THE MORAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

by

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Abstract

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This study examined conflict resolution processes among college students. The distinction was made between processes associated with internalized societal rules ("traditionist") and those which involve evaluation and reaction to the characteristics of a given situation ("situationist"). Values were also considered ("conventional" vs. "non-conventional"). It was hypothesized that process, values and the process-value interaction were a function of college class. Four hundred fifty Ithaca College undergraduates were given the Seidenberg Conflict Questionnaire, the Church-Insko Value Scale, and a background questionnaire. Results indicated that most students, regardless of school class, utilized situationist processes and had conventional values. These results were interpreted in terms of the effects of anticipatory socialization and student culture.

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CHAPTER I

Work in the area of moral behavior has focused on the moral development of children in three general contexts. The occurrence and origin of resistance to temptation has been examined as the primary overt manifestation of moral internalization (Hartshorne and May, 1928-30; Grinder, 1962; Rau, 1963; Burton, Maccoby and Allinsmith, 1961). Post-transgression guilt feelings have been studied in order to identify the emotional component of morality (Aronfreed, 1961; Rau, 1963). Finally, research dealing with the cognitive aspect of moral behavior has led to descriptions of developmental changes in judgmental processes (Piaget, 1948; Kohlberg, 1963).

Kohlberg (1963) indicates that these three perspectives rest on the definition of morality or conscience as internalized societal rules or "intrinsically motivated conformity." This definition of the concept implies that, if properly socialized, a given individual is predisposed to behave in accordance with these rules. Resistance to temptation, post-transgression guilt, and moral judgment result from this influence. Studies of "moral character" (Hartshorne and May, 1928-30; Peck and Havighurst, 1960; Burton, 1963) are an attempt to discover trait characteristics related to moral internalization.

The previous research in this area assumes the existence of "traditionist" processes. Traditionist processes can be defined as those cognitive processes associated with internalized societal rules.

In moral contexts, they direct covert and overt behavior in a manner consistent with conventional wisdom. If traditionist processes are operative, then an individual's moral behavior is governed by the society's rules or values. At younger ages, these processes enable the individual to resolve conflicts in a consistent, efficient and satisfying manner. The influence of these processes is identifiable in verbal references to specific parental admonitions, legal prohibitions, religious doctrine, scholastic procedures, or similar rules.

While an approach emphasizing traditionist processes has proven adequate for the study of the effects of childhood training and environment on moral development, these processes may not be the primary determinant of adult moral behavior. The rules and values internalized during childhood can still exert some pressure, but such influence may provide a background for newly salient processes. Adults tend to exhibit greater cognitive-emotional complexity than children. Overt responses are highly differentiated. The individual reacts to a shifting, changing environment. His different roles necessitate active response to social situations (Goffman, 1959). New moral processes develop. These will be called "situationist" processes.

The development of situationist processes is part of the cognitive growth which occurs when the individual begins to assume adult roles. The assumption of these roles coincides with entrance into a complex social world. Previously learned rules for the resolution of simple conflicts may prove to be inadequate. Situationist processes enable the individual to resolve moral conflicts by evaluating the given situation and adjusting his behavior in accordance with his evaluation. Immediate needs of

self or other and cognitive-emotional or material consequences determine these evaluations. Fletcher (1966) has labeled such an approach "the new morality." The goal of this research is to study the emergence of situationist processes and to consider the relationship between moral decision-making processes and the value background.

An appropriate time to study the distinction between traditionist and situationist processes is during the transition from childhood roles to adult roles. While such an identifiable point in an individual's life history does not exist, the study of moral conflicts during late adolescence can shed light on the problem.

Societal rules are reinforced by the child's parents, church, primary and secondary school. The individual is taught to identify "bad," "immoral," and "unethical" acts. He learns to avoid the performance of these acts. If he does commit such an act, then he is expected to experience guilt feelings following his transgression. The transmission of these rules is part of the education of each new generation. They are usually the basis for moral training, even where parents do not behave in terms of these rules. Such norms are maintained by associating with peers who are subject to similar socializing agents. The child and the early adolescent have a conception of their environment containing clear points of reference. When a moral conflict arises, there are relatively few "correct" resolution possibilities. Parents, teachers, religious leaders, the mass media and similar authorities define the nature of resolution. When does such influence diminish?

In this society such change can occur as a result of events which differ significantly from the individual's previous experiences. The

end of schooling and the assumption of work-related roles is one such event. Hughes (1959) has described the psychological and social changes that occur at this time. For many males, entrance into the armed forces is the first important alteration in their lives. Stouffer, et al. (1949) have studied army socialization in detail. Migration to a city is another event that can effect change in behavior. Liebow (1967) has examined the influence of city life on Negroes following migration from a rural environment. In the case of middle class adolescents, a significant change in the socialization process may occur when the individual leaves his childhood environment to enter a college setting (Goldsen, et al., 1960). Course work, instructors, non-academic activities and dormitory life all act on an individual (LeVine, 1966). Recently, the importance of student subculture has been described (Wallace, 1966; Gottlieb, 1965; Clark and Trow, 1966). This investigation will consider this last example in detail.

The Moral Conflict Behavior of College Students

The position outlined above implies that the moral decision-making processes of entering freshmen are relatively traditionist. A variety of experiences, in the absence of direct parental supervision, permit the student to develop immediate, contemporaneous patterns for dealing with moral conflict. Problems related to freedom, independence, autonomy, spontaneity and personal expression often become salient. He begins to evaluate the given situation in determining resolutions. Continued dependence on "old" authorities in new situations can lead to ridicule from peers and personal unhappiness. The density and diversity

of alternatives in the individual's "decision space" necessitate the development of situationist processes. For many students, this change in resolution processes is a functional requirement of their role in a college environment.

In order to identify a shift from traditionist to situationist processes among college students, it is necessary to study the conflict behavior of students in each of the four college years. Entering freshmen should tend to utilize traditionist processes, while sophomores, juniors and seniors should exhibit an increasing reliance on situationist processes in resolving conflict.

This position is summarized in the following hypothesis:

Hyp. 1: The moral conflict resolutions of entering freshmen will be determined by traditionist processes, while the moral conflict resolutions of sophomores, juniors and seniors will be increasingly determined by situationist processes.

The differential survival rate of each college class makes it difficult to attribute class differences in moral processes to the influence of college. It may be that individuals who use situationist processes do better academic work than those who use traditionist processes. They would be more likely to continue beyond the freshman year. In order to clarify this issue, the moral conflict behavior of freshmen can be studied more carefully. Entering freshmen should exhibit traditionist processes. Upper freshmen (students in their second semester of college) should tend to use situationist processes in resolving conflicts.

This view is expressed in the following hypothesis:

Hyp. 2: The moral conflict resolutions of entering freshmen will be determined by traditionist processes, while the moral conflict resolutions of upper freshmen will be more determined by situationist processes.

Individual differences (e.g., physical characteristics, a particular academic interest, group memberships), environmental factors (e.g., an all-male or all-female student body, proximity to other schools, geographic location) and non-college factors (e.g., outside friendships, family, religion), all mediate this change. Some students are relatively untouched by college beyond their specific course work (D. Silverman, 1968).

This varied impact of the academic environment can determine the occurrence or absence of changes in moral processes. Newcomb's (1943) study provides some evidence for this. He found that students who developed "liberal" attitudes were characterized by independence from their parents and modifiability of goal-directed behavior at college. These traits are similar to those considered necessary for the development of situationist processes. Newcomb also found that "conservative" students exhibited greater dependence on parental authority. This characteristic is considered necessary for the maintenance of traditionist processes.

In order to examine this variability, it seems appropriate to select one illustrative variable for study. A basic factor related to the influence of college is residential environment. The person who is at the college for part of the day, returning to his parent's home after

school, is not totally immersed in the atmosphere of the college. Many aspects of his life (e.g., curfew, dress, friendships, study habits) can be directly supervised by his parents. It can be argued that such an individual's moral behavior will not change as much as that of the student living on campus.

The student living in a college dormitory is still subject to the direction of college representatives (administrators, advisers, security officers) and various rules governing student behavior (e.g., dress, curfew for females, visitation between the sexes). While these students are free of direct parental control, other adults in authority positions still direct their behavior. In moral conflict situations, they can utilize situationist processes, but the shift from traditionist processes may not be complete.

The student who lives in an off-campus apartment, alone or with peers, experiences the least control of his behavior. His life is not directly supervised by parents or college authorities. He probably is on-campus less than his peer who lives in a dormitory. He is subject to many non-college influences during his school years as is the commuting student. However, he differs from his commuting classmate in that these influences are not mediated by parental authority. It is predicted that such an individual will use situationist processes in resolving moral conflicts.

The following hypotheses summarize this view:

Hyp. 3a: The moral conflict resolutions of commuting students will be determined by traditionist processes, while the moral conflict resolutions of on-campus residential

students will be determined by situationist processes.

Hyp. 3b: The moral conflict resolutions of on-campus residential students will be less completely determined by situationist processes than will be the moral conflict resolutions of students who live in their own off-campus apartments.

The kind of residence a student occupies will influence the type of conflicts he has. For example, female students living in an off-campus apartment could experience different types of sexual conflicts as compared with those of similar students who live at home or in a dormitory. This study will consider the relationship between these factors.

Moral Values and Decision-Making Processes

Is there a relationship between the cognitive and the behavioral component of moral behavior? Working with children, Hartshorne and May (1928) hypothesized a direct relationship between knowledge of societal rules and resistance to temptation. The results of their study did not support this interpretation. In line with the above discussion, it is necessary to determine the influence, if any, of the value background on the adult's conflict resolutions. Within this context, the relationship can be reconsidered.

For a particular conflict area it is possible to identify the rule or rules in question. The societal view of the problem can be determined. For example, if a conflict arises over the use of "psychedelic" drugs, it can be said that society discourages such use. A "proper" evaluation would entail the rejection of drugs. Middle class socialization

teaches the individual these evaluations. When the individual's value orientation is similar to this societal evaluation, then his values can be labeled "conventional." When the individual's values are not similar to the societal evaluation, then his values can be labeled "nonconventional." It is this interaction between the individual's values and the values of society which can be utilized to predict the nature of conflict resolution processes.

The existence of conventional values indicates that the individual agrees with society's evaluation of an area. When conflict occurs, the person can refer to various authority sources which uphold his values. Re-examination of the conflict situation is unnecessary. It is predicted that an individual who has conventional values will use traditionist processes in developing resolutions.

The existence of nonconventional values indicates that, at some point in the past, the individual has changed his position from conventional values to his current viewpoint. (An exception to this generalization would be the case of student activists. Flacks [1967] has found that such students seem to have liberal parents. Thus, for some of these individuals, this change may not be as marked.) In order to achieve this, it was necessary for the person to develop processes for dealing with moral conflicts in terms of the characteristics of the immediate situation. Maintenance of the nonconventional values requires an individual to continue to deal with new conflicts in this manner. Thus, it is predicted that an individual who has nonconventional values will use situationist processes in developing resolutions.

When an individual's values related to an area are neutral, what

can be predicted? Value neutrality in the face of a specific societal position implies that the person has shifted from the conventional values through the operation of situationist processes in previous conflicts. Continued neutrality requires a situationist approach to new conflicts as well.

Three hypotheses stem from this formulation:

Hyp. 4a: If an individual's values with regard to a particular area are conventional, then moral decisions will be determined by traditionist processes.

Hyp. 4b: If an individual's values with regard to a particular area are nonconventional, then moral decisions will be determined by situationist processes.

Hyp. 4c: If an individual's values with regard to a particular area are neutral, then moral decisions will be determined by situationist processes.

In discussing the relationship between values and conflict resolution, it was hypothesized that neutral and nonconventional values are related to situationist processes. In line with the above formulation on the influence of college experience, it can be predicted that values, as well as decision processes, change. There is a re-evaluation of material related to the college environment. Change will be away from conventional values.

The hypothesis describing this change is as follows:

Hyp. 5: The values of entering freshmen will be conventional while the values of sophomores, juniors, and seniors

will be more nonconventional or neutral.

CHAPTER II

Subjects

Four hundred college students at Ithaca College participated in this study: one hundred freshmen, one hundred sophomores, one hundred juniors, and one hundred seniors. Ss were selected in the following manner:

a) A list was compiled of courses having a predominance of either freshmen, sophomores, juniors, seniors, or a mixed population.

b) An equal number of course sections was selected from each of these composition possibilities.

c) The procedure of this study was administered to each of the selected course sections.

d) Students in the participating sections were categorized according to their class in school (freshman, sophomore, junior or senior).

e) A subsample of one hundred was randomly chosen from each class sample.

This selection procedure was performed at the beginning of the school year.

A second subsample of fifty upper freshmen was selected during the second semester in the following manner:

a) A list was compiled of courses having a predominance of either freshmen or a mixed population.

b) An equal number of course sections was selected from each of these composition possibilities.

c) The procedure of this study was administered to each of the selected course sections. (Ss who participated in this study earlier were asked to label their instruments so as to indicate this. These tests were not included in the analysis of results.)

d) A subsample of fifty freshmen was randomly chosen.

Materials

Moral Conflict Resolution. Seidenberg has developed a technique for the study of moral conflict decisions (see Appendix A). This instrument has been employed in studies of American and European college students. Post-questionnaire interviews indicate that responses elicited are salient and recent. The veracity of responses appears to be high. S is required to describe a recent moral conflict that he has experienced. Two questions concerning the resolution and the reasons for a particular resolution are asked. Four scales related to the conflict described are presented. Two coders, unfamiliar with the hypotheses, coded the moral conflict material.

The reliability of this instrument can be considered in the following points:

1. The codability of the elicited conflict material indicates that a stable domain is being examined. In this study, 88% of Ss presented a moral conflict. In pilot research this figure was 95%.

2. The intercoder reliability in this study was .92.

3. Findings show consistency across samples, content area and stage of life. The kinds of conflicts students have seem to be a function of life stage and circumstances. For example, religious individuals tend to have religious conflicts.
4. Recent studies (Butter, 1969; Parker, 1970) relating conflict area to Kohlberg's levels of resolution have employed test-retest procedures. Ss show a strong tendency not to repeat content area. Ss show different levels of resolution but results indicate that level seems in part a function of content area.

Indications of validity are indirect and based on known groups. In earlier studies a high proportion of masturbation conflicts were found in a sample of Dutch middle school students (14-18 year old males). Both Yeshiva boys (Brooklyn, New York) and Dutch Catholics had a high proportion of religious conflicts (35%) relative to other groups (about 10% for Brooklyn College day session). Interviews (see below) have also provided validity evidence.

Values. Church and Insko (1965) have developed a paper and pencil test which can be used to delineate values within and between groups (see Appendix B). Value "objects" (things, activities, realms, institutions, doctrines, etc.) are rated by S on five evaluative scales and a personal relevance scale. Church and Insko view this instrument as an analysis of the evaluative factor of the Semantic Differential. Each item is rated on the following scales:

1. Ethics. (Church and Insko labeled this scale "morality") In five steps from extremely virtuous through neutral to extremely evil.

2. Esthetic quality. In five steps from extremely beautiful through neutral to extremely ugly.
3. Personal or social utility. In five steps from extremely useful through neutral to extremely injurious.
4. Rationality. In five steps from extremely rational through mixed rational and irrational to predominantly irrational.
5. Emotional quality. In five steps from extremely pleasant through neutral to extremely unpleasant.
6. Personal relevance. In five steps from extreme concern through some concern to minimal concern.

The test consists of a cover sheet with a set of general instructions, and six lists of items, each preceded by a definition of one set of scale positions. The sequence of scales was chosen at random from the 6! possible orders. Items were presented in random order.

The items to be rated were selected from six general areas:

a) Social-interpersonal. Items used were: avenging slights, being liked, respect for elders, submission to the will of the group, punishment of children.
b) Sexual. Items used were: masturbation, nudity, having extra-marital affairs, premarital sex, going to prostitutes.
c) Religion. Items used were: prayer, observing tradition, atheism, birth control, religious inter-marriage.
d) Legal. Items used were: using narcotics, stealing, marijuana, hallucinogenic drugs, pornography.
e) Honesty. Items used were: lying, cheating on exams, misleading another person, returning borrowed items, returning found money.

f) Political-ideological. Items used were: war, democratic rule, patriotism, capital punishment, sterilization of the unfit.

With the exception of items in the honesty area, all items were chosen from the list used by Church and Insko. The six item areas reflect the results of earlier moral conflict studies by Seidenberg and the author. For purposes of analysis, each S's ratings on the five evaluative scales were weighted in accordance with the results of a discriminant function analysis of pilot data in each of the six conflict areas. This indicated the relative importance of each scale within a specific conflict area. The weight of ratings for each item in a particular conflict area was determined. These weighted ratings were added to yield a score for a given item. Mean weighted ratings for a particular area and the entire test were then calculated. Reliability for this scale in pilot studies ranged from .56 to .89.

In order to determine whether values were conventional or nonconventional, each S's ratings were compared with the ratings of individuals who, in a pilot study, were required to rate all items in terms of the dominant values of the society. In order to assure conventional responses, high school juniors were the subjects in this pilot study. Each S's values were similar to (conventional) or different from (nonconventional) these pilot data. Over-all orientation and value orientations in each area were determined.

Background Information. Each S was asked to fill out a short questionnaire (see Appendix C). Information was gathered concerning the following: age, sex, type of residence (parent's home, college dormitory,

fraternity house, or off-campus apartment), class, major course of study, religion, degree of religiosity, political orientation, number of siblings and birth order, work experience, on-campus and off-campus group memberships, marital status, home city and state, and periodicals read by student and his parents.

Procedure

E was introduced to each class by the instructor. E gave the following instructions to Ss prior to passing out the research instruments:

> Your class has been chosen to participate in a survey among college students. Please do not put your name on the questionnaire you receive. We are interested in anonymous answers. Please follow the instructions on the first page of your questionnaire. When you have completed the first part of the questionnaire, please wait for further instructions before going on to part two.

The order of the instruments was alternated. Half of the Ss received the value test in Part I, and half received the conflict questions in Part I. After all Ss had completed Part I of the booklet, E gave the following instructions:

> You may now go on to Part II of your questionnaire. Please read it carefully.

When all Ss had completed this instrument, students were asked to place a personal identification mark on their questionnaire for a possible followup study. E collected all materials.

Sophomores, juniors, and seniors were tested at the beginning of the fall semester. Freshmen were tested at the beginning of the fall semester and during the spring semester.

In followup study, forty subjects (ten from each school class) who had participated in the above procedure, were selected using identification marks for recall. For each class group, five Ss who had utilized traditionist processes and five who had utilized situationist processes were selected (see below). A standard interview (see Appendix D) was administered to each.

Data Processing

The RCA model 35 computer at Ithaca College was employed in analyzing data.

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Data Processing

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CHAPTER III

MORAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES. Before considering the nature of decision-making processes, it was necessary to consider whether moral conflicts were expressed. On the first part of the Seidenberg conflict questionnaire, students were asked to describe "a recent situation in your life which involved a moral conflict." These responses were coded in order to determine if behavioral rules were, in fact, under consideration (see Appendix E for the code employed). Table 1 presents this result for each group studied.

The majority of students (88%) described a moral conflict. Students who did not discuss behavioral rules or who did not respond were slightly more numerous in this study than in pilot studies. This group was not included in later analyses.

The area of the elicited moral conflict was then determined. Using the six general areas found in earlier studies (see Appendix F), the questionnaire material was coded. The results for each college class are presented in Table 2.

The majority of expressed conflicts were in the social-interpersonal area (61%). This area includes conflicts of interpersonal relationships involving obligation toward other people. Also included were male-female relations when the primary focus was not on sexual behavior per se but on the relationship. There were relatively few sexual conflicts. This differs from pilot data in which sexual conflicts were

TABLE 1. AN ANALYSIS OF BEHAVIORAL RULES DISCUSSED FOR EACH COLLEGE CLASS

College Class	Rules						
	Rule and Violation	Conflicting Rules	Implied Rule and Violation	Implied Conflicting Rules	No Rules Discussed	No Response	Total
Lower Freshman	12	34	42	3	1	8	100
Upper Freshman	2	11	29	0	1	7	50
Sophomore	7	35	51	0	2	5	100
Junior	7	39	45	0	2	7	100
Senior	2	18	58	4	1	17	100
Total	30	137	225	7	7	44	450

TABLE 2. THE AREA OF MORAL CONFLICTS EXPRESSED FOR EACH COLLEGE CLASS

College Class	Rules						
	Social-Interpersonal	Sexual	Religion	Legal	Political-Ideological	Honesty	Total
Lower Freshman	58(63.7)	17(18.7)	4(4.4)	6(6.6)	1(1.1)	5(5.5)	91
Upper Freshman	19(45.2)	5(11.9)	5(11.9)	9(21.4)	2(4.8)	2(4.8)	42
Sophomore	66(71.0)	5(5.4)	4(4.3)	12(12.9)	2(2.2)	4(4.3)	93
Junior	62(68.1)	7(7.7)	1(1.1)	4(4.4)	8(8.8)	9(9.9)	91
Senior	59(72.0)	8(9.8)	2(2.4)	5(6.1)	5(6.1)	3(3.7)	82
Total	264	42	16	36	18	23	399

(Percentages are in parentheses)

as frequently found as social-interpersonal conflicts.

In order to identify the type of processes used in determining resolutions, it was necessary to consider the reasons given for a particular conflict resolution. A student's reasons were coded (see Appendix G) along the traditionist-situationist continuum. The mean process score for each class group is presented in Table 3. A mean score of 1 represents the traditionist extreme while a mean score of 5 represents the situationist extreme. Table 3 indicates that most of the students participating in this study used situationist processes. At least 75% of each class group is represented at the situationist end of the continuum (categories 3 and 5).

Are there differences between freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors in the processes utilized to resolve moral conflicts? Is there a shift from traditionist to situationist processes? In order to answer these questions (hypothesis 1) a Kruskal-Wallis one way analysis of variance by ranks (Siegel, 1956) was performed. Table 4 presents the results of this analysis for the four class groups. The observed H, 0.745, is not significant at the 5% level. There is no observed difference among college classes along the process continuum. Thus, hypothesis 1 is not supported.

Table 5 presents the Kruskal-Wallis test results with upper freshmen included in the analysis. Here again the proposed difference is not found.

Are there differences between lower and upper freshmen? Table 6 presents the results of a Kruskal-Wallis test comparing the process scores for these two groups. Again the result is not significant. There

TABLE 3. MEAN PROCESS SCORE FOR EACH COLLEGE CLASS

	Traditionist-Situationist Continuum					
College Class	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Lower Freshman	2(2.4)	4(4.9)	2(2.4)	20(24.4)	54(65.9)	82
Upper Freshman	1(2.4)	2(4.9)	7(17.1)	6(14.6)	25(61.0)	41
Sophomore	1(1.1)	2(2.2)	3(3.3)	22(23.9)	64(69.6)	92
Junior	1(1.2)	2(2.3)	4(4.6)	21(24.1)	59(67.8)	87
Senior	1(1.3)	0(0.0)	2(2.6)	10(12.8)	65(83.3)	78
Total	6	10	18	79	267	380

(Percentages are in parentheses)

TABLE 4. THE KRUSKAL-WALLIS TEST FOR FOUR CLASS GROUPS

College Class	N	Sum of ranks (Process Scores)
Freshman	82	13101.00
Sophomore	92	15405.00
Junior	87	14270.50
Senior	78	14853.50

Observed H = 0.75 d.f. = 3

At 0.05 level, critical chi square value = 7.82 n.s.

The formula employed to determine H was:

$$H = \frac{\frac{12}{N(N+1)} \sum_{j=1}^{k} \frac{Rj^2}{nj} - 3(N+1)}{1 - \frac{\sum T}{N^3 - N}}$$

TABLE 5. THE KRUSKAL-WALLIS TEST FOR FIVE CLASS GROUPS

College Class	N	Sum of ranks (Process Scores)
Lower Freshman	82	14895.00
Upper Freshman	41	6945.00
Sophomore	92	17507.00
Junior	87	16226.00
Senior	78	16817.00

Observed H = 0.96 d.f. = 4

At 0.05 level, critical chi square value = 9.49 n.s.

TABLE 6. THE KRUSKAL-WALLIS TEST FOR LOWER AND UPPER FRESHMEN

College Class	N	Sum of ranks (Process Scores)
Lower Freshman	82	5197.00
Upper Freshman	41	2429.00

Observed H = 0.50 d.f. = 1

At 0.05 level, critical chi square value = 3.84 n.s.

does not appear to be a difference between lower and upper freshmen. Hypothesis 2 is not supported.

Is residence related to the decision-making processes used in resolving conflicts? To answer this question the process scores of the five residence groups were compared. Table 7 presents the Kruskal-Wallis test for this analysis. It can be seen that the observed H proved to be not significant. The predicted differences between groups were not found. Thus hypotheses 3a and 3b are not supported. It should be noted, however, that three of the residence groups were quite small and this may have determined the observed result.

The results described so far can be summarized:

1. Moral conflicts were expressed by a large majority of students.
2. These conflicts were largely in the area of social-interpersonal relationships.
3. The resolution processes employed by students in dealing with these conflicts were predominantly situationist.
4. Differences were not found between college classes in the use of such processes.
5. Residence did not prove to be a significant discriminator in describing the use of these processes.

THE VALUE-PROCESS RELATIONSHIP. What is the relationship between values and moral decision-making processes? After determining the area of a student's conflict, his value orientation in that area was examined. The mean weighted rating of the items in that area was calculated. This

TABLE 7. THE KRUSKAL-WALLIS TEST FOR FIVE RESIDENCE GROUPS

Residence	N	Sum of ranks (Process Scores)
Home	10	1629.00
Fraternity	18	3386.00
Dormitory	263	50459.50
Off-campus apartment	78	14509.00
Other	6	744.50

Observed H = 0.53 d.f. = 4

At 0.05 level, critical chi square value = 9.49 n.s.

rating was compared with the societal evaluation, obtained from pilot data to distinguish conventional from nonconventional values. Data were then cast in a contingency table relating values to coded process category. Table 8 presents the results of a chi square analysis. No relationship was found. It was predicted that conventional values would be found to be associated with traditionist processes and that nonconventional values would be associated with situationist values. This did not occur. Hypotheses 4a and 4b were not supported.

Is it possible that this hypothesized relationship occurred in the class groups studied? Tables 9-13 present this analysis for each class group. None of these tests yielded a significant result.

Was there an observed correlation between the value scale and the process code? Value means and code scores for each student were converted to ranks and Spearman's rho was calculated. This value, found to be 0.48, was not significant. (Using the formula $t = rs \sqrt{\frac{N-2}{1-rs^2}}$, $t = 1.075$, not significant at 5% level).

VALUES. Are the values of freshmen conventional? Are the values of sophomores, juniors and seniors nonconventional? Table 14 presents the results of this analysis. The chi square value proves to be not significant. No clear value changes were found. Thus hypothesis 5 is not supported.

ADDITIONAL ANALYSES. Since the major hypotheses of this study were not supported, the data were re-examined in order to discover if there are identifiable sources of these results.

One portion of the data was not considered in the analysis of decision-making processes. It should be recalled that four seven-point

TABLE 8. VALUE ORIENTATION AS RELATED TO PROCESS SCORES

	Traditionist-Situationist Continuum					
Value Orientation	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Conventional	6	7	10	53	182	258
Nonconventional	0	3	8	26	84	121
Total	6	10	18	79	266	379

Chi square = 4.12 d.f. = 4

At 0.05 level, critical chi square = 9.49 n.s.

TABLE 9. VALUE ORIENTATION AS RELATED TO PROCESS SCORES FOR LOWER FRESHMEN

	Traditionist-Situationist Continuum					
Value Orientation	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Conventional	2	3	1	13	33	52
Nonconventional	0	1	1	6	20	28
Total	2	4	2	19	53	80

Chi square = 1.71 d.f. = 4

At 0.05 level, critical chi square = 9.49 n.s.

TABLE 10. VALUE ORIENTATION AS RELATED TO PROCESS SCORES FOR UPPER FRESHMEN

	Traditionist-Situationist Continuum					
Value Orientation	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Conventional	1	0	3	4	15	23
Nonconventional	0	1	4	1	10	16
Total	1	1	7	5	25	39

Chi square = 3.54 d.f. = 4

At 0.05 level, critical chi square = 9.49 n.s.

TABLE 11. VALUE ORIENTATION AS RELATED TO PROCESS SCORES FOR SOPHOMORES

	Traditionist-Situationist Continuum					
Value Orientation	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Conventional	1	1	2	13	48	65
Nonconventional	0	1	1	8	15	25
Total	1	2	3	21	63	90

Chi square = 2.52 d.f. = 4

At 0.05 level, critical chi square = 9.49 n.s.

TABLE 12. VALUE ORIENTATION AS RELATED TO PROCESS SCORES FOR JUNIORS

	Traditionist-Situationist Continuum					
Value Orientation	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Conventional	1	2	3	14	37	57
Nonconventional	0	0	1	5	17	23
Total	1	2	4	19	54	80

Chi square = 1.57 d.f. = 4

At 0.05 level, critical chi square = 9.49 n.s.

TABLE 13. VALUE ORIENTATION AS RELATED TO PROCESS SCORES FOR SENIORS

	Traditionist-Situationist Continuum					
Value Orientation	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Conventional	1	0	0	5	46	52
Nonconventional	0	0	1	3	17	21
Total	1	0	1	8	63	73

Chi square = 1.19 d.f. = 4

At 0.05 level, critical chi square = 9.49 n.s.

TABLE 14. VALUE ORIENTATION FOR FIVE CLASS GROUPS

Value Orientation	College Class: Lower Freshman	Upper Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Senior	Total
Conventional	58	25	68	59	53	263
Nonconventional	32	17	25	26	24	124
Total	90	42	93	85	77	387

Chi square = 3.56 d.f. = 4

At 0.05 level, critical chi square = 9.49 n.s.

scales, originally utilized by Seidenberg, were administered as part of the moral conflict questionnaire. Subjects were asked to judge how important the situation they described was generally, to most people. They were asked to rate how upsetting their conflict was to them. They estimated their difficulty in resolving the conflict. Lastly, subjects were required to rate their satisfaction with the chosen resolution.

In light of the above results it might be predicted that students who utilize situationist processes would tend to feel less upset about their conflict and experience less difficulty, and be more satisfied with subsequent resolution. On the other hand, traditionist students would tend to place themselves at the other end of these dimensions: upset, experiencing difficulty and dissatisfaction. It is felt that the first scale does not require an ego-involved response and thus should not distinguish between individuals using the two types of processes.

In order to test these predictions, chi square analyses were performed. In considering the process dimension, categories 1 and 2 were taken as traditionist, while categories 4 and 5 were taken as situationist. Individuals who were scored in category 3 were not included in these analyses. The first three points and last three points were taken as the ends for each dimension. Subjects who did not complete these scales or who could not be scored for process were not included. The results of these analyses are presented in Tables 15, 16, 17, and 18.

Table 15 indicates no significant differences between traditionist and situationist subjects for the first scale, general importance. However, the other three analyses (Tables 16, 17, and 18) show results

TABLE 15. GENERAL IMPORTANCE AS RELATED TO PROCESS SCORES

	Process		
General Importance	Traditionist	Situationist	Total
Important	8	143	151
Not Important	7	177	184
Total	15	320	335

Chi square = 0.48 d.f. = 1

At 0.05 level, critical chi square = 3.84 n.s.

TABLE 16. HOW UPSET AS RELATED TO PROCESS SCORES

	Process		
How Upset	Traditionist	Situationist	Total
Upset	10	122	132
Not Upset	5	213	218
Total	15	335	350

Chi square = 5.44 d.f. = 1

At 0.05 level critical chi square = 3.84 sig.

TABLE 17. DIFFICULTY AS RELATED TO PROCESS SCORES

	Process		
Difficulty	Traditionist	Situationist	Total
Easy	5	208	213
Difficult	10	117	127
Total	15	325	340

Chi square = 4.95 d.f. = 1

At 0.05 level, critical chi square = 3.84 sig.

TABLE 18. SATISFACTION AS RELATED TO PROCESS

	Process		
Satisfaction	Traditionist	Situationist	Total
Satisfied	4	223	227
Not Satisfied	11	105	116
Total	15	328	343

Chi square = 11.29 d.f. = 1

At 0.05 level, critical chi square = 3.84 sig.

supporting the above predictions. Students who used situationist processes were less upset, more satisfied with their behavior, and found it easy to resolve their conflict. The importance of these last results will be discussed below.

INTERVIEWS. Almost all the students who were interviewed presented new moral conflicts. As with the questionnaire results, the large majority of the elicited material was in the social-interpersonal area. Again there were few political-ideological conflicts.

It was found that students' conceptions of morality were related to the kind of processes exhibited on questionnaire responses. Those who used situationist processes in written responses described morality as a personal decision determined by the circumstances they encountered. Those who used traditionist processes on their questionnaires described morality in terms of societal and family rules. Thus, there appears to have been a good deal of consistency between the questionnaires and the interviews.

Students who had employed situationist processes on their questionnaires indicated that they dealt with moral conflicts in a casual manner. There was little evidence of either strong personal involvement or ideological debate. Resolutions were described as easy solutions These students seemed quite willing to discuss their conflicts. On the other hand, students who had used traditionist processes were guarded in their responses. They appeared to be nervous in discussing their conflicts. Probing was usually necessary to elicit details. These findings seem to be consistent with the scale results reported above.

In discussing the resolution of moral conflicts, many individuals were aware of discrepancies between their general conception of morality and the way in which they responded to real conflict. This tendency will be considered below.

A critical discussion of the interview and its administration is presented in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

MORAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES. A large majority (88%) of students participating in this study described a moral conflict. It is interesting to note that most expressed conflicts were in the area of social-interpersonal relationships. Earlier work with other samples had found that college students reported many more sexual conflicts than was the case at Ithaca College. This could be a function of historical circumstances, such as acceptance of the female contraceptive pill. It also might indicate the influence of college-specific factors, such as free visitation rights and the absence of parietal rules at Ithaca College. Interview responses overwhelmingly supported the finding that these students experienced few sexual conflicts.

Most students employed situationist processes in dealing with their moral conflict. This result was found in all class groups. Predicted differences between lower and upper freshmen, and among the four year groups, were not found. An explanation of these results can focus on two factors: anticipatory socialization and college culture.

The concept of anticipatory socialization (Merton, 1957) would suggest that the proposed developmental shift from the use of traditionist processes to the use of situationist processes can occur prior to college entrance. Keniston (1968), Flacks (1967) and Friedenberg (1965) have pointed out that college attendance has become a rite of passage for many middle class high school students. Many cannot even recall

having made a conscious choice whether or not to go to college. Rather peer and parental influence determine the certainty of continuing their education. Many of these individuals have friends and relatives already attending college. Their academic orientation instills in them the motivation to satisfy many student role requisites before high school graduation. This motivation would include such things as a desire for greater freedom and independence, experimentation with drugs and sex, and the creation of a "cool" and "loose" image. Part of this change could include developing ways of dealing with moral conflict in a manner independent of parents and other authority sources. This would entail the use of situationist resolution processes.

The existence of "student culture" and subcultures has been recognized by a number of researchers. Wallace (1966) in his study of "Midwest College" viewed its culture as a traditional atmosphere which strongly influenced students. Gottlieb (1965) described subculture, a segment of a student body holding a distinct value orientation which differs from that of the student body. Clark and Trow (1966) refined this subculture concept into four varieties: academic, vocational, non-conformist and collegiate. According to this perspective, the cultural norms of college are transmitted to successive generations through socialization rather than re-created by each new class.

The initial impact of college on the student has been called "college shock" (Madison, 1969; Feldman and Newcomb, 1969). Madison (1969) has described the individual reactions which occur during this period. Entrance into a college culture fosters the "reintegration" of past experiences into the context of the new environment. Personality

change has been found (Katz and Associates, 1968) to be in the direction of greater acceptance of impulse, relaxed controls, assertion of independence, and less self-blame.

Individuals socialized into the cultural norms of college are likely to be concerned with creating an image that is acceptable to peers. In moral contexts, where freedom and independence are socially desirable characteristics, students would tend to employ situationist processes. Thus, a given college culture creates an environment in which these moral processes predominate.

The student culture at Ithaca College is marked by a lack of community and a stress on remaining "uninvolved." There are very few student organizations, and those that do exist tend to be inactive structures with few members. There are no political organizations. Another sign of the students' lack of involvement with the campus is their physical absence. Although Ithaca College is primarily residential, it is deserted on weekends, when students travel to other colleges. There are no classroom attendance requirements, and faculty have noted greatly increased absenteeism for up to a week before and after major vacations. There are no required courses for liberal arts students, and there is little feeling of a shared intellectual experience. Although the Physical Education school is a major component of the college, attendance at athletic activities, as at other college events, is sparse. There is no effective means of communication which reaches all students.

Institutional recognition of the students' isolation was evidenced in 1972 by the establishment of a Crisis Center, staffed by students, to counsel students in need of help. The unstated rationale for

this was the failure of students to identify with, or receive support from, the existing college personnel and organizations.

An exception to this pattern of non-involvement should be noted. A large minority of the students at the college are in vocational programs (Physical Therapy, Music, Drama and Television-Radio) which stress peer group pressure and competitiveness. Among these students there appears to be some sense of common experience which is lacking among liberal arts majors.

Within this context of student uninvolvement with the institution and organizations there exist, however, peer groups in which day-to-day interaction are carried out. The overwhelming institutional culture, it is felt, reaches into these groups. The dominant ethos in student interaction, based on observation, questionnaire and interview data, appears to be an unwillingness to commit oneself to a cause or a position, and a reluctance to admit serious ideological debate. The emphasis is placed on remaining "cool" and being in control.

In the present study, while there was little indication of "college shock" among freshman, there was evidence to the influence of a cultural or "social desirability" factor. Results indicate students who utilized situationist processes were less upset by their moral conflict than students who employed traditionist processes. Similarly, these students were more satisfied with their resolution and they found it relatively easy to resolve their conflict. These scale results suggest that individuals who used situationist processes were attempting to deal with moral conflicts in an uninvolved fashion. This style of behavior is well suited to the culture of Ithaca College.

Additional support for this interpretation comes from the interview material. Students who had used situationist processes on their questionnaires felt that it was relatively easy for them to evolve resolutions. One remarked, "Once I sat down and thought about this problem, the answer was obvious." In general, those who had displayed situationist processes were very willing to discuss their conflicts. On the other hand, individuals who had employed traditionist processes described much turmoil and difficulty in resolving their conflicts. They were also somewhat reluctant to discuss their moral behavior. These latter individuals seemed to be aware that it was not very "cool" to rely on parents and other authority figures.

Here then is some support for a social desirability view. The nature of the college culture rewards students who employ situationist processes in resolving their moral conflicts. How enduring are these processes? Will many of these students come to use traditionist processes when they leave college? Only a longitudinal study could accurately answer these questions. A cultural argument would predict that traditionist processes could become dominant if they were the "preferred" means of handling conflict. A developmental sequence theory would support the dominance of situationist processes, once they have evolved. Further work can examine these opposing conceptions.

It was predicted that residence could be utilized to demonstrate differences along the process dimension. Students who live at home would use traditionist processes, while students living in off-campus apartments would employ situationist processes. Dormitory residents would fall between. Results did not support these hypotheses.

One reason for this failure was that the sampling technique employed did not yield a good distribution of subjects in the various residence categories. Almost 75% of subjects lived in dormitories and most of the remaining sample lived in apartments. Few members of the sample lived at home. This distribution was obtained despite the fact that college residence statistics at the time indicated that a large minority of the student population fell into the last two categories (30% and 15% respectively).

Another influence on the residence results stems from the finding that most students employed situationist processes. This precluded the predicted relationship between process and residence. Residence cannot be used as a discriminator in this case. In point of fact, this variable was chosen as illustrative rather than vital. It may be that research at other colleges would yield different results. For example, Feldman and Newcomb (1969) found that students living in Greek letter residences were more conservative, more authoritarian and more prejudiced than independents. With that sample (at Stanford University), an examination of moral conflict resolution processes might yield clear differences based on residence.

The theoretical emphasis of this study is concerned with the way in which individuals deal with moral questions rather than on their actual overt behavior. As already noted, the traditional approach to the study of morality has been a behavioral one. Resistance to temptation has been examined in a number of contexts. The guilt associated with transgression has been analyzed. Developmental levels of moral judgement have been described. "Moral character" traits have been

studied. It is suggested that process has been an implicit factor in much of this research.

The importance of process in determining moral behavior might be a historically recent phenomenon. In the past, a Judeo-Christian northern European heritage in this society may have contributed to a trait-centered morality. In the Victorian world, the "moral" person could point to clear rules of conduct. Training was precise, children were taught to conform as miniature adults. Miller and Swanson (1958) have discussed the changes in child rearing since that time. Changes in the treatment of children have been in the direction of greater freedom and tolerance of diversity. The nature of moral training has been altered.

As recently as 1927, Hartshorne and May were unable to support the moral character assumption. Since that time, American society has experienced even greater latitude in acceptable behavior. This has led to the development of what Keniston (1970) has called the "post-modern style." This style is independent of ideology, values, and overt behavior. In the area of moral conflict resolution, this style can be linked to process. Thus, it is felt that the study of morality should emphasize process as a basic factor.

In dealing with moral conflict and resolution processes, one should not lose sight of individual differences. An assumption of this study was that participating students were ego-involved and honest in their responses. It was also assumed that subjects possessed a degree of self-insight. These assumptions are problematic. Colleges are used for many purposes. For example, if school is viewed as a series of

instrumental tasks necessary for upward socio-economic mobility, then an individual might think nothing of cheating or plagiarizing. On the other hand, if college work is viewed as a contingent part of self-enlightenment then a different view of the same potential behavior may be taken (e.g., Black students in Black Studies courses). Thus, concepts of morality might vary along a number of dimensions not considered in this research and the use of resolution processes could vary in parallel ways.

THE VALUE-PROCESS RELATIONSHIP. It was hypothesized that students having conventional values use traditionist processes in dealing with moral conflicts, while students having nonconventional values utilize situationist processes. Support for this view would have provided evidence for the socialization theory described above. It also would have indicated the operation of a general consistency principle, that is, individuals strive to maintain a relationship between their values and overt behavior.

Results did not support these predictions. A statistically significant relationship between the conflict scores and the Church-Insko Value Scale was not found. In the absence of clear results, the following factors should be considered:

1. Consistency. With regard to resolution processes, there is indirect evidence of consistency. Among those subjects who were interviewed, it was found that definitions of morality were related to the kind of processes exhibited on questionnaire responses. Those who used situationist processes in written responses, described morality as a

personal decision determined by the circumstances they encounter. Those students who used traditionist processes on their questionnaires, described morality in terms of societal and family rules. A re-examination of results from the value scale provides evidence that subjects were relatively consistent in their value orientation. Individuals who had conventional values in their conflict area also had conventional values over all items. Similarly, individuals who had nonconventional values in their conflict area tended to have nonconventional values for the entire scale.

2. Time Sequence. If the amount of college experience is related to changes in value orientation and resolution processes, it is possible that, initially, value-process discrepancies can occur. An initial response to a complex new environment ("college shock") could be an attempt to avoid all moral conflict situations (conflict insulation). Eventually an individual having conventional values may develop the use of situationist processes for handling new moral conflicts. Eventually, values may become nonconventional. But for a time, it is possible that values may not be threatened. This might be true for lowerclassmen and some upperclassmen.

The results of this research indicate that most students in all class groups used situationist processes and had conventional values. While this would not support a time

sequence interpretation, it is still a possibility the value changes occur after students leave college. Only further longitudinal studies can clarify this issue.

3. Conscious Reversals and Cynicism. Some individuals may consciously avoid behavior consistent with their values. The cross pressures between previously accepted rules and the characteristics of new situations may place students in a difficult position. For example, the Catholic student who has learned the evils of contraception, premarital sex, and abortion, may deliberately choose to reject consistent behavior. This could lead to a rejection of previously held values and reactions against the "institutionalized hypocrisy" (Keniston, 1970) of authority sources. A related means of coping with such a dilemma would be through the use of compartmentalization as a defense mechanism.

Interview responses in this study indicate that many students at Ithaca College are aware of discrepancies between their values and their moral conflict behavior. Conscious reversal, compartmentalization and cynicism are apparent in many of these interviews.

The obtained results, that most students employed situationist processes and that two-thirds had conventional values, may indicate that the design of this study may not have been adequate to tap these behaviors. A longitudinal format extending both prior to and beyond the

college years would be necessary to fully examine the kind of relationship that was hypothesized.

VALUES. It was expected that the values of college students would change in the course of a college career. A generally liberal campus atmosphere coupled with greater independence was believed to be supportive of an individual's values becoming less conventional. This prediction was not upheld in the results of this study.

A basic difficulty inherent in the design was that individual students were not tested at various points in their college career. While cross-sectional sampling may, in fact, control a number of extraneous variables, this may be one area in which such a technique cannot be used. Only a longitudinal design could account for the influence of important historical, maturational, and personal factors.

Despite this difficulty, results can be considered cautiously. Students at Ithaca College are a relatively homogeneous group. At the time of this study, tuition, room and board at the college was approximately $4,000 per year. Only the children of upper middle class families could afford these fees. Questionnaire data indicates that a large proportion of students come from suburban homes in which the father is a professional (the upper two categories on Hollingshead's [1958] scale). Thus, this sample is drawn from a group who probably had middle class socialization which can produce strong conventional values. These values may be resistant to change.

It should be noted that while Ithaca College was not immune to campus political turmoil during the late 1960's, this political interest

does not seem to have been of great significance in the moral behavior of students participating in this study. There were very few conflicts expressed in the political area. Interviews revealed almost no statements or conflicts related to political or social problems in this society. There were no political organizations on the campus at the time this study was conducted. Thus, it would appear that impetus for value change based on broad campus or societal issues was absent.

Similar findings concerning the values of college students were found by Katz and Associates (1968). In a series of studies tapping different aspects of values and the ways in which they were held and expressed, they observed few changes longitudinally from the freshman to senior year. Rokeach (1969) has found that beliefs and attitudes are much more susceptible to change than are values. Thus, it may be that the college experience influences the attitudes and belief systems of students, without reaching more basic personality levels which would be necessary for value change. This would explain the absence of such value change here and in other research (Katz and Associates, 1968; Feldman and Newcomb, 1969; Madison, 1969). Further study will be necessary to clarify this point.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS. A basic difficulty in evaluating the validity of the instruments used is that they elicit individual, verbal rather than interactive, behavioral responses. It is difficult to move from the reports received to actual moral choice behavior.

It is likely that the validity of the instruments was compromised by certain response biases. Half of the respondents received the

questionnaire with the conflict portion presented first. They were asked to describe a conflict on the first page. The non-response rate for this group was substantially higher than for those who received the value scale first. This may be caused by two factors: unwillingness to divulge personal information immediately, and unwillingness to have one's personal experiences exposed, even though anonymously, on the first page. A cover sheet, describing the purpose of the study and perhaps asking dummy questions, might have lessened both these fears. It is possible that, even for those who reported a conflict when this portion appeared first, considerable editing might have taken place.

Another problem involves the definition of a "moral conflict." No clarifying or qualifying statements were given in this part of the questionnaire. It is impossible to know whether those subjects who failed to respond reflected an uncertainty about the meaning of the phrase or genuine lack of such conflicts. Subjects who did respond to this question may have censored some salient conflict situations because of uncertainty about the question.

Phillips (1971) discusses predispositions to respondent bias or falsification based on the extent of rapport between researcher and respondent and their relative statuses. In this study, where the researcher was a faculty member and the subjects were students, the researcher clearly occupies a higher status. Extent of rapport varied with the class in which the questionnaire was administered. Phillips feels that this type of status relationship creates a strong respondent bias, based on threat of vulnerability. Where this is compounded by high rapport, the tendency to bias is strengthened by desire for the

researcher's approval. Although these questionnaires were anonymous, it is likely that the above factors still exert influence.

This could have been intensified by administration in a classroom setting, with its context of obedience to authority, competitiveness with peers, and search for the "correct answer." Subjects brought to this study a developed self-image. They view themselves and their actions as part of a consistent pattern. It is likely that reports of conflict behavior were edited to fit this pattern. Many of the conflicts described involve deviant and/or illegal behavior, at least as a possible choice, and the above pressures may have been especially strong in these cases. As with most response biases, it is impossible to ascertain the direction or degree of this source of invalidity.

The four scale questions in the conflict questionnaire raise questions of shared meaning among subjects. Only the extreme points of the scales are labeled, and these very briefly. Does "very easy" mean the same thing to all respondents? Do they divide the distance between "very upsetting" and "not upsetting at all" in the same way?

Questions should also be raised about the validity of the value scale. Subjects voiced complaints about this portion of the questionnaire, finding it tedious and boring. Observation of their behavior while completing it suggests that answers to the later scales may be less valid. Subjects may have simply filled these in casually, without really considering the choices. It is also possible that a few subjects did not know or were unclear about the meaning of some items: hallucinogenic drugs, submission to the will of the group, avenging slights. This was suggested when some subjects completed the value scale, but left a

particular item blank for each section. It is possible that other subjects were not so honest about their ignorance, and answered meaninglessly. The validity of the value scale may also have been decreased by the subjects' self-images. The interview data indicated that subjects tended to view themselves as "radical," "liberal" or "conservative," with some idea of what this position represented in terms of values. Some subjects responded to the value scale in superficial, stereotyped ways, fitting their answers to the image they held of themselves rather than considering each item individually.

With respect to the background information, there were several sources of inaccuracy. There were some questions which many subjects guessed at: father's education, size of home town, parents' periodicals. Some questions were interpreted differently by subjects. Reports of membership in on-campus groups, which was partially verified by checking the size of these organizations, were greatly exaggerated. This inaccuracy was also verified by information from the interviews. Here students tended to negate or belittle the group memberships reported on their questionnaires. There was no way to check on many other responses, but this raises questions of general misinformation. Degree of religiosity and political orientation were determined using scales. It must be noted that these scales are defined relative to the context they appear in, and "radical left" or "practicing" may mean different things at different colleges.

The interview attempted to elicit depth information from a selected number of students. Although more information and different perspectives on the questionnaire were received, additional problems of

validity were encountered. Interviews were conducted by two faculty members, and with the anonymity of the questionnaire abandoned, the possibility of bias due to need for approval was increased. Neither instructor interviewed students in his own classes, but subjects knew who the interviewers were, and problems of status and rapport remained.

The wording of the interview presented other difficulties. The word "recently" in the first two questions was subject to greatly varying interpretations, ranging from the last three months to the previous nine years. It is likely that the subjects' moral decision-making processes may have changed over the years, even if their memories are accurate.

Subjects had difficulty answering several of the questions. For many, there was little or no "onset of . . . realization that some choice would have to be made." They saw their conflicts as spontaneous and sudden. The issues arose and the choices were pressing.

Students were generally unable to project, either to the possible problems others might encounter or to their own future problems. For college students and friends they usually repeated their own past problems and there was little or no response for adults and relatives.

Certain unique features of the selected sample should be noted. This study was conducted at Ithaca College, and the sample is unusual in several respects. The subjects' families are residents of the suburbs of the Northeastern states. Socio-economic status is unusually high. Using Hollingshead's (1958) socio-economic scale, 73% of the subjects have family status in the top one-fifth of the scale, with another 21% in the second fifth. The large majority were in the top third of their

high school class. Interview subjects were volunteers, and were overwhelmingly social science majors.

As already noted, the dropout rate among college students makes it difficult to assess the effects of the college environment. Transfer students present a similar problem. An ideal design would follow the members of an entering class through college. Dropouts would continue to participate in such a study. The present study is neither longitudinal nor does it attempt to compensate for this differential survival rate. Thus, generalizations must be considered tentative.

Another sample problem involves the high school juniors used as judges of conventionality. This sample was taken at Ithaca High School, and may be unrepresentative due to the presence of Cornell University and Ithaca College in the town. Many high school students are children of faculty members, and all are influenced to some extent by the colleges.

IMPLICATIONS. The aim of this study was to demonstrate major differences between the moral behavior of the child and the adult. This goal extends the limits of study since much of the literature in the area of moral development ignores change beyond adolescence. Also, the concern with process may prove to be valuable in understanding the results of research from diverse sources. Rather than focusing on specific behaviors, the way in which individuals determine their behavior should be examined.

While under parental scrutiny, a child learns to orient himself to the rules set up by the authority figures in his environment. (This might not always occur when parents are absent.) The adult's behavior

is independent of these sources. This difference would be apparent in the way in which moral conflicts are resolved. A shift from traditionist to situationist processes would characterize these changes. It was felt that the college years would be an ideal time in an individual's life history for studying this behavior.

Results of this research were inconclusive in demonstrating these changes. Precise conclusions concerning process shifts and the relationship between process and values cannot be advanced. Residence did not prove to be a significant factor for this sample. Also, consistent changes in values were not found.

Factors in design and sampling may have precluded the demonstration of the proposed changes. The hazards of cross-sectional research in this area are apparent. While results may be valid for Ithaca College students at the time of this study (1970-71), further generalization would necessitate the study of other samples from different schools. Differences in the ethnic, social class, religious and geographic origins of students may be important. Future work must attempt to examine the problem area using longitudinal and experimental techniques. Such research awaits the development of potent, nonreactive measures.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

We are interested in the kinds of moral conflicts people encounter and the ways in which they deal with them.

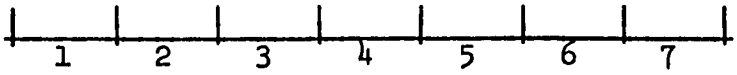
1. In the space below please describe, in some detail, a recent situation in your life which involved a moral conflict.

2. How did you resolve this situation, that is, what decision did you finally make to solve this problem?

3. What were the major reasons for the decision you made? Please answer fully.

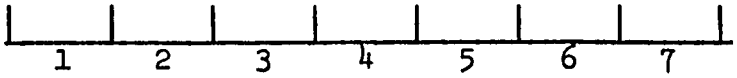
How important is this kind of situation generally, that is, for most people?

very important not at all important



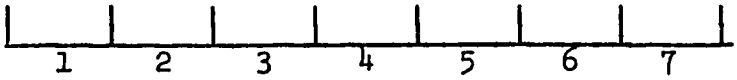
How upsetting was this situation for you?

very upsetting not upsetting at all



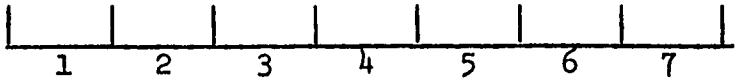
How difficult was it for you to make this decision?

very easy very difficult



Now that you have made the decision, how satisfied are you with it?

very satisfied not at all satisfied



APPENDIX B

You are taking part in a study of values, the way people feel about some things that are considered important. Not everybody agrees about values. Please be candid and tell us what you personally think, not what you believe most other people would say. All replies will be kept strictly confidential and will not be used for any purposes except for this study.

The items of the study consist of words or phrases or statements dealing with areas of experience about which many people feel strongly. You will rate these items six times, on six different scales. Each part of the study begins with the definition of one scale and the meaning of each point on the scale. The scale will be identified at the top of each page as a reminder. You may refer back to the definition of the scale as often as necessary. Indicate your rating by circling one letter for each item.

SCALE I. Ethics.--Emotional judgment on the basis of conscience of what is right or wrong, good or wicked, praiseworthy or despicable.

a. Extremely virtuous. Expressive of all that is best in human nature: Consonant with the highest, most exalted spiritual values. The attainment of such virtue by an individual would imply resistance to severe temptation or conflicting attractions, and overcoming his or her own weakness or baseness.

b. Good. Desirable, right, expressive of good intentions and sound character but lacking the special distinction of (a).

c. Neutral. Neither good nor wicked, like having a cold, and even when contrary to social custom: it may be bad manners to pick one's nose in public, but it is not ethically wrong.

d. Bad. Deserving of censure or correction but still compatible with good character, as when a generally good person is guilty of selfishness or vanity or a minor dishonesty.

e. Extremely evil. Expressive of the worst and most degraded in human nature: so inconsistent with virtue as to seem bestial. Most people agree that Hitler's concentration camps were wholly evil.

KEY: a=extremely virtuous, b, c, d, e=extremely evil.

1. Prayer: a b c d e
2. Having extramarital affairs: a b c d e
3. Avenging slights: a b c d e
4. Democratic rule: a b c d e
5. Hallucinogenic drugs: a b c d e
6. Being liked: a b c d e
7. Lying: a b c d e
8. Returning found money: a b c d e
9. Observing tradition: a b c d e

KEY: a=extremely virtuous, b, c, d, e=extremely evil.

10. Capital punishment: a b c d e

11. Patriotism: a b c d e

12. Going to prostitutes: a b c d e

13. Submission to the will of the group: a b c d e

14. Religious intermarriage: a b c d e

15. Using narcotics: a b c d e

16. Cheating on exams: a b c d e

17. War: a b c d e

18. Masturbation: a b c d e

19. Atheism: a b c d e

20. Pornography: a b c d e

21. Sterilization of the unfit: a b c d e

22. Misleading another person: a b c d e

23. Premarital sex: a b c d e

24. Punishment for children: a b c d e

25. Birth control: a b c d e

26. Stealing: a b c d e

27. Nudity: a b c d e

29. Returning borrowed items: a b c d e

29. Respect for elders: a b c d e

30. Marijuana: a b c d e

SCALE II. Esthetic Quality.--You are asked to rate the items in terms of their beauty or ugliness, without regard to their morality or whether they are emotionally pleasant or unpleasant. For

instance, the subject matter of a work of art might arouse very disagreeable emotions, and yet the work of art be judged esthetically beautiful.

a. Extremely beautiful

b. Moderately beautiful

c. Neutral. Neither beautiful or ugly.

d. Moderately ugly

e. Extremely ugly

KEY: a=extremely beautiful, b, c, d, e=extremely ugly.

1. Prayer: a b c d e
2. Having extramarital affairs: a b c d e
3. Avenging slights: a b c d e
4. Democratic rule: a b c d e
5. Hallucinogenic drugs: a b c d e
6. Being liked: a b c d e
7. Lying: a b c d e
8. Returning found money: a b c d e
9. Observing tradition: a b c d e
10. Capital punishment: a b c d e
11. Patriotism: a b c d e
12. Going to prostitutes: a b c d e
13. Submission to the will of the group: a b c d e
14. Religious intermarriage: a b c d e
15. Using narcotics: a b c d e
16. Cheating on exams: a b c d e
17. War: a b c d e

KEY: a=extremely beautiful, b, c, d, e=extremely ugly.

18. Masturbation: a b c d e
19. Atheism: a b c d e
20. Pornography: a b c d e
21. Sterilization of the unfit: a b c d e
22. Misleading another person: a b c d e
23. Premarital sex: a b c d e
24. Punishment for children: a b c d e
25. Birth control: a b c d e
26. Stealing: a b c d e
27. Nudity: a b c d e
28. Returning borrowed items: a b c d e
29. Respect for elders: a b c d e
30. Marijuana: a b c d e

SCALE III. Personal or Social Utility.--This scale asks for a reasoned judgment of whether something is helpful or injurious to people in society, without regard to moral right or wrong. Money may indeed be the root of all evil, but it is also a convenient medium of exchange.

a. Extremely useful. So essential that one can hardly imagine an individual or a society being able to get along without it. A society would quickly break down if its members did not speak a common language or have an agreed-upon system of laws and customs.

b. Moderately useful. Contributes to human welfare, but it is not so important that society would break down

without it. A common currency is useful to have but it is not indispensable, since other means of exchange are possible.

c. Neutral. Neither useful or harmful. Contributes little or nothing to human welfare but is essentially harmless. Thus, taking vitamin pills probably doesn't do healthy adults much good, but neither is it likely to injure them.

d. Moderately injurious. Impairs the functioning of the individual or the group but does not threaten total breakdown. For instance, blindness is a serious disability, but many blind people manage to lead almost normal lives.

e. Extremely injurious. Destructive. Threatens the person's or the society's very ability to function as in the case of a widespread epidemic such as plague or cholera.

KEY: a=extremely useful, b, c, d, e=extremely injurious.

1. Prayer: a b c d e
2. Having extramarital affairs: a b c d e
3. Avenging slights: a b c d e
4. Democratic rule: a b c d e
5. Hallucinogenic drugs: a b c d e
6. Being liked: a b c d e
7. Lying: a b c d e
8. Returning found money: a b c d e

KEY: a=extremely useful, b, c, d, e=extremely injurious.

9. Observing traditions: a b c d e
10. Capital punishment: a b c d e
11. Patriotism: a b c d e
12. Going to prostitutes: a b c d e
13. Submission to the will of the group: a b c d e
14. Religious intermarriage: a b c d e
15. Using narcotics: a b c d e
16. Cheating on exams: a b c d e
17. War: a b c d e
18. Masturbation: a b c d e
19. Atheism: a b c d e
20. Pornography: a b c d e
21. Sterilization of the unfit: a b c d e
22. Misleading another person: a b c d e
23. Premarital sex: a b c d e
24. Punishment for children: a b c d e
25. Birth control: a b c d e
26. Stealing: a b c d e
27. Nudity: a b c d e
28. Returning borrowed items: a b c d e
29. Respect for elders: a b c d e
30. Marijuana: a b c d e

SCALE IV. Rationality.--Judgment of the degree to which something makes coherent good sense or seems disordered, fantastic or insane.

a. Extremely rational. Based on sound knowledge of facts

and their implications, and on understanding of how things work and can be made to work. In harmony with the best available evidence.

b. Predominantly rational. May have irrational elements, but in general makes good sense.

c. A balanced mixture of rational and irrational.

d. Predominantly irrational. In spite of some rational elements, is in general foolish, senseless, silly or deluded.

e. Extremely irrational. Founded on false beliefs or illogical. Bizarre, crazy, deranged.

KEY: a=extremely rational, b, c, d, e=extremely irrational

1. Prayer: a b c d e
2. Having extramarital affairs: a b c d e
3. Avenging slights: a b c d e
4. Democratic rule: a b c d e
5. Hallucinogenic drugs: a b c d e
6. Being liked: a b c d e
7. Lying: a b c d e
8. Returning found money: a b c d e
9. Observing tradition: a b c d e
10. Capital punishment: a b c d e
11. Patriotism: a b c d e
12. Going to prostitutes: a b c d e
13. Submission to the will of the group: a b c d e
14. Religious intermarriage: a b c d e

KEY: a=extremely rational, b, c, d, e=extremely irrational

15. Using narcotics: a b c d e
16. Cheating on exams: a b c d e
17. War: a b c d e
18. Masturbation: a b c d e
19. Atheism: a b c d e
20. Pornography: a b c d e
21. Sterilization of the unfit: a b c d e
22. Misleading another person: a b c d e
23. Premarital sex: a b c d e
24. Punishment for children: a b c d e
25. Birth control: a b c d e
26. Stealing: a b c d e
27. Nudity: a b c d e
28. Returning borrowed items: a b c d e
29. Respect for elders: a b c d e
30. Marijuana: a b c d e

SCALE V: Emotional Quality.--You are asked to say whether the emotions you associate with the items are pleasant or disagreeable. Notice that this is not the same as moral or immoral: we would not be tempted to sin if certain things were not at the same time emotionally attractive. Nor is it the same thing as esthetically beautiful or ugly: a work of art can portray something pleasant in an esthetically ugly way, or something unpleasant beautifully. Notice, too, that some of your

judgments will be based on actual first-hand experience, while others will have to be based on what you think or imagine.

a. Extremely pleasant

b. Moderately pleasant. May contain disagreeable elements, but not enough to spoil the predominantly pleasant feelings.

c. Neutral. Neither pleasant nor unpleasant, or else arouses little emotion of any kind.

d. Moderately unpleasant. May contain pleasant elements, but not enough to compensate for the predominantly disagreeable feelings.

e. Extremely unpleasant.

KEY: a=extremely pleasant, b, c, d, e=extremely unpleasant

1. Prayer: a b c d e
2. Having extramarital affairs: a b c d e
3. Avenging slights: a b c d e
4. Democratic rule: a b c d e
5. Hallucinogenic drugs: a b c d e
6. Being liked: a b c d e
7. Lying: a b c d e
8. Returning found money: a b c d e
9. Observing tradition: a b c d e
10. Capital punishment: a b c d e
11. Patriotism: a b c d e
12. Going to prostitutes: a b c d e
13. Submission to the will of the group: a b c d e

KEY: a=extremely pleasant, b, c, d, e=extremely unpleasant

14. Religious intermarriage: a b c d e
15. Using narcotics: a b c d e
16. Cheating on exams: a b c d e
17. War: a b c d e
18. Masturbation: a b c d e
19. Atheism: a b c d e
20. Pornography: a b c d e
21. Sterilization of the unfit: a b c d e
22. Misleading another person: a b c d e
23. Premarital sex: a b c d e
24. Punishment for children: a b c d e
25. Birth control: a b c d e
26. Stealing: a b c d e
27. Nudity: a b c d e
28. Returning borrowed items: a b c d e
29. Respect for elders: a b c d e
30. Marijuana: a b c d e

SCALE VI. Personal Relevance.--You are asked to say how personally concerned you are with each item, whether it is something that you think a great deal about and is of great importance to you, or whether it is something remote, about which you think seldom or never, about which you are essentially indifferent.

a. Extreme concern. This item deals with an issue that is of extreme concern to you, about which you think a great deal,

and which involves your personal life and actions.

b. Moderate concern. This item is of recurring concern to you, you think about it often, but it is likely to yield in your ordinary life to more pressing matters.

c. Some concern. You recognize that this item is important and sometimes think about it, but it has slight bearing on the conduct of your life.

d. Little concern. While recognizing that this item may be important, you think about it seldom and give it little weight in the conduct of your life.

e. Minimal concern. You think about it practically not at all, and it is remote from you, with virtually no importance for your own affairs.

KEY: a=extreme concern, b, c, d, e=minimal concern

1. Prayer: a b c d e
2. Having extramarital affairs: a b c d e
3. Avenging slights: a b c d e
4. Democratic rule: a b c d e
5. Hallucinogenic drugs: a b c d e
6. Being liked: a b c d e
7. Lying: a b c d e
8. Returning found money: a b c d e
9. Observing tradition: a b c d e
10. Capital punishment: a b c d e
11. Patriotism: a b c d e
12. Going to prostitutes: a b c d e

KEY: a-extreme concern, b, c, d, e=minimal concern

13. Submission to the will of the group: a b c d e
14. Religious intermarriage: a b c d e
15. Using narcotics: a b c d e
16. Cheating on exams: a b c d e
17. War: a b c d e
18. Masturbation: a b c d e
19. Atheism: a b c d e
20. Pornography: a b c d e
21. Sterilization of the unfit: a b c d e
22. Misleading another person: a b c d e
23. Premarital sex: a b c d e
24. Punishment for children: a b c d e
25. Birth control: a b c d e
26. Stealing: a b c d e
27. Nudity: a b c d e
28. Returning borrowed items: a b c d e
29. Respect for elders: a b c d e
30. Marijuana: a b c d e

APPENDIX C

Please fill in the following:

1. Date of birth: Month_____ Year____

2. Sex: Male____ Female____

3. Which school year are you in?

   Freshman____

   Sophomore____

   Junior____

   Senior____

4. What is your major subject?

5. Residence: Commute from parents' home____

   Dormitory____

   Fraternity house____

   Off-campus apartment____

   Other (specify)_____

6. What religion were you brought up in?

7. By circling the appropriate number, indicate the degree to which you practice your religion:

Non-practicing				Practicing
1	2	3	4	5

8. In general, where would you place yourself on a scale of political orientation:

Radical right				Radical Left
1	2	3	4	5

9. How many brothers and sisters do you have?_____

10. How many younger brothers and sisters do you have?_____

11. Have you ever worked? Yes____ No____

    If yes, Part-time____ Full-time____

12. Do you belong to on-campus groups? Yes____ No____

    If yes, which?_____

13. Do you belong to off-campus groups? Yes____ No____

    If yes, which?_____

14. Are you: Married____ Engaged____ Pinned____ Going steady____

    Dating, but not going steady____ Other____

15. The size of my home city is: Below 3,000____

    3,000-10,000____

    10,000-30,000____

    30,000-100,000____

    100,000-500,000____

    Over 500,000____

16. Which newspapers and magazines do you read regularly?

17. Which newspapers and magazines do your parents read regularly?

18. What is your father's occupation? (Be specific)_____

19. What is the highest grade your father attended in school?_____

APPENDIX D

Interview:

1. On your questionnaire you were asked about a moral conflict. Could you tell me about any other moral conflicts you have had recently?
2. Are there any you have had recently that you care not to discuss? (Probe for number)
3. I am interested in the time sequence of such conflicts. Could you date the conflict you gave on your questionnaire, even approximately?
4. Working back from the conflict about (cite one focused on just above), think of the conflict situation just preceding--could you give me a date for it? (Probe for further conflicts until exhausted.)
5. Focusing for the moment on the most recent conflict, could you try to reconstruct the onset of your realization that some choice would have to be made? (Probe)
6. I am now going to ask about the kinds of moral problems other people you know might face or have faced. For example,
   - a- college students generally
   - b- some close friend
   - c- adults generally
   - e- parents or some close relative
7. I would now like you to do a little crystal-ball gazing. Concerning your future--Let's say the next 2-4 years, what sorts of conflicts do you see yourself encountering? (Probe: Why? Any others? etc.)

8. While there is some agreement, people may have somewhat differing ideas about morality.
   a- How would you define morality?
   b- In what ways would you say your own conception of morality is like that generally recognized in our society?
   c- In what ways would you say your own conception of morality differs from that generally recognized in our society?
   d- Why do you try to live up to your moral code?
9. On your questionnaire you mention that you belong to (name groups). For each:
   a- How active are you?
   b- What influence do you think this group has had on you?
   c- How would you evaluate this group? (Probe for goal achievement, leadership, etc.)
10. On your questionnaire you mention that you live (name residence).
   a- Did you choose to live there?
   b- If not, where would you prefer to live?
   c- If yes, what entered into your choice at the time you made it? (Probe) Are you satisfied with your choice?

APPENDIX E

a) Rule for behavior is clearly stated and its violation is discussed.

Example: I work in a retail drug store. One of our biggest problems is problems of security. Recently I came across a fellow employee who was taking some merchandise to be paid for from my counter. This merchandise was to be written up by the manager and paid for at my register giving me a receipt for the merchandise to be placed in my register. The other employee never gave in the merchandise to pay for it. Only I knew that she had taken it. It is really dishonest to take things this way. I now had a choice either to tell my manager what had happened or to overlook the situation and mind my own business. I double checked all the other registers to be sure it wasn't given at the wrong counter. It wasn't.

b) Clearly stated conflicting rules are discussed.

Example: This summer I was using a car, that my father had purchased, to go to work. When I came to school I brought the car with me and it was agreed that I would pay for the car monthly. As it turned out I didn't find a job I liked and decided to leave the car at home. My conflict came in the fact of whether or not I should continue to make payments to my father for the car. My father said yes because I would be the only one to use it. I said no because the car would be home and I wouldn't come home that often during the winter.

c) An implied rule and its violation are discussed.

Example: A very close friend and myself work together as bank tellers. My friend had showed large differences and was on probation because of it. Several days later she was one hundred dollars short, and might be fired because of it. She took the money out of her own pocket and put it some place at random in her cage. She asked me to say that this money was her difference, and that I'd just happened to find it in her cage. I didn't know what to do.

d) Implied conflicting rules are discussed.

Example: The situation was whether or not to join the Marine Corps. After graduation from high school I was contemplating with this idea. My friends had joined and I had always wanted to join. But my parents did not want me to because I had an opportunity to further my education.

e) Rules, stated or implied, are not part of the discussion.

Example: I am somewhat disgusted with school. I feel bored and feel that I've made the wrong career choice. I think I found this out when I first came here but figured I'd float through. This is the wrong attitude and I now feel that I should try and find a job that I would be happy in. Even getting drafted would at least give me time to think of what I want while fulfilling my service obligation.

APPENDIX F

1. Social-interpersonal:

   There is an elderly man who lives in the next room to mine in a brownstone house. Necessarily, we share some of the same facilities--bathroom, hallway, etc. He is single, in his mid-sixties and obviously lonesome, much of his family dead, married, etc. He often attempts to make conversation but we have totally different outlooks on big "issues" and nothing "small" in common. He is very set in his habits, many of which I consider to be rather ridiculous and troublesome to myself. There must be no more than 25 w. lamps in any of the sockets, etc. He loves to talk about his friends and activities 25 yrs. ago--of no interest whatever to me. A few nights ago he knocked on my door and asked if he could use my phone, since he was sick and didn't wish to go outside to call his boss. He wished to tell his boss he couldn't go to work the next day. I didn't know whether or not I should let him in.

2. Sexual:

   The only moral conflict I've had is whether or not to have sexual relations with a girl I was seeing. I had reached this point with others but I wasn't sure this wouldn't effect the girl's moral make-up.

3. Religion:

   Being brought up in the Jewish Orthodox faith I was faced with a problem of birth control. I wanted to adhere to the orthodox teaching which prohibits birth control. My wife, however, also orthodox wanted to practice birth control, she seemed to fear the (physical) burden of caring for too many children. I was not too happy about her feelings. Moral conflict was whether to obey the Torah law which I adhere to in all other aspects (Sabbath, holidays, daily prayer, charity, kosher home), or follow the wishes of my wife.

4. Legal:

   Recently at work some kids broke into a cigarette machine and were able to get the money it contained. One of the other ladies who was also working saw it and called me over to watch what the kids were doing. We both knew it was wrong but the other lady stood there and laughed and thought nothing of it. I thought the manager should at least know about it but the other woman kept telling me not to go to the manager because the kids would get into trouble and she didn't want that to happen. I didn't know what to do.

5. Political-ideological:

While my school is not especially radical, it has had a few disturbances in the last few years. I haven't gotten involved in these political things because it wasn't very relevant to me and because I am a conservative and the active students are always from the liberal side. A few months ago I became aware of a revolt brewing among students in my department. They decided that the Chairman, in addition to being totally inept, was much too conservative, and should be fired. I agreed with them that the man was a terrible chairman, but his political views were similar to mine and I didn't think he should be booted out because of his politics. I wasn't sure which side to support.

6. Honesty:

During the past several days I entered a retail cleaners in order to pick up some sheets and pillow cases. After I submitted my cleaning ticket the clerk took the ticket to the cash register to ring up the amount due. During this transaction the clerk also rang up a credit for a lost pillow case. In error, the clerk incorrectly entered the credit amount in my favor. I immediately realized this and had to decide what to do.

APPENDIX G

1. Unequivocal reference to societal or institutional rules.

Examples: a) I was sure God would forgive me knowing the conditions, for He too wants happiness for his people he created.
b) This testing system is important and it would be defeating its purpose to reward someone who did not put in time to do his work.
c) My parents have something to do with this. My mother neither smokes nor drinks at all. My father does drink but does not smoke. My parents say its up to me. Somehow I feel they prefer I didn't so I don't.

2. Reference to attitude, opinion or standard unrelated to specific conflict. Supporting authority or rule is not mentioned.

Examples: a) One shouldn't judge another by what other people have to say.
b) Love and sex should not be a childish game but more as an idea that it is the most beautiful thing in the world.
c) Girls must be treated with respect.

3. Reference to attitude, opinion or standard employed (by self) in resolving conflicts in general.

Examples: a) In resolving problems I don't believe in blind undeviating support for any rule.
b) In making decisions, love means more to me than friendships.
c) It has become part of my philosophy of life to make as much money as possible.

4. Reference to features of this type of conflict.

Examples: a) It is easier to approach this subject with her in a letter--much easier than confronting her physically.
b) I didn't see anything morally wrong with this kind of decision.
c) The situation or circumstances should have some influence in enforcing the rule.

5. Reference to characteristics specific to the conflict, e.g., goals, emotions, the nature of the conflict itself.

Examples: a) I didn't want to be the cause of someone losing their job.
b) I would have to pay him for the car if it was here or at home.
c) It is my intention to have him disciplined for his dishonest act.

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