

FOR REFERENCE

DIFFERENTIATION PROCESS OF THE MORAL
AND THE CONVENTIONAL DOMAINS IN CHILDREN

Nükhet Canbeyli

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the
Degree of Master of Arts
in
Social Psychology

Department of Psychology, Institute of Social Sciences

Bogazici University Library



39001100372930

14

Boğaziçi University

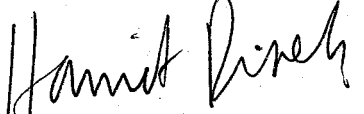
1985

This thesis, submitted by Nükhet Canbeyli to the Department of Psychology of Boğaziçi University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Degree of Master of Arts is approved.

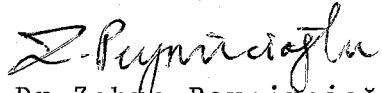
Thesis Advisor


Dr. Ayhan Koç

Committee Member


Doç. Dr. Hamit Fişek

Committee Member


Dr. Zehra Peynircioğlu



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not have been realized without the contributions and help of several people. Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr.Ayhan Koç, for her help in shaping the conceptual framework and for her contributions in the preparation of this thesis. I would also like to thank Doç.Dr.Hamit Fişek for his valuable guidance in the conceptual and the methodological aspects of the study and to Dr.Zehra Peynircioğlu, for her valuable comments.

I am grateful to Işık Gencer, Füsün Yanaç, Meltem Altan and Mehlika Lobut for their help in the pilot study and in the interviews with children. I would also like to thank the teachers and students of Selin School, and its founder, Şima Belik.

I would like to express my special thank to Sevim Canbeyli and Serrâ Akkaya for their valuable support and contributions throughout the preparation of this thesis.

Lastly, I wish to say that I am indebted to my husband, Reşit Canbeyli, to our families and friends for their help and emotional support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
ABSTRACT -----	i
INTRODUCTION -----	1
METHOD -----	23
RESULTS -----	32
DISCUSSION -----	46
REFERENCES -----	51
APPENDIX I -----	54
APPENDIX II -----	59

ABSTRACT

The present study investigates the development of morality in children within the structural-developmental approach. The structuralists maintained that the child's moral thinking develops through the differentiation of moral standards from the conventionally adhered rules which are imposed by the authority figures. In the present study, it is hypothesized that;

a) children will be able to conceptualize morality and social convention as two distinct domains, when the extreme examples of these domains are at issue at all ages, starting from 6-7 years, in the same way;

b) 7 year old children will perceive transgressions of conventionally adhered rules of social order maintenance as part of the moral domain, while 12 year old children will conceptualize them as part of the conventional domain.

The hypotheses were tested on 34 7 year old Elementary School Children and 27 12 year old Secondary School children using face-to-face interview method. The results showed that children could differentiate morality from social convention judging by the obvious stimulus of the subsequent domains at all ages. Social order maintenance transgressions were observed to form a separate category between morality and convention. The small but meaningful change in the conceptualization of

the social order maintenance transgressions toward the hypothesized direction and the significant change in the conceptualization of the conventional transgressions between the two age groups supported the hypotheses.

INTRODUCTION

"... Farewell, happy fields,
Where joy for ever dwells: hail, horrors! hail,
Infernal world! and thou, profoundest hell,
Receive thy new possessor: one who brings
A mind not to be changed by place of time.
The mind is its¹ own place, and in itself
Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."²

And ever since Satan's decision to endow the minds of Adam's descendants with, "a set of emotional states that form the bases for a limited number of universal moral categories that transcend time and locality,"³ there has been much debate and controversy over morality; its definition, its origin, its establishment and its development, which will be the major points of interest in this study.

While this plane of reasoning has initially been in the hands of philosophers, and then the arena of sociologists, it has later become an investigation area of psychologists, and child development researchers in particular (Kohlberg, 1964). Incidents like the unquestioning obedience of Hitler's Germany brought forth the probing of the relation between conformity and morality. The antecedents of this line of research lay in debate between Durkheim and Piaget in the 1920's and the 30's. Durkheim's approach was based on the internalization of

¹Its: Satan's

²Satan's words after his fall from Heaven. John Milton, Paradise Lost, Book 1.

³J.Kagan, 1984, p.119

- 2 -

the transmitted values: Conformity to rules which the authority has laid down for the individuals and respect for the established norms of the society were the elements that made a moral person (Piaget, 1932; Turiel 1978). In contrast to Durkheim's heteronomous orientation which means that the good or the moral is defined by social approval, Piaget held a constructionist view appealing to the individual's autonomous conscience. It was exactly this conformity orientation that the individual had to distinguish from justice, originating from cooperation and mutual respect among equal status individuals.

This debate brings two aspects of the issue into daylight: Societal impact on the moral judgements of the individuals and the change as observed in the moral judgements through the early years in life. Studies of moral development in the context of socialization during the 1940's were followed by a paucity of research in the following decade (Kohlberg, 1964). Starting with the 1960's however, the fresh interest of the researchers, who maintained either one or the other of the above mentioned approaches were directed to this area as pointed to by Turiel: "...the neo behaviorists (Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957; Whiting, 1960) and social-learning theorists (Aronfreed, 1968, 1976; Grinder, 1962; Mischel and Mischel, 1976; Sears, Rau and Alpert, 1965) have adhered to the internalization position, while the structural-developmental theorists (Kohlberg, 1963, 1969, 1976; Lickona, 1976 a; Rest,

1976; Selman, 1976; Turiel, 1969) have maintained that moral judgements entail autonomous principles regulating social interactions."(Turiel, 1978, p.28).

INTERNALIZATION APPROACHES

The Freudian psychoanalytic theory, which is another internalization approach, maintains that the "physiological" instincts of sexuality and aggressiveness which are under the constraints of the society, bring about a strong tension of conflict and fear of punishment which is calmed down by the resolution of the Oedipal Complex (Turiel, 1983). During this one and only modification phase in moral development (at the ages of 6 and 7), the child suppresses the sexual desire for one parent and also suppresses the aggressive impulses toward the other parent while identifying with him. He is thus transmitted the moral norms of the society as represented by the parent he identifies with. Turiel notes that morality internalized as such, has two components: The first component is the incorporation of the parental moral standards of an ego-ideal whereas the second is the conscience, which refers to the means by which adherence to the standards of an ego-ideal is maintained (Turiel, 1983). In this view, parents are the only sources of moral knowledge, the only causal agents of developmental modification and only their moral standards provide the child with

an ego-ideal which is synonymous with conscience. In this sense, the Freudian theory of moral development resembles a closed circuit between the child and the parents, ignoring any other environmental effects. Accordingly it has been criticized for not taking into consideration other "nonmoral societal influences" (Turiel, 1978).

Another internalization approach, the behaviouristic socialization paradigm, has mainly focused on the means of acquiring morality: The child internalizes the moral norms of the society by avoiding "wrong" behaviours which entail punishment, and by adopting "right" behaviours followed by rewards. "H.J.Eysenck defines conscience as a 'conditioned reflex', an anxiety-based avoidance of acts that have been punished by the society." (Lickona, 1976, p.3). This approach has been criticized by the structuralists in three major points: 1. Socialization researchers described the child's initial state, the state prior to the socialization effects, as one of self-interest, comparing it to the Freudian initial state which is explained by the psychodynamic of instincts. This assumption of self-interest was thought to be rather vague by the structuralists. 2. They also stressed the lack of research to support the assumption of self-interest. 3. Socialization researchers defined morality as behaviors or standards that parents or other adults impose upon children; this definition was thought to leave open the question of the nature or the content of these behaviors, standards or

judgements, open (Turiel, 1983). Other definitions of morality provided by the socialization researchers have been said to display a similar generality. Some examples of such definitions are: "1. evaluations of good and bad, right and wrong (Mischel and Mischel, 1976), 2. the rules or norms or values held by social systems to provide for their survival and optional functioning (Maccoby, 1980); Stein, 1967), and 3. social rules and restrictions that conflict with individual needs and desires (Aronfreed, 1969; Hoffman, 1977; Parke, 1967)". (Turiel, 1983, p.131). In relation to moral development, Mischel and Mischel argue that the child models the socialization agents and internalizes the approved or punished rules and conventions without an attempt to, "interpret both positive and negative outcomes as the result of factors outside himself." (Mischel and Mischel, 1976, p.95). Later the maturation of cognitive and behavioral competence interacts with the changed "social-learning variables" (e.g. the modeled agents appeal more to reasoning or abstract principles now). This interaction brings about sequential change in morality "to the degree that the development of cognitive competences follows a sequential course." The moral judgements developed as such define the universal aspect of morality, which is otherwise culture-specific (Mischel and Mischel, 1976, p.96).

STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH

Contrary to the internalization approaches where

there's less room for the individual's intentionality, Piaget has focused on the child's cognition and has maintained that morality development is, "part of the more general process of cognitive development." (Piaget, 1948, cited in Maccoby, 1968, p.231) Piaget's experiments with children led him to state that the young preoperational child cannot differentiate between the surrounding physical world and himself as the subject. The surrounding world embodies objects, physical laws and people who deal with him in rhythmic regularities. Piaget's approach rests on the cognition of rules which in the beginning are undifferentiated from their sources and presented to him with a certain regularity, so the child confuses physical laws and social regularities (Piaget, 1932). After this pre-moral stage, around the time when the child masters concrete operations, parents as authority figures impose certain rules on the child to bring about "constraint" in his moral judgements. At this initial level of development, which is to last until 8 years of age, moral judgements are heteronomous; what is moral is what is approved by the adults. Furthermore egocentric thinking leads to intense feelings of respect by the child for authority figures (unilateral respect), given the differences in size, power and status between himself and adults. Therefore rules of authority "are regarded as sacred and untouchable emanating from adults and lasting forever." (Piaget, 1932, p.91). Thus the child accepts the obligation to conform to the rules. Between the ages of 8-12, the child interacts

with equal-status peers and starts to focus more on intentions than on the material consequences of an action in his moral judgements. But it is only through the culmination of the formal operations stage that the child can free himself from constraint in his moral judgements. Only then is he "logically capable of reversibility and flexibility necessary to use through processes to coordinate facts and generate hypotheses." (Gold, 1975).

As reciprocity and equality are experienced in the practice of rules, the child comes to distinguish his ego or personality from the external reality which embodies the adult world. He then becomes consciously aware of the rules as "the outcome of a free decision and worthy of respect in the measure that it has enlisted mutual consent." (Piaget, 1932). With intellectual growth, social equality with peers and liberation from adult authority, during the ages of 10-12, the rules are perceived to be contingent on mutual consent. So the heteronomous orientation (the good as defined by obedience to the rules) is replaced by autonomy and mutual respect among equal-status peers, where morality is defined as justice. Therefore the good or the moral is no more confused with obedience to authority; and truthfulness becomes an object envisaged as good by autonomous personal conscience (Piaget, 1932).

The Kohlbergian outlook on moral development adopted a similar definition of morality as justice and maintained that

the child passes through three levels of development before coming to value individual rights and human welfare at the expense of obedience to authority and convention. Once again society's impact on the individuals as imposing rules and demanding conformity is stressed. Contrary to Piaget, Kohlberg assumed that the developmental progress was stretched on to adolescence and claimed that the Freudian principle of hedonism (maximizing rewards, avoiding punishment) was the factor which was operative on the child's obedience orientation rather than the respect for rules and authority (Kohlberg, 1976; H. Rosen, 1980; Turiel, 1983).

Kohlberg explained his three levels (each constituted of two substages) as "three different types of relationships between the self and society's rules and expectations." (Kohlberg, 1976, p.33). Among the pre-conventional, the conventional and the post-conventional levels, the second level portrays the individual's most intense orientation toward conformity to the societal norms; so only the substages of this level will be considered in this review. At the pre-conventional level rules of authority remain external to the self. The spirit of conventionality which dominates the second level, is defined as "conforming to and upholding the rules and expectations and conventions of the society or the authority just because they are society's rules, expectations or conventions." (Kohlberg, 1976, p.33). At the first substage of social approval in this second level, the child's conformity

orientation is directed to people in his environment; he conforms to avoid dislike or disapproval by others. At the second stage, the individual endeavours to fulfill his duties to the social system, conforming to society's law for the maintenance of social order. At the post-conventional level, the individual has differentiated his self from the rules and expectations of others and defines his values in terms of self-chosen principles (Kohlberg, 1976, p.33).

TURIEL'S POINT OF VIEW

It is noteworthy how all the theoreticians mentioned up to this point converge on the impact of the society's demand for conformity on the individual, morality either defined as upholding the socially approved norms or conventions or the differentiation of universal moral standards from these conventions. Elliot Turiel, working on the structural developmental paradigm of Piaget and Kohlberg, deviates radically from this point of view to state that morality and convention constitute two distinct conceptual frameworks and that they develop independently of each other (Turiel, 1978, 1980, 1983). Turiel conducted experiments with subjects of varying ages (six to 17 years) to conclude that children, as early as six years of age categorize the moral and the social conventional transgressions into distinct categories in accordance with the previously prepared categories of stimulus events.

Turiel notes that children interact with the social systems either directly or symbolically starting from an early age. Since the structuralist approach holds that the child is able to transform the environment and construct structures of thought about it, Turiel claims that the child is expected to form concepts about these systems of social interaction. The diverse nature of the content of social organization is derived from his assumption of "partial systems": Turiel states that "if the child interacts with fundamentally different type of objects and events, then we would expect that child to form different conceptual frameworks" (Turiel, 1978, p.29).

Just like Piaget, Turiel assumes that the child interacts with the environment to transform and construct structures of thought about it. Piaget claims that in the early years, the child confuses physical laws with social regularities: The rules imposed by adults interact with the child's egocentric state to bring about "constraint" in his moral judgements. Therefore rules are unalterable and transcendental in nature like physical realities. Piaget states that the child has to reach a certain level in his cognitive and moral development in order to differentiate social regularities from physical laws. Turiel, on the other hand, argues that this distinction can be arrived at by simple logic without specifying an operative factor for it: The environment is not an undifferentiated whole by its very nature. Therefore the child can construct different structures from different elements in

the environment. Turiel stresses the weight of the active ordering of events more than Piaget in the interaction of the individual and the environment to construct structures (Turiel, 1983). For Piaget structures emerge from construction, while for Turiel the mental structure is independent of the environment.

According to Turiel the systems of social interaction is able to generate two distinct conceptual frameworks: Morality and convention. Turiel defines morality as justice and states that the content of the domain of morality involves "events that involve inflicting physical or psychological harm on another person, actions that serve to benefit others, the sharing of goods and events entailing retribution." (Turiel, 1978, p.27). Conventions coordinate the actions of individuals participating in social systems, "and are likely to be generated by events", that serve to coordinate social interactions and define or maintain social order and regularity" (Turiel, 1978). A certain relativity inherent in the nature of rules pertaining to these domains play the pivotal role in the realization of this distinction: Arbitrary rules (rules as relative to time and space) define the category of conventions whereas universal rules (rules nonrelative of time and space) belong to the moral domain.

Turiel states that arbitrary rules of social convention like the modes of dress or forms of address don't have an intrinsically prescriptive basis and that alternative courses ✓

of action can serve the same purposes. On the other hand moral transgressions do have an intrinsically prescriptive basis: The perception of a moral transgression as being wrong stems from features intrinsic to the event (i.e. when a child hits another child, he can empathically perceive of the consequences to the other one). Therefore moral issues are neither arbitrary nor relative to the social context (Turiel, 1978). To state it simply, the child thus capable of choosing between the rules to be obeyed and those rules which would be alright if not obeyed at the expense of society's imposition on obedience, is controversial to Piaget and Kohlberg's child who obeys all the rules just because they must be obeyed.

Turiel claims that this dichotomy of rules at the societal level is assimilated by the child at six years of age by means of sufficient cognitive maturation, the operative factors of which he doesn't specify (Keasey, 1975; Turiel, 1978). The child is claimed to be cognitively capable of attributing different meanings to different types of social rules according to the type of the action to which the rule pertains and the social context in which the rule occurs (Turiel, 1978). Turiel criticizes the approach that holds cognitive development to be one of the factors that influence moral development (Kohlberg, 1976; Tomlinson, Keasey and Keasey, 1974). He states that the researchers adopted the correlational method in assessing the relationship between cognitive and moral development; and states that interrelated-

ness between these domains cannot be assessed with such a method.

On the other hand, T.Lickona, in his review of "Research on Piaget's Theory of Moral Development" concluded that Piaget's analysis of the cognitive basis of moral development was well-founded and that moral judgements were "indisputably" developmental, subject to change with age and experience. In his words,

"Loyalty and genuine respect for personal authority, like respect for rules, is something that children must develop during the early school years (ages 4 to 7) and something that accompanies advance, not immaturity, on moral dimensions such as judging the rightness of an action apart from its external consequences. The child's early obedience orientation in moral thinking appears to be based less on respect for moral status of adults than on simple recognition of their superior power." (T.Lickona, 1976b, p.240).

So it appears that the child's early obedience orientation is directed to the rules of authority; and that he is unable to differentiate the conventionally adhered rules from universal moral principles due to the lack of cognitive developmental factors which influence moral development. This view is controversial to Turiel's stance as to the child's early differentiation of convention from morality. It is necessary to have a closer look at Turiel's research to arrive at a resolution.

TRANSGRESSIONS OF SOCIAL ORDER

As was discussed earlier Turiel criticizes the various definitions of morality and the stimulus events used in the experimental paradigm of the internalization approach. He points out their lack of precision in defining the reference points and limits of the moral domain as distinct from the domain of social conventions. He argues that the forbidden toy experiments of the social learning researchers were largely influenced by the social structure of the experimental situation and stresses the confounding effect of the experimental situation again in the modeling experiments. He states that the subjects in these experiments are informed about the society's expectations and conventions through modeling rather than displaying morally more mature levels in their behaviours. Turiel classified all the stimulus events used in the studies of moral development in the literature in his two major categories, morality and convention, including game rules (which have also provided the basis for Piaget's studies in moral development) in the latter dimension: Turiel reports results from his studies where majority of the subjects viewed game rules as alterable by the participants (Turiel, 1978, 1983).

On the other hand, Turiel defines conventions as behavioral uniformities coordinating the actions of individuals and states that stimulus events for conventionality include

events that coordinate social interactions (examples are addressing a teacher by her first or last name and forms of address on an envelope), events that maintain or define social regularity (i.e. a boy who wants to become a nurse or eating manners), and events that maintain social order (disobedience of parental instructions and sexuality).

Turiel criticizes Piaget for not drawing his stimulus events of morality from the domain of morality. He claims that the rules of the marbles game and transgressions of the social order between the authority figure and the child, in fact belong to the convention dimension since they do not bear an intrinsically prescriptive basis. However for Piaget, what has a bearing on moral judgements from the game-rule-paradigm, are the constitutive rules which are functional principles that are nonrelative in time and space, and therefore are moral:

"The rules of the Square, of the Coche, etc., which are observed by children of 11-13 are 'constituted' rules, due to mutual consent and capable of being altered by general opinion. The precedence given to justice as opposed to chance, on the other hand, of effort over easy gain are 'constitutive' rules for without this 'spirit of the game' no cooperation could be possible. In the same way, so called moral rules, can, generally speaking, be divided into constituted rules, dependent on mutual consent, and constitutive rules or functional principles which render cooperation and reciprocity possible." (Piaget, 1932, pp.92-93).

Turiel makes a long list of stimulus events used in the investigation of morality in the literature and classifies them either as moral or conventional according to his criterion of relativity in time and space (Turiel, 1978). He includes acts at the service of the maintenance of social order between the authority figure and the child as used by Piaget as well as the game rules in the conventional domain, though he has not used them in his experiments. Instead he uses dress codes or forms of addressing another person by his first or last name which stress the coordination of social interactions. He also makes use of the forms of address on an envelope which give weight to the maintenance of social regularity, depending on his own definition of conventions, mentioned earlier. On the other hand, Piaget's argument of the early undifferentiation of convention from morality rests on how the child perceives the authority figures' demand on conformity to all the rules they present, moral or conventional. So the refutation of the argument that morality is undifferentiated from convention in the early years of moral development seems to be rather incomplete without the appearance of social order maintenance transgressions in the convention domain.

On the other hand, it is possible to assume a continuum between the stimulus events of convention and morality rather than two dichotomous categories. There are some moral and some conventional transgressions that can be perceived as more important than other transgressions in the subsequent domains:

For example, although physical harm to property, stealing and harm to human life belong to the morality dimension, Heinz of the Kohlbergian dilemma situations had to give harm to physical property, steal in order to save a human life for a person of the most advanced level on Kohlbergian measures. Jerome Kagan holds that the 'feeling' component of a moral transgression precedes that of rational reasoning in the laymen's decisions and stresses the importance of "moral relativism": "...each culture and historical period presents a unique profile of provocative conditions for a few unpleasant feeling states..." and "recognition of the relation of feelings to morality may help to explain the useful distinction between a conventional and a principled standard, because only the latter is tied to strong emotion." (Jerome Kagan, 1984, pp.120 and 121). In the light of this statement, one can assume that disobedience to parental instructions may bear a stronger affective tone than changing the order of the words of an address for a 6 year old child. Piaget has maintained that a child of 11-12 who has freed himself from adult constraint would be quitelkely to disobey his father's instructions while a younger one would associate this instruction with the transcendental, given nature of physical laws, therefore with the morality dimension. So the stimulus events of the conventionally adhered social order maintenance transgressions between the authority figure and the child can be expected to reveal the Piagetian format of moral development: Piaget claims that morality isn't differentiated from convention in the early

years developing to the point where it operates on self-chosen autonomous standards.

The aim of the research:

The affective tone of the transgressions of social order maintenance can be expected to be stronger in the Turkish culture: Kagıtcıbaşı gives evidence of the nature of the Turkish family as adopting a strong discipline accompanied by much love towards the child (Kagıtcıbaşı, 1973). On the other hand, Maccoby speculates that "high degrees of restrictiveness by warm parents may mean that the child is over-controlled and inflexible, remaining dependent upon external authority for the control of his actions instead of developing the ability to make his own judgement and administer his own sanctions (Maccoby, 1968, p.250). Accordingly Kagıtcıbaşı claims that respect for authority operates as a social norm at the societal level in Turkey, since it appears to be a prerequisite for the traditional structure of the family (Kagıtcıbaşı, 1973). It can be expected that a child who is dependent upon external authority rather than his own judgements for the control of his actions will perceive the relationship between the authority and himself as more important than a child who has morally developed to view the rules of authority as dependent on mutual consent. It is quite probable that the over-controlled child will try to maintain the social order between the authority figure and himself and

resist the idea that one can determine his own actions relying on his autonomous conscience at the expense of the sanctions of the authority. Therefore given the respect for authority which operates as a social norm in the Turkish culture, a child between the ages of 7-11 who is at the stage of "the morality of constraint", will perceive the transgressions of the social order maintenance between the authority and himself as non-relative in time and space, that is in the morality dimensions.

It also appears that the affective tone of the conventions fluctuates in the convention dimension per se and it can also vary across cultures. A similar assumption can be made for the transgression in the morality dimension: Harm to human life is viewed as more important than harm to property. So the transgressions of morality and convention can be assumed to lie on a continuum: There are some transgressions which are perceived as more important than the others at both ends. Therefore it is possible to claim that stimulus events from the extreme end points of this continuum may facilitate the process of a distinct categorization, making the opposition even more apparent.

In summary, transgressions of the maintenance of social order is a category of acts which Turiel has appropriately included within the convention dimension, but has not used as a stimulus event. The stimulus events of this nature have a stronger affective tone than the extremely obvious conventions;

and their authority based orientation may help to reveal the Piagetian format of moral development. Piaget claimed that the child between the ages of 7-11, who is under the constraint of authority in his moral judgements, will associate all the rules of authority (either moral or conventional) with the given nature of physical laws and therefore as rules which are immoral to violate. The child who masters concrete operations by the age of 11-12, experiences strong peer bonds and reciprocity throughout this period, is expected to view the rules as dependent on mutual consent of people. The morally developed child is expected to differentiate those rules alterable by consensus from universal ethical principles, relying on his autonomous conscience.

It is expected that when social order maintenance transgressions are presented together with the moral and the conventional transgressions, a moral developmental progression in this category of acts will be observed besides the posited differentiation of the moral and the conventional dimensions. The traditional family structure in Turkey where respect for authority is said to be stressed more as compared to non-traditional families, supports the expectation that the direction of development of morality as viewed in the social order transgressions will be from morality to convention. This means that such conventionally adhered rules will not be differentiated from the morality dimension in the beginning, while they will be conceptualized in the convention dimension,

later on. The age groups of 7 and 12 are seen to be most appropriate for investigating such a development: A seven-year old child starts school and experiences the constraint of discipline in a social institution for the first time. This is also the age which Piaget claims to be both the starting point of the cognitive stage of concrete operations, and of the morality of constraint; Piaget states that the period of moral constraint will be completed by 11 years of age. But considering the respect for authority in Turkey, which can be expected to slow down the culmination of self-chosen sanctions and principles of the second stage of moral development, and Piaget's statement that the child masters concrete operations by about 12 years of age, the latter group is included in the research. So the 7 year old subjects are expected to place the transgressions dealing with the maintenance of social order within the morality dimension and the 12-year old subjects are expected to place them within the social conventional dimension, while both groups are expected to differentiate the moral and the conventional transgressions. No sex differences are expected in the above mentioned categorization of the transgressions, in line with Turiel's findings.

Hypotheses:

1. Both the 7-year old and the 12-year old subjects will judge moral transgressions to be non-relative to time and space differences, as compared to the conventional trans-

gressions, which will be judged to be relative to time and space, in the same way.

2. The 7-year old subjects will judge social order maintenance transgressions more frequently as non-relative to time and space differences, as compared to the 12-year old subjects who will judge them more frequently as relative to time and space differences.

3. There will be no sex differences in the subjects' responses to the moral, conventional and the social order maintenance transgressions.

METHOD

Two types of comparisons were designed to test the hypotheses: The within group comparisons were made to see if both the 7- and the 12- year old children conceptualized the moral and the conventional transgressions as distinct from each other. In these comparisons the 7-year old children were expected to categorize the social order maintenance transgressions within the morality domain while the 12-year old children were expected to include them in the convention domain. The between group comparisons were expected to reveal no differences in the categorization of the moral and the conventional transgressions between the 7- and the 12- year old children, while a significant difference was expected for the social order maintenance transgressions.

Subjects:

Thirty-four subjects from the 7-year old Elementary School children and 27 subjects from the 12-year old Secondary School children constituted the sample of the study. Subjects were students at the Selin Elementary and Secondary School in Levent, Istanbul. The majority of the subjects came from families that were upper middle or upper in socio-economic-status since the school is a private school. The convenience sampling technique was used since no significant differences in moral development were expected in this SES group among the children attending different schools.

Materials:

Childrens' judgements of moral, conventional and social order maintenance transgressions were obtained by asking them to evaluate different events presented in stories representing these transgressions. A pilot study was conducted two weeks prior to the original interviews in order to select the 12 stories representing transgressions relevant to each domain. Twenty-nine 10-year old students from the fourth grade served as the judges in the pilot study. They were read stories by a trained assistant in groups of four at a time. Unlike the interviews, the pilot study proceeded in the form of a paper-and-pencil test, considering the amount of time 42 stories might take in a face-to-face interview. The researcher's assistant asked two questions to the subjects: The question of judgement considered the evaluation of transgression as right or wrong and the question of relativity showed each subject's evaluation of the transgression as "right" relative to time and space, or as "wrong" non-relative to time and space. The judges for the selection of the best examples of each category of transgressions (namely the moral, the conventional and the maintenance of social order) were chosen from among the 10-year olds, because this age group was thought to mark the midway in the hypothesized developmental phase.

Piaget has claimed that children make more mature moral judgements about familiar incidents (Maccoby, 1968). Accordingly, the stories were about incidents taking place at home

or in the school environments. Each story was about 3 to 4 sentences long. The hero or the heroine of each story transgressed either morally (e.g. stealing, giving physical harm, etc.) or violated a conventional rule (e.g. writing with pen instead of with pencil on a test or changing the order of the words of an address, etc.), or transgressed the conventionally maintained social order between the adults and the child as based on an authority relation (e.g. the story of a boy who did not buy bread although he was told to do so by his father, or the story of another boy who feeds his two-year-old brother on chocolates although he was told not to do so by his mother). The moral and the social-conventional transgressions were derived from Turiel's work and other similar stories were added. Social order stories were carefully designed to give minimal importance to the physical or psychological harm, in order to project the light on the violation of the conventional social order between the adult and the child which is based on the child's obedience orientation.

The answers to the paper-and-pencil test of the pilot study were lined up on a continuum from the moral to the conventional. Out of the 42 stories, eight stories which were expected and found to be representative of purely moral and purely conventional transgressions, and four that were exactly in the midway, were selected to be used in the original study.

Procedure:

The face-to-face interview method was employed to the subjects. The interviews were carried out in a small room of the Selin school during the second and third weeks of May, 1985. The researcher, who was known as an authority figure by the children, refrained from interviewing the children herself in order to eliminate the biasing effect of pleasing a teacher. The researcher called each student by the order of their class number and guided him or her to the room of the interviewer. The researcher introduced the interviewer to the subjects as a student of Psychology Department from Boğaziçi University who needed the subject's help for a homework assignment. The subject was informed that she was going to be asked questions about some stories the interviewer was going to read and he was asked to listen very carefully and to ask if there was anything he didn't understand. He was also warned by the researcher that this was not an examination and didn't entail any sort of evaluation on his side and that he was expected to say what he really thought.

After the researcher left the room, the interviewer started to read the stories. The order of the stories dealing with the moral, the conventional and the social order maintenance transgressions (of which the latter was coded as "fuzzy" for convenience during the research) was previously randomized; the same order of the stories was valid for each subject (Appendix II presents the stories). An example for

each category is presented below:

Moral:

"Ayşe secretly took 10.000 TL from her mother's pocket. When Ayşe's mother asked her if she had seen the money, Ayşe told her that, her sister Lâle has taken the money, the preceding night. When, a few days later, it was evidently clear that Ayşe has taken the money, Ayşe's parents got angry at her and told her that what she did was wrong."

Conventional:

"Ali who has written a letter to his friend who lived in Ankara, wrote this on the envelope:

26, Bahar Aker, Turkey

Yalvaç Street, Ankara

Ali's mother told him that this was wrong; that this wasn't the form of writing an address on an envelope and that he needed to change the order of the words."

Fuzzy:

"Ahmet's father has told him to buy a loaf of bread on his way back from school. His father wouldn't be able to buy bread that day since he would be very busy. Although Ahmet remembered what his father told him, 'I shall get it sometime later', he thought after leaving school. Seeing no bread on the dinner table, Ahmet's father got angry at him."

The name of the transgression (e.g., stealing, lying, disobedience) was never explicitly stated so as to standardize the affective tone of the transgressions of the three categories. The standard response of the authority figure as, "...he got angry and told (the transgressor) that (the act) was wrong", was designed to serve the same purpose of equalizing the affective tone which was expected to enable the subject to differentiate the various categories of transgressions freely.

The first question of the interviewer asked for a simple judgement of the transgressor's act:

"What do you think about what Ayşe has done? Was it right or wrong?"

After having let the subject take a definite stand on the issue, the second and the more important question of relativity followed:

"Would this behavior be right or wrong if there were no rules about it (taking someone else's money secretly or changing the order of the words of an address on an envelope or not buying bread although having been asked to do so by the father) in another place or at another time?"

It was vitally important that the subjects were clear about this question; so the interviewer repeated or made the subject repeat the story and the question and/or explained

more by giving examples of them by simulation to people in the subject's environment.

Finally, the subject was asked to state the reason for his answer and that, too, was briefly recorded on the data sheet.

Scoring:

The subjects' answers to the questions were recorded by a check mark in the boxes for "right" or "wrong" on an answer sheet for both the question of judgment and the question of relativity for each story.

The first question of judgment was planned to set the stage for preparation of the question of relativity; so only the answers to the second questions were considered in evaluating the data. If the subject stated that the transgression would have been "wrong" even if there were no rules about it in another place or at another time, the answer was evaluated as the conceptualization of the act in the morality dimension. The opposite statement about the transgression as "right" if there were no rules about it at another time or in another place, included it in the dimension of social conventions. There were 4 stories in each of the 3 domains and the subject received a score based on the 4 stories of each set for each of the 3 domains. In other words, the subjects had one score for the 4 stories in the moral domain, another score for the 4 stories in the convention domain and the same

for the fuzzy transgressions. These 3 scores of each subject were obtained by counting the number of stories he answered as "wrong" in each of the 3 sets of stories; e.g. if a certain subject answered 3 questions of the fuzzy category as "right", his score in this domain would be "1", since he answered only one as "wrong". In this way, both the responses to the fuzzy and the conventional transgressions were contrasted to the moral transgressions in order to see how similar or different they were from the moral domain. The highest score a subject could get on a set of stories is 4, which shows that the subject has categorized all of the transgressions in the story of this set in the domain of morality. On the other hand, the least score is 0, which shows that the subject has categorized all of the transgressions in the stories of this set in the domain of conventions. So a subject's score for each category can range between a minimum of 0 (the conventional end) and a maximum of 4 (the morality end).

There were a few subjects who were unable to make any kind of differentiation among the stories and answered all the questions as "wrong". 6 subjects from the Elementary School group and 2 subjects from the Secondary School group were eliminated from the sample. Although the problematic of relativity in time and space was thoroughly explained during the interviews, subjects in a few incidents were observed not to think extensively about the situation. Since the present study was carried out in a school setting where

children are told not to violate rules, these subjects probably found it hard to perceive some transgressions as relative to time and space. The study was based on the subject's perception of the differentiation of transgressions, so answering all the questions as "wrong" was a situation which showed that these subjects could not understand the relativity in time and space and, therefore, had to be removed from the sample.

RESULTS

As mentioned earlier, children's scores of the moral, conventional and fuzzy categories are based on the number of transgressions they evaluated as wrong, and it is possible to think of the scores as lying on a continuum with 4 designating the moral end and 0 designating the convention end. The within group comparisons for the two age groups were computed by the application of a matched samples t-test to the differences between the two scores of a comparison (e.g. the moral and the conventional, the moral and the fuzzy, the conventional and the fuzzy). In the between groups analysis, a two sampled t-test was applied to the scores of the 7-year old and the 12-year old subjects for each domain separately. The data were also analyzed for sex differences by applying a two sampled t-test to the difference of the subjects' scores across these domains.

The Within Group Comparisons

The morality-convention comparisons were made to see if the moral and the conventional transgressions were categorized in two distinct domains by both age groups. The fuzzy transgressions were compared to the moral and the conventional transgressions, respectively, to see if the former transgressions were categorized in the moral domain by the 7-year old children and if they were categorized in the conventional domain by the 12-year old children.

The 7-Year Old Group

Morality-Convention Comparison:

This comparison was made to see if the 7-year old subjects distinguished between the moral and the conventional transgressions.

TABLE I: Comparison of the 7-Year Old Children's Responses to the Moral and the Conventional Transgressions

<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>d.f.</u>	<u>p</u>
28	$\bar{X}_M = 3.714$ $\bar{X}_C = 2.5$	0.4898	4.885	27	$p < 0.01$

The matched samples t-test showed that the t value of 4.855 was significant ($p < 0.01$). This result indicates that the 7-year old subjects perceived a distinction between the moral and the conventional transgressions. Thus it is possible to say that the 7-year old subjects' categorization of the moral transgressions is very similar to the set of moral transgressions previously prepared by the judges. This result supports the claim of Hypothesis 1 for the 7-year old subjects which states that this group of subjects will judge the moral transgressions non-relative to time and space differences as compared to the conventional transgressions. In comparison, the categorization of the conventional transgressions shows a more general similarity to the set of conventional transgressions previously determined by the judges (See means in

Table I).

Morality-Fuzzy Comparison:

This comparison was designed to see if the 7-year old subjects perceived the fuzzy transgressions within the domain of morality or not.

TABLE II: Comparison of the 7-Year Old Children's Responses to the Moral and the Fuzzy Transgressions

N	\bar{X}	Variance	t	d.f.	p
28	$\bar{X}_M=3.714$ $\bar{X}_F=3.1786$	1.249	2.491	27	$p<0.01$

The results indicate that the t-value of 2.491 is significant ($p<0.01$), which shows that the 7-year old children categorize transgressions related to social order maintenance as distinct from the moral transgressions. This finding points to the significant difference in the 7-year old subjects' perception of the moral and the fuzzy transgressions. Thus the claim of Hypothesis 2 for the 7-year old subjects, which states that this group of subjects will judge social order maintenance transgressions as non-relative to time and space differences is not supported.

Fuzzy-Convention Comparison:

The fuzzy-convention comparison was designed to see if the 7-year old subjects perceived the fuzzy transgressions as distinct from the conventional transgressions.

TABLE III: Comparison of the 7-Year Old Children's Responses to the Fuzzy and the Conventional Transgressions

N	\bar{X}	Variance	t	d.f	p
28	$\bar{X}_F=3.1786$ $\bar{X}_C=2.5$	1.29	3.105	27	$p \leq 0.01$

The t-value of 3.105 which is significant at $p < 0.01$ level points to the significant difference between the fuzzy and the conventional transgressions, the latter being judged as relative to time and space. This result supports the claim stated in Hypothesis 2 that the 7-year old subjects will judge social order maintenance transgressions to be non-relative of time and space differences.

The results in this set of comparisons reveal the fact that the moral, conventional and the fuzzy transgressions are perceived in distinct categories by the 7-year olds, with the fuzzy transgressions placed at the midpoint between the moral and the conventional transgressions (See Tables II and III).

The 12-Year Old Group

Morality-Convention Comparison:

The 12-year old children's responses to the moral and the conventional transgressions were compared to see whether this group of subjects distinguished between the above mentioned transgressions.

TABLE IV: Comparison of the 12-Year Old Childrens' Responses to the Moral and the Conventional Transgressions

<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>d.f</u>	<u>p</u>
25	$\bar{X}_M = 3.48$ $\bar{X}_C = 1.2$	1.1616	10.363	24	$p \leq 0.01$

The t-value of 10.363 which is significant at the $p < 0.01$ level indicates that the 12-year old subjects categorized the moral and the conventional transgressions in a way which is similar to the sets of the moral and conventional transgressions, prepared earlier. Therefore the claim of Hypothesis I, which states that the 12-year old subjects will judge moral transgressions as non-relative to time and space differences as compared to the conventional transgressions is supported.

Morality-Fuzzy Comparison:

This comparison was designed to see if the 12-year old subjects perceived the fuzzy transgressions as distinct from the moral transgressions.

TABLE V: Comparison of the 12-Year Old Childrens' Response to the Moral and the Fuzzy Transgressions

<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>d.f</u>	<u>p</u>
25	$\bar{X}_M = 3.48$ $\bar{X}_F = 2.88$	0.64	3.6742	24	$p < 0.01$

The t-value of 3.6742 which is significant ($p < 0.01$) points to the significant difference in the perception of the moral and the fuzzy transgressions by the 12-year old subjects. This finding is in line with the hypothesized change in the perception of the fuzzy transgressions by the 12-year old children. Hypothesis 2 claims that this group of children will categorize the fuzzy transgressions in the domain of conventions, therefore as distinct from the moral domain.

Fuzzy-Convention Comparison

The responses to the fuzzy and the conventional transgressions were compared to see if the 12-year old subjects will perceive the fuzzy transgressions within the domain of conventions.

TABLE VI: Comparison of the 12-Year Old Children's Responses to the Fuzzy and the Conventional Transgressions

N	\bar{X}	Variance	t	d.f.	p
25	$\bar{X}_F = 2.88$ $\bar{X}_C = 1.2$	1.7376	6.243	24	$p < 0.01$

The t-value of 6.243 which is significant ($p < 0.01$) shows that, just as in the case of 7-year olds, the 12-year old subjects perceive the fuzzy transgressions as distinct from the moral and the conventional transgressions, placing them between the latter two. Thus, Hypothesis 2 which states that the 12-year old subjects will judge the social order

maintenance transgressions as relative to time and space is not supported. It is noteworthy, however, that the mean of this group is much closer to the convention end of the continuum as compared to the 7 year olds (see means in Tables III and IV).

The Between Groups Comparisons:

These comparisons between the two groups were designed to see if there were any differences between the 7-year and the 12-year old subjects in their responses to the moral, conventional and the fuzzy transgressions. No differences were expected for the moral and the conventional transgressions, whereas a difference was expected for the social order maintenance transgressions.

Moral Transgressions:

The finding of a non-significant difference ($t=1.074$) between the 7 and the 12-year-old children's judgments of moral transgressions is in line with the expectation that both groups will differentiate the moral and the conventional transgressions in a similar manner.

TABLE VII: Comparison of the 7-Year Old and the 12-Year Old Childrens' Responses to the Moral Transgressions

	N	\bar{X}	Variance	d.f	t
7 yrs	28	3.714	0.49	51	1.074
12 yrs	25	3.48	0.7296		

This finding points to the fact that the subjects' categorization of the moral transgressions is very similar to the category of moral transgressions, previously prepared by the judges of the pilot study. Thus it supports Hypothesis 1 in the sense that both age groups distinguish the moral and the conventional transgressions in the same way.

Conventional Transgressions:

When the two groups were compared in their responses to the conventional transgressions, a t-value of 4.634 which is significant at the $p < 0.01$ level, was obtained.

TABLE VIII: Comparison of the 7-Year Old and the 12-Year Old Childrens' Responses to the Moral Transgressions

	N	\bar{X}	Variance	d.f.	t	p
7 yrs	28	2.5	0.893	51	4.6346	$p < 0.01$
12 yrs	25	1.2	1.136			

This finding shows that between the ages of 7 to 12 the child's perception of the conventional transgressions changes and moves closer to the conventional end of the continuum (See means in Table VIII). This result does not support Hypothesis 1 that both the 7-year and the 12-year old subjects will judge the conventional transgressions relative to time and space differences in the same way.

Fuzzy Transgressions:

This comparison between the two age groups was designed to see if there was a difference in the perception of the fuzzy transgressions.

TABLE IX: Comparison of the 7-Year Old and the 12-Year Old Childrens' Responses to the Conventional Transgressions

	N	\bar{X}	Variance	t	d.f.
7 yr	28	3.1786	0.861	0.854	51
12 yr	25	2.88	2.106		

The finding of a non-significant difference in the fuzzy category ($t=0.854$, $p>0.05$) does not support Hypothesis 2 which claims that the 7-year old subjects will judge social order maintenance transgressions more frequently as non-relative to time and space differences as compared to the 12-year old subjects. Social order maintenance transgressions emerge as a separate category in both groups, though much closer to the convention end in the 12-year old group (See means in Table IX).

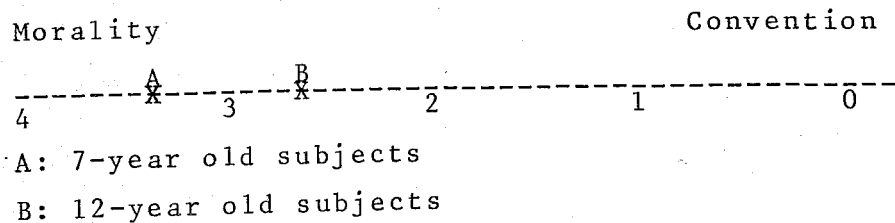


FIGURE I: The Change in the Perception of the Fuzzy Transgressions Between the Ages of 7-12

As can be seen from Figure I, the hypothesized change in the perception of the fuzzy transgressions between the two groups is along the expected direction. The second group perceives the transgressions dealing with the maintenance of social order closer to the convention end of the continuum than the first group, which indicates a certain developmental aspect of the whole picture, especially when argued in the light of the two groups' means on all three dimensions:

TABLE X: Summary Table for the Means of the 7-Year Old and the 12-Year Old Subjects for the Moral (\bar{X}_M), Fuzzy (\bar{X}_F) and the Conventional (\bar{X}_C) Categories

	\bar{X}_M	\bar{X}_F	\bar{X}_C
7 yrs.	3.71	3.17	2.50
12 yrs.	3.48	2.88	1.20

Judging by the means in the three categories, it is possible to say that the children's, responses to the transgressions of all three types shift to the conventional end, age being the operative factor.

Sex Differences:

Children's responses to the moral, conventional and the fuzzy transgressions were analyzed for sex differences. The responses of the males and the females in the 7-year old group were compared separately across the moral, conventional and the fuzzy transgressions; the same process was repeated for the 12-year old subject group.

The 7-Year Old Group

Morality:

First, the responses of the male and the female subjects to the moral transgressions were compared.

TABLE XI: Comparison of the 7-Year Old Male and Female Subjects in Their Responses to the Moral Transgressions

	N	\bar{X}	Variance	d.f	t
Male	13	3.7692	0.33136	26	0.133
Female	15	3.7333	05.96		

As hypothesized, no sex difference was observed indicating that children of both sexes in the 7-year old group perceive the moral transgressions in the same way.

Convention:

The next comparison was made to see if the 7-year old males and females differed in their responses to the conventional transgressions. The difference which was not significant supports Hypothesis 3 that there will be no sex difference in the subjects' responses to the conventional transgressions.

TABLE XII: Comparison of the 7-Year Old Male and Female Subjects in Their Responses to the Conventional Transgressions

	N	\bar{X}	Variance	d.f.	t
Male	13	2.4615	0.864	26	0.161
Female	15	2.4	1.04		

This result indicates that the 7-year old males and females categorize the conventional transgressions in a similar way.

Fuzzy:

The male and female subjects of the 7-year old group were compared in their responses to the fuzzy transgressions.

TABLE XIII: Comparison of the 7-Year Old Male and Female Subjects in Their Responses to the Fuzzy Transgressions

	N	\bar{X}	Variance	d.f.	t
Male	13	3.3077	0.67455	26	0.332
Female	15	3.2	0.6933		

As expected, no sex difference was observed in the category of fuzzy transgressions. This finding points to the fact that the perception of the fuzzy transgressions is very similar in both the 7-year old male and female subjects' responses.

The 12-Year Old Group

The males and females of the 12-year old group were compared in their responses to the transgressions of the moral, the conventional and the social order maintenance transgressions.

Morality:

TABLE XIV: Comparison of the 12-Year Old Male and Female Subjects' in Their Responses to the Moral Transgressions

	N	\bar{X}	Variance	d.f.	t
Male	14	3.2857	0.9184	23	1.27
Female	11	3.7272	0.380		

The responses of the 12-year old males and females were compared in their responses to the moral transgressions. The result, which is non-significant, supports Hypothesis 3 that there will be no sex differences in the children's responses to the moral transgressions. It appears that the 12-year old males and females perceive the moral transgressions in a similar way.

Convention:

This comparison was made to see if there was a difference in the way the 12-year old males and females perceived the conventional transgressions.

TABLE XV: Comparison of the 12-Year Old Males and Females in Their Responses to the Conventional Transgressions

	N	\bar{X}	Variance	d.f.	t
Male	14	1.1428	1.551	23	1.03
Female	11	1.6363	0.9587		

The result, which is non-significant, is in line with the previous expectation of no sex difference along the domain of conventional transgressions.

Fuzzy:

The 12-year old male and female subjects were compared in their responses to the fuzzy transgressions, expecting no significant differences.

TABLE XVI: Comparison of the 12-Year Old Males and Females in Their Responses to the Fuzzy Transgressions

	N	\bar{X}	Variance	d.f.	t
Male	14	2.8571	1.9796	23	1.633
Female	11	3.6363	0.4132		

The failure to find a significant sex difference points to the fact that the 12-year old males and females perceive the fuzzy transgressions in a similar way.

As can be seen from the above results, there is no significant difference between the males and the females in both age groups with respect to their categorization of transgressions in the moral, conventional or the fuzzy domains. These results are in conformity with Turiel's findings.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study can be summarized in two sections: 1) The differentiation of the moral and the social-conventional domains and 2) The development of morality as observed in the transgressions of the maintenance of social order between the authority figure and the child.

1. The differentiation of the moral and the social conventional domains

Children's responses to the moral and the conventional transgressions show that these transgressions are categorized in distinct domains. Turiel claims that this distinct categorization reflects the distinct conceptual frameworks of morality and convention, which is valid for all age groups in the same way. But the present findings showing a significant difference between the two groups in their perception of the conventional transgressions does not support the latter proposition: 12-year old subjects are observed to perceive the conventional transgressions closer to the convention end of the continuum between morality and convention, as compared to the 7-year olds. Moreover, there seems to be a regular shift of all the transgressions in the three categories to the convention end of the above mentioned continuum, as observed in the 12-year old group. The finding of the development in conventions is also crystallized in the case of the greatest difference in means which appears in the 12-year old group

between morality and convention. The change which takes place in the perception of all three domains, making itself most apparent in the domain of conventions, is suggestive of the proposition that morality develops through age. This can be explained by Piaget's approach to moral development: As the child disintegrates the false contingency between the rule and the rule-transmitter (e.g. you must not do something because you are told so by your father) he comes to segregate those rules that are valid irrespective of time and space differences from those rules that are valid relative to time and space, much better than when he was younger. He appears to be more aware of a host of rules alterable by consensus (conventions) in his environment as he experiences reciprocity and mutual respect with equal-status peers. This could only have come along by an elimination process; a process of eliminating what is really right from the right as defined by the authority figures. Thus the broadening of the scope of the conventional dimension, as distinct from the moral, supports Piaget's claim that the child's moral judgments progress from heteronomy to autonomy. This is controversial to Turiel's argument that the early differentiation of morality and convention makes Piaget's assumptions of heteronomy and autonomy unnecessary, because Piaget argued that the heteronomous orientation in the child's moral judgements resulted in a lack of differentiation between morality and convention. As mentioned earlier, the differentiation of the extreme end points of the morality-convention continuum,

although realized, cannot account for the developmental processes observed at one of the not-so-obvious category of stimulus events of the convention dimension. Therefore the assumption that the distinct categorization of the moral and the conventional transgressions reflects distinct conceptual frameworks of convention and morality needs to be reconsidered.

2. The development of morality as observed in the transgressions of the maintenance of social order between the authority figure and the child

The more interesting finding about the transgressions dealing with the maintenance of social order seems to bear traces of the traditional family structure in Turkey (where obedience to the authority figures is more stressed than the non-traditional societies) and the school environment in which the research was carried out. Apparently the Turkish child finds it very hard to place the fuzzy transgressions where they belong, that is the convention dimension, due to the, "you must do what you're told. Your elders can judge better than you do," kind of an approach which is more stressed in a traditional society like Turkey, especially in a school environment where its exercise is enmeshed with an evaluation of the child's academic performance. The results show that even the authoritarian approach of the teachers and parents which is quite far from exerting an effort to establish an autonomous mode of thought and conduct in children, cannot delay a shift, though small, of the perception of the fuzzy transgressions toward the convention end of

the continuum (See Figure I). What it can do is to slow it down instead. As the volume of the convention dimension expands, elements of the same nature that are the conventions about maintaining the social order between the adult and the child appear to shift to this domain. This is also evident in the answers to the questions of plain judgement asked in this study: "What do you think about Ayşe's behavior? Is it right or is it wrong?" While 3 positive answers for the convention and 2 for the fuzzy category were observed in the 7-year old subject group, 15 positive answers to the convention and 7 for the fuzzy category were counted for the 12 year old children (There was 1 positive answer for the younger and 2 in the older group in the morality category). The fact that a certain amount of conventional and a lesser degree of social order maintenance transgressions aren't even perceived as transgressions, is a further support to the progress in the latter category, which nevertheless takes place slowly but surely.

Looking at the results of the social order maintenance transgressions, one intuitively feels that they portray an incompleted development for they are neither perceived in the conventional dimension, nor in the morality dimension; rather the research captured a progression towards the hypothesized direction which has not reached its critical point yet. This intuition welcomes evidence from Lickona's evaluation of Piaget-based research, where it is concluded that adolescents arrive at Piaget's level of mature autonomous judgment

between 12 to 17 years, not between 11 to 12 years (Lickona, 1976b). Therefore, how the 17-year old subjects perceive the social order maintenance transgressions needs to be investigated for a full portrayal of the continuum between morality and convention. A cross-cultural study in this area would have been very valuable in reflecting the magnified tone of the obedience orientation in the Turkish culture which sets a barrier to the emergence of an autonomous democratic conscience.

In summary, it can be stated that the rule following orientation dominates the child's cognition of morality, at least for the population which the sample represents. In a study which probed this relationship, it was stated that "A willingness to follow rules as an important determinant of moral behaviour and a major component of character development was reflected by adults and students." (Y.Gold, 1975, pp.62-63). Therefore the novel hypothesis of the independent development of the morality and the convention dimensions needs to be reconsidered: The whole body of theory and research up to date has based morality development on an authority-centered rule-following orientation. Transgressions of the maintenance of the order between the authority figure and the child, which clearly reflect this dimension, must be demonstrated to be involved in the domain of conventions before aiming at a refutation of cognition-based moral developmental theory of "the unrecognized genius of Jean Piaget"¹ and other researchers working with this paradigm.

¹The term belongs to Kegan (1982).

REFERENCES

- Bull, N.J. Moral Judgement from Childhood to Adolescence, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1969.
- Clausen, J.A. Socialization and Society, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1968.
- De Palma, D.J. and Foley, J.M. Moral Development, Current Theory and Research, Hillsdale, New Jersey; Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1975.
- Gold, Y. "The Role of Cognitive Development in Moral Judgement: An Analysis of Piaget's and Kohlberg's Theories". College Student Journal, 1975, 9(1), 55-65.
- Kagan, J. The Nature of the Child, New York, Basic Books Inc., 1984.
- Kâğıtçıbaşı, Ç. Gençlerin Tutumları, Kültürlerarası Bir Karşılaştırma, Ankara, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1973.
- Kegan, R. The Evolving Self, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Kohlberg, L. "Development of Moral Character and Moral Ideology", M.L.Hoffman and L.W.Hoffman (Ed.) Review of Child Development Research, Russell Sage Foundation, 1964.

- Kohlberg, L. "Moral Stages and Moralization, The Cognitive Developmental Approach", T. Lickona (Ed.) Moral Development and Behavior: Theory, Research and Social Issues, New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.
- Lickona, T. "Critical Issues in the Study of Moral Development and Behavior", T. Lickona (Ed.) Moral Development and Behavior: Theory, Research and Social Issues, New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.
- Lickona, T. "Research on Piaget's Theory of Moral Development". T. Lickona (Ed.) Moral Development and Behavior: Theory, Research and Social Issues, New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.
- Mischel, W. and Mischel, H.N. "A Cognitive Social-Learning Approach to Morality and Self-Regulation". T. Lickona (Ed.) Moral Development and Behavior: Theory, Research and Social Issues, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1976.
- Piaget, J. The Moral Judgement of the Child, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1932.
- Rosen, H. The Development of Sociomoral Knowledge, New York, Columbia University Press, 1980.
- Sigel, I.E. "The Attainment of Concepts", M.L. Hoffman and L.W. Hoffman (Ed.) Review of Child Development Research. Russell Sage Foundation, 1964.

- Tomlinson-Keasey, C., and Keasey, C.B. "The Mediating Role of Cognitive Development in Moral Judgement". Child Development, 1974, 45(2), 291-298.
- Toulmin, S. "Rules and Their Relevance for Understanding Human Behavior". T. Mischel (Ed.) Understanding Other Persons, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1974.
- Turiel, E. "The Development of Concepts of Social Structure: Social Convention", J. Glick and K.A. Clarke-Stewart (Ed.) The Development of Social Understanding, New York, Gardner Press, Inc., 1978.
- Turiel, E. The Development of Social Knowledge, Morality and Convention, Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Turiel, E. "Social Regulations and Domains of Social Concepts", New Directions for Child Development, 1, 1978, 45-73.
- Windmiller, M., Lambert, N., Turiel, E. Moral Development and Socialization, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1980.

APPENDIX I

A. MORALITY

1. Annesinin cebinden gizlice 10.000 TL alan Ayşe, annesi parayı görüp görmediğini sorunca, parayı kardeşi Lâle'nin aldığını, bir akşam önce Lâle'yi parayı alırken gördüğünü söyler. Birkaç gün sonra parayı Ayşe'nin aldığı anlaşılınca anne ve babası Ayşe'e yaptığının yanlış olduğunu söyler ve kızarlar.

SORU A: Ayşe'nin davranışı doğru mu, yanlış mı?

SORU B: Başka bir ülkede veya başka bir zamanda bu durumla (birşeyi sahibine haber vermeden alma ve bunu yapmadığı halde başka birinin yaptığını söylemek) ilgili bir kural olmasaydı, bu davranış doğru mu, yanlış mı olurdu?

2. Güçlü kuvvetli bir çocuk olan Ali okulda bir arkadaşıyla tartışır, tartışma kavgaya dönüşür. Kavga sırasında Ali'nin vurduğu sert yumruklar yüzünden diğer çocuk bayılır. Yarım saat sonra ayıldığında ise görmesinde bir bulanıklık olduğunu farkeden çocuğun annesi durumu haber alır. Ali'nin annesi de okula gelir ve Ali'ye bu yaptığının doğru olmadığını söyler ve kızar.

SORU A: Ali'nin davranışı doğru mu, yanlış mı?

SORU B: Başka bir zaman ya da ülkede bununla ilgili (bir arkadaşına ciddi bir zarar verecek şekilde dövme) bir kural olmasaydı Ali'nin davranışı doğru mu, yanlış mı olurdu?

3. Küçük kardeşinin oyununu bozmasına çok sinirlenen Hasan birgün gene kardeşi oyununa karışınca bir iki defa O'na vurur. Kardeşi ağlamaya başlayınca iyice kızan Hasan kar-

deşini döver. Küçük çocuğun burnunun kanadığını, kollarının morardığını gören annesi Hasan'a bunun doğru olmadığını söyler ve çok kızar.

SORU A: Hasan'ın davranışı doğru mu, yanlış mı?

SORU B: Başka bir yer ya da zamanda bununla ilgili (küçük kardeşi dövmemek) bir kural olmasaydı bu davranış doğru mu, yanlış mı olurdu?

4. Hayvanların acı çektiğini görmekten zevk alan Ömer'in küçük bir kanaryası vardır. Annesi ve babası bir haftalığına evden uzaklaşınca Ömer kanaryasını yemsiz ve susuz bırakır. Eve gelince kanaryanın ölmek üzere olduğunu gören Ömer'in anne ve babası durumu anlayınca, bunun yanlış bir davranış olduğunu söyleyerek Ömer'i kızarlar.

SORU A: Ömer'in davranışı doğru mu yanlış mı?

SORU B: Başka bir devirde veya başka bir ülkede bununla (hayvanlara acı çektirmemek) ile ilgili bir kural olmasaydı, bu davranış doğru mu, yanlış mı olurdu?

B. CENVENTION

1. Metin'in öğretmeni imtihanlarda sadece kurşun kalem kullanmalarını istemektedir. Metin ise soruların numaralarını Kırmızı kalemle yazdığı için öğretmeni Metin'e kızar ve bunun yanlış bir davranış olduğunu söyler.

SORU A: Metin'in davranışı doğru mu, yanlış mı?

SORU B: Başka bir yer ya da zamanda bununla ilgili bir kural (imtihan kağıdında kurşun ya da kırmızı kalem kullanmak) olmasaydı, Metin'in davranışı doğru mu, yanlış mı olurdu?

2. Ayşe itfaiyecilerin toplum içindeki yerlerinin çok önemli olduğuna inanmaktadır. Bu yüzden, büyüdüğü zaman ne olmak istediği sorulduğunda itfaiyeci olmak istediğini söylemektedir. Babası ise Ayşe'ye bunun doğru bir düşünce olmadığını söyleyerek kızar.

SORU A: Ayşe'nin bu düşüncesi doğru mu, yanlış mı?

SORU B: Başka bir zaman ya da yerde itfaiyecilerin kız mı erkek mi olması gerektiğiyle ilgili bir kural olmasaydı, Ayşe'nin düşüncesi doğru mu, yanlış mı olurdu?

3. Köyden kente o yıl göç etmiş bir ailenin çocuğu olan Elif okuldaki yemek saatinde çatal bıçak yerine elleriyle yemek yemek istemektedir. Öğretmen buna karşı çıkararak Elif'in çatal bıçakla yemesi gerektiğini söyler.

SORU A: Elif'in davranışı doğru mu, yanlış mı?

SORU B: Başka bir yer veya daha eski zamanlarda bu durumla (yemeği çatal bıçakla yemek) ilgili bir kural olmasaydı Elif'in davranışı doğru mu yanlış mı olurdu?

4. Ankara'da oturan bir arkadaşına mektup yazan Ali zarfın üstünü şöyle yazmıştır:

No: 26, Bahar Aker, Türkiye
Yalvaç Sokak, Ankara

Ali'nin annesi bunun yanlış olduğunu, zarf üstünün böyle yazılmayacağını, kelimelerin sırasını değiştirmek gerektiğini söyler.

SORU A: Ali'nin yazdığı adres şekli doğru mu, yanlış mı?

SORU B: Başka bir zamanya da yerde bununla ilgili kurallar (zarfın üstünün yazılması) olmasaydı, bu doğru mu yanlış mı olurdu?

C. SOCIAL ORDER MAINTENANCE

1. Babası, Ahmet'e akşam okuldan eve dönerken bir ekmek almasını tembih eder. Çünkü babası o gün çok meşgul olduğu için ekmek alamayacaktır. Ahmet okuldan çıktıktan sonra babasının tembihini hatırladığı halde, "sonra bir ara alırım" diye düşünür. Akşam yemek vakti geldiğinde Ahmet'in ekmek almadığını gören babası O'na kızar.

SORU A: Ahmet'in davranışı doğru mu yanlış mı?

SORU B: Eğer başka bir yer ya da zamanda bununla ilgili (babasının yapmasını istediği şeyi yapmak ya da yapmamak) bir kural olmasaydı, Ahmet'in davranışı doğru mu yanlış mı olurdu?

2. Mehmet'in iki yaşındaki kardeşi çukulatayı çok sevmektedir. Ara sıra kardeşine çukulata verir. Mehmet'e Annesi çukulatanın küçük çocuklara faydasından çok zararı olduğunu söyleyerek izin vermez. Birgün kardeşine çukulata verdiğini gören Mehmet'in annesi, çukulatanın küçük çocuklara verilmemesi gerektiğini söyleyerek kızar.

SORU A: Mehmet'in davranışı doğru mu, yanlış mı?

SORU B: Başka bir zaman ya da yerde küçük çocuklara çukulata verilip verilmemesiyle ilgili bir kural olmasaydı, Mehmet'in davranışı doğru mu yanlış mı olurdu?

3. 17 yaşındaki Ayşe'nin sınıfı Bodrum'a bir bahar gezisi düzenlemiştir. Bu gezide öğrenciler kendi başlarına olacakları, başlarında bir öğretmen bulunmayacağı için kendisinin gitmesine izin vermeyen anne ve babasına Ayşe karşı çıkmaktadır.

SORU A: Ayşe'nin bu geziye gitmesi doğrumu, yanlış mı olurdu?

SORU B: Başka bir zaman ya da yerde bununla ilgili (geziye bir öğretmenle gitmek ya da gitmemek) bir kural olmasaydı, bu davranış doğru mu yanlış mı olurdu?

APPENDIX II

A. MORALITY

1. Ayşe secretly took 10,000 TL from her mother's pocket. When Ayşe's mother asked her if she had seen the money Ayşe told her that she had seen Lâle taking the money the preceding night. When it was evidently clear that Ayşe had taken the money, Ayşe's parents got angry at her and told her what she did was wrong.

A. Is Ayşe's behavior right or wrong?

B. Would this behavior be right or wrong if there were no rules about it (taking someone else's money secretly and saying someone else did it) in another place or at another time?

2. Ali, who is a big and strong boy, argued with a friend at school; the argument started a fight. Ali hit the other boy very hardly with his fists, and the boy fainted during the fight. When he recovered from unconsciousness, the boy found that his vision was blurred. Ali's mother came to school when she was told about the situation. She got angry at Ali and told him that what she did was wrong.

A. Is Ali's behavior right or wrong?

B. Would this behavior be right or wrong if there were no rules about it (seriously hurting a friend by beating him) in another place or at another time?

3. Hasan got very angry at his little brother who interfered with his play. One day Hasan's brother interfered with his play again and Hasan hit him once or twice. When his brother began to cry, Hasan felt very angry and beat his

brother. Hasan's mother who recognized the bruises on the little child's arms and the bleeding of his nose got very angry at Hasan and told him that his behavior was wrong.

A. Is Hasan's behavior right or wrong?

B. Would this behavior be right or wrong if there were no rules about it (not beating the little brother) in another place or at another time?

4. Ömer, who likes to watch animals suffer, had a small canary bird. When Ömer's parents left the house for a week, Ömer did not give water and food to his canary. Ömer's parents came back home and recognized that the canary was about to die of starvation. When they understood what was going on, they got angry at Ömer and told him that his behavior was wrong.

A. Is Ömer's behavior right or wrong?

B. Would this behavior be right or wrong if there were no rules about it (not to let animals suffer) in another country or at another time?

B. CONVENTION

1. Metin's teacher wanted the students to write only with a lead pencil in the examinations. But Metin wrote the numbers of the questions with a red pencil. Metin's teacher got angry at him and told him that his behavior was wrong.

A. Is Metin's behavior right or wrong?

B. Would this behavior be right or wrong if there were no rules about it (writing with a lead pencil or a red pencil in the exam) in another place or at another time?

2. Ayşe believes that firemen have a very important place and function in the society. Because of this, she says that she wants to become a fireman when she is asked about what she wants to become when she grows up. Ayşe's father, on the other hand, gets angry at her and tells her that girls cannot become firemen.

A. Is it right or wrong that Ayşe wants to become a fireman?

B. Would it be right or wrong if there were no rules about it (the gender of firemen) in another place or at another time?

3. Elif belongs to a family which had moved to the city within that year. Elif wanted to eat her lunch with her hands instead of a knife and fork during the lunch hours at school. Her teacher told her that she should not eat with her hands and that she should eat her lunch with a knife and fork instead.

A. Is Elif's behavior right or wrong?

B. Would this behavior be right or wrong if there were no rules about it (eating lunch with knife and fork) in another place or at another time?

4. Ali, who had written a letter to his friend who lived in Ankara, wrote this on the envelope:

26, Bahar Aker, Turkey
Yalvaç Street, Ankara

Ali's mother told him that this was wrong, and that this was not the form of writing an address on an envelope and that he needed to change the order of the words.

A. Is this form of writing an address right or wrong?

B. Would this form of writing an address be right or wrong if there were no rules about it in another place or at another time?

C. SOCIAL ORDER MAINTENANCE

1. Ahmet's father told him to buy a loaf of bread on his way back from school. His father would not be able to buy bread that day since he would be very busy. Although Ahmet remembered what his father had told him, "I shall get it sometime later", he thought after leaving school. Seeing no bread on the dinner table, Ahmet's father got angry at him.

A. Is Ahmet's behavior right or wrong?

B. Would this behavior be right or wrong if there were no rules about it (not buying bread although having been asked to do so by the father) in another place or at another time?

2. Mehmet's brother who is two years old, likes to eat chocolate. Mehmet sometimes gives his brother chocolate, but Mehmet's mother does not want him to do it, saying that chocolate is not good for babies. One day, Mehmet's mother, who saw him giving a piece of chocolate to his brother got angry at Mehmet and told him that chocolate should not be given to little children.

A. Is Mehmet's behavior right or wrong?

B. Would this behavior be right or wrong if there were no rules about giving little children chocolate, in another place or at another time?

3. Özlem's mother had told her not to eat biscuits or chocolate before dinner so that she would not lose her appetite for the meal but Özlem refused to do so. One evening Özlem filled her stomach with biscuits and chocolate again and could not eat her meal. Özlem's mother got angry at her.

A. Is Özlem's behavior right or wrong?

B. Would this behavior be right or wrong if there were no rules about it (not eating biscuits, chocolate before dinner time) in another place or at another time?

4. The classmates of the 17-year old Ayşe had organized a spring tour to Bodrum. Ayşe's parents did not let her join her friends in this tour because the students would be on their own, without a teacher guiding them. Ayşe argued with her parents for their permission.

A. Would it be right or wrong if Ayşe joined this tour?

B. Would this behavior be right or wrong if there were no rules about it (going on a class tour with or without a teacher) in another place or at another time?