12.28	-0.12
Neighbors	4.65	3.24	1.41*
Church Activity	9.44	7.50	1.94*
Total SE	.674*	.589	.085*

.01 (one-tailed test).

biased to favor devout and active parents for Catholic children. This could be true if parents who send their children to parochial schools are also precisely those Catholics who tend to be most involved in and concerned about their religious faith and commitments. In other words, relative to other Catholics, parents who send their children to Parochial school could well represent an unusually high influence group. In contrast, the Mormon sample would presumably be more representative of Mormon influence as a whole, since children's attendance at church (the sampling unit for Mormon children) is not necessarily a product of direct parental control. Indeed, many

youthful Mormons attend M.I.A. for largely social and peer reasons in spite of their parent's religious inactivity.

A second explanation for the failure to show larger SE differences for Mormon parents is a possible bias in the questionnaire item that measures parent's level of Church activity. For Catholics, this item simply inquired concerning degree of parent attendance at Mass--typically the one organized Church activity in which all Catholics can regularly and consistently participate. In contrast, the questionnaire item specifies attendance at "Church meetings" for Mormon parents. Since the Mormon Church is basically a lay organization involving both male and female members in a veritable profusion of responsible positions and duties, the number and variety of possible "Church meetings" open to participation may reach relatively staggering proportions. Thus, in a Mormon context, responses to the general and ambiguous term "meetings," may depress or otherwise distort actual activity level, compared to scoring credit given to Catholics for routine attendance at Mass only.

Relatives' Dimension. Some of the same argument can be extended to partially account for the slightly higher average scores achieved by Catholics on the dimensions of Father and Mother "Relatives." For instance, it seems plausible to suggest that, if Catholic parents who send children to parochial school constitute a particularly

devout category, they are themselves more likely to have come from atypically devout family backgrounds.

Another factor concerning parent's family background also needs to be taken into account, namely that Mormonism generates a very strong proselyting emphasis while Catholicism does not. The first relevant implication of this point is that more Mormons are likely to be recent converts than Catholics. This speculation is mildly supported by my own data on length of conversion time for convert parents. For instance, among Mormon parents who were converts, 40 percent were reported as being members for less than ten years. In contrast, only 12 percent of Catholic convert parents had been members for less than ten years. The further implication is that, since it is not often the case that entire networks of extended family relations become converted at the same time, if at all, that group with the higher conversion rate may be expected to have a somewhat lower incidence of relatives who are group members, too.

Peer Dimension. The small margin of advantage that Catholic children show on the Peer dimension also makes sense when we consider the specific context in which friendship associations are most likely, given the sampling units for this study. During childhood and adolescence, it is the school that normally provides the single most important environment for establishing and maintaining peer contacts.

Thus, in Parochial schools, the child has virtually no choice but to associate with other Catholic children. The non-school, neighborhood environment will, of course, expose the child to potential friendships with non-Catholics. However, the overwhelming weight of school associations must be recognized. Again, therefore, Parochial school children represent a somewhat atypical group, relative to other Catholic children.

In contrast, Mormon children in Salt Lake City attend public schools that are pupiled by a Mormon majority, but there are also sizeable minority populations of non-Mormon students in the schools. This means that there is a larger potential pool of non-Mormon friendship choices available to Mormon school children.

Neighbors and Activity Dimensions. Since the "Neighbor" dimension is not as directly affected by potential sampling unit peculiarities, scores representing it should more accurately reflect system and community realities. Thus, the substantially larger score for Mormon "Neighbors" does mirror the ecological fact of Mormon community dominance. The same observation holds true for "Church Activity." Thus, the much larger Mormon average score on this dimension is simply confirmation of the fact that the Mormon system provides--even imposes--more organized opportunities and expectations for youth participation.

boration of Hypothesis I

Although I suspect that Catholic SE scores may be somewhat inflated, for reasons just discussed above, the overall SE difference in favor of Mormons does emerge. Given this difference, the original hypothesis can now be elaborated to take into account additional variables which vary across specific subsystems. In other words, I can directly test the generality of these subsystem differences in SE by controlling for such presumably relevant factors as social class and sex.

Controlling for Social Class. For instance, if a group is characterized by distinct status differences among its members, then we can generally expect the values, goals, norms, and expectations of the higher status members to predominate (Larson & Hill, 1958; Sherif et al., 1961). In large amorphous groups, wherein face-to-face contact among all members is not possible, and lower status members constitute a non-negligible minority, we can also expect the development of minority subcultures in which "deviant" norms and behaviors are more likely to be tolerated, if not encouraged, among lower status members (Cohen, 1955; Miller, 1958).

The implication of these general propositions for my own study is that both my lower class Mormon and Catholic samples should, within their own groups, achieve lower average scores on the ISE than the middle class

samples. However, if the system variable of aperture-closure is truly operating, then the same between group (Mormon vs. Catholic) differences should appear at both class levels. More formally stated, the hypothesis becomes

- I_A. Social Class differences on SE scores between Mormon and Catholic children will follow the same pattern postulated by hypothesis I; i.e., lower class Mormons will score higher than lower class Catholics and middle class Mormons will score higher than middle class Catholics.

Results and Discussion on Hypothesis IA. Results relevant for evaluating hypothesis IA, including a breakdown of SE subdimensions, are presented in Table 28. First we note that social class does make a difference in total SE for both Mormon and Catholic children; i.e., within both groups, as expected, middle class children score higher than lower class children. Furthermore, when SE scores are broken down, middle class children rate higher on every within-group dimension with the exception of a slightly higher "Mother's Relatives" score for lower class Mormons.

However, the crucial comparison for gauging the general effect of system aperture-closure lies in the examination of between group scores. In Columns III and IV of Table 28, we see that hypothesis IA is strongly supported for middle class Mormons vs. middle class Catholics. At this level, Mormon children not only have a significantly higher composite ISE score, but they have also managed to reverse the small score margin previously shown for Catholic children, taken as a whole, on the Peer dimension,

Table 28

Mean SE Dimension Scores, Controlling for Social Class

SE Dimensions	Lower Class			Middle Class		
	I Mormon (N=46)	II Catholic (N=64)	Difference	III Mormon (N=74)	IV Catholic (N=114)	Difference
1. Father	7.36	7.56	-0.20	8.97	8.43	0.54***
2. Mother	7.81	8.11	-0.30	9.15	8.85	.30*
3. Father Relatives	4.68	4.69	-0.01	5.34	5.40	-0.06
4. Mother Relatives	5.66	5.41	0.25	5.20	5.83	-0.63**
5. Peers	10.62	11.56	-0.94**	13.14	12.52	0.62***
6. Neighbors	3.77	3.03	0.74***	5.20	3.35	1.85***
7. Church Activity	9.28	7.36	1.92***	9.54	7.61	1.93***
8. Total SE	0.60	0.55	0.05*	0.72	0.61	0.11***

P<(one-tailed test):

*=.10

**=.05

***=.025

****=.001

as well as increasing the previous Mormon margin on some of the other dimensions.

Support of hypothesis IA for lower class Mormons vs. lower class Catholics exists but is less impressive (columns I and II). Thus, although the composite SE score for lower class Mormons is greater than for lower class Catholics, the difference is considerably weaker than demonstrated in the middle class comparison. Also, comparisons on individual SE dimensions show that Catholics have erased the previous Mormon margins on "Father" and "Mother," while the previous Mormon margins on the remaining dimensions have been somewhat reduced.

Do these last findings suggest that the aperture-closure principle begins to dissolve in effect at lower social class levels? Perhaps, but I suspect that the earlier discussed potential for Catholic sample bias may be a more important factor in obscuring the expected differences at lower class levels. If, for instance, Catholic families who send their children to parochial school tend to be somewhat atypical, this atypicality would be even more pronounced among lower class Catholic families whose resources and system investments are presumed to be less. Thus, the common fact of sending children to parochial school implies that lower and middle class Catholic families in my sample may be more like each other--with regard to system relevant characteristics--than would normally be the case.

Lower class Mormon families, on the other hand, did not become implicated in this study because their children constituted a somewhat unique sampling unit. Attendance at MIA and Primary--the Mormon sampling units--is standard for all Mormon children. Therefore, families of Mormon children in this study should represent a comparatively good cross-section, while Catholic families, particularly lower class, probably do not. The fact that differences between lower and middle class Mormon SE scores are consistently larger than differences between lower and middle class Catholic scores lends some credence to this contention.

Controlling for Sex. The second variable that I controlled for in examining initial Mormon-Catholic SE differences was sex of children. For instance, it can be generally suggested that females tend to be more pliant during childhood socialization (Rogers et al., 1968; Kohlberg, 1966; Douvan, 1960; Mussen et al., 1970), more conforming to established group norms and standards (Kagan & Moss, 1962; Hoveland & Janis, 1959; Siegel, 1959; Lindzey & Goldberg, 1953; Sears et al., 1953; Crutchfield, 1955), and more affiliatively oriented toward participating in collective activities (Lansky et al., 1961; Goodenough, 1957; Honzik, 1951). The direct implication of these propositions for my study is that girls may score higher on SE, since my measure heavily emphasizes conventionalized interpersonal relations. This general expectation should

hold less true for Mormons, however, since lay males, including young boys, function in the most important system roles via exercise of an exclusive male priesthood. But in any case, the crucial comparison to be made is again of same sex between groups. Thus a second version of hypothesis I can be stated, using sex as the control:

- IB. Mormon boys will score higher on SE than Catholic boys, and Mormon girls will score higher on SE than Catholic girls.

Results and Discussion of Hypothesis IB. Results relevant for evaluating hypothesis IB are presented in Table 29. As with social class differences, we first note that sex, per se, does affect SE scores. However, within groups, the effect is opposite; i.e., Catholic girls consistently score higher than Catholic boys, (Column II vs. Column IV) but among the Mormons, boys tend to achieve higher scores (Column I vs. Column III). This latter finding very well reflects the unusual emphasis placed upon male participation in the Mormon system mentioned above.

For purposes of testing the hypothesis, between group comparisons again demonstrate the basic Mormon-Catholic differences (Note that the greater potential for Catholic bias continues to exist in these results). Mormon boys are significantly higher in composite SE over Catholic boys and maintain an edge on most of the separate SE dimensions as well. There exists also a composite SE margin for Mormon girls over Catholic girls, although this is much

Table 29
Mean SE Scores, Controlling for Sex

SE Dimensions	Boys			Girls		
	I Mormon (N=55)	II Catholic (N=82)	Difference	III Mormon (N=66)	IV Catholic (N=96)	Difference
1. Father	8.40	7.67	0.73*	8.30	8.50	-0.20
2. Mother	8.36	8.40	-0.04	8.85	8.79	0.06
3. Father Relatives	5.56	4.72	0.84	4.68	5.51	-1.17***
4. Mother Relatives	5.15	5.52	-0.37	5.58	5.80	-0.22
5. Peers	12.22	11.94	0.28	12.11	12.57	-0.46*
6. Neighbors	4.93	3.17	1.76****	4.41	3.29	1.12****
7. Church Activity	9.86	7.45	2.41****	9.09	7.58	1.51****
8. Total SE	.69	.56	.13****	.66	.61	0.05****

P<(one-tailed test):

*=.10

**=.05

***=.025

****=.001

reduced and is based solely upon higher scores on the "Neighbor" and "Activity" dimensions.

In general, therefore, given the probable sample biases and the limitations of the empirical measures used, degree of SE does appear to be a variable that is reliably different in the group experience of Mormon vs. Catholic children. The score differences, of course, are interpreted to support the a priori assumption that Mormonism and the Mormon community represent a relatively more "closed" social system.

HYPOTHESES INVOLVING THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Moral conformity is the dependent variable specified by the general hypothesis. As discussed above, degree of conformity is measured by subject responses to MDT items under the Base, Adult, and Peer conditions. Breaking down the analysis of conformity responses will necessarily become a fairly complex procedure, since we must (1) examine absolute score differences within test conditions, (2) examine shift score differences between test conditions, (3) distinguish between undifferentiated MDT scores and component MDT scores (e.g., Negative-Passive, Positive-Active, and Achievement), and (4) control for social class and sex throughout.

Hypothesis II: MDT Scores

Let us begin with an analysis of undifferentiated scores derived only from the original MDT, so that a comparative baseline with earlier findings can be established. The following sets of research hypotheses are applicable to these initial scores. First, for the general case:

- II. Mormon children's scores on the original MDT will rank highest in conformity to conventional standards, followed in order by Catholic and then Public School children's scores.

This specific prediction of scoring order is, of course, based on the a priori ranking of each group on degree of system closure. (Note that I am not yet introducing SE scores as partial indicators of aperture-closure. Later, SE scores will be analyzed as representing independent variables in their own right.) Degree of conventional conformity will be reflected by both the absolute scores under the three test conditions and the size and direction of "shift" between scores for various condition combinations.

Elaboration of Hypothesis II

Now, introduction of social class controls should make a difference in MDT response patterns within each of the three comparison groups. Most research (as previously indicated in Chapter I) has supported the notion that lower class children are more likely to develop an "externalized conscience." That is, compliance with adult standards of

behavior tends to be dependent upon the imposition of external authority cues rather than on an "internalized" set of values. I would expect then that lower class children in my own study should have generally lower MDT scores. But, under the adult treatment condition, when potential authority cues are most prominent, I would also expect lower class children to produce a larger, positive "shift" in score from the previous neutral, or base condition.

Given these expected social class differences, my major concern remains to see if Mormon, Catholic, and Public School children can still be rank ordered, according to degree of conventional conformity, in the same way posited by Hypothesis II. In other words, just as in testing for SE differences earlier, I wish to test the strength of the predicted relationship by controlling for a third variable of admitted importance, namely social class. Specified, then, the hypothesis becomes:

- II A. The same rank ordering on conventional conformity will obtain between both lower class Mormon, Catholic, and Public School children and middle class Mormon, Catholic, and Public School children.

Finally, I wish again to control for sex, since there is evidence that girls tend to score higher than boys on many measures of "morality" (Sears, Rau & Alpert, 1965; Bull, 1969; Ward & Furchak, 1968; McMichael & Grinder, 1966; Sears et al., 1957), as well as specifically scoring higher on the MDT in all of the studies reviewed in Chapter II. As usual, my major concern is to see if the initial

between-group pattern still holds up, even though within-group sex differences occur. The hypothesis is correspondingly altered to read:

- II B. The same rank ordering on conventional conformity will obtain for Mormon, Catholic, and Public School boys and also for Mormon, Catholic, and Public School girls.

Mean MDT scores obtained by all of the comparison groups under each of the three test conditions are shown in Table 30. These results allow us to evaluate the hypotheses on the basis of within condition comparisons. Mean "shift" scores are presented in Table 31. These results allow us to evaluate the hypotheses on the basis of between condition differences (Actual analysis of variance results used to determine the overall significance of mean differences are reproduced in Appendix IV). Finally, greater clarity concerning the general patterning of differences may be achieved by visual inspection of the graphs in Figure 1, Appendix IV.

Results for the Original
("Undifferentiated") MDT

Within Test Condition Comparisons. To begin with, we note that the expected general rank ordering of Mormon, Catholic, and Public School children was not completely consistent for each of the three test conditions. Mormons, surprisingly, scored lowest under the Base condition (Column I, lines 1-3), while Catholics were slightly lower than Public Schools under the Peer conditions (Column III,

Table 30

Mean MDT (Original Items Only) for Mormon
Catholic, and Public School Children

Groups		N	I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$ Across Conditions
Undifferentiated						
1.	Mormons	135	1.93	3.95	0.15	2.00
2.	Catholics	180	3.19	2.09	-0.81	1.49
3.	Public Schools	172	2.72	1.89	-0.67	1.31
Boys						
4.	Mormons	55	0.91	3.25	-0.73	1.14
5.	Catholics	82	2.91	0.85	-1.93	0.61
6.	Public Schools	89	1.36	0.85	-1.93	0.09
Girls						
7.	Mormons	66	2.83	4.56	0.92	2.77
8.	Catholics	96	3.45	3.19	0.18	2.27
9.	Public Schools	83	4.18	3.00	0.69	2.62
Lower Social Class						
10.	Mormons	47	5.20	7.41	3.47	5.36
11.	Catholics	64	1.31	-0.33	-2.00	-0.34
12.	Public Schools	60	1.42	0.67	-4.83	-0.91

Table 30 (Cont.)

Groups	N	I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$ Across Conditions
Middle Social Class					
13. Mormons	74	0.01	1.92	-1.80	0.04
14. Catholics	114	4.23	3.43	-0.15	2.50
15. Public Schools	112	3.42	2.87	1.56	2.62
Differences					
Undifferentiated					
16. Mormon-Catholic		-1.26	1.86	0.96	0.51
17. Mormon-Public Sch.		-0.79	2.06	0.82	0.69
18. Catholic-Public Sch.		0.47	0.20	0.04	0.18
Boys					
19. Mormon-Catholic		-2.00	2.40	1.20	0.53
20. Mormon-Public Sch.		-0.45	2.40	1.20	1.05
21. Catholic-Public Sch.		1.55	0.00	0.00	0.52
Girls					
22. Mormon-Catholic		-0.62	1.37	0.74	0.50
23. Mormon-Public Sch.		-1.35	1.56	0.23	0.15
24. Catholic-Public Sch.		-0.73	0.19	-0.51	-0.35

Table 30 (Cont.)

Groups	N	I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$ Across Conditions
Lower Social Class					
25. Mormon-Catholic		3.89	7.74	5.47	5.70
26. Mormon-Public Sch.		3.78	6.74	8.30	6.27
27. Catholic-Public Sch.		-0.11	-1.00	2.83	0.57
Middle Social Class					
28. Mormon-Catholic		-4.22	-1.51	-1.65	-2.46
29. Mormon-Public Sch.		-3.41	-0.95	-3.36	-2.57
30. Catholic-Public Sch.		0.81	0.56	-1.71	-0.11

lines 1-3). When test conditions are combined (Column III, lines 1-3), the over-all scores do show the predicted order, although the over-all differences are not statistically significant. Another surprising result is that, under the Adult condition (Column II, lines 1-3), only Mormon scores increase while Catholic and Public school scores actually decrease.

When the three main comparison groups are broken down by sex (lines 4-9), the same general pattern emerges. That is, both Mormon boys and Mormon girls score lower than their Catholic and Public School counterparts under Base but higher under both Adult and Peer. Furthermore, both Mormon boys and Mormon girls have increased scores under Adult, whereas Catholic and Public School boys and girls all decrease their scores under Adult.

An intriguing new pattern emerges when social class is controlled (lines 10-15)--Mormon lower class children (line 10) have the highest scores of all for each of the three test conditions. This is particularly significant since lower class Catholics and Public School children have the lowest scores. Also significant is the fact that Mormon middle class children (line 13) score lower under all conditions than their middle class Catholic and Public School counterparts. The pattern of increasing Mormon scores under threat of adult surveillance, while Catholic and Public School children decrease scores (Column II), is not affected by social class.

At an absolute level of scoring, then, support for the general hypothesis is rather ambiguous. Encouragement may be gleaned from several facts: that the over-all ranking of scores is as predicted, that Mormon children are clearly more sensitive to adult authority cues, and that male-male and female-female differences across groups are consistent. However, these positive findings are counterbalanced by the relatively low degree of over-all scoring difference between groups, low Mormon scoring under the Base condition, and the fact that lower social class Mormons account for most of the slight Mormon advantage in over-all score.

Between Test Condition Comparisons ("Shift Scores").

Examination of "shift" scores, i.e., discrepancies or changes between test conditions, also produces ambiguous results (see Table 31). For instance, while all children gave more adult-oriented responses when they thought their parents would find out their answers, compared to when they thought their peers would find out (line 1), this Adult-Peer conflict over standards is seen to be surprisingly high for Mormon children, both middle and lower class (Column I, lines 5 and 9). Note, however, that since only Mormon scores increase from the Base to the Adult condition, their decrease under the Peer condition is perhaps more reasonable than the decreases of Catholics and Public School children. Furthermore, Adult-Peer shifts for Catholics and Public

Table 31

Mean Differences Between Test Conditions for
Mormon, Catholic and Public School Children¹

Test Condition "Shifts"	I		II		III		IV		V		VI	
	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Catholic	Public	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Public	Mormon	Catholic	Public
Samples Undifferentiated												
1. Adult-Peer Conflict (A-P)	3.80	2.90	2.90	2.56	0.90	1.24	0.34					
2. Adult Shift (A-B)	2.03	-1.09	-0.83	3.12	2.85	1.18	0.27					
3. Peer Shift (B-P)	1.78	4.00	3.39	2.22	2.80	0.34						
4. Adult Shift-Peer Shift	0.24	2.90	2.56	3.14								
Samples by Social Class												
Lower Class												
5. Adult-Peer Conflict	3.94	1.67	5.50	2.27	-1.56	-3.83						
6. Adult Shift (A-B)	2.21	-1.64	-0.75	3.85	2.96	-0.89						
7. Peer Shift (B-P)	1.73	3.31	6.25	-1.58	-4.52	-2.94						
8. Adult Shift-Peer Shift	0.48	-4.95	-7.00	5.45	7.48	2.05						

Table 31 (Cont.)

Test Condition "Shifts"	I		II		III		IV		V		VI	
	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Catholic	Public	School	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Public School	Mormon	Catholic
Middle Class												
9. Adult-Peer Conflict	3.72		3.58		1.31		0.14		2.41		2.27	
10. Adult Shift (A-B)	1.91		-0.80		-0.55		2.71		2.46		-0.25	
11. Peer Shift (B-P)	1.79		4.33		1.86		-2.54		-0.07		2.47	
12. Adult Shift-Peer Shift	0.11		-5.13		-2.41		5.24		2.52		-2.72	

Schools show significant interaction effects by social class, while the Mormons do not.

This rather confusing state of affairs receives some clarification by examining the shift scores from Base to Adult (line 2) and from Base to Peer (line 3). The over-all difference between these two sets of shifts confirms that Mormon children are indeed more responsive to adult pressures, while Catholic and Public School children are much more readily swayed by peer pressures. The specific components of Adult vs. Peer conformity are shown in lines 2, 6, and 10 where we see the expected increase from Base to Adult for Mormons and the surprising decrease for Catholics and Public Schools, and in lines 3, 7, and 11 where we see that, while all children decrease their scores from Base to Peer, this decrease is smallest for Mormons. In other words, Mormon children appear to project the highest expectations on to their parents--rather higher and therefore in conflict with the standards they hold among themselves--but at the same time, the standards operating in Mormon peer groups are still more adult-oriented than is the case for either Catholic or Public School peer groups. Ordinal differences between Catholics and Public School conformity to Adult vs. Peer pressure are again obscured by a social class interaction effect (Column VI, lines 8 and 12).

Further Discussion of Initial Findings. Apart from the modest support for the general hypotheses implied by this interpretation of the findings (mostly for the Mormon case), some puzzling results remain to be explained. The first is why Mormon lower class children had such unusually high scores and, conversely, why Mormon middle class children had consistently low scores. This pattern is the reverse of that found for Catholics and Public Schools, and, indeed, reverses what we would anticipate for social class differences in general. At least three possible explanations can be suggested:

1. Social class levels of the samples may not actually be as equivalent as I have assumed them to be, due to sampling bias and inadequate criteria for defining level of social class. However, this possibility appears to diminish somewhat when we recall how consistently the dimensions of "system engagement" were shown to relate to the designated social class levels, both within and between samples (see pp. 167-170).

2. Middle class Mormon samples are disproportionately older than any other samples. Thus, not only did Mormons, as a group, have the highest mean age (e.g., Mormons = 12.29 years, Catholics = 11.36 years, Public Schools = 11.54 years), but within the Mormon sample, the middle class had 9 percent more children who were older than 12 1/2 years (the normal upper age boundary for sixth graders) than did the lower class. The relevant

considerations here are that older children are likely to be more sophisticated and have a more highly developed sense of moral autonomy (Piaget, 1932; Kohlberg, 1963), as well as being more independent of, and rebellious toward, adult expectations. It is very instructive to note, in this regard, that in Table 1 on page 7, Swiss children are reported to average one year older and concomitantly show by far the lowest MDT scores of any country.

A separate analysis of the Mormon sample, introducing controls for age, did reveal a consistent tendency for younger middle class children to conform more to adult standards than older middle class children. Young vs. old differences were less clear for Mormon lower class children, however, suggesting that maturational development of moral autonomy may be impeded by the greater authoritarian restraints generally associated with lower class environments (Hoffman, 1963; Hoffman & Salstein, 1967; Bronfenbrenner, 1958). Overall, then, there appears to be good evidence that lower conformity scores for middle class Mormons may be due partly to their older age. Left largely unexplained is the high conformity of lower class Mormons, regardless of age, compared to lower class Catholics and Public School children.

3. There conceivably exists a complex interaction (not testable from my design) between social class, age, and the circumstances under which the MDT was administered. Recall that Mormon children were tested at their local

"Ward" meeting houses, usually as a substitute activity for their regular MIA classes. Atmosphere at MIA is relatively informal, with youth leadership prevailing and recreational activities often consuming more actual attention than "spiritual" learning. All of this is in contrast, of course with the more formal, teacher controlled, authoritatively sanctioned learning context represented by Parochial and Public School classrooms.

Thus, when I administered the MDT to Parochial and Public School children, I did so fully cloaked in all of the legitimated authority possessed by the school system, boosted by pre-announcements of my coming and formal introduction to the children by the school principal when I arrived. In short, from the outset, school children were quite likely to take me, and the experimental task I imposed on them, rather seriously.

In contrast, given the informal, youth dominated Mormon MIA context, my legitimacy and the relevance of the experimental task were probably much more ambiguous. If this is true, then Mormon children were less likely to take seriously their participation in the experiment or have a vested interest in the unknown consequences of their performance.

However, the degree to which the experimental task was taken seriously among Mormon children must itself be considered as a variable. For instance, I suspect that lower class Mormon children probably took the task more

seriously than did middle class Mormons. Support for this hunch includes: (1) lower class children in general are more sensitive to authority cues that do exist in a task situation (myself, in this case, as the experimenter. See Devereux, 1972), (2) the lower class Mormon sample was proportionately younger and hence presumably more tractable in the experimental situation, and (3) by my own observation, lower class Mormon children were markedly less rowdy and more compliant in following instructions than their middle class counterparts.

A second puzzling result from the initial analysis of MDT responses is the decrease in scoring for Catholics and Public Schools under the Adult condition, i.e., rather than produce their most conventional responses when they think their parents will learn of the choices they make, these children score highest when they think no one will be aware of their decisions. This outcome departs strongly from the usual pattern; as indicated in Chapter I, only Israeli and British children have previously responded with Adult scores that are lower than Base. Both Bronfenbrenner et al. (1975) and Beloff and Patton (1970) arrive at the same general explanation for these respective cases: Child-rearing values for both Israeli and British parents include an emphasis on encouraging independence, if not non-conformity to authority.

These post-hoc explanations sound reasonable enough, given the samples involved. But then why should not a

similar situation obtain for Bronfenbrenner's (1967) earlier U.S. sample? There is certainly no lack of evidence that American middle class parents tend to place relatively high stress on independence and autonomy for their children (Kohn, 1969; Boehm, 1957; Rosen, 1962). Indeed, given the empirical results of my own MDT testing, it would seem just as legitimate for me to employ the same post hoc explanation of independence training for my U.S. Catholic and Public School samples and suggest that perhaps Bronfenbrenner's earlier results on upstate New York school children are not as generalizable to other segments of the U.S. population as he and his colleagues have assumed. Of course, it may be argued that the degree of independence training in the U.S. is still not as great as in Israel or Great Britain, but without empirical measurement of this variable, such differences remain a moot point. The real problem, then, for both studies probably stems from inadequate sample characteristics and from insufficient evidence about the range, content, and intensity of actual socialization practices employed by parents of sample children. In any case, the striking difference in response to the Adult condition between Mormon and other children in my own study does demonstrate that compliance with authority is a much more crucial concern among the Mormons.

The next step in the analysis is to compare responses to each of the three major dimensions that I have identified as constituting the MDT. However, before

further comparisons can be made, it would appear essential to react to the knowledge that Mormon age differences produce significant within sample differences in MDT responses. Because there is a relationship between age and MDT scores,² and because the Mormon sample is made up of a considerable number of older children (i.e., beyond 12 1/2 years of age), it follows that a fair test of hypotheses can be made only if the older Mormon children are eliminated from the comparative analyses.

The negative consequences of this step are, of course, a drastic reduction in Mormon sample size (i.e., from $N = 135$ to $N = 58$) and concomitant decrease in both reliability and generalizability. In order to determine the actual extent of the problem, I first carried out separate trial analyses of the three MDT moral dimensions, using the complete Mormon sample, without controlling for age. Unfortunately, but as anticipated, non-control of age continued to produce ambiguous and theoretically inconsistent results. Therefore, the remaining analyses are based on the reduced, age-equivalent Mormon sample.

MDT Results for the Negative-Passive Dimension

As before, results of the analysis are broken down into within condition scores (Table 32) and between condition "shift" scores (Table 33). Both of these comparisons

Table 32

Mean Negative-Passive MDT Scores for Mormon,
Catholic and Public School Children

Groups		I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$ Across Conditions
Undifferentiated					
1.	Mormons	3.01	3.96	0.11	2.29
2.	Catholics	2.58	0.73	-0.77	0.85
3.	Public Schools	1.80	0.39	-1.03	0.39
Boys					
4.	Mormons	1.09	2.49	-2.17	0.47
5.	Catholics	2.04	-0.95	-1.89	-0.27
6.	Public Schools	1.09	-0.99	-2.30	-0.73
Girls					
7.	Mormons	4.46	5.07	1.86	3.80
8.	Catholics	3.05	2.20	0.22	1.82
9.	Public Schools	2.57	1.87	0.34	1.59
Lower Social Class					
10.	Mormons	5.23	5.96	-0.71	3.49
11.	Catholics	1.71	-2.42	-2.13	-0.95
12.	Public Schools	0.52	-1.12	-4.74	-1.78

Table 32 (Cont.)

Groups	I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$ Across Conditions
Middle Social Class				
13. Mormons	1.44	2.54	0.31	1.43
14. Catholics	3.06	2.47	-0.02	1.84
15. Public Schools	2.49	1.19	0.96	1.55
Differences				
Undifferentiated				
16. Mormon-Catholic	0.43	3.23	0.66	1.44
17. Mormon-Public School	1.21	3.57	0.92	1.90
18. Catholic-Public School	0.78	0.34	0.26	0.46
Boys				
19. Mormon-Catholic	-0.95	3.44	0.28	0.92
20. Mormon-Public School	0.00	3.48	0.13	1.20
21. Catholic-Public School	1.05	0.04	0.41	0.50
Girls				
22. Mormon-Catholic	1.41	2.87	1.64	1.97
23. Mormon-Public School	1.89	3.20	1.52	2.20
24. Catholic-Public School	0.48	0.33	-0.12	0.23

Table 32 (Cont.)

Groups	I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$ Across Conditions
Lower Social Class				
25. Mormon-Catholic	3.52	8.38	1.42	4.44
26. Mormon-Public School	4.71	7.08	4.03	5.27
27. Catholic-Public School	1.19	-1.30	2.61	0.83
Middle Social Class				
28. Mormon-Catholic	-1.62	0.07	0.29	-0.42
29. Mormon-Public School	-1.05	1.35	-0.65	-0.12
30. Catholic-Public School	0.78	0.34	0.26	0.46

are visually facilitated by the graphs in Figure 2. The analysis of variance table is presented in Appendix IV.

Within Test Condition Comparisons. At the most general level of comparisons, focus on Negative-Passive MD's and exclusion of Mormon subjects older than 12 1/2 years of age does improve upon some of the theoretically inconsistent findings of the previous analysis. Thus, predicted rank ordering is achieved for each of the test conditions (e.g., see lines 1-3: Mormons now have the highest Base score instead of the lowest, Catholics now rank above Public Schools under Peer). Also, the gap between Mormon and other children's scores under the Adult condition is increased (Column II, lines 16 and 17), pointing to presumably greater emphasis on Negative-Passive standards imputed by Mormon children to their parents.

Controlling for sex and social class does somewhat weaken support for the generality of the hypothesis, however, by failing consistently to show predicted differences for boys under the Adult and Peer conditions (Columns II and III, lines 4-6), as well as lack of predicted discrimination for middle class children under all of the conditions (lines 13-15). In other words, support of the hypothesis is heavily dependent upon girl and lower class comparisons.

Important previous patterns that reemerge when controls are applied include low Adult scores for Catholics and Public Schools, and uniquely high Mormon lower class

scores under all conditions. (Note, however, that use of the "young" Mormon sample does result in a significant reduction in the differences between Mormon lower class and Mormon middle class. Compare lines 10 and 13 for Tables 32 and 30).

Between Test Condition Comparisons ("Shift Scores").

Examination of "shift" scores between conditions (Table 33) again underlines the consistent disposition of Mormon children to conform to anticipated parent expectations (lines 2 and 4). Given this adult conformity, however, we cannot, this time, so clearly infer that Mormon children are also less susceptible to opposing peer pressures. Thus, lines 7 and 11 reveal that the amount of peer influence is a function of system by social class interaction, making the overall system difference (line 3) negligible for peer conformity. Direct Adult-Peer conflict is greatest for Mormons (line 1), particularly for lower class Mormons (line 5). As before, the comparative magnitude of this conflict needs to be tempered by the fact that Mormons have much higher Adult condition scores, so that in spite of the apparent conflict, Mormon peer standards still operate at a slightly higher adult-oriented level than do Catholic and Public School peer standards.

Discussion of Results. Over-all, then, I would judge support for the hypothesis to be improved when the focus is on Negative-Passive MD's and when the Mormon sample is

Table 33

Mean Differences Between Test Conditions on Negative-Passive
MD's for Mormon, Catholic and Public School Children

Test Condition "Shifts"	I		II		III		IV		V		VI	
	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Catholic	Public	School	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Public School	Mormon	Catholic
Samples Undifferentiated												
1. Adult-Peer Conflict	4.07	1.50	1.42	2.57	2.65	0.08						
2. Adult Shift (A-B)	0.95	-1.85	-1.41	2.90	2.36	0.44						
3. Peer Shift (B-P)	3.12	3.34	2.83	-0.22	0.29	0.51						
4. Adult Shift-Peer Shift	-2.17	-5.19	-4.24	3.02	2.07	0.95						
Samples by Social Class												
Lower Class												
5. Adult-Peer Conflict	6.67	-0.29	3.62	6.96	3.05	-3.91						
6. Adult Shift (A-B)	0.73	-0.71	-0.60	1.44	1.33	-0.11						
7. Peer Shift (B-P)	5.94	3.84	5.26	2.78	0.68	-1.42						
8. Adult Shift-Peer Shift	-5.21	-4.55	-5.86	-0.66	0.65	1.31						

Table 33 (Cont.)

Test Condition "Shifts"	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		
	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Catholic	Public School	Mormon	Catholic	Public School	Mormon	Catholic	Public School	Mormon	Catholic
Middle Class													
9. Adult-Peer Conflict	2.23		2.49		0.23		-0.26		2.00		2.26		
10. Adult Shift (A-B)	1.10		-0.59		-1.30		1.69		2.40		0.71		
11. Peer Shift (B-P)	1.13		3.08		1.53		-1.95		-0.40		1.55		
12. Adult Shift- Peer Shift	-0.03		-3.67		-2.83		3.64		2.80		-0.84		

reduced to a younger, more comparable age. However, it must be admitted that the magnitude of successfully predicted differences are not, for the most part, impressively large, even when they are statistically significant. Catholic and Public School differences continue to be the most inconsistent, particularly when social class is taken into account.

The tendency for Catholic and Public School children to decrease scores under the Adult condition is actually strengthened somewhat, and even Mormon scores under the Adult condition are lower than before (compare line 2 from Tables 33 and 31). These results suggest that Negative-Passive standards--at least those represented in the MDT--may not actually coincide as closely with general adult preferences as the MDT assumes. Beloff and Patten (1971), for instance, eliminated the "informing" items altogether from their analysis on grounds that they were socially inappropriate expectations in British culture, for adults as well as children. These items would undoubtedly be "inappropriate" for a number of other distinct cultural settings. As one illustration, Ossowska (1973:74) comments on the particular repugnance connected with informing behavior in Poland, where in-group solidarity has resulted from "centuries of foreign rule and hence opposition to those in power even if one is persuaded that wrong which has been done ought to be punished."

This does not mean that "informing" expectations are viewed as morally inappropriate in all cultures or

subcultures, especially when the open-closed dimension is kept in mind. Expectations governing activities in the Soviet "children's collective" again provide an excellent example of this.³

Hypothesis for the Positive-Active Dimension

When analytical focus is shifted onto only Positive-Active MD's, the theoretical distinctions made in Chapter II lead us to expect a somewhat altered comparative pattern between Mormon, Catholic, and Public School children. That is, it was proposed that the greater stress on rules and sanctions in closed systems should produce greater conformity to Negative-Passive type moral standards without necessarily increasing real concern for Positive-Active moral standards. More formally stated, for purposes of this study, the test hypothesis becomes:

- II C. Differences between Mormon, Catholic, and Public School MDT scores should decrease for the Positive-Active Moral Dilemmas.

MDT Results for the Positive-Active Dimension

The most general and immediate finding to emerge from analysis of Positive-Active MD's is that over-all scoring is much higher for all groups than previously found for the Negative-Passive MD's (compare lines 1-3 in Table 34 vs. Table 33). These kinds of standards, as cultural

Table 34

Mean Positive-Active MDT Scores for Mormon,
Catholic and Public School Children

Groups		I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$ Across Conditions
Undifferentiated					
1.	Mormons	3.53	7.63	4.10	5.09
2.	Catholics	5.00	4.38	4.50	4.63
3.	Public Schools	4.43	3.40	1.38	3.07
Boys					
4.	Mormons	-0.48	4.34	1.78	1.88
5.	Catholics	3.94	2.77	3.21	3.31
6.	Public Schools	3.46	4.24	0.17	2.62
Girls					
7.	Mormons	6.58	10.12	5.86	7.52
8.	Catholics	5.93	5.79	5.64	5.79
9.	Public Schools	5.47	2.49	2.68	3.55
Lower Class					
10.	Mormons	1.94	8.65	4.10	4.90
11.	Catholics	3.47	1.76	0.82	2.02
12.	Public Schools	2.29	4.28	-1.81	1.59

Table 34 (Cont.)

Groups	I	II	III	IV
	Base	Adult	Peer	$\bar{X}$ Across Conditions
Middle Class				
13. Mormons	4.66	6.91	4.10	5.22
14. Catholics	5.84	5.83	6.53	6.07
15. Public Schools	5.58	2.92	3.09	3.86
Differences				
Undifferentiated				
16. Mormon-Catholic	-1.47	3.25	-0.49	0.46
17. Mormon-Public School	-0.90	4.23	2.72	2.02
18. Catholic-Public School	0.57	0.98	3.22	1.59
Boys				
19. Mormon-Catholic	-4.42	1.57	-1.43	-1.43
20. Mormon-Public School	-3.94	0.10	1.61	-0.74
21. Catholic-Public School	0.48	-1.47	3.04	0.68
Girls				
22. Mormon-Catholic	0.65	4.33	0.22	1.73
23. Mormon-Public School	1.11	7.63	3.18	3.97
24. Catholic-Public School	0.46	3.30	2.96	2.24

Table 34 (Cont.)

Groups	I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV X̄ Across Conditions
Lower Class				
25. Mormon-Catholic	-1.53	6.89	3.28	2.88
26. Mormon-Public School	0.35	4.37	5.91	3.54
27. Catholic-Public School	1.18	-2.52	2.63	0.43
Middle Class				
28. Mormon-Catholic	-1.18	1.08	-2.43	-0.84
29. Mormon-Public School	-0.92	3.99	1.01	1.36
30. Catholic-Public School	0.26	2.91	3.44	2.20

ideals, evidently evoke more consistent consensus across groups than is true for Negative-Passive standards. There are, of course, comparative differences among and between groups, and interpretation of these differences proves to be just as complex as in the previous analysis.

Within-Test Condition Comparisons. For instance, in Table 34 we see that overall rank ordering of group scores actually produces slightly greater differences than before rather than the reduced differences predicted by hypothesis II C (Column IV, lines 16-18). However, closer inspection of the test components of these general scores reveals that the Mormon advantage obtains here only under the Adult conditions (Column II). Mormons actually have the lowest score under the Base condition (Column I) and are also slightly lower than Catholics under the Peer condition (Column III). This, of course, contrasts with the top ranking previously achieved by Mormons under Base and Peer conditions for Negative-Passive MD's.

Social class controls do not alter this basic pattern (i.e., of high Mormon Adult scores, but modest Mormon Base and Peer scores) with the exception of lower class Mormons scoring higher than lower class Catholics and Public Schools under the Peer condition (Column III, lines 10-12.)

Control on sex, however, does produce a slightly more ambiguous picture: Mormon girls continue to score

higher than other girls under all test conditions (lines 7-9). However, when girl differences for Positive-Active scores are compared to the previous girl differences for Negative-Passive scores, we see that the magnitude of differences has been reduced for both Catholics and Public Schools under the Adult condition and for Catholics under the Peer condition (compare Columns II and III, lines 7-9, in Tables 34 and 32).

Between-Test Condition Test Comparisons. As usual, Table 35 allows us to gauge the actual degree of "shift" between test condition responses, and thus to compare the relative strength and direction of influence sources. As before, direct Adult-Peer conflicts tend to be greatest for the Mormons (line 1). However, this time the comparative importance of this conflict cannot be partially diminished by arguing that Mormon Adult scores are the only ones to increase from Base, thus assuring greater discrepancy for them under the Peer condition. This is so because Catholic children in general, and also middle class Public School children, place at least the same, if not greater, importance on Positive-Active moral standards within their peer groups that they attribute to parental expectations (lines 5 and 9).

Mormons maintain their position of being much more influenced by pressure from adults, while, conversely, Catholic and Public School children are more readily swayed

Table 35

Mean Differences Between Test Conditions on Positive-Active
MD's for Mormon, Catholic and Public School Children

Test Condition "Shifts"	I		II		III		IV		V		VI	
	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Catholic	Public	School	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Public	School	Catholic
Samples Undifferentiated												
1. Adult-Peer Conflict	3.53		-0.12		2.02		3.65		1.63			-2.14
2. Adult Shift (A-B)	4.10		-0.62		-1.03		4.72		5.13			0.41
3. Peer Shift (B-P)	-0.57		0.50		3.05		-1.07		-3.62			-2.55
4. Adult Shift- Peer Shift	4.67		-1.12		-4.08		5.79		8.79			2.96
Samples by Social Class												
Lower Class												
5. Adult-Peer Conflict	4.55		0.94		6.09		3.61		-1.54			-5.15
6. Adult Shift (A-B)	6.71		-1.71		1.99		8.42		4.72			-3.70
7. Peer Shift (B-P)	-2.16		2.65		4.10		-4.81		-6.26			-1.45
8. Adult Shift- Peer Shift	8.87		-4.36		-2.11		13.23		10.98			-2.25

Table 35 (Cont.)

Test Condition "Shifts"	I		II		III		IV		V		VI	
	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Catholic	Public	School	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Public	Mormon	Catholic
Middle Class												
9. Adult Peer Conflict	2.81		-0.70		-0.17		3.51		2.98		-0.53	
10. Adult Shift (A-B)	2.25		-0.01		-2.26		2.26		4.91		2.65	
11. Peer Shift (B-P)	0.56		-0.69		2.49		1.25		-1.93		-3.18	
12. Adult Shift- Peer Shift	1.69		0.68		-5.15		1.01		6.84		5.83	

by pressure from peers (line 4). Components making up the Adult pressure scores are found in lines 2, 6, and 10. These show that threat of adult surveillance increases Mormon conformity but has either little effect upon or, instead, decreases conformity for Catholics and Public Schools. Peer pressure components are found in lines 3, 7, and 11, but the outcomes here are mixed. For instance, both Mormon and Catholic middle class children are about equally responsive to peer pressure, but the direction of influence for Catholics tends to push more toward adult-oriented responses, while Mormon peer influence tends to pull in the opposing direction. This pattern reverses itself for lower class comparisons: Mormon peer pressures coincide with an adult direction, while Catholic peer pressures move away from presumed adult preferences.

Discussion of Results. Over-all, then, the picture that emerges with regard to hypothesis II C also remains blurred and ambiguous. The expected reduction of difference in Positive-Active MD scores has been shown to occur under Base and Peer conditions, but the persistent pattern of much higher Mormon susceptibility to adult influence tends to inflate the impression of continuing substantial differences. At least one implication of these scoring patterns is that while Positive-Active moral standards are highly idealized in the Mormon system, they do not seem to be as consistently lived up to by Mormon children as is the

case for Catholic and Public School children. Recalling that Mormon responses to Negative-Passive MD's were more consistent across conditions, relative to Catholics and Public Schools, a further inference is that the Mormon system does place greater concrete emphasis upon Negative-Passive standards than on Positive-Active ones.

Hypothesis for the Achievement Dimension

All that remains for analysis from the original MDT is the residual category of "Achievement" standards. While the MD's representing these standards do contain a clear active component, it is not clear, as I have previously mentioned, what primary moral concern is served by achievement activities. The moral concern of the other MD's is largely social at base. Thus, the Negative-Passive dilemmas are presumably concerned with not harming others, while the Positive-Active dilemmas are concerned with helping others.

While it might be argued at the abstract level that achievement orientations ultimately benefit society at large, it seems evident that achievement preferences at the level of individual decision making are based more on self-advancement than on concern for the rights and well being of others. Parents may hope for high achievement from their children, and thus impose demanding performance standards, but the motives for so doing are surely more often tied to

status and ego than to the desire to produce a morally "good" person.⁴ The same must be true for the child's own acquired achievement motives, i.e., external rewards and self-satisfaction by achieving individual goals become more relevant considerations in this context than knowing and doing the morally "right" thing.

A more subtle and persuasive argument may be made in favor of a relationship between achievement orientation and morality in terms of "self-denial" or "deferred gratification." We may assume, for instance, that achievement orientation requires some minimal level of deferred gratification, i.e., impulses toward immediate satisfaction of desires are controlled in the present in anticipation of realizing a greater value at a later time. This same requisite for self control is obviously present in situations that call for inhibiting socially and morally unacceptable impulses. This assertion receives empirical support from Mischel and Gilligan (1964) who found that ability to defer gratification was positively related to a laboratory index of resistance to temptation. Mischel (1961) had earlier shown a positive relationship between deferred gratification and a questionnaire measure of social responsibility.

Note, however, that deferred gratification is not usually a moral act per se (at least outside the context of various ascetic cults that define self denial, self abasement, etc. as an intrinsically good end). Rather, as

Hoffman (1970:314) points out, deferred gratification is more of an acquired ego skill that serves both the demands of achievement and certain demands of morality. Thus, it may be viewed as a necessary but not sufficient element of moral behavior.

For purposes of the present study, then, we may assume that responses to the achievement moral dilemmas represent possible indicators--not of moral choices per se--but of a requisite ability in making certain moral choices, namely the ability to defer gratification. The question now becomes: "How and under what circumstances might we expect differences in this ability among the samples of Mormon, Catholic, and Public School children, at least as reflected by Achievement MDT scores?" At least two considerations are already available from previous discussion. One is the logical argument that deferred gratification is most clearly related to Negative-Passive moral concerns, since these involve moral prohibitions that require restraint and resistance to temptation. The second is the empirical fact that Achievement MDT clusters were shown (in Ch. IV, p. 123, Table 11) to have consistently higher correlations with Negative-Passive MD clusters than with Positive-Active MD clusters (e.g., $\bar{X}_{r_{ACH,N-P}} = .63$; $\bar{X}_{r_{ACH,P-A}} = .51$).

Now, since some supportive evidence was found for the prediction that Mormon children would show a greater adult orientation toward Negative-Passive MD's, and since

Achievement MD's appear to share a common element with Negative-Passive MD's, it seems consistent to expect that Mormon children will also score highest on the Achievement MD's. Furthermore, since Achievement MD's were also shown (in Chapter IV) to have a particularly high association with MD's whose specific content concerned obedience to parental wishes, it is likely that Mormon Achievement scores will show the greatest increase under the Adult experimental condition. The hypothesis thus becomes:

- II D. Mormon children will score highest on the Achievement MD's, followed by Catholic and Public School children. Mormons will also show the largest increase in score under the Adult experimental condition, followed by Catholic and then Public School children.

MDT Results for the Achievement Dimension

The first portion of hypothesis II D is contradicted by results from the analysis of Achievement MD's. Instead of Mormons producing the highest over-all score, we see that Public School children (for the first time) average the highest score on Achievement, while Catholics and Mormons are tied (Table 36, Column IV). This same order between groups is basically unaltered when sex and social class are taken into account, although within groups, it may be noted that boys, for the first time, generally score as high or higher than girls (Compare lines 4-9, Column IV).

Apart from the failure of Mormon Achievement scores to support Hypothesis II D, two additional points stand

Table 36

Mean Achievement MDT Scores for Mormon,
Catholic and Public School Children

Groups	I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$ Across Conditions
Undifferentiated				
1. Mormons	-1.05	0.10	-0.38	-0.44
2. Catholics	-0.61	0.35	-1.06	-0.44
3. Public Schools	0.05	0.23	-0.29	-0.01
Boys				
4. Mormons	-1.08	0.48	-0.56	-0.39
5. Catholics	-0.25	0.73	-1.16	-0.23
6. Public Schools	0.01	0.25	-0.36	-0.03
Girls				
7. Mormons	-1.03	-0.36	-0.24	-0.54
8. Catholics	-0.93	0.02	-0.98	-0.63
9. Public Schools	0.08	0.25	0.36	-0.01
Lower Class				
10. Mormons	-0.08	-0.58	-0.08	-0.25
11. Catholics	-1.14	0.66	-1.19	-0.56
12. Public Schools	0.68	-0.40	-0.67	-0.13

Table 36 (Cont.)

Groups	I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$ Across Conditions
Middle Class				
13. Mormons	-1.74	0.41	-0.59	-0.64
14. Catholics	-0.32	0.18	-0.99	-0.38
15. Public Schools	-0.29	0.56	-0.09	0.12
Differences				
Undifferentiated				
16. Mormon-Catholic	-0.44	-0.25	0.68	0.00
17. Mormon-Public School	-1.10	-0.13	-0.09	-0.44
18. Catholic-Public School	-0.66	0.22	-0.77	-0.44
Boys				
19. Mormon-Catholic	-0.83	-0.25	0.60	-0.16
20. Mormon-Public School	-1.09	0.23	0.20	-0.22
21. Catholic-Public School	-0.26	0.48	-0.80	-0.19
Girls				
22. Mormon-Catholic	-0.10	-0.38	0.64	0.05
23. Mormon-Public School	-1.11	-0.61	0.12	-0.53
24. Catholic-Public School	-1.01	-0.23	-0.62	-0.62

Table 36 (Cont.)

Groups	I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$ Across Conditions
Lower Class				
25. Mormon-Catholic	1.06	-1.24	1.11	0.31
26. Mormon-Public School	-0.76	-0.18	0.59	-0.12
27. Catholic-Public School	1.82	1.06	-0.52	0.79
Middle Class				
28. Mormon-Catholic	-1.42	0.23	0.40	-0.26
29. Mormon-Public School	-1.45	-0.15	-0.50	-0.70
30. Catholic-Public School	-0.03	-0.38	-0.90	-0.44

out from the data presented in Table 36. One is that mean Achievement scores for all groups are uniformly small and/or negative (see especially Column IV). The second is that the actual magnitude of differences between group Achievement scores is quite small (lines 16-30). These findings suggest that when achievement standards are posed as moral dilemmas they carry relatively neutral appeal for most children, particularly girls. The small between group differences that do occur in response to achievement standards are badly tangled by a very inconsistent system-by-social class interaction, making interpretation of these differences very difficult (see especially the graph in Appendix IV, Figure 4, for a better representation of interaction effects).

The second portion of Hypothesis II D does receive some support from the data, i.e., Mormon children do appear to be more likely to associate achievement dilemmas with parental expectations, followed next by Catholics. Although Column II of Table 36 shows that Mormon scores under the Adult condition are lower than either Catholic or Public School, Table 37, line 2 reveals that the "shift" from Base to Adult is greatest for Mormons, with Catholics second and Public Schools last. This result must in turn be qualified, since it is the middle class Mormon A-B shift score that accounts for the overall higher ranking of Mormon children (compare lines 6 and 10). In other words, while Middle class Mormon children are most indifferent to achievement standards when no one knows of their preference,

Table 37

Mean Differences Between Test Conditions on Achievement MD's
for Mormon, Catholic and Public School Children

Test Condition "Shifts"	I		II		III		IV		V		VI	
	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Catholic	Public	School	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Public	School	Catholic
Samples Undifferentiated												
1. Adult-Peer Conflict	0.48		1.41		0.52		-0.93		-0.04			0.89
2. Adult Shift (A-B)	1.15		0.96		0.18		0.19		0.97			0.78
3. Peer Shift (B-P)	-0.67		0.45		0.34		-1.12		-1.01			0.11
4. Adult Shift- Peer Shift	1.82		0.51		-0.16		1.31		1.98			0.67
Samples by Social Class												
Lower Class												
5. Adult-Peer Conflict	-0.50		1.85		0.27		-2.35		-0.77			1.58
6. Adult Shift (A-B)	-0.50		1.80		-1.08		-2.30		0.58			2.88
7. Peer Shift (B-P)	0.00		0.05		1.35		-0.05		-1.35			-1.30
8. Adult Shift- Peer Shift	-0.50		1.75		-2.43		-2.25		1.93			4.18

Table 37 (Cont.)

Test Condition "Shift"	I		II		III		IV		V		VI	
	Mormon	Catholic	Mormon	Catholic	Public	School	Mormon	Catholic	Public	School	Mormon	Catholic
Middle Class Conflict												
9. Adult-Peer Conflict	1.00		1.17		0.65		-0.17		0.35		0.52	
10. Adult Shift (A-B)	2.12		0.50		0.85		1.62		1.27		-0.35	
11. Peer Shift (B-P)	-1.15		0.67		-0.20		-1.82		-0.95		0.87	
12. Adult Shift-Peer Shift	3.27		-0.17		1.05		3.44		2.22		-1.22	

they are also most likely to change this indifference in the direction of adult approval under the threat of parent discovery.

In general, these findings suggest that (1) while children in all of the groups attribute achievement values to their parents (note that Catholic and Public School children produce increased scores under the Adult condition for the first time), and (2) while middle class Mormons are most likely to associate achievement values with a need to comply with parental standards, (3) the ultimate moral status of achievement standards comes off as being relatively neutral for all of the children, based on consistently low and/or negative scores. This last point is also bolstered by noting that Achievement MD's reduce the amount of Adult-Peer conflict, relative to the other MDT dimensions (compare line 1 in Table 37 with line 1 in Tables 35 and 33). The implication here is that, while children do attribute achievement expectations to parents, these expectations are not very high. On the other hand, while children do attribute non-achievement expectations to their peers, these are not very great either.

SYSTEM ENGAGEMENT AND MORAL CONFORMITY:
EXPLICITLY HYPOTHESIZING RELATIONSHIPS
BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENT AND
DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Hypothesis III

It is possible, of course, for an individual to be nominally located within a particular social system and yet

not actually be "engaged" to the extent that the degree of system closure makes possible for most members. For instance, a Mormon or Catholic child may have one or both parents who are inactive Church members, or one or both of the parents may not even be Church members. Similarly, siblings, relatives, friends and other potential socialization agents will also vary in the degree of their identification and involvement with the Mormon or Catholic community. Or the child's own system participation may be restricted to attending, say, MIA or Parochial school.

If we go beyond the particular social systems being studied here, we would still expect to find within system variation in the degree to which members are exposed to the full socialization capacity of their group, whatever that capacity might be. Individuals, therefore, should be susceptible to being influenced by system standards at least partly as a function of their own pattern of engagement within that system. This, of course, is one reason why I have tried to develop an indicator of "System Engagement," (i.e., the ISE).

An equally important reason is the theoretical strategy mentioned earlier, of developing ways to substitute variables for proper names. The ability to compare the effect of a generally applicable variable in a wide range of diverse social settings releases us from the restriction of being able to talk only about concrete similarities and/or differences between nominally defined groups. Thus, I

would ultimately like to say something about the relationship between the variables aperture-closure and moral conformity, rather than simply saying that Mormon children tend to be more adult oriented than Catholics, but not so much as Russians, etc. In other words, the attempt is to conceptually clarify one of the things about Mormons, Catholics, Russians, or any other group that may help to account for variations in their children's conformity patterns.

Since empirically derived SE scores in the present study are limited to only Mormon and Catholic children, the newly formulated hypothesis that follows will be applicable only to them. The hypothesis is:

- III. The greater a child's SE, the greater will be his conformity to conventional Moral standards. This relationship will be strongest for Negative-Passive standards, reduced for Positive-Active standards, and weakest for Achievement standards.

Results for SE and Negative-Passive MDT Scores

Results from correlating SE and Negative-Passive MDT scores are summarized in Table 38. Before taking into account possible sex and class differences, we see that associations between SE and MD responses are very weak at best (lines 1 and 2). Under the Base condition, the slight positive correlation for Mormons is countered by a slightly negative correlation for Catholics. While correlations for both Mormons and Catholics under the Adult

Table 38

Correlations Between SE and Negative-
Passive MDT Scores for Mormon
and Catholic Children

Groups ($\bar{X}$ SE in parentheses)	I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$
Undifferentiated				
1. Mormon (.67)	.11	.07	-.03	.06
2. Catholic (.59)	-.04	.10	-.06	.00
Boy				
3. Mormon (.69)	.19	.11	.05	.13
4. Catholic (.56)	-.09	.10	-.05	-.02
Girl				
5. Mormon (.66)	.06	.03	-.10	-.01
6. Catholic (.61)	-.02	.06	-.11	-.03
Lower Social Class				
7. Mormon (.60)	.34	.29	.02	.25
8. Catholic (.55)	.05	.19	.03	.11
Middle Social Class				
9. Mormon (.72)	.10	.08	.00	.07
10. Catholic (.61)	-.13	-.08	-.19	-.16

condition are positive (albeit small), correlations under the Peer condition are negative for both.

This disappointing picture improves somewhat (or at least more consistent patterns become differentiated) when separate analyses are performed on system subgroups, particularly lower class vs. middle class. For instance lines 7-10 indicate that both Mormon and Catholic lower class children are more positively affected in their moral decision making by degree of SE than are Catholic and Mormon middle class. Perhaps part of the reason for this difference lies in traditional lower class authoritarianism combined with conventional standards and ideals that are given unusually articulate expression and reinforcement through participation in a cohesive social system. Or possibly it is the case that lower class children are often more exposed to "deviant," non-system influences by virtue of their social class position. If, in spite of these potential extra-system obstacles, SE also remains very strong for lower class members, then it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that system-derived admonitions and defenses against the greater level of deviant temptations will tend to be correspondingly more vigorous and vigilant.

An examination of sex differences reveals that boys (particularly Mormon boys) appear to be more positively influenced by SE than girls (lines 3-6). How to account for this association when we know that girls consistently score higher on the MDT? One plausible line of reasoning

is as follows. Girls, at least in our society, are more often the recipients of socialization experiences that stress obedience and conventional virtue than are boys. This difference is general in the larger social systems and thus cuts across specific subsystems. Therefore, even though a girl were to experience relatively less SE than a boy (both being members of the same particular group) she will still be exposed to the greater conformity demands of her general sex role. In other words, general female sex role orientations might somewhat compensate for relative lack of SE influence.

Boys, on the other hand, who do have high SE, are more likely to be pushed in moral directions that are not always stressed by their general sex role. In other words, SE influence somewhat compensates for the relative lack of expectations coming from the general male sex role. This is especially apt to be true for Mormon boys, because the Mormon system places such heavy priesthood and leadership responsibilities on males.

These same data also show that SE is more potent for Mormons as a group (controlling for sex and social class) than for Catholics. Indeed, among Catholics, only lower class children obtain consistently positive correlations (line 6). This comparative difference serves as a reminder that SE is only one potential indicator of system aperture-closure, and that ultimately SE needs to be interpreted in the context of other system features. For

instance, individual SE, as I have measured it in this study, may be relatively high, but if other closed system characteristics are not also in operation (e.g., restricted exchange with other systems; strong, wide ranging and legitimized deviancy sanctions, etc.), then the consequences of SE become less meaningful.

In the present study, a priori evidence discussed in Chapter II corresponds quite well with the high mean SE score obtained by Mormons as a group and the comparatively lower mean SE score obtained by Catholics as a group (i.e., .67 vs. .59). All things considered, then, the Mormons do appear to constitute a fairly closed system, while the Catholic community represented by my samples does not. Therefore, high SE in the Mormon community is "resonant" with the totality of other closed system features, including, presumably, emphasis on Negative-Passive morality. On the other hand, instances of relatively high SE for Catholics is only weakly reinforced and informed by additional closed system characteristics. Thus, when the system as a whole generates less emphasis on Negative-Passive morality (or, perhaps, more accurately, when potential Negative-Passive moral concerns are diluted and/or modified by non-system inputs) then it follows that SE will simply reflect this reduced emphasis.

Results for SE and Positive-Active MDT Scores

Correlations between SE and Positive-Active MD responses (Table 39) show the same patterning as just discussed, with one potentially important difference. That is, we see that for both Mormons and Catholics, lower class children (lines 8, 9) appear to be more positively affected by SE than middle class children (lines 10, 11). By and large, it also remains true that both Mormon and Catholic boys (lines 3, 4) are more positively affected by SE than their girl counterparts (lines 6, 7). What changes, however, is the degree of difference between Mormon and Catholic correlations, i.e., correlational differences that appeared for Negative-Passive responses are either reduced or reversed when SE is related to Positive-Active responses. In other words, while Mormon correlations tend to go down from their previous levels, Catholic correlations tend to go up, the net result being that SE is no longer a moral mechanism for only the Mormon community.

Again, this makes theoretical sense when we keep in mind that closed systems do not necessarily put more actual stress on encouraging Positive-Active behaviors than open systems, although Positive-Active behaviors may, of course, be posited as ideals in both systems. If anything, as I have already suggested, preoccupation with Negative-Passive moral issues in closed systems may divert energy

Table 39

Correlations Between SE and Positive-
Active MDT Scores for Mormons
and Catholic Children

Groups ($\bar{X}$ SE in parentheses)	I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$
Undifferentiated				
1. Mormons (.67)	.05	-.06	.01	.00
2. Catholics (.59)	.04	.06	.08	.07
Boys				
3. Mormons (.69)	-.04	-.02	.11	.02
4. Catholics (.56)	.07	.12	.10	.12
Girls				
5. Mormons (.66)	.20	-.07	-.04	.04
6. Catholics (.61)	-.03	-.06	-.01	-.04
Lower Social Class				
7. Mormons (.60)	.20	-.02	.13	.13
8. Catholics (.55)	.11	.17	.07	.15
Middle Social Class				
9. Mormons (.72)	-.16	.00	-.02	-.07
10. Catholics (.61)	-.07	-.13	-.07	-.11

and attention that normally would be expended on realization of Positive-Active ideals.

Results for SE and Achievement
MDT Scores

Correlations between SE and Achievement MD responses remain weak and often-times negative in direction (Table 40). Only under the Adult condition (Column II) do consistently positive correlations emerge thereby providing further evidence for the previously suggested link between achievement orientation and obedience to perceived parental wishes. Lower class Mormons and Catholics still retain a positive advantage over their middle class counterparts, as do Mormon and Catholic boys over Mormon and Catholic girls. General Mormon-Catholic differences per se, however, are more difficult to assess, given the larger number of negative correlations. For instance, when Achievement scores are summed across test conditions (Column IV), only lower class Mormons and Catholics emerge with positive correlations, Mormons being slightly higher (lines 7, 8). When class and sex are not controlled, and test condition scores are summed, we see that the correlation for both Mormons and Catholics is negative and virtually identical (Column IV, lines 1, 2). In short, Achievement MD responses do appear to be the least reliably differentiated by degrees of SE, regardless of how open or closed the system, as a whole, may be.

Table 40

Correlations Between SE and Achievement MDT
Scores for Mormon and Catholic Children

Groups ($\bar{X}$ SE in parentheses)	I Base	II Adult	III Peer	IV $\bar{X}$
Undifferentiated				
1. Mormons (.67)	-.13	.08	-.06	-.05
2. Catholics (.59)	-.05	.05	-.12	-.06
Boys				
3. Mormons (.69)	-.10	.05	-.05	-.04
4. Catholics (.56)	.06	.09	-.13	.00
Girls				
5. Mormons (.66)	-.17	.08	-.08	-.08
6. Catholics (.61)	-.13	.06	-.12	-.09
Lower Social Class				
7. Mormons (.60)	.08	.07	.17	.13
8. Catholics (.55)	.17	.10	-.16	.07
Middle Social Class				
9. Mormons (.72)	-.08	-.10	.08	-.05
10. Catholics (.61)	-.27	.05	-.12	-.17

FOOTNOTES

¹The analysis of variance for these scores did uncover a sex-by-social class interaction tendency (see Appendix IV). Thus, while the difference between middle class boys and girls was typically small, the difference between lower class boys and girls was typically large. Nevertheless, in both cases, girls almost always scored higher than boys. Since this comparative difference remained fairly constant across groups, and also since the interaction effects dissipate later for separate moral dimensions, I have not included a sample-by-sample sex breakdown in this or other MDT "shift" tables.

²The largest and most consistent relationship for all Mormon children occurred when age and Negative-Passive MDT scores were correlated ($r \approx -.30$). Thus, the older the child, the less likely the child is to respond to Negative-Passive standards in conventional ways. This result is in harmony with developmental theories of moral judgement. Age was also related to Positive-Active MDT scores, but differently by sex: Mormon boys' scores correlated positively with age ($r \approx .21$), while girls' scores correlated negatively with age ($r \approx -.12$). Thus, as boys in this sample get older, they tend to become more sensitive to altruistic moral expectations, while girls tend to become slightly less sensitive.

³A good elaboration on this theme is developed by Wright (1971:216-19). In "collectivist" countries (such as the Soviet Union), ideologies prevail which "stress the value of devoted and heroic self-sacrifice in the service of the collective. Sanctions for misconduct are by definition acts which are injurious to the collective. The function of adults is to expose the offender to the rest of the group. His punishment is the shame of knowing that others know he has let them down Planned and systematic use is made of shaming, and great stress is placed on the value of confession," etc.

⁴This assertion denies the general modern relevance of certain moral ideologies, such as early Calvinism, which attached righteousness to individual success as a manifestation of Divine Favor.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

In this concluding chapter I will attempt to lay out what I perceive to be the major strengths and weaknesses of my study. I will begin by summarizing and evaluating empirical evidence bearing upon the various research hypotheses that have been generated. First I will focus on empirical outcomes that are supportive of these hypotheses. I will next examine empirical disappointments (i.e., weak, inconsistent and/or theoretically non-supportive findings) and then attempt to identify research deficiencies and limitations that might reasonably have contributed to some of the ambiguous results. I will also suggest new procedures that, by reducing flaws in research design, might improve interpretation of results in future replications. Finally, I will try to assess the general contribution this study makes to an understanding of moral choice within different social groups.

Positive Findings

At its most general level, my study has been concerned with investigating the impact of social structure on socialization of conformity to moral standards. The social structural feature of concern here is degree of system aperture-closure. Moral standards are represented by presumed adult conventions regarding good and bad behavior. Conformity is analyzed in terms of responsiveness to influence source, i.e., self standards vs. parent standards vs. peer standards.¹ Socialization processes take on an inferred status (since they are not actually measured in this study), serving theoretically as the link between open-closed system constraints and degree of conformity to moral standards. Positive evidence bearing on each of these elements--and the relationship of these elements to each other--is summarized below.

Aperture-Closure. The original impetus for attempting a "systematic" replication of the Cornell studies came from the belief that the over-all social context in which moral socialization occurs must be examined and defined more carefully. The general social variable that I have focused on in this study is the degree to which social systems differ with regard to "aperture-closure," assuming that the degree to which a system is either "open" or "closed" has important consequences for socialization of the young.²

One of my chief concerns, therefore, has been to arrive at a conceptual understanding of the meaning of open-closed social systems that will allow for transformation of the concept into a measurable variable. From previous theoretical discussions in the literature, I extracted three basic dimensional sets that I consider crucial for defining open-closed systems. Of these basic dimensions, I selected one ("Consensus") as being most amenable to measurement in the present study, and then developed an empirical indication of "Consensus" for the group under study--the "Index of System Engagement" (ISE).

The ISE is admittedly rather crude, since it reflects only ordinal estimates of component variables as reported by children. Also, the ISE is actually an index of potential Consensus, because its component variables (e.g., "Father," "Mother," "Peer," etc.) depend heavily upon the assumption that normative consensus increases as various system contacts increase (e.g., member associations with each other, participation in system activities, etc.).

In spite of these initial limitations, there remain some positive things to be said about the ISE as a partial measure of aperture-closure. For instance, the face validity of ISE components was shown to be reasonably good, while empirically there was positive intercorrelation among the components, producing a total scale reliability of .63.³ But more impressive than these modest scale

characteristics is the fact that the ISE proved itself useful in distinguishing my Mormon and Catholic samples in predicted ways. Thus, significantly higher SE scores for Mormon children supported my a priori designation of Mormons as representing a relatively more closed system than Catholics.

Greater SE for Mormons was maintained when sex and social class controls were introduced. Within Mormon and Catholic samples, sex and social class controls did produce differences, but these were consistent with system expectations. For instance, middle class children were shown to be higher in SE than lower class children for both Mormons and Catholics. This was expected on the basis of lower class children having greater exposure to "deviant" and/or "non-system" influences in their total environment. Catholic girls were found to have higher SE than Catholic boys, which accords with the notion that, in general, girls tend to experience greater pressure for within-system affiliations than do boys. Mormon boys, however, achieved slightly greater SE than Mormon girls. This outcome is consonant with Mormon system expectations, given the unique Mormon emphasis upon the male priesthood holder.

Given these results, I am encouraged to believe that the ISE represents a worthwhile starting point in the quest to scale the dimensions of open-closed systems.

Suggestions for improving the reliability and scope of the ISE will be presented later. Meanwhile, the attempt to measure an open-closed dimension in the present study--and the procedures developed to do so--have at least allowed for thinking in terms of a social variable that can be compared directly across social systems.

Moral Standards. Critical reading of the original Cornell studies Moral Dilemma Test (MDT) suggested that two basic types of underlying moral dimensions were being measured. The first type of moral response that appeared to be stressed consisted of situations wherein the child is required to resist peer pressures to behave in "anti-social" ways. Potential adult sanctions for the child--negative or positive, depending upon the response--are implicit in the dilemma situations. I argued that a "moral" response in this kind of situation represents a "Negative-Passive" morality. The second type of moral response reflected in the MDT involves situations that require performance of an act that affirms a moral principle and implies a benefit for the recipient of the act. I have called this kind of moral response "Positive-Active" morality.

Since the MDT appeared to be weighted more heavily with Negative-Passive type dilemma items, I developed some additional items of the Positive-Active type. Then, to empirically verify the conceptual distinction made between

Negative-Passive and Positive-Active, I subjected all of the MDT items (old and new) to factor and cluster analyses. These analyses did provide support for the theoretical distinction by producing item clusters that could consistently be identified as Negative-Passive vs. Positive-Active.

In addition, a third moral dimension was also empirically discernable from a sub-set of the original MDT items; these were items that emphasized a certain achievement orientation. I argued that achievement orientation per se, at least as measured by the MDT, is not clearly a moral orientation, although it may be associated with certain kinds of "moral" behavior, such as complying with parental expectations, or associated with correlates of moral behavior, such as the ability to defer gratification. Interestingly enough, achievement items correlated most highly with a specific sub-set of Negative-Passive items that involved obeying parent wishes.

I regard the demonstration of these moral distinctions in the MDT as being important. If one is going to make comparative inferences about differences in moral orientation--as Bronfenbrenner, Devereux, and others have done--then it is necessary to begin being more clear about the various meanings that a "moral" orientation may take on. It is misleading and analytically not very useful, for instance, to equate consistently high MDT scores with

a generally high moral orientation. This is so, because a substantial portion of that undifferentiated MDT score is based on a particular type of moral orientation (e.g., Negative-Passive), while another portion of the score derives from dilemma items that reflect a dubious moral dimension altogether (e.g., Achievement).

On the other hand, when moral distinctions are made, as I believe I have been relatively successful in doing, then we can begin to look for relationships between specific kinds of moral orientations and specific kinds of moral socialization contexts. This is not to claim that the moral distinctions I have made exhaust the possibilities. Negative-Passive and Positive-Active are themselves very broad categories. Undoubtedly there exist many additional and/or more refined dimensions of moral orientation that could be applied, even to the rather limited test instrument at issue here. But, analagous to the ISE, the present data analysis does at least support this basic moral dichotomy as a meaningful point from which to begin.

Moral Conformity

Comparative MDT results from the Cornell studies have shown that children in different cultural and social settings differ in their degree of conformity to conventional moral standards. For instance, samples of Soviet children appear to be much more adult-oriented in their

over-all attitudes toward conventional morality than samples of U.S. children, while U.S. children appear to be morally more adult-oriented than Israeli children, and so on. There also exist differences in peers vs. parents as sources of conformity pressure. For instance, both Soviet and U.S. children are more likely to conform to conventional moral standards under pressure from parents, but Soviet children are also more likely to conform to conventional standards under pressure from peers, while U.S. children are less likely to conform to conventional standards when under pressure from peers. Both of these patterns are different still from British and Israeli children who are less likely to conform to conventional standards when under pressure from parents.

As indicated above, my own approach to examining differences in moral conformity was to identify a feature common to all social groups that had clear implications for establishment and enforcement of group standards. This common feature was, of course, degree of system aperture-closure. Mormon, Catholic Parochial and Public School children (all U.S.) were selected, on an a priori basis, as representing groups that could be expected to vary along the open-closed continuum. Since this a priori designation of groups took into account more theoretical dimensions of aperture-closure than did my single empirical indicator (i.e., the ISE), my first analysis of MDT results

was broken down into the usual ANOVA comparison between nominal categories, these being, in this case, Mormon vs. Catholic vs. Public School.

These nominal comparisons can at least be interpreted as "suggestively" supportive of several hypotheses. For instance, while specific comparison differences did not always reach levels of statistical significance, rankings were always in the predicted direction. Thus, when only the original, undifferentiated MDT results were examined, Mormon children ranked highest on over-all conformity to conventional moral standards, Catholics were next, and Public School children were lowest. When the basic moral dimensions underlying the modified MDT were analyzed separately, the same over-all rankings were obtained but with some important differences. First, isolating Negative-Passive MDT items produced increased differences between the samples; i.e., Mormons were even more conforming to conventional standards compared to Catholic and Public School children, etc. When, however, responses to Positive-Active MDT items were isolated, differences between the samples tended to decrease; i.e., under two of the experimental conditions, Catholic and Public School children were at least as likely to conform to conventional moral standards as were Mormon children.

I interpret these differences in degree of conformity to the two basic moral dimensions as supporting the notion that closed social systems will place greater

stress on sanctioning the behavioral outcomes of Negative-Passive moral situations. With regard to Positive-Active moral standards, the supported notion is that closed systems will have only a relatively perfunctory concern that differs little from Positive-Active concerns manifested in more open systems.

The one experimental condition under which Mormon children maintained a substantial score advantage for Positive-Active MDT items was the condition of supposed adult surveillance. Indeed, with the exception of Achievement items, all sub-analyses carried out in this study revealed a pronounced pattern of much higher Mormon scores under the Adult condition.

Relative to the Catholic and Public School pattern of less conforming responses under the Adult condition, it must be concluded that Mormon children are much more sensitive to the presence of authority cues when faced with a moral decision. One plausible interpretation of this dependence on authority is that Mormon children have greater anxiety concerning possible negative sanctions from parents should they not live up to parent expectations. Both the emphasis on authority and the emphasis on negative sanctions are, of course, increasingly characteristic of increasingly closed groups.

Introduction of sex controls did not substantially change these initial, over-all patterns. While girls within each sample almost always showed a greater

orientation to conventional standards than boys, the previous between group rankings remained virtually the same. Thus, for Negative-Passive standards, Mormon girls scored higher than Catholic and Public School girls, Mormon boys scored higher than Catholic and Public School boys, etc. For Positive-Active standards, the differences between Mormon, Catholic and Public School girls were reduced, while the differences in rank between Mormon, Catholic and Public School boys were actually reversed.

Introduction of social class controls did blur the Negative-Passive pattern for middle class Mormons; instead of ranking first, Mormon children ranked last (although the over-all difference between the three samples was quite small). Lower class Mormons, however, retained the highest score on Negative-Passive standards, while middle class Mormons still showed greater sensitivity to authority cues under the Adult condition than their Catholic and Public School counterparts.

Relationships Between the Empirical Indicator of Aperture-Closure and Conformity to the Moral Dimensions of the MDT: The ISE was found to be relatively useful in distinguishing my Mormon and Catholic samples on the basis of assumed consensus within each system. Mormon, Catholic and Public School samples were, in turn, shown to vary in their degree of conformity to conventional moral standards. The final analytical task was now to explicitly introduce

the ISE as an independent empirical variable in relation to responses to the various MDT dimensions. In other words, I wished to see if variation in SE would be accompanied by a pattern of variation in MDT scores that would resemble the results of nominal sample comparisons. If the outcomes were interpretable as before, then it can be said that, not only are certain aspects of open-closed systems measurable, but that these measurable aspects are related to measurable aspects of moral conformity.

The strength of association between SE and MDT scores turned out to be only very modest at best. Nevertheless, encouraging evidence could be gleaned from the patterning of association. For instance, Mormon correlations between SE and Negative-Passive MDT scores were consistently positive and higher than for Catholics across sex and social class controls for the three experimental conditions. Since the Mormon sample is presumably representative of a more closed system than that represented by the Catholic sample, a higher $r_{SE, Neg-Pass}$ was expected for Mormons. That is, within a closed group, the more one is actually involved or becomes "engaged" by the system, the more one is likely to become sensitized to pressures that emphasize Negative-Passive moral standards.

On the other hand, when correlations between SE and Positive-Active MDT scores were examined, I found an increase in the incidence of negative relationships and a

consistent decrease (sometimes reversal) in Mormon-Catholic differences across sex and social class controls for the three experimental conditions. This reduction of correlational differences is also expected given the assumption that pressures inducing conformity to Positive-Active moral standards are not necessarily any greater in more closed systems than those pressures existing in more open systems.

Negative/Ambiguous Findings

If the most encouraging aspect about the results of my data analysis is the emergence of general, over-all patterns that tend to support theoretical expectations, two consistently disappointing aspects of these same results are (1) the "smallness" of many of the predicted differences, and (2) the blurring of some differences when general patterns are broken down into component parts for sub-analyses. Discussion of these two recurring problems follows for each stage of the data analysis.

Aperture-Closure. My only empirical measure of aperture-closure in this study was the ISE. In turn, the ISE was intended to represent only one dimension of aperture-closure, namely "Consensus." Given these restrictions, it was important that the ISE prove capable of establishing clear aperture-closure differences between my test samples. The difference in total SE scores between

Mormon and Catholic children was in fact found to be statistically significant and in the predicted direction. However, this difference does not seem as large, in absolute terms (e.g., .67 vs. .59), as a priori identification of open-closed features of the samples would lead us to expect.

When social class and sex controls are introduced, differences between Mormon and Catholic lower class children remain (e.g. .60 vs. .55), as do differences between Mormon and Catholic girls (e.g., .66 vs. .61), but these absolute differences are even smaller than before. When specific variables that make up the ISE (e.g., potential normative influence of parents, peers, relatives, etc.) are analyzed separately, Mormon children do not maintain consistently higher ratings across all of these sub-variables. These inconsistencies can be successfully rationalized, but the negative point to be made here is that some of the component ISE variables show weak discriminatory power.

Moral Conformity. Several results of the MDT analysis proved either unexpected or contradictory to theoretical expectations. Perhaps the most puzzling general level outcome is the low scoring of all three test samples in the present study, relative to the scores summarized earlier (Table 1, p. 7) for children previously studied in a variety of countries. Even Bronfenbrenner's

1967 upstate New York data show an overall moral conformity level that is virtually the same as my Mormon sample and thus, of course, exceeds the conformity level of my own Public School and Catholic samples. MDT scores for my samples only become relatively high when I separately analyze responses to Positive-Active MDT items.

An element of the low scores for my samples that is puzzling in its own right is the consistent tendency of both my Catholic and Public School samples to decrease conformity to conventional moral standards under the condition of supposed adult knowledge. According to findings of previous studies, this negative shift from Base to Adult conditions is a rare outcome, found previously only for samples of Israeli and British children.

Possible explanations for discrepancies between my sample results and those obtained for U.S. (New York) children in 1967 include: (1) the operation of unknown biases in one or both sets of samples, or (2) there has been a widespread shift in the kinds of moral standards being emphasized nationwide in the approximately ten years since Bronfenbrenner's New York study, i.e., a shift from Negative-Passive to a Positive-Active emphasis in moral standards for U.S. school children along with greater encouragement of individual autonomy in making moral decisions.

When comparisons are restricted to my own sample results, MDT scoring patterns are still interpretable in

theoretically meaningful ways, as discussed above. However, there are also some contradictory findings at this level as well. One is that middle class Mormon children did not prove to be very conforming to conventional moral standards, particularly if those standards were Negative-Passive in nature. For Mormon sample results, then, the argument that moral conformity is more characteristic of closed system depends mostly on lower class children.⁴

Another discrepancy occurred when responses to Achievement MDT items were considered. Although I do not consider the Achievement dimension to represent a crucial moral concern, I had reasoned that the kind of achievement orientation represented in the MDT would be most related to Negative-Passive morality and should therefore arouse more conformity responses in closed systems than in open systems. The results from my samples directly reversed this expectation, however, with Public School children consistently scoring higher on Achievement items than either Mormons or Catholics. This pattern held true across virtually all combinations of experimental conditions by sex by social class.

Relationships Between the Empirical Indicator of Aperture-Closure and Conformity to the Moral Dimensions of the MDT. The low positive to negative correlations between ISE scores and MDT scores (particularly Negative-Passive), was by far the most disappointing result of the

final analysis stage. These weak correlations can be partly rationalized by pointing to the relative crudeness of the ISE and the fact that "Consensus" represents only one dimension of open-closed systems. Still, even given these limitations, higher correlations were hoped for. It is possible to examine the pattern of relationship between SE and moral conformity to find supportive evidence for the hypothesis of positive associations, but, because of the weak correlations, conclusions reached on the basis of patterns are rather tenuous.

A more specific reversal of expected outcomes was found for correlations between SE and MDT scores under the Adult experimental condition. Here, we would expect the correlations to be greater for more closed systems, since authority and consensual adult sanctions presumably have greater predominance in closed systems. The results from my samples were, however, that correlations between SE and MDT scores under the Adult condition were at least as high, if not higher, for Catholics compared to Mormons.

Deficiencies of the Present Research

There are a number of weaknesses in the present study that have undoubtedly contributed to some of the ambiguous results. These weaknesses range from sampling biases to instrument construction, from virtually inherent

obstacles to problems that might be readily attended to. The major weaknesses, as I see them, are as follows.

Sampling. All of the comparative studies employing the MDT format (including the present one) have couched their conclusions in terms of population units. Thus, Bronfenbrenner has made inferences about the typical moral responses of Soviet children vs. U.S. children. I have made inferences about the typical moral responses of Mormon children vs. Catholic and U.S. Public School children, etc. Such generalized conclusions, of course, go well beyond the representative limits of the samples actually studied. Ideally, generalized conclusions would be based on stratified random selection of sampling units (e.g., "Wards" for Mormon children, schools for other children).

There are at least two reasons, however, why the ideal strategy of stratified random sampling would be practically unfeasible. One is the enormous number of subjects one would have to deal with if enough sampling units were randomly selected to make the procedure worthwhile. That is, the MDT format only makes sense when subjects can be assumed to make up a real and on-going peer group; hence the need for larger sampling units than simple random selection of individual subjects from a larger population. So, one would have to randomly select a number of schools, and this in turn would multiply

subjects within the schools to a number exceeding the capabilities of most research projects. Even if such a large number of subjects could be accomodated, random selection of units presupposes the cooperation of any unit selected. Such cooperation can never be guaranteed on an a priori basis.

The general problem of "unrepresentative" samples, then, appears to be mostly unavoidable for this particular line of research. But there are several more specific sampling flaws in my own study that ought to be noted and hopefully improved upon in any future replications. One is selection of sampling units on the basis of social class characteristics. The only empirical indicator of social class that I was able to employ was the Michigan Department of Educational Research and Assessment index of socioeconomic status for Public Schools.⁵ Middle and lower class units for Catholics and Mormons were distinguished simply on the basis of geographical area in which the sampling unit was located. Since the criteria are crude, my ultimate categories of lower and middle class are also crude and therefore extra caution is required in interpreting sample differences associated with social class.

A second concrete sampling flaw in the present study resulted from including some Mormon subjects who were older than subjects in either Catholic or Public School samples. Since it was later found that age was negatively related to conventional conformity in the MDT,

I was forced to eliminate older Mormon subjects and reanalyze the responses for a much reduced sample N.

The Catholic sample was also probably biased in a distinct way, since parochial school children probably do not tend to come from typical Catholic families and backgrounds. This would be in contrast to Mormon children who attend MIA (the sampling unit for Mormons) almost universally. A potential consequence of parochial school bias would be to inflate Catholic scores on the ISE.

Research Design. One regretable (but unavoidable) departure from the standard MDT procedure came about in application of the experimental design. Ideally the design is described by a double latin square which permits analysis of order effects (e.g., of experimental conditions and MDT forms), and setting effects (e.g., of classroom and school). This design requires a certain number of sampling units in combination with a certain number of sub-classes within those units. But I was unable to obtain the required combinations for my samples, and so was able only to control for order effects by randomly selecting condition by MDT form combinations for each sub-class of my sampling units. This procedure still did not allow for all possible conditions by MDT form combinations for each sample. Thus, if order of experimental presentation, and the setting in which the presentation is made, do make a difference in responses, then these

would be unchecked sources of error in the results of the present study.

An over-all comparison of settings between Mormons and my other two samples does suggest, at an intuitive level, that bias was probably greater for the Mormons. This would be so, because I administered the MDT to Mormon children under relatively informal circumstances and and with lower legitimacy in the eyes of the children, whereas the MDT was administered to both Catholic and Public School children during their formal classroom periods under the auspices and authority of the school system. A possible consequence of this difference in settings might have been that Mormon children took their task less seriously than Catholic and Public School children, and therefore demonstrated less moral conventionality in their MDT responses than would otherwise have been the case. My own observations as MDT administrator were, indeed, that Mormon children (particularly middle class) tended to be less attentive and compliant in the testing situation than their Catholic and Public School counterparts.

Measuring Instruments. Both the ISE and the MDT have visible shortcomings as purported measures of aperture-closure and moral conformity, respectively. The original MDT has been used extensively in previous research and has proven to be adequately reliable. However, as I

have argued in the present study, the actual moral content of the original MDT is weighted heavily toward Negative-Passive situations and also includes a number of Achievement dilemmas of suspect moral importance. My attempt to remedy these perceived weaknesses resulted in analyses of separate MDT dimensions, along with inclusion of newly constructed Positive-Active type dilemma situations. The problem at this point is that my new Positive-Active MDT items were not pre-tested before use in the present study. Thus, several of these new items, although showing apparent good face validity, did not prove to be statistically reliable for the present samples and had to be excluded from the final analysis. As a group, the remaining Positive-Active items still did not achieve as high reliability as the original Negative-Passive items.

A final criticism of the MDT--both original and modified versions--is that the "preferred adult," or conventional, response to all of the MDT items is assumed rather than empirically verified. Thus what the MDT assumes represents conventional morality may not reflect what particular childrens' parents actually regard as being moral.

Reference has already been made above concerning some of the limitations of the ISE. The questionnaire items eventually used to construct the ISE variables suffered from several shortcomings including lack of

pre-testing and a restricted scope that excluded potentially relevant information. For instance, a series of questions concerning respondent's siblings was presented ambiguously, thereby eliciting confused and unreliable responses that ultimately had to be discarded as an ISE variable. Pre-testing would have uncovered this ambiguity (along with others), and more clearly stated items would have been developed for the final study.⁷

At least two related problems are associated with the fact that respondents to the ISE questionnaire were children. One problem concerns the accuracy of childrens' evaluations of specific activities engaged in by other people (e.g., how often their parents go to church, strength of their relationships with relatives, etc.). The second problem follows from the first in that items were deliberately kept simple and general to help balance the anticipated inaccuracy of childrens' estimations. Resulting responses to these items, therefore, must be regarded as both imprecise and potentially inaccurate to an unknown degree.

A more general problem of the ISE is that it is importantly based on an assumed relationship between system membership, exposure to system standards and espousal of system standards. Granting that such a relationship might plausibly exist, the ISE still does not take into account the potential counter influence of outside or

"non-system" contacts. That is, the groups I have sampled from represent sub-systems whose members have daily contact with people and experiences that do not belong, per se, to these unique sub-systems. Presumably, this exposure to outside people, events, ideas, etc. will have due impact upon development of moral expectations, perhaps in ways that are contrary to standards idealized in the sub-system. Again, then, what the ISE does not do is indicate the degree of exposure to out-group standards that are potentially disruptive of in-group consensus.

Recommended Improvements

Sampling. For reasons discussed previously, simple random selection of sampling units is probably not feasible for this kind of study.⁸ However, one should be able to improve on some of the more specific features of sample design found to be at fault in the present study. One obvious sample characteristic that needs to be systematically controlled is age of children. This is not generally a problem when sampling units are schools, since the same age level obtains for a particular class level. Sampling units such as the Mormon MIA and Primary, however, are broken down into age groupings that overlap the standard level of 11-12 years old. It is possible to test both Primary and MIA classes that meet at the appropriate age junction, and then eliminate the responses of those who

are too young or too old. However, this procedure is wasteful of time and information.

An alternative solution would be to locate public schools in Utah whose student population is mostly Mormon. Although placing Mormon children in a non-Mormon setting might conceivably introduce a new source of bias, it would produce a sampling unit of the desired age range.⁹ It would also eliminate the previously discussed bias that probably existed in the present study due to the fact that Mormon children were not presented the MDT in a formal school setting (which would have lended greater legitimacy to the test procedures).

More precise indicators of social class level should be obtained before final samples are determined, particularly for the Mormon and Catholic cases. One possible source of relevant data might come from census information. More specific information for particular sampling units might be available from Mormon Ward and Catholic parrish records (e.g., occupations and incomes of family heads, ranking of families by Mormon Bishops and Catholic Priests, etc.). Once sampling units have been selected on the basis of this information, questionnaire items regarding parent occupation and the like should be included for post-test responses of individual subjects.

Finally, if one were not interested in carrying out a "virtual" replication of the present study, it might

be preferable to sample from sub-systems other than Mormons or Catholics, preferably sub-systems whose daily ties to the larger U.S. system are much looser. In other words, one would ideally look for more autonomous sub-systems, or systems that have reduced "Linkage" with other systems. Presumably, such systems would be more closed and therefore afford a clearer test of the hypotheses.

All of the above suggestions depend upon securing official cooperation at various levels in all systems to be studied. Unfortunately, it tends to be predictably true that the more closed the system, the more likely it is that cooperation will not be extended to outside investigators who want to study that system.

The ISE. At the least, the present questionnaire items that make up the ISE ought to be supplemented with complementary information from sources other than just childrens' evaluation. For instance, an attempt should be made to either interview or mail questionnaires to parents of subject children concerning the parent's system participation, degree of relative and neighbor participation, and the strength of relationships between the subject's family and relatives and neighbors. The items asked of parents could also be made more precise, i.e., changed from ordinal rankings to interval estimates of the actual number of system related activities participated in, etc.

Additional information, going beyond the scope of the present ISE, ought also to be obtained from both parents and children. It would be useful to inquire of parents concerning their degree of agreement with basic system standards and values. Over-all degree of agreement within a sample could then be scaled and used as a check on the assumption that greater engagement in a system leads to greater endorsement of system values. It would also be useful to develop new items inquiring of parents' non-system contacts and activities at work, socially, etc. If responses to such items could be scaled, we would expect lower "non-system" scores to prevail in more closed groups, thus hopefully complementing the ISE scores.

We might also ask children about their own "non-system" contacts (such contacts could prove particularly important for lower class children), as well as try to focus more exclusively on the open-closed features of the peer group in its own right. That is, in a somewhat restricted sense, the peer group may be regarded by itself as constituting a distinct sub-system which is relatively independent of the structure of the larger adult world. Presumably, then, the peer group should also be characterized by the various dimensions of aperture-closure. It is conceivable, for example, that childrens' peer groups are either open or closed with regard to issues of out-group interactions, value consensus, and

group sanctions. Indeed, I have already modified a set of peer group items (suggested by Bronfenbrenner and Devereux in another context) which I feel would be useful for developing a measure of peer group aperture-closure. These suggested items--and the dimensions they would represent--are presented in Appendix II.

Finally, it would be desirable to supplement all indicators of the "Consensus" dimension with data pertinent to other dimensions of system aperture-closure, i.e., "Linkage" and "Sanctions." For larger groups, this kind of information would need to come principally from library research, inspection of documents and records of civic, political, economic, judicial, etc. transactions. This information would then need to be scaled according to degree of autonomy manifested by a system in maintaining its own basic functions, incidence, scope and intensity of sanctions attached to compliance with system standards, etc. Data scaling at these levels would obviously prove to be a complex and arduous task. Nevertheless, analogous efforts have evidently been successfully carried out elsewhere (see footnote 9, Chapter II).

The MDT. I have two specific suggestions for improving the MDT. The first is that the Achievement items be replaced by additional Positive-Active type items. This would balance the MDT between Negative-Passive and Positive-Active emphases (e.g., eight items

for each dimension per test form), as well as eliminate a dimension of dubious moral import. The new Positive-Active items should be pre-tested, in combination with the items that I created for the present study, to determine their dimensional validity and reliability.

The second suggestion is that the MDT assumption concerning preferred adult standards for specific MDT items be verified empirically. This could be done by post-test interviews with, or mailed questionnaires to, parents of children subjects. If it is unreasonable to expect parents to evaluate all 48 of the MDT items, it is still possible to sample a representative number of MDT items for parents to respond to. Also, if it should prove feasible to deal with all the parents of subject children, useful information could still be obtained from a random sample of parents. One format that such a parent MDT questionnaire might assume is presented in Appendix II.

All of the above suggestions for improving weaknesses in the present study greatly multiply considerations of time, energy, expense and need for cooperation of desirable participants. It is also possible that, in order to accommodate some, if not all, of these additional complexities, sample sizes would need to be reduced. This, in turn, would increase the likelihood of producing unstable results. Thus, as is usually true of the research enterprise, some compromise must be struck between the improvements I have suggested and the resources available for implementing them.

Final Assessment

The general direction my study has taken may be viewed as a logical and needed extension of the program of research initiated by Bronfenbrenner, Devereux and others a decade ago. While there have been numerous replications of the original research problem, these have not greatly advanced understanding of the theoretical issues implied by the expanding body of comparative findings.

By focusing on the theoretical issue of group structure, I believe I have identified a general variable--system aperture-closure--that does promise advancement in our understanding of important conditions related to characteristic patterns of moral standards and moral decision-making processes in different groups. The findings of my own study are certainly not to be taken as a definitive assessment of the value of aperture-closure as a variable, particularly given the research weaknesses summarized above. Nevertheless, I think enough supportive evidence has been uncovered to justify optimism concerning the potential usefulness of this variable and to encourage new replications of procedures developed in the present study in order to further put to the test this optimism. Such efforts would, I believe, place the study of comparative moral behavior more firmly in a social matrix, which matrix has too often been ignored.

CHAPTER VII--FOOTNOTES

¹In this context, the self as source is presumably reflected under the Base condition. It is true that the Base condition may, in turn, involve aspects of compliant response demands; i.e., emanating from the authority of the experimenter, suspicion about what responses will be used for, projection of an ideal self, etc. Still, relative to the Adult and Peer conditions, Base may be considered to reflect a more autonomous individual state.

²System aperture-closure should also have implications for adult socialization, but such a consideration would exceed the intended scope of the present study.

³Compared to standards normally applied to construction of attitude scales, a reliability of .63 would not be considered high. But, in light of the much more general variables involved and the admitted imprecision of the scale items, an over-all reliability of .63 should be regarded as rather encouraging.

⁴Note, however, that moral conformity in the Catholic sample is more characteristic of middle class children than lower class children, which is the expected outcome.

⁵Even this index reflects only a mean social class rating for the entire school rather than individual social class ratings for each student who became a participant in the study.

⁶Although no specific details are provided, Bronfenbrenner *et al.* (1975) report just such a failure of this important assumption for parents of Israeli children.

⁷See Chapter IV for an account of why pre-testing was not carried out in the present study.

⁸This sampling limitation can be partly corrected through cumulative replication of findings, i.e., repeated verification of results obtained from separate non-probability samples eventually begin to produce confidence in the generalizability of these results.

⁹Age itself, in the context of the MDT format and procedures, should systematically be introduced as an additional variable; i.e., comparisons should be made between a series of controlled age groupings to see what age variations in moral conformity occur in different groups.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

- A. FORMS X, Y, AND Z OF THE MORAL DILEMMAS
TEST (MDT)**
- B. INSTRUCTIONS FOR ADMINISTRATION OF THE
MDT**
- C. BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CONSTRUCTION
OF THE INDEX OF SYSTEM ENGAGEMENT (ISE)**

The Halloween Prank

You are out with some friends on Halloween night. They suggest soaping some windows. What would you really do in this situation?

1. Would you tell your friends not to do it, or let each one do what he wants?

TELL THEM THEY		:	LET EACH ONE DO	
SHOULDN'T DO IT		:	WHAT HE WANTS	
		:		
		:		
absolutely	fairly	I guess	I guess	fairly
certain	certain	so	so	certain

2. Suppose your friends decided to soap a few windows. What would you really do?

GO ALONG WITH MY FRIENDS			:	REFUSE TO GO ALONG WITH MY FRIENDS		
:_____:	:_____:	:_____:	:	:_____:	:_____:	:_____:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	::	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	::	so	certain	certain

3. As you are walking home alone, a lady comes out of the house. Looking at the soap marks on the big windows of her house, she asks you if you had anything to do with it. After you answer, she then asks you for the names of the kids who were involved. What would you really do?

NOT			:	..		
TELL HER THEIR NAMES			:	TELL HER THEIR NAMES		
			:			
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	:	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	:	so	certain	certain
			:			

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4. One day one of your friends whom everybody likes came to school with his sweater on backwards. This caught on, and soon all your friends are wearing sweaters the same way. They want you to do it too. Your parents don't say you can't do it, but you can see they'd like it better if you didn't wear your sweater backwards. What would you really do in this situation?

STOP WEARING THE SWEATER LIKE MY FRIENDS DO				DRESS LIKE MY FRIENDS DO		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :		: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so		I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain

The Class Project

5. Each kid in your class had to choose one of several projects to work on with a few other kids. When the choices were announced, it turned out that most of your friends had picked another project that you were not so interested in, and none had picked the one you had chosen. Your friends want you to switch over to their project. The teacher said you can change your choice if you want to. What would you really do?

NOT CHANGE TO WORK WITH MY FRIENDS				CHANGE TO WORK WITH MY FRIENDS		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :		: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so		I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

6. You and the kids you go around with have just started a game of cards with a friend who has been sick when someone remembers that it is the last day of the fair. None of you has had a chance to see it and it's supposed to be very good. If you all leave right away there would still be time to get there. The sick friend wouldn't be able to go, but the rest of your friends all seem to be going. They want you to go with them. What would you really do?

REFUSE TO GO WITH MY FRIENDS				GO ALONG WITH MY FRIENDS		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :		: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so		I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain

The Popular Friend

7. There's a new kid who's been going around with you and your friends. This kid is a lot of fun, and everybody likes him. But after your friends were over at the house the other day, you realized your parents didn't like your new friend too much. They didn't say anything about it, but you can see they'd like it better if you didn't see too much of this kid in the future. What would you really do?

KEEP ON GOING AROUND WITH THIS FRIEND				STOP SEEING THIS FRIEND		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :		: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so		I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain

The Fruit Tree

You and some friends are out walking on an abandoned road when you notice a tree in the field all laden with ripe fruit. There is a weather-beaten sign saying "No Trespassing", but no fence. The kids suggest that you all go over and eat some fruit. It's a kind that you like very much. What would you really do?

8. Would you tell them they shouldn't do it or let each one do what he wants?

LET EACH ONE DO WHAT HE WANTS			::	TELL THEM THEY SHOULDN'T DO IT		
			::			
			::			
			::			
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	::	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	::	so	certain	certain
			::			

9. Suppose all your friends went ahead to eat the fruit. Would you do it too, or would you refuse to go along with your friends?

REFUSE TO GO ALONG WITH MY FRIENDS			::	GO ALONG WITH THE REST OF MY FRIENDS		
			::			
			::			
			::			
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	::	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	::	so	certain	certain
			::			

10. Later, as you are walking along your shoelace breaks and you stay back to fix it. The rest of the kids don't notice and keep on going around a turn so that you can't see them anymore. Just then a man comes up behind you. He asks if you were one of the kids who had gone on his land and had eaten some of his fruit. After you answer him, he asks for the names of the kids who have gone down the road. What would you really do?

NOT TELL HIM THEIR NAMES			::	TELL HIM THEIR NAMES		
			::			
			::			
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	::	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	::	so	certain	certain
			::			

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

11. You have a chance to go to camp this summer. There are two possibilities. One camp has special classes in things you are especially interested in, but some of your friends are going to another camp. Your friends want you to come with them. What would you really do?

GO TO THE CAMP WITH MY FRIENDS			GO TO THE CAMP WITH SPECIAL CLASSES		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely	fairly	I guess	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	so	certain	certain

The Foreign Kid

12. A new family has moved into your neighborhood. They are from a foreign country and have one child who is in your class at school. This kid understands your language but doesn't say very much. In a few days it'll be Halloween and you plan to go trick or treating with other kids in the neighborhood. Someone asks if you should take this foreign kid along, but most of your friends are against it. They say: "He doesn't know what it's all about yet; we'll take him later when he speaks our language better." What would you really do in this situation?

REFUSE TO GO ALONG WITH MY FRIENDS UNLESS THIS KID WAS INCLUDED			GO ALONG WITH THE REST OF MY FRIENDS		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely	fairly	I guess	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	so	certain	certain

The Old Lady's Groceries

13. You and your friends are waiting for the bus that will take you to a place for a picnic. Suddenly you remember that today is the day you are supposed to help the old lady down the street carry her groceries home from the store. You know that if you go back to help her, you will miss the bus. You think the old lady already has most everything she really needs at home. What would you really do?

CATCH THE BUS AND
HELP THE OLD LADY
SOME OTHER DAY

: _____ : _____ : _____ :
absolutely fairly I guess
certain certain so

GO BACK TO HELP
THE OLD LADY

: _____ : _____ : _____ :
I guess fairly absolutely
so certain certain

The Ice-Cream Shop

14. You have just earned some money when some of your friends drop by and suggest going to the ice-cream shop. All of you decide you want to try the new super sundae. But it turns out that a younger brother of one of your friends does not have enough money for the sundae. You suggest that everyone could help out with the cost, but some of your friends say no and make teasing remarks, like "Oh, kiddies can only handle ice-cream cones anyway." What would you really do?

PAY FOR THE EXTRA
SUNDAE YOURSELF

: _____ : _____ : _____ :
absolutely fairly I guess
certain certain so

NOT SAY ANYTHING MORE

: _____ : _____ : _____ :
I guess fairly absolutely
so certain certain

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

The Contest

15. A contest is being held. The group of kids you run around with has nominated one of your friends. Another group of kids you don't like very well has nominated someone else. Your friend cheats a little bit in the contest, but your group is all going to vote for him anyway, because they don't want the other kid to win. What would you really do?

VOTE FOR THE OTHER KID			VOTE FOR YOUR FRIEND		
:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	so	certain	certain

The Mistake

16. One of the kids in your group is sometimes kind of loud and bossy, but is also fun and popular. Once, when the group is playing a game, the popular kid gets mad and starts bawling out another member of the group for making a mistake. You don't think the mistake was the other person's fault, but no one else says anything. What would you really do in this situation?

NOT SAY ANYTHING			SAY IT WASN'T THE OTHER PERSON'S FAULT		
:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	so	certain	certain

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

The Babysitter

17. You are playing a game with a bunch of kids in the neighborhood. One of the kids says, "I guess I won't be able to play with you because I have to stay home to watch my little brother this afternoon." You could go on playing with your friends or stay with this kid while he watches his little brother. What would you really do?

NOT LEAVE MY FRIENDS			STAY WITH THE KID		
:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	so	certain	certain

The Old Sneakers

18. The kids that you go around with all like to wear old sneakers wherever they go. Your parents don't forbid you to wear sneakers, but it's obvious they'd like it better if you didn't. Your friends want you to keep on wearing them. What would you really do?

WEAR SNEAKERS LIKE MY FRIENDS DO			STOP WEARING SNEAKERS LIKE MY FRIENDS DO		
:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	so	certain	certain

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

The TV Program

19. Tonight there are two TV programs showing at the same time. One of these is a program about your favorite hobby. The other is a comedy show that your friends like very much. You think it's o.k. but you don't learn anything from it. Your friends are all getting together to see the comedy show tonight, and they want you to come too. But if you do, you'll miss the program about your hobby. What would you really do?

SEE THE PROGRAM ABOUT
MY HOBBY

SEE THE PROGRAM WITH
MY FRIENDS

: _____ :
absolutely fairly I guess
certain certain so

: _____ :
I guess fairly absolutely
so certain certain

The Class Picnic

20. Your class had some money left over at the end of the year and the teacher said you could use it to have a class picnic next Saturday. One kid whom nobody likes was absent that day and didn't hear about the picnic. The other kids suggest not saying anything about it, so that this kid wouldn't be there. What would you really do in this situation?

GO ALONG WITH
THE REST OF THE KIDS

REFUSE TO GO UNLESS
THIS KID IS INCLUDED

: _____ :
absolutely fairly I guess
certain certain so

: _____ :
I guess fairly absolutely
so certain certain

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

There's a teacher in the school that nobody likes. Some of the kids you go around with suggest playing a trick on this teacher by hiding a very real-looking rubber snake in her desk drawer. They want you to help by watching in the hall and giving a warning if anybody comes. What would you really do?

21. Would you tell your friends they shouldn't do it, or let each one do what he wants?

LET EACH ONE DO WHAT HE WANTS			:	:	TELL MY FRIENDS THEY SHOULDN'T DO IT		
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so	:	:	I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:

22. Suppose the kids decided to go ahead. Would you help your friends by watching in the hall as they asked you to?

REFUSE TO HELP MY FRIENDS			:	:	WOULD HELP MY FRIENDS		
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so	:	:	I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:

23. The next day the teacher asks you in private if you had anything to do with putting the snake in the drawer. After you answer, the teacher asks you for the names of the other kids involved. What would you really do?

GIVE HER THE NAMES			:	:	NOT GIVE HER THE NAMES		
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so	:	:	I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

24. The kids you go around with have a special way of talking that you like very much, but your parents don't really like it. They haven't forbidden you to talk that way, but it's obvious they'd like it better if you didn't do it.
- Your friends don't see anything wrong with it and think it's a lot of fun.
- What would you really do?

TALK LIKE MY FRIENDS DO				STOP TALKING LIKE MY FRIENDS DO		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :		: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so		I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain

The Personal Project

25. You are making or building something. Just as you get working on it, some of the other kids come by and ask you to do something with them.
- What would you really do?

STICK WITH THE PROJECT				DO WHAT MY FRIENDS WANT TO DO		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :		: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so		I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

The Broken Window

26. You and your friends are playing ball in a vacant lot next to a big building when one of the windows gets broken. The kids don't want to tell anyone about it so that they won't get into trouble. What would you really do?

TRY TO TALK THE OTHERS INTO REPORTING IT			::	LET EACH ONE DO WHAT HE WANTS		
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	:	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	:	so	certain	certain
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:

27. Now suppose all your friends start to go and want you to come with them. What would you really do?

GO WITH THEM			::	REFUSE TO GO WITH THEM		
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	:	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	:	so	certain	certain
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:

28. The next day the school principal calls you into his office. After asking about your part in it, he asks you for the names of the kids who were involved. What would you really do?

TELL HIM THE NAMES			::	NOT TELL HIM THE NAMES		
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	:	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	:	so	certain	certain
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

29. You are playing with some friends. Suddenly you hear a crash in the next yard followed by crying of someone who sounds about your age. You start to go over to see what the matter is. But some of your friends say they have been warned by their parents not to get mixed up with this new family that lives next door, because their kids are too rough. What would you really do?

STAY WITH YOUR FRIENDS				GO SEE WHAT WAS THE MATTER		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :		: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so		I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain

The Rules of the Game

30. The group of kids you go around with has made up a new game that is a lot of fun. But if a player in the game breaks certain rules he is out of the game. A new kid joins you as you are playing and pretty soon breaks one of the rules. He asks for another chance to stay in the game, but your friends all say that he has to play by the rules. What would you really do in this situation?

STICK TO THE RULES				TELL YOUR FRIENDS THE NEW KID SHOULD GET ANOTHER CHANCE		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :		: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so		I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain

PLEASE DO NOT TURN PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

31. You have agree to substitute as a babysitter for a friend so that the friend can go to a party. But then some other friends call and ask you to go to a show with them. They argue that you shouldn't have to miss a good time just so your friend can be out having fun. What would you really do?

GO SUBSTITUTE FOR YOUR FRIEND			CALL UP YOUR FRIEND TO SAY YOU CAN'T MAKE IT		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely	fairly	I guess	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	so	certain	certain

The Amusement Park

32. You and your friends are going to the amusement park. You have a bunch of free tickets that your father gave you. The plan is that you will all go on some of your favorite rides and then finish off the day in the fun-house. But just as you get ready to go, a new kid on the block comes along. This kid doesn't have any money or tickets. You could share your tickets with him, but if you do, the two of you will only have enough to get into the fun-house. So you would have to miss the rides all your other friends are going on. What would you really do?

TELL THE NEW KID YOU WILL TAKE HIM ALONG NEXT TIME			SHARE YOUR TICKETS WITH THE NEW KID		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely	fairly	I guess	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	so	certain	certain

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

The Nice Hat

33. You have found a hat that the kids you go around with think is real nice. Your parents haven't said you couldn't wear it, but you can see they would like it better if you stopped wearing it. Your friends want you to keep wearing the nice hat. What would you really do?

STOP WEARING IT			PLEASE MY FRIENDS		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely	fairly	I guess	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	so	certain	certain

The Queer Kid

34. While you are on vacation you are staying near a big playground. You've made friends with some of the kids and are having lots of fun. While playing you notice a queer-looking kid your own age standing around watching you. He seems to want to join in. When you ask the other kids about him they say, "he's no fun." What would you really do in this situation?

TELL MY FRIENDS I WON'T PLAY UNLESS THIS KID IS INCLUDED			GO ON PLAYING WITH THE REST OF MY FRIENDS		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely	fairly	I guess	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	so	certain	certain

The Half-Fare Ticket

You are going to the movies with a bunch of your friends. Prices are cheaper for children under twelve. Some of the kids are a little over twelve and some under. Somebody says: "Let's all say we're under twelve and get the cheaper tickets." What would you really do?

35. Would you tell all the kids they should give their real ages, or would you leave it up to each one to do what he wants?

LET EACH ONE DO WHAT HE WANTS			:: :: :: ::	TELL THEM TO GIVE THEIR REAL AGES		
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	:	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	:	so	certain	certain
			:			

36. Suppose all your friends decide to say they are under 12. You just had your twelfth birthday a couple of days ago. What would you really do?

GO ALONG WITH THE REST OF MY FRIENDS			:: :: :: ::	REFUSE TO GO ALONG WITH THE REST OF MY FRIENDS		
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	:	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	:	so	certain	certain
			:			

37. You are the last one to get your ticket. The rest of the kids have already gone in when the ticket taker stops you. He asks you whether you are over twelve. After you answer, he says: "Some of the rest of your crowd looked over twelve to me." He asks which of the kids who went in are over twelve. What would you really do?

TELL HIM WHICH ONES ARE OVER 12			:: :: :: ::	NOT TELL HIM		
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess	:	I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so	:	so	certain	certain
			:			

The Rainy Afternoon

38. It's a rainy afternoon and you have started reading a good book about a subject you are quite interested in. You are just in the middle of it when the phone rings. It's a bunch of your friends who have gotten together at somebody else's house. They're just sitting around talking and want you to come over. What would you really do?

GO JOIN MY FRIENDS				KEEP ON READING		
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess		I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so		so	certain	certain

The Movie

39. There's a movie playing downtown that all the kids think is real good. You and the rest of your friends are planning to see it. When you mention it to your parents, they're not very happy about your seeing this particular show. They haven't said you can't go, but it's obvious they'd like it better if you didn't. What would you really do?

TELL MY FRIENDS I'D BETTER NOT GO				GO TO THE MOVIE WITH MY FRIENDS		
:	:	:	:	:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess		I guess	fairly	absolutely
certain	certain	so		so	certain	certain

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

The Exciting Game

40. You are playing an exciting game with some of your friends when suddenly you remember that you still have a little homework to do. If you stop playing now you will have time to do an extra good job. If you keep on playing you'll just barely be able to finish it. But if you stop now, you'll be disappointing your friends because it will break up the game. What would you really do?

NOT BREAK UP THE GAME				BREAK UP THE GAME		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :		: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so		I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain

The New Kid

41. A new kid has recently joined your class. This kid is sort of sloppy, and some of the others tease him a bit. One day after school, as you are standing around with some of your friends, the new kid comes along. Someone says, "Here comes you know who - sloppy as ever." They start making remarks. What would you really do in this situation?

GO ALONG WITH MY FRIENDS				TELL MY FRIENDS I'LL LEAVE IF THEY DON'T STOP		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :		: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so		I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain

42. You and your friends accidentally find a sheet of paper which the teacher must have lost. On this sheet are the questions and answers for a quiz that you are going to have tomorrow. Some of the kids suggest that you not say anything to the teacher about it, so that all of you can get better marks. What would you really do?

TELL THEM THEY HAVE TO TELL THE TEACHER ABOUT IT	::	LET EACH ONE DECIDE FOR HIMSELF
:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess
certain	certain	so
:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess
certain	certain	so
:	:	:

43. Suppose your friends decide to go ahead. Would you go along with them, or refuse?

REFUSE TO GO ALONG WITH MY FRIENDS	::	GO ALONG WITH MY FRIENDS
:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess
certain	certain	so
:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess
certain	certain	so
:	:	:

44. The next morning the teacher speaks to you in private. She asks if you saw the lost sheet of paper. After you answer, she asks you to name the kids who saw the paper. What would you really do?

NOT TELL HER THE NAMES	::	TELL HER THE NAMES
:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess
certain	certain	so
:	:	:
absolutely	fairly	I guess
certain	certain	so
:	:	:

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

The Assignment

45. One of your classmates is having a very hard time completing an assignment that is due the next day. Since he sits next to you, he asks for some help, and you promise that you will spend some time explaining the assignment to him right after school is out. But at lunch time you find out that all of your friends are planning to go on a bike ride this afternoon. Naturally they all want you to come. What would you really do?

GO WITH YOUR FRIENDS				STAY AND HELP YOUR CLASSMATE		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :		: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so		I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain

The Trouble At School

46. One of the kids in your class has gotten in trouble with the teacher and has to stay after school. It happens that you and some of your friends were really the ones who had done the thing that the first kid was blamed for, but none of you were caught. Your friends decide not to say anything, and as soon as school is out they leave. What would you really do in this situation?

STAY TO TELL THE TEACHER YOU WERE REALLY THE ONE AT FAULT				GO HOME WITHOUT SAYING ANYTHING		
: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :		: _____ :	: _____ :	: _____ :
absolutely certain	fairly certain	I guess so		I guess so	fairly certain	absolutely certain

PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

The Snowy Day

47. You and some friends are walking down the sidewalk on a cold, wintery day when you happen upon an old lady struggling to pull her grocery wagon in the snow. The wagon wheels keep getting stuck and the grocery sacks keep falling over. This old lady is crabby to the kids in the neighborhood, and most of your friends are sort of scared of her. They all walk way around her and then keep going down the sidewalk. What would you really do in this situation?

STOP AND OFFER TO
HELP THE OLD LADY

: _____ : _____ : _____ :
absolutely fairly I guess
certain certain so

WALK AROUND
THE OLD LADY

: _____ : _____ : _____ :
I guess fairly absolutely
so certain certain

The Bicycle

48. You and your friends are starting on a bike ride when you see a kid blow out a tire on his bicycle as he is delivering newspapers. When you stop, you see that this newspaper boy is someone you know. He asks if he can borrow somebody's bike to finish his route, because he has a long way left to go. Some of your friends say no because they don't want to ruin their ride. What would you really do?

FINISH THE RIDE
WITH YOUR FRIENDS

: _____ : _____ : _____ :
absolutely fairly I guess
certain certain so

LEND THE BOY
YOUR BIKE

: _____ : _____ : _____ :
I guess fairly absolutely
so certain certain

SCRIPT AND DIRECTIONS FOR ADMINISTRATOR*

DILEMMA EXPERIMENT

INTRODUCTION

I am _____ from Michigan State University. I am helping to conduct a scientific study of young people in Michigan. I have come here _____ to include all of you in this study and I am going to ask you to help us find out how kids your age think and feel.

This is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. We just want to know how young people your age think and act. No one will see your answers except the scientists who are working on this project and the big computers that are figuring out the results for us.

Before we begin, here are some important things to remember:

- (1) Stay with the class. Don't rush ahead.
- (2) Answer for yourself. We want to know what's true for you, not for somebody else.
- (3) Don't look around.. Even if you don't intend to, you might see someone else's answer and be influenced by it.

*Throughout, parts to be read aloud are typed in lower case. Directions for administrator are capitalized and placed in parentheses.

(4) If at any time you don't understand what to do, or if we are going too fast, raise your hand and someone will come to you. Ask your questions quietly, so as not to bother the others.

(5) Sometimes a page may be missing. If you can't find what we're talking about, be sure to raise your hand, and we'll give you the missing page.

(THE DILEMMA EXPERIMENT BEGINS HERE . . .)

Now, the questions you are going to answer are all concerned with different situations when you get into a spot, and it's hard to make up your mind, but you still have to decide. We want to find out what kids do in cases like this when they have to make some tough choices.

Before we begin to answer these questions, let's do a simple example together for practice. (READ THE EXAMPLE FOR PRACTICE, DEMONSTRATING THE RESPONSES ON THE SCALE ON THE BLACKBOARD.)

(AN EXAMPLE FOR PRACTICE)

THE LATE TV SHOW

It's Saturday evening, your parents are out and you don't expect them to come home before one o'clock in the morning. They told you that you could watch television until eleven o'clock and then you should go to bed. But at eleven o'clock you have just gotten really interested in a

movie they are showing, which will run until midnight. What would you really do?

On the questionnaire, under each little story, you will see a line with six spaces marked off on it and divided in the middle. On the left side it says, "GO TO BED RIGHT AWAY," and on the right side "STAY UP AND WATCH THE LATE SHOW."

You can think of this line as a kind of see-saw, with a balance point in the middle. You have to decide which side of this see-saw you would be on, and how far out from the middle.

If it's hard to make up your mind, but you guess you would probably end up watching the late show, where would you make your "X"?

(GO TO EXAMPLE ON BLACKBOARD.)

(WAIT FOR CORRECT ANSWER FROM CHILDREN.)

Yes. If you guess you would probably stay up, make an "X" or a check mark above "I guess so," to the right of the middle line.

(MAKE X IN APPROPRIATE PLACE.)

The same rule would apply for the other side. For example, if you are fairly certain you would go to bed right away but not absolutely sure, where would you make your "X"?

(WAIT FOR A CHILD'S RESPONSE.)

Yes, then you would make your mark over "fairly certain," to the left of the balance point.

(MAKE X IN APPROPRIATE PLACE.)

And if you were absolutely sure that you would stay up and watch the late show, where would you make your "X"?

(WAIT FOR A CHILD'S RESPONSE.)

That's right; way over here, over "absolutely certain" on the side that says "STAY UP AND WATCH THE LATE SHOW."

(MAKE X IN APPROPRIATE PLACE.)

Remember, first you decide which side of the see-saw you're on and then the surer you are about what you would really do, the farther out on the see-saw you should make your mark.

Now we will read some more of these, and each person will put down his or her own answers.

If you have any questions, raise your hand.

So, turn two pages (that is, skip the page with just a line drawn on it), and I will read the next situation. We shall all keep together. If you get behind in marking what you would really do, raise your hand. Don't look at what the other kids are marking on theirs. Just answer what is true for you.

(READ THE DILEMMA ITEMS ALOUD, ONE BY ONE.)

Now, turn your booklet over so you're looking at the first page. There's a blank line on the bottom of this page. Now, please write clearly your first and last name on this line on the front page of your questionnaire.

Please raise your hand when you have finished.

(COLLECT THE QUESTIONNAIRES, CHECKING FOR NAMES ON THE FRONT PAGE.)

(THEN DISTRIBUTE APPROPRIATE FORM OF DILEMMA QUESTIONS FOR THE SECOND CONDITION, PEER OR ADULT, DEPENDING ON THE DESIGN AND THE CLASSROOM. DISTRIBUTE FACE DOWN.)

ADULT CONDITION AS SECOND CONDITION

(HAVE CHART READY)

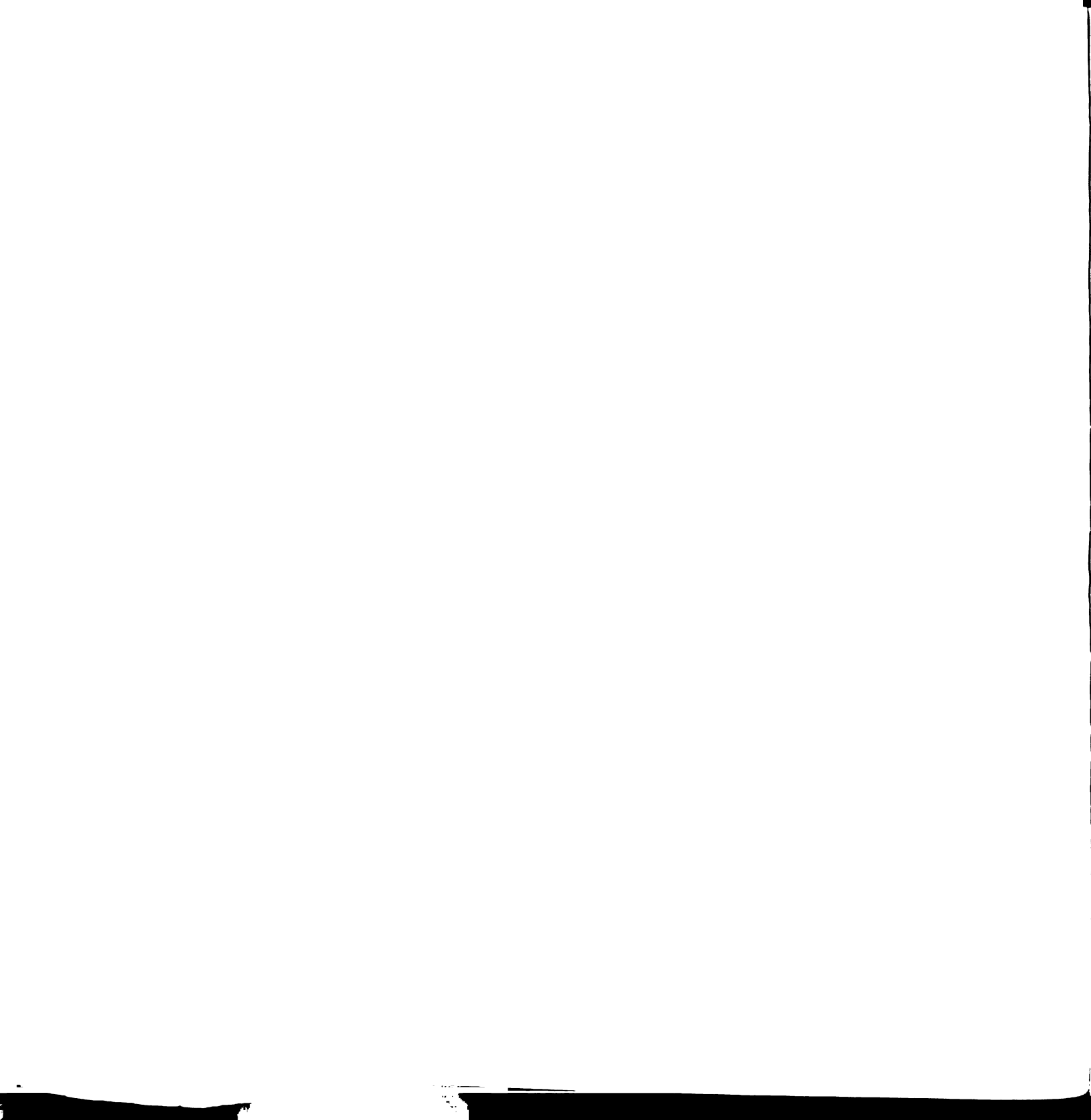
Now, when we asked your parents and teachers if we could do this, a lot of them were very interested. As a result there's going to be a special meeting for parents next week. They wanted to know how you kids would answer questions like these. So, on the next batch of questions, we're going to give your parents a chance to see the answers.

Since it wouldn't be fair to use the answers you already gave, because we told you your parents wouldn't see them, we're going to give you a chance to answer some different questions. Then, after you answer this next batch of questions, we'll put your answers up on a chart like this, but this time your parents will be able to look at it. Nobody else will be at the meeting.

(HOLD UP CHART)

Here will be the names of everyone in the class, (POINT) and here your parents will be able to see how you answered each question (POINT) . . . what you said you would really do each time. If your parents can't come to the meeting, we'll send them a copy of your answers.

O.K. Now turn over the new questionnaire on your desk and write your name on the line. Be sure to write clearly, so we can copy it off on the chart that your parents will see.



Everybody ready? Now let's turn to the next page.
 (READ FIRST DILEMMA PAGE. BEFORE READING SCALE LABELS, SAY
 . . .)

Think carefully what you would really do. Remember
 your parents will be seeing your answers.

(CONTINUE READING 2ND AND 3RD DILEMMA PAGES. AT THE END
 OF 3RD PAGE, REPEAT . . .)

Think carefully what you would really do. Remember
 your parents will be seeing your answers.

(CONTINUE READING 4TH, 5TH and 6TH DILEMMA PAGES. AT THE
 END OF 6TH PAGE, REPEAT . . .)

Think carefully what you would really do. Remember
 your parents will be seeing your answers.

(FINISH READING DILEMMA PAGES, WHEN YOU REACH FINAL PAGE
 OF QUESTIONS [WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN ANSWERED AT END OF
 BASE CONDITION], SAY . . .)

This last page with a lot of writing on it, we will
 leave out. We've already answered all this.

(COLLECT PAPERS AT END OF ADULT CONDITION, CHECKING FOR
 NAMES ON FIRST PAGE.)

(DISTRIBUTE APPROPRIATE FORM OF DILEMMA QUESTIONS FOR THE
 THIRD QUESTION--IN THIS CASE, THE PEER CONDITION--FACE
 DOWN.)

PEER CONDITION AS THIRD CONDITION

Would you be interested in knowing how kids in this class answer questions like these? O.K. I'll tell you what we'll do on the next batch of questions--we'll show you the answers each of you gave. Since it wouldn't be fair to use the answers you already gave, because we told you they weren't going to be seen by the other kids in the class, we're going to give you a chance to answer some different questions. After you answer them, we'll put the answers up on a chart again, but this time you'll be able to look at the chart yourselves.

(HOLD UP CHART)

Here will be the names of everyone in the class, (POINT) and here you'll be able to see how everyone answered each question. (POINT) We'll bring the chart in in a couple of days and hang it up on the wall. We'll ask your teacher to leave so she (or he) won't see it. And of course your parents won't be seeing these answers. But each of you will be able to see what everybody else said, and of course, everyone in the class will see what you said.

O.K. Turn over the new questionnaire and write your name on the line. Be sure to write clearly so we can spell it right on the chart that the other kids in the class will see. Everybody ready? Let's turn to the next page.

(READ FIRST DILEMMA PAGE. BEFORE READING SCALE LABELS, SAY . . .)

Think carefully what you would really do. Remember we're going to put your answers on the chart so everybody in the class can see them.

(CONTINUE READING 2ND AND 3RD DILEMMA PAGES. AT THE END IF THIRD PAGE, REPEAT . . .)

Think carefully what you would really do. Remember we're going to put your answers on the chart so everybody in the class can see them.

(CONTINUE READING 4TH, 5TH AND 6TH DILEMMA PAGES. AT THE END OF 6TH PAGE, REPEAT . . .)

Think carefully what you would really do. Remember we're going to put your answers on the chart so everybody in the class can see them.

(FINISH READING DILEMMA PAGES. WHEN YOU REACH FINAL PAGE OF QUESTIONS [WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN ANSWERED AT END OF BASE CONDITION], SAY . . .)

This last page with a lot of writing on it, we will leave out again. We've already answered all this.

(COLLECT PAPERS AT END OF PEER CONDITION, CHECKING FOR NAMES ON FIRST PAGE. THEN PROCEED EITHER WITH FINAL EXPLANATION OR OTHER QUESTIONNAIRE MATERIALS.)

PEER CONDITION AS SECOND CONDITION

(HAVE CHART READY)

Would you be interested in knowing how kids in this class answer questions like these? O.K., I'll tell you what we'll do on the next batch of questions--we'll show you the answers each of you gave. Since it wouldn't be fair to use the answers you already gave, because we told you they weren't going to be seen by the other kids in your class, we're going to give you a chance to answer some different questions. After you answer them, we'll put your answers up on a chart like this.

(HOLD UP CHART)

Here will be the names of everyone in the class, (POINT) and here you'll be able to see how everybody else answered every question. (POINT) We'll bring the chart in in a couple of days and hang it up on the wall. We'll ask the teacher to leave so she won't see it, but each of you can see what everybody else in the class said he would really do each time, and, of course, everyone else in the class will be able to see what you said.

O.K. Turn over the new questionnaire on your desk and write your name on the line. Be sure to write clearly, so we can spell it right on the chart that the other kids in the class will see. Everybody ready? Let's turn to the next page.

(READ FIRST DILEMMA PAGE. BEFORE READING SCALE LABELS, SAY . . .)

Think carefully what you would really do. Remember, we're going to put the answers on the chart so everybody in the class can see them.

(CONTINUE READING 2ND AND 3RD DILEMMA PAGES. AT END OF 3RD PAGE, REPEAT . . .)

Think carefully what you would really do. Remember, we're going to put the answers on the chart so everybody in the class can see them.

(CONTINUE READING 4TH, 5TH AND 6TH DILEMMA PAGES. AT END OF 6TH PAGE, REPEAT . . .)

Think carefully what you would really do. Remember, we're going to put the answers on the chart so everybody in the class can see them.

(FINISH READING DILEMMA PAGES. WHEN YOU REACH FINAL PAGE OF QUESTIONS [WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN ANSWERED AT END OF BASE CONDITION], SAY . . .)

This last page with a lot of writing on it, we will leave out. We've already answered all this.

(COLLECT PAPERS AT END OF PEER CONDITION, CHECKING FOR NAMES ON FIRST PAGE.)

(DISTRIBUTE APPROPRIATE FORM OF DILEMMA QUESTIONS FOR THE THIRD CONDITION--IN THIS CASE, THE ADULT CONDITION--FACE DOWN.)

ADULT CONDITION AS THIRD CONDITION

By the way, when we told your parents that we were going to do this they were very interested. Now there's going to be a special meeting for parents next week. They wanted to know how kids would answer these questions. We thought it would be interesting if we could show them how you kids answer questions like these. So on the next batch of questions, we're going to give your parents a chance to see the answers.

Since it wouldn't be fair to use the answers you already gave, because we told you your parents wouldn't see them, we're going to give you a chance to answer some different questions. Again we'll put your answers on a chart like this, but this time your parents will be able to look at it. Nobody else will be at the meeting.

(HOLD UP CHART)

Here will be the names of everyone in the class, (POINT) and here your parents will be able to see how you answered every question (POINT) . . . What you said you would really do each time. If your parents can't come to the meeting, we'll send them a copy of your answers.

O.K. Turn over the questionnaire and write your name on the line. Be sure to write clearly so we can copy it off on the chart that your parents will see. Everybody ready? Let's turn to the next page.

(READ FIRST DILEMMA PAGE. BEFORE READING SCALE LABELS, SAY . . .)

Think carefully what you would really do. Remember your parents will be seeing your answers.

(CONTINUE READING 2ND AND 3RD DILEMMA PAGES. AT THE END OF THIRD PAGE, REPEAT . . .)

Think carefully what you would really do. Remember your parents will be seeing your answers.

(CONTINUE READING 4TH, 5TH AND 6TH DILEMMA PAGES, AT THE END OF 6TH PAGE, REPEAT . . .)

Think carefully what you would really do. Remember your parents will be seeing your answers.

(FINISH READING DILEMMA PAGES. WHEN YOU REACH FINAL PAGE OF QUESTIONS [WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN ANSWERED AT END OF BASE CONDITION], SAY . . .)

This last page with a lot of writing on it, we will leave out. We've already answered all this.

(COLLECT PAPERS AT END OF ADULT CONDITION, CHECKING FOR NAMES ON FIRST PAGE. THEN PROCEED WITH FINAL EXPLANATION.)

FINAL EXPLANATION

Thank you very much. You have worked very hard and helped us a lot. Incidentally, what do you think we were trying to find out with all these questions?

(LET 1-2 CHILDREN ANSWER, THEN CONTINUE . . .)

Why do you suppose we asked you to answer three different sets of questions in the beginning?

(LET 1-2 CHILDREN ANSWER, THEN CONTINUE . . .)

Well, I'll tell you. First of all, you should know that nobody is going to see the answers you gave. We are not going to show any answers to your parents, or your teachers, or this class, or anybody else except scientists.

And why did we do all this?

We want to know whether young people stick to their opinions or change them when they realize somebody else is going to know about it. So we tell them that other people will see the answers to see if the young people will change their answers or stick to what they thought in the first place. Do you understand? Are there any questions?

(GIVE OPPORTUNITY FOR 1-2 QUESTIONS.)

O.K. Thanks again for all your help. Good bye and good luck!

Please print the information that is asked for by the following questions:

1. Your name _____
2. Your School _____
3. Your teacher's name _____
4. Your age now is _____ years and _____ months

For the next set of questions, please put a check or X in the little blank space next to the answers you choose.

5. You are a Boy _____ or a Girl _____ (check one)
6. Is your father a member of the Catholic Church? YES _____ NO _____ (check one)

If you answered NO to this question, ignore questions a, b, and c, and skip down to question 7. If you answered YES, then you may answer questions a, b, and c.

- a. Was your father born into the Church as a member? YES _____ NO _____ (check one)
- b. If your father was converted into the Church, how long has he been a member? (Leave blank if father not a convert and go to c)
 - (1) One year or less _____
 - (2) Between one and five years _____
 - (3) Between five and ten years _____
 - (4) More than ten years _____
- c. How often does your father attend Mass? (check one)
 - (1) Does not attend _____
 - (2) A few times a year _____
 - (3) At least once a month _____
 - (4) At least once a week _____
 - (5) More than once a week _____

7. Is your mother a member of the Catholic Church? YES____ NO____ (check one)

If you answered NO to this question, ignore questions a, b, and c, and skip down to question 8. If you answered YES, then you may answer questions a, b, and c.

a. Was your mother born into the Church as a member? YES____ NO____ (check one)

b. If your mother was converted into the Church, how long has she been a member? (Leave blank if mother not a convert and go to c)

(1) One year or less____

(2) Between one and five years____

(3) Between five and ten years____

(4) More than ten years____

c. How often does your mother attend Mass? (check one)

(1) Does not attend____

(2) A few times a year____

(3) At least once a month____

(4) At least once a week____

(5) More than once a week____

8. Of all your friends, how many would you say are Catholic? (check one)

a. None____

b. Only a few____

c. Half and Half____

d. Quite a few____

e. All or most____

9. Of just your close friends, how many would you say are Catholic? (check one)

a. None____

b. Only a few____

c. Half and Half____

d. Quite a few____

15. Try to guess how many Catholic families live in your neighborhood (check one)

- a. None _____
- b. A few _____
- c. Quite a few _____
- d. Most _____

16. How much does your family have anything to do with other families in your neighborhood? (check one)

- a. Nothing or very little _____
- b. Some _____
- c. Quite a bit _____
- d. A great deal _____

Please write in the numbers for the next set of questions:

17. a. How many brothers do you have? _____ (if none, leave blank and go to 18)

b. If you have one or more brothers, what are their ages? _____
 _____ (write in the age of each brother)

c. In this next space, write down the number of brothers who are 12 years old or older
 _____ (write in the number)

d. Now, of the brothers who are 12 or older, how many usually attend Mass?
 _____ (write in the number)

18. a. How many sisters do you have? _____ (if none, leave blank and go to 19)

b. If you have one or more sisters, what are their ages? _____
 _____ (write in the age of each sister)

c. In this next space, write down the number of sisters who are 12 years old or older
 _____ (write in the number)

d. Now, of the sisters who are 12 or older, how many usually attend Mass?
 _____ (write in the number)

10. Now, think of just your three best friends: How many of them are Catholic?
(check one)
- a. None _____
 - b. One _____
 - c. Two _____
 - d. All three _____
11. How many relatives from your father's family would you say are Catholic?
(check one)
- a. None _____
 - b. A few _____
 - c. Most _____
 - d. All _____
12. How "close" do you think your father's relatives are to your own family?
(For instance, think how well your family gets along with these relatives
and how often you visit with each other) (check one)
- a. Not very close _____
 - b. Somewhat close _____
 - c. Quite close _____
 - d. Extremely close _____
13. How many relatives from your mother's family would you say are Catholic?
(check one)
- a. None _____
 - b. A few _____
 - c. Most _____
 - d. All _____
14. How "close" do you think your mother's relatives are to your own family?
(check one)
- a. Not very close _____
 - b. Somewhat close _____
 - c. Quite close _____
 - d. Extremely close _____

19. Place an X or check by each of the following Church activities that you usually attend or participate in (check as many as are appropriate; if you don't usually attend or participate in the activity, leave it blank).
- a. Choir _____
 - b. Clubs (like Children of Mary) _____
 - c. C. Y. O. (Catholic Youth Organization) _____
 - d. Lent _____
 - e. Altar boy (boys only) _____
20. How often do you go to confession? (go back to checking only one)
- a. Never _____
 - b. A few times a year _____
 - c. About once a month _____
 - d. Every week or almost every week _____
 - e. More than once a week _____
21. When you get into trouble at home, how are you most often disciplined? (check one)
- a. Spanking or slapping _____
 - b. Bawling out _____
 - c. Privileges taken away _____
 - d. Talk over, with your parents, what you have done wrong _____
22. When you get into trouble at home, which one of your parents winds up disciplining you the most often? (check one)
- a. Mother _____
 - b. Father _____
 - c. Both (neither disciplines more often than the other) _____

MODIFICATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MORMON CHILDREN

Questionnaire items were modified appropriately for Mormon children. In addition to substituting "Mormon" for "Catholic" throughout the questionnaire, specific other changes were also necessary. These changes are indicated below (following the appropriate item number).

6c. How often does your father attend church meetings?

7c. How often does your mother attend church meetings?

19. a. Sunday School _____
b. Sacrament _____
c. MIA _____
d. Seminary _____
e. Priesthood _____

20. How often does your family have Family Home Evening?

APPENDIX II

SUGGESTED SUPPLEMENTARY MEASURES

- A. PEER GROUP CLOSURE SCALE**
- B. PARENTAL MDT EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE**

SUGGESTED SUPPLEMENTARY MEASURES

(AFTER CHILDREN HAVE COMPLETED THE MDT, BUT BEFORE THE FINAL EXPLANATION HAS BEEN GIVEN, CONTINUE . . .)

Next , we're going to ask some questions about the kids you go around with. That is, the kids you spend time with after school, the ones you do things with and like to be with. This would include friends you might have in this class, in other classes and in your neighborhood.

Just so you will have them in mind, jot down on the spare piece of paper you've been given, the first names of kids you most like to go around with. Let's take a minute to do that. We won't ask you for the sheet of scratch paper. Later you can throw it away.

(WAIT FOR A FEW MINUTES WHILE CHILDREN THINK OF THE NAMES OF THEIR FRIENDS)

Now turn to the second page of your booklet. The first question reads: "How many kids do you go around with?" Write down the number of names on your list.

Look at the next question: "How many of the kids you go around with are in this class?" Look at your list and see how many of the kids you go around with are in this class. Write that number down.

Everyone finished? Good. Now we will go on to the next set of questions. Let us read the instructions together.

(READ ALOUD INSTRUCTIONS AT BEGINNING OF QUESTIONS CONCERNING "The Kids I Go Around With." THEN BEGIN READING ITEMS ALOUD, ONE BY ONE.)

(WHEN ALL 16 ITEMS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED, SAY . . .)

Now check over all the questions and see that you haven't left any out. There should be one check mark for each question.

(WHEN ALL CHILDREN ARE READY, COLLECT PAPERS AND PROCEED WITH ADDITIONAL QUESTIONNAIRES AND/OR FINAL EXPLANATION.)

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1. How many kids do you go around with? _____
 2. How many of the kids you go around with are in this class? _____
 3. Now, just think of the kids you go around with who are NOT in this class. How many of these kids attend this school? _____

The Kids I Go Around With

Here are some descriptions of the kinds of things kids your age do. Read each statement below and make a check mark above the answer which best describes the kids you go around with as they have acted during the past year. Be sure to answer every statement. Please do not leave out any.

1. I can count on them to help me out, if I have some kind of problem.

()	()	()	()	()
NEVER	HARDLY EVER	SOMETIMES	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

2. They say they will hit me or smack me, if I do something they don't like.

()	()	()	()	()
VERY OFTEN	FAIRLY OFTEN	SOMETIMES	HARDLY EVER	NEVER

3. They keep pushing me to do my best in whatever I do.

()	()	()	()	()
NEVER	HARDLY EVER	SOMETIMES	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

4. They let me off easy when I do something they don't like.

()	()	()	()	()
VERY OFTEN	FAIRLY OFTEN	SOMETIMES	HARDLY EVER	NEVER

5. They help me with my school work, if there is something I don't understand.

()	()	()	()	()
NEVER	HARDLY EVER	SOMETIMES	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

6. They agree about the things we should do and the things we shouldn't do.

()	()	()	()	()
VERY OFTEN	FAIRLY OFTEN	SOMETIMES	HARDLY EVER	NEVER

7. They won't let me do things with them when I do something they don't like.

() () () () ()
VERY OFTEN FAIRLY OFTEN SOMETIMES HARDLY EVER NEVER

8. I know what they expect of me and how they want me to act.

() () () () ()
NEVER HARDLY EVER SOMETIMES FAIRLY OFTEN VERY OFTEN

9. When they want me to do something, they explain why.

() () () () ()
VERY OFTEN FAIRLY OFTEN SOMETIMES HARDLY EVER NEVER

10. They let me make my own plans for things I want to do.

() () () () ()
NEVER HARDLY EVER SOMETIMES FAIRLY OFTEN VERY OFTEN

11. They act cold and unfriendly if I do something they don't like.

() () () () ()
VERY OFTEN FAIRLY OFTEN SOMETIMES HARDLY EVER NEVER

12. They are very strict toward me if I don't do what is expected of me.

() () () () ()
NEVER HARDLY EVER SOMETIMES FAIRLY OFTEN VERY OFTEN

13. When I do something they don't like, they act toward me as though it were none of their business.

() () () () ()
VERY OFTEN FAIRLY OFTEN SOMETIMES HARDLY EVER NEVER

A few months ago, young people from your _____ were participants in a large-scale study of every-day values. Information obtained at that time is still being analyzed on an anonymous basis. Meanwhile, the worth of this information would be much increased if we can also obtain adult ratings of the same value situations that were used in the original survey. If you are willing to take the few minutes necessary to make an important contribution to this study, then please read through the accompanying "Moral Dilemmas." Do not mark your own answer under any of these stories. Instead, after you have finished reading, turn back to this page and evaluate these dilemmas according to the instructions given directly below.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR EVALUATING THE MORAL DILEMMAS: PHASE 1

Be sure you have read all of the "Moral Dilemmas." After you have done this, we would like to obtain your judgement as to how important you think each of the "Moral Dilemmas" actually is. For instance, you may think that some of the stories imply values that would be very important for young people (11 to 13 years old) to stick by, while other stories imply values that you judge to be less important. Indicate your evaluation of the moral dilemma involved by CHECKING ONE CATEGORY OF IMPORTANCE FOR EACH STORY.

	1	2	3	4	5
	NOT <u>Important</u>	A LITTLE <u>Important</u>	FAIRLY <u>Important</u>	QUITE <u>Important</u>	VERY <u>Important</u>
1. <u>The Nice Hat</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. <u>The Queer Kid</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. <u>The Half-Fare Ticket#1</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. <u>The Half-Fare Ticket#2</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. <u>The Half-Fare Ticket#3</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. <u>The Contest</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. <u>The Mistake</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. <u>The Rainy Afternoon</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. <u>The Movie</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. <u>The Exciting Game</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11. <u>The New Kid:</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
12. <u>The Lost Test#1</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
13. <u>The Lost Test#2</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
14. <u>The Lost Test#3</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
15. <u>The Assignment</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
16. <u>The Trouble At School</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
17. <u>The Snowy Day</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
18. <u>The Bicycle</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

We would now like you to indicate which of the two general choices for each story you think a young person (11 to 13 years old) ought to make. Do this by simply making a CHECK next to ONE of the two choices for each story listed below.

CHECK ONE CHOICE ☒ FOR EACH STORY

1. The Nice Hat: Stop Wearing It _____ Please Friends _____
2. The Queer Kid: Won't Play Unless _____ Go On Playing _____
Other Kid Included _____ With Other Friends _____
3. The Half-Fare Ticket#1: Let Each Do As He Wants _____ Tell Them To Give Ages _____
4. The Half-Fare Ticket#2: Go Along With Friends _____ Refuse To Go Along _____
5. The Half-Fare Ticket#3: Tell Him Which Ones _____ Not Tell Him Which _____
Are Over 12 _____ Ones Are Over 12 _____
6. The Contest: Vote For Other Kid _____ Vote For Friend _____
7. The Mistake: Not Say Anything _____ Say It Wasn't Other's Fault _____
8. The Rainy Afternoon: Go Join Friends _____ Keep On Reading _____
9. The Movie: Tell Friends Not Going _____ Go To Movie With Friends _____
10. The Exciting Game: Not Break Up Game _____ Break Up The Game _____
11. The New Kid: Go Along With Friends _____ Tell Friends You'll Leave _____
12. The Lost Test#1: Tell Them They _____ Let Each Decide _____
Have To Tell _____ For Himself _____
13. The Lost Test#2: Refuse To Go Along _____ Go Along With Friends _____
14. The Lost Test#3: Not Tell Her The Names _____ Tell Her The Names _____
15. The Assignment: Go With Friends _____ Stay And Help Classmate _____
16. The Trouble At School: Tell The Teacher You _____ Go Home And Not _____
Were At Fault _____ Say Anything _____
17. The Snowy Day: Offer To Help Old Lady _____ Walk Around Old Lady _____
18. The Bicycle: Finish The Ride _____ Lend The Boy Your Bike _____

Please return this form sheet to school with your child after you have completed both evaluation phases of the "Moral Dilemmas." Since we wish to keep all responses completely anonymous, please do not sign your name or identify yourself in some other way on this evaluation form. Needless to say, your help in this study is very much appreciated.

APPENDIX III

CORRESPONDENCE

- A. LETTER FROM PRESIDING BISHOPRIC, CHURCH OF
JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS (MORMONS)**
- B. LETTER FROM EDWARD DEVEREUX**

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDING BISHOPRIC
47 EAST SOUTH TEMPLE STREET
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH 84111

September 26, 1973

Mr. Gary Shepherd
Department of Sociology
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

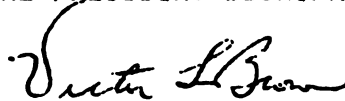
Dear Brother Shepherd:

Thank you for expressing your interest in research concerning LDS youth. While we are always seeking information that will bless our people, we feel there is already ample information both in the revelations from the Lord and in the experience and studies of competent men to give adequate guidelines to parents and leaders. Thus, we would not feel it appropriate to pursue the research you suggest.

We wish you well in whatever you are able to work out and in your pursuit of your education.

Sincerely your brethren,

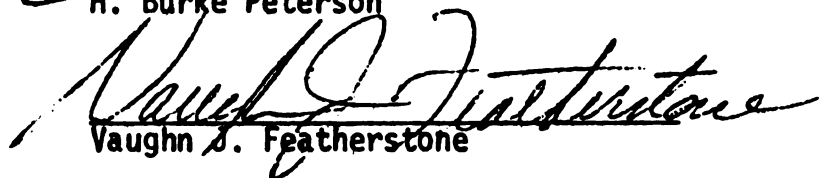
THE PRESIDING BISHOPRIC



Victor L. Brown



H. Burke Peterson



Vaughn J. Featherstone

VLB:vr

NEW YORK STATE COLLEGE OF HUMAN ECOLOGY
A STATUTORY COLLEGE OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK 14850

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
AND FAMILY STUDIES

October 22, 1973

Mr. Gary Shepherd
Department of Sociology
Michigan State University
E. Lansing, Michigan 48824

Dear Mr. Shepherd:

I have your letter regarding the SES background of the various samples studied in our dilemmas experiments.

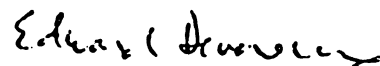
Unfortunately, I cannot be of too much help on this. In most of the studies completed to date, we have not included detailed information on parents' education, occupation, etc., which could be used to build an SES index, since this information takes quite a bit of time to generate and we were usually working fast to get through the whole procedure in a single hour of classroom time. I do have this information for our most recent study in Japan, but the results have not yet been analyzed in terms of SES.

So all I can really tell you is that all of the samples were designed to cover a broad range of SES, this being accomplished by our selection of schools from different types of neighborhoods to be included in the samples. But it would probably be fair to say that most of our samples have a pretty heavy, middle-middle class bias. An exception would be a study by one of my graduate students, who recently carried out the dilemmas experiment with an all-Black ghetto sample in Detroit. But he has not yet analyzed his results.

In most of our studies to date, moreover, we have not systematically analyzed the data with reference to the SES levels of the different kinds of classrooms included in our samples. An exception is my recent study comparing German and American samples, in which the results were examined in terms of differences between middle class and working class schools. But in this particular study, I used a somewhat different experimental design. For your information, I enclose a reprint of the paper describing this particular experiment.

We will be most interested to learn of your results in your proposed study. Good luck!

Sincerely,



Edward C. Devereux
Professor

ECD/mw

Encl.

APPENDIX IV

- A. FACTOR/CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF COMBINED MDT
ITEMS POOLED ACROSS ALL SUBJECTS (N = 487)**
- B. ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR MDT SCORES.
COMPARISONS FOR MORMON, CATHOLIC AND PUBLIC
SCHOOL CHILDREN, CONTROLLING ON SEX AND
SOCIAL CLASS.**
- C. GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF MEAN MDT SCORES
ACROSS BASE, ADULT AND PEER CONDITIONS.
COMPARISONS BETWEEN MORMON, CATHOLIC AND
PUBLIC SCHOOL CHILDREN.**

INITIAL MULTIPLE GROUPS CLUSTER ANALYSIS FOR ALL
MDT ITEMS COMBINED ACROSS ALL SUBJECT GROUPS

		Item-Cluster Correlations				
	Items	I	Comm.	II	III	IV
I	44. Test #3	.76	.58	.44	.44	.40
	3. Halloween #3	.73	.53	.57	.46	.41
	28. Window #3	.70	.50	.45	.43	.43
	23. Snake #3	.72	.52	.54	.47	.43
	10. Fruit Tree #3	.73	.53	.53	.52	.40
	37. Ticket #3	.72	.52	.60	.55	.44
	*43. Test #2	.44	.19	.55	.48	.47
II	21. Snake #1	.42	.43	.65	.48	.44
	35. Ticket #1	.52	.42	.65	.45	.40
	22. Snake #2	.40	.29	.54	.45	.36
	8. Fruit Tree #1	.34	.30	.55	.29	.42
	1. Halloween #1	.45	.39	.63	.41	.41
	36. Ticket #2	.54	.38	.62	.49	.46
	9. Fruit Tree #2	.37	.26	.51	.39	.41
	26. Window #1	.49	.38	.61	.48	.58
	2. Halloween #2	.50	.37	.61	.51	.39
III	42. Test #1	.50	.31	.55	.44	.42
	24. Special Talk	.45	.40	.50	.63	.40
	33. Nice Hat	.39	.35	.47	.59	.41
	4. Sweater	.28	.24	.33	.49	.31
	18. Sneakers	.38	.29	.44	.54	.40
	7. Popular Friend	.49	.34	.47	.58	.36
	25. Personal Project	.24	.19	.21	.44	.22
	38. Rainy Afternoon	.29	.20	.30	.45	.23
	37. Movie	.55	.37	.57	.60	.46

		Item-Cluster Correlations				
Items		I	Comm.	II	III	IV
III con't	40. Exciting Game	.39	.26	.39	.51	.32
	5. Class Project	.22	.11	.19	.34	.30
	19. TV Program	.19	.12	.20	.35	.23
	11. Summer Camp	.29	.17	.35	.42	.31
IV	34. Queer Kid	.40	.33	.43	.40	.57
	32. Amusement Park	.33	.37	.46	.37	.61
	48. Bike	.34	.30	.28	.31	.55
	41. New Kid	.35	.35	.45	.43	.59
	12. Foreign Kid	.33	.26	.34	.31	.51
	47. Snowy Day	.36	.28	.38	.31	.53
	14. Ice Cream	.14	.17	.20	.16	.41
	20. Class Picnic	.36	.30	.46	.36	.55
	6. Sick Friend	.30	.27	.38	.34	.51
	45. Assignment	.31	.28	.33	.40	.53
	29. Crying	.17	.16	.17	.18	.40
	13. Grocery	.27	.23	.36	.33	.48
	46. School Trouble	.50	.31	.50	.41	.56
	*27. Window #2	.48	.24	.54	.47	.49
	30. Rules	.17	.11	.26	.18	.33
	15. Contest	.28	.13	.32	.35	.37
	17. Baby Sit	.22	.13	.30	.23	.36
	31. Substitute	.13	.08	.25	.24	.29
	16. Mistake	.03	.02	-.03	.06	.14

* Note that items 43 and 27 both have higher correlation with Cluster II, and both also have relatively low communalities with the clusters to which they were assigned by the previous factor analysis. On the basis of this information, as well as on a priori and common sense grounds, both of these items are more appropriately assigned to Cluster II.

ANOVA RESULTS FOR MDT RESPONSES

ORIGINAL MDT ITEMS

Sources	df	MS	F	P
System	2	58.02	0.1940	.82
Social Class	1	246.21	0.8233	.36
Sex	1	1391.72	4.6539	.03
System x Soc. Class	2	2308.43	7.7194	.0006
System x Sex	2	121.15	0.4051	.67
Soc. Class x Sex	1	1081.56	3.6168	.06
S x S x S	2	111.04	0.3713	.69
S:SSS	475	299.04		
Repeated Measures				
Measures x System	4		3.7747	.005
Measures x Soc. Class	2		1.0379	.36
Measures x Sex	2		0.1667	.85
M x Syst x Soc Class	4		3.0910	.02
M x Syst x Sex	4		0.7247	.58
M x Soc. Class x Sex	2		0.6540	.52
M x S x S x S	4		2.4123	.05
M:SSR	475			

NEGATIVE-PASSIVE MDT ITEMS

Sources	df	MS	F	P
System	2	234.20	0.8083	.45
Social Class	1	1477.22	5.0980	.02
Sex	1	1655.46	5.7131	.02
System x Social Class	2	383.80	1.3245	.27
System x Sex	2	45.70	0.1577	.85
Social Class x Sex	1	1514.12	5.2253	.02
S x S x S	2	180.51	0.6229	.53
S:SSS	402			
Repeated Measures				
Measures x System	4		1.3969	.23
Measures x Soc. Class	2		3.9529	.02
Measures x Sex	2		1.2704	.28
M x Syst. x Soc. Class	4		2.8669	.02
M x Syst. x Sex	4		0.4481	.98
M x Soc. Class x Sex	2		2.3479	.10
M x S x S x S	4		1.1319	.34
M:SSR	402			

POSITIVE-ACTIVE MDT ITEMS

Sources	df	MS	F	P
System	2	94.35	0.4234	.66
Social Class	1	2445.31	10.9732	.001
Sex	1	2229.46	10.0046	.001
System x Social Class	2	162.61	0.7297	.48
System x Sex	2	149.84	.06724	.51
Social Class x Sex	1	958.57	4.3016	.04
S x S x S	2	222.65	0.9991	.37
S:SSS	402			
Repeated Measures				
Measures x System	2		2.0154	.09
Measures x Soc. Class	1		0.4207	.66
Measures x Sex	1		0.0574	.94
M x Syst. x Soc. Class	2		3.3648	.01
M x Syst. x Sex	2		1.0606	.38
M x Soc. Class x Sex	1		3.9171	.02
M x S x S x S	2		0.4345	.78
M:SSR	402			

ACHIEVEMENT MDT ITEMS

Sources	df	MS	F	P
System	2	140.15	0.7109	.49
Social Class	1	1626.50	8.2510	.004
Sex	1	1476.68	7.4910	.007
System x Social Class	2	34.16	0.1733	.84
System x Sex	2	423.90	2.1504	.12
Social Class x Sex	1	550.45	2.7924	.10
S x S x S	2	75.21	0.3815	.68
S:SSS	402			
Repeated Measures				
Measures x System	2		3.0476	.02
Measures x Soc. Class	1		2.5958	.08
Measures x Sex	1		0.9459	.39
M x Syst. x Soc. Class	2		4.1974	.002
M x Syst. x Sex	2		1.8542	.12
M x Soc. Class x Sex	1		3.9402	.02
M x S x S x S	2		1.2080	.31
M:SSR	402			

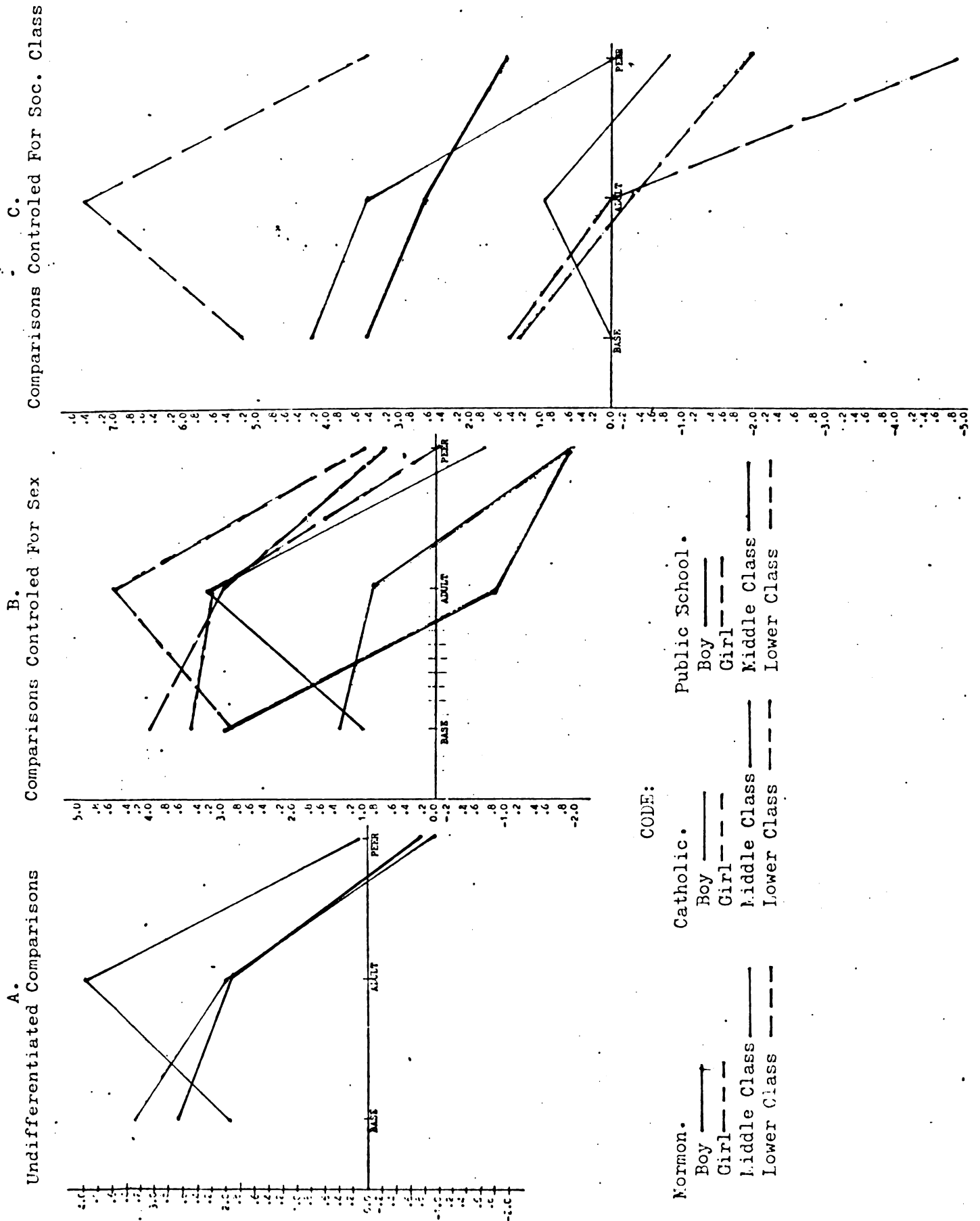


Figure 1. Graphic Presentation of Mean ORIGINAL MDT Scores for Normon, Catholic and Public School Children

A. Undifferentiated Comparisons

B. Comparisons Controlled For Sex

C. Comparisons Controlled For Soc. Class

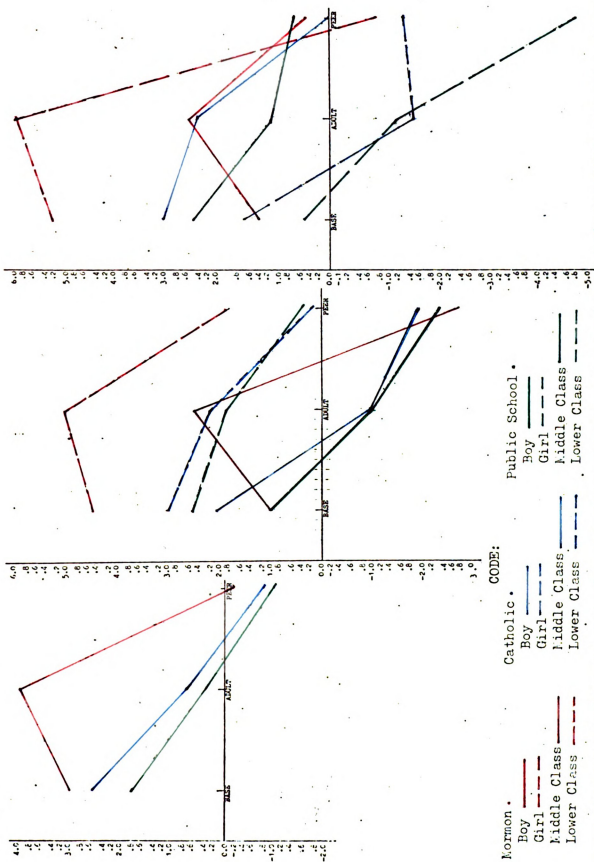


Figure 2. Graphic Presentation of Mean NEGATIVE-PASSIVE NPT Scores for Mormon, Catholic and Public School Children.

Undifferentiated Comparisons

Comparisons Controlled For Soc. Class

Comparisons Controlled For Sex

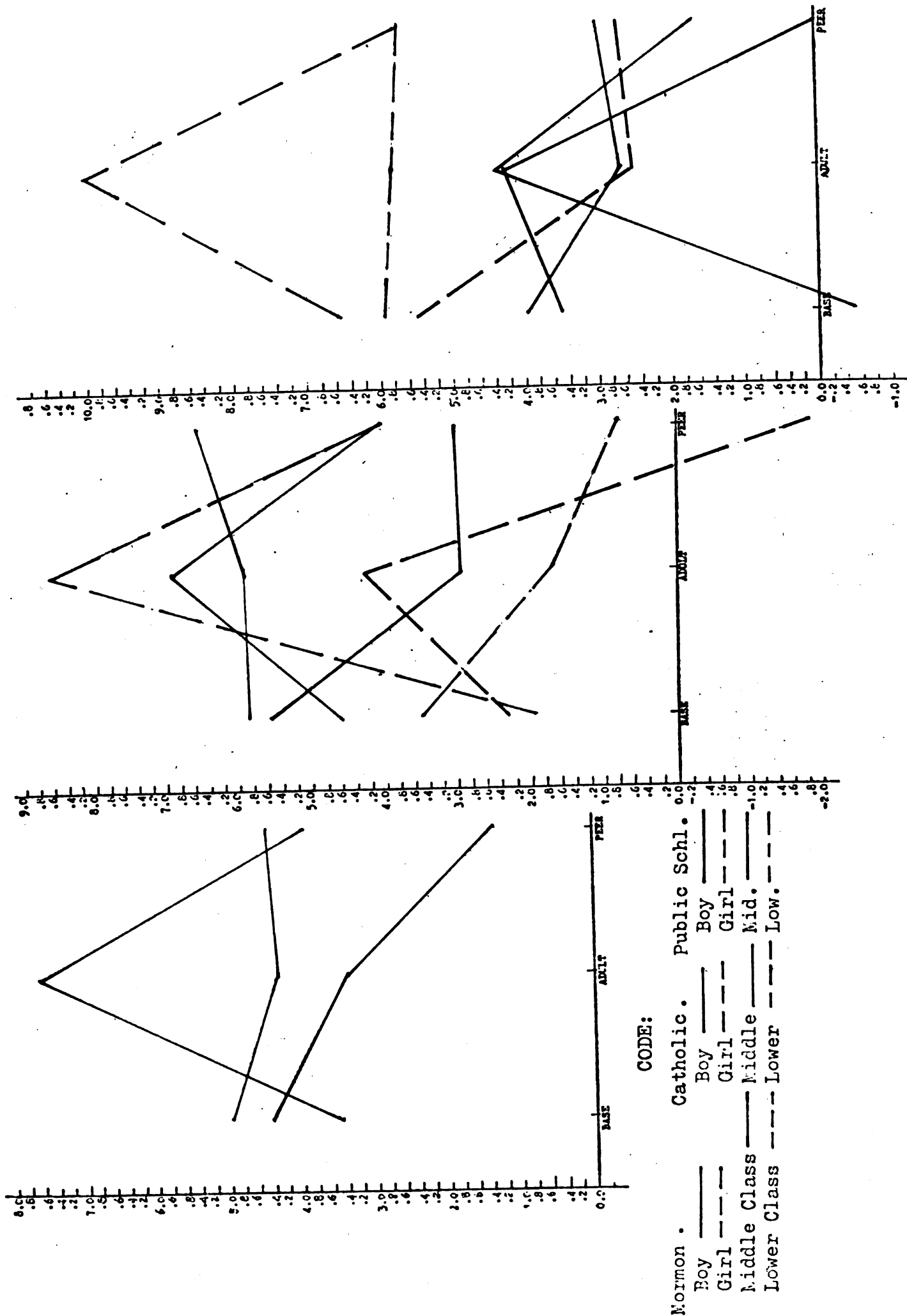


Figure 3. Graphic Presentation of Mean POSITIVE-ACTIVE NDT Scores for Mormon, Catholic and Public School Children.

C.

B.

A.

Comparisons Controlled For Soc. Class Comparisons Controlled For Sex

Undifferentiated Comparisons

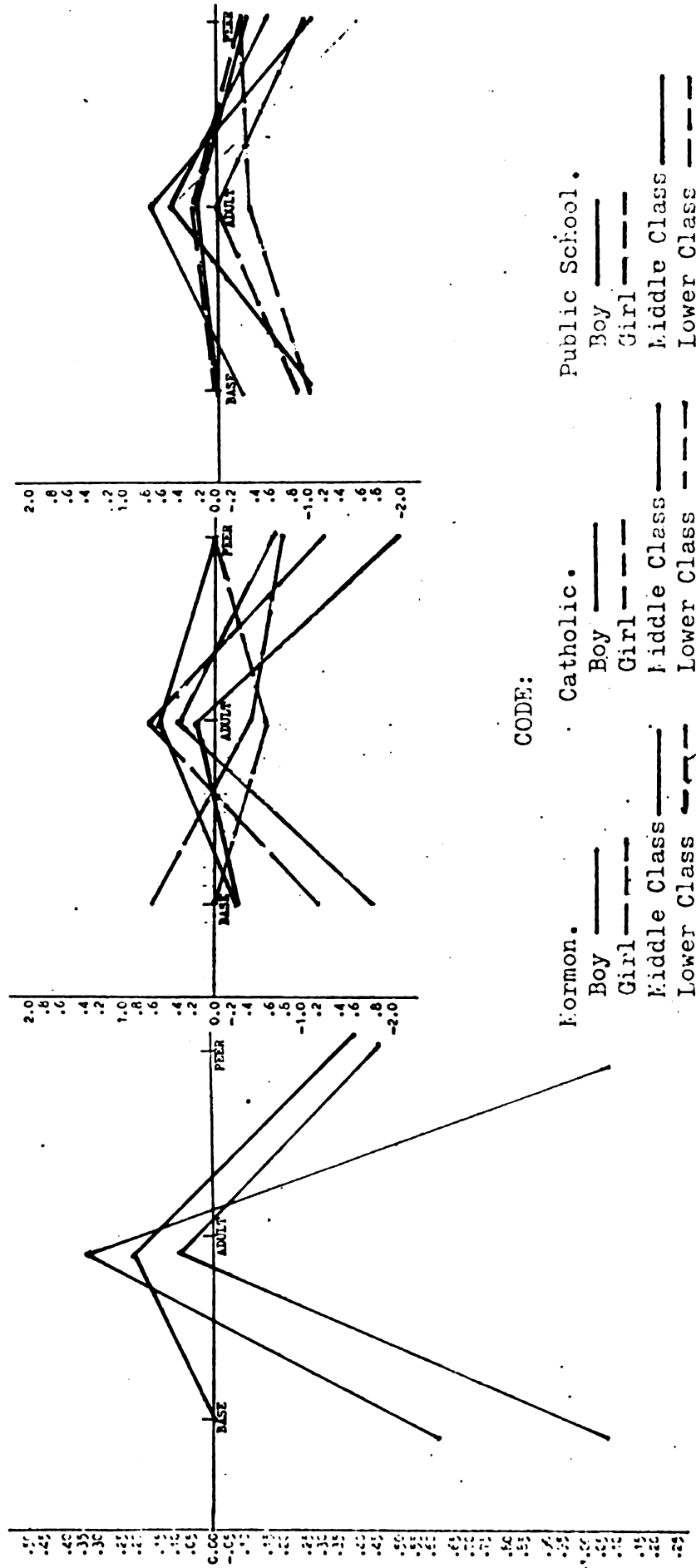


Figure 4. Graphic Presentation of Mean ACHIEVEMENT I-DT Scores for Mormon, Catholic and Public School Children.

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