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A CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE ON DIFFERENCES IN  
ADOLESCENTS' JUDGMENTS ABOUT MORAL VALUES AT DIFFERENT  
AGES

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A Cultural Developmental Perspective on Differences in Adolescents'  
Judgments about Moral Values at Different Ages

Farklı Yaş Gruplarındaki Ergenlerin Çeşitli Ahlaki Değerlere İlişkin  
Tutumlarındaki Farklılıkların Kültürel Gelişimsel Perspektiften İncelenmesi

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## ABSTRACT

Recently, the psychological study of morality has been transformed by new concepts, theories and models. The purpose of this study is to carry out an empirical study investigating moral development of adolescents in Turkey using a cultural-developmental framework. This framework proposes three ethics (Autonomy, Community and Divinity) that may vary across cultures and across the lifespan. The study investigated the development of moral worldviews of adolescents at four different age groups (12-13 years, Group 1; 14-15 years, Group 2; 16-17 years, Group 3; and 18-29 years, Group 4) in responding to the Ethical Values Assessment (EVA) and further whether the adolescent's endorsement of the three ethics is related to religious education (whether or not the student has taken any special religious course outside of school) and how much time they spend on religious practices in their everyday lives. The results showed that age, religious education and religious practice were all related to the use of three ethics, specifically that, although endorsement of the Autonomy ethic did not vary across the age groups, both Community and Divinity declined with age, while both religious education and religious practice were related to higher endorsement of Divinity. This study contribute to the understanding of (1) how moral values develop across adolescence; (2) the relation between religious education and the development process; (3) the relation between religious practice and the development process; (4) cross-cultural similarities and differences in the development process, by comparing data from this study with previous studies done in other countries.

*Keywords:* cultural developmental framework, morality, adolescence, three ethics, religious education, religious practice, culture



## ÖZET

Ahlak psikolojisi son dönemlerdeki yeni kavramlar, teoriler ve modeller tarafından değişmiş ve dönüşmüştür. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye'deki ergenlerin ahlaki gelişimini kültürel-gelişimsel perspektiften inceleyen deneysel bir çalışma yapmaktır. Bu perspektif, kültürler arasında ve yaşam süresi boyunca değişebilen üç etik (Özerklik, Topluluk ve Din) yaklaşımını önermektedir. Bu çalışmada, dört farklı yaş grubundan ergenlerin (12-13 yaş, Grup 1; 14-15 yaş, Grup 2; 16-17 yaş, Grup 3; 18-29 yaş, Grup 4) Etik Değerler Ölçeği'ne (EDÖ) verdikleri cevaplar ışığında ahlaki dünya görüşlerinin gelişimi araştırılmıştır. Ayrıca, bu yaş gruplarındaki ergenlerin üç etik dünya görüşünü benimseme düzeylerinin dini eğitim (okul dışında herhangi bir dini eğitim alınıp alınmaması) ve günlük yaşamda din pratiklerine ayrılan zaman ile ilişkisi araştırılmıştır. Bu araştırmanın sonuçları, yaşın, dini eğitimin ve dini pratiklere ayrılan zamanın üç etik kullanımı ile ilişkili olduğunu ve özellikle, Özerklik etiğinin benimsenmesinin yaş gruplarına göre değişmediğini, Topluluk ve Din etiğinin yaşla birlikte azaldığını ve dini eğitim ve dini pratiğin daha yüksek Din etiği benimsemesi ile ilişkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu çalışma (1) ergenlik döneminde ahlaki değerlerin nasıl geliştiğini; (2) dini eğitim ve ahlak gelişim süreci arasındaki ilişkinin; (3) dini pratiklere ayrılan zaman ile ahlak gelişim süreci arasındaki ilişkinin; (4) bu çalışmadan elde edilen verileri diğer ülkelerde yapılan önceki çalışmalarla karşılaştırarak, ahlak gelişimi sürecinde kültürlerarası benzerliklerin ve farklılıkların anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmuştur.

*Anahtar Kelimeler:* kültürel gelişimsel perspektif, ahlak, ergenlik, üç etik yaklaşımı, dini eğitim, dini pratik, kültür

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. PSYCHOLOGY OF MORALITY

#### 1.1.1. The Roots of Moral Psychology

The relationship between morality and human nature has been a topic of debate among philosophers for many years. Some have argued that human beings are endowed with an innate sense of morality that can be distorted by external factors. Others have argued that morality is an expression of adaptation. Biological theories of morality and sociobiological theories of morality were not a subject of psychological research until the 1930s.

The roots of moral psychology come from philosophers such as Aristotle, Plato and Socrates. Philosophers looked for ways in which people “know the good” and “do the good”. They searched for the grounds for the nature of good and evil or right and wrong. In recent years, the field of moral psychology has become a thriving area of research at an interdisciplinary level (Doris & Stich, 2008). At this level, moral psychology searches for human functioning in moral contexts and its impact in the discussion of ethical theory. This analyzing process includes both empirical resources and conceptual resources.

In analyzing conceptual resources, the meaning of morality and the way it is acquired has been one of the most important issues throughout human history (Cesur, 2018). The meaning of morality is explained in different ways in different sources. For instance, in the dictionary for philosophical terms morality is defined as the “science that determines and examines individual and social behavior patterns at a certain period of a certain society” (Hançerlioğlu, 1989). Also, in a dictionary written in the Ottoman Turkish language morality is defined as “a state of spirit and heart that human beings gain either from birth or education” (Özön, 1988). In addition, the English word “moral” is derived from the Latin word “moralis”. The root of the word comes from “mor” which means “manner, ethics, character, temper” (Merriam-Webster, 2019). All in all, these definitions of

morality imply that it includes innate and learned properties. Sunar (2018, p.3) gives an adapted version of dictionary definitions: “morality consists of the rules of conduct based on conscience or the sense of right and wrong”. The following will be parallel with this definition and will discuss cultural developmental moral theory starting from Piaget’s cognitive developmental theory.

### **1.1.2. A Brief History of the Psychology of Morality**

Before deeply discussing the cognitive developmental model, it is important to mention the theories that have influenced the psychology of morality. Throughout the years, the psychology of morality was dominated by different theories such as psychoanalytical theory, social learning theory, and cognitive developmental theory (Sunar, 2009). Yet, with the rise of evolutionary psychology, the concept of morality has transformed into new concepts and theories. As the inadequacies of the old theories have been discussed, alternative models have been suggested with new integrations.

The psychoanalytic approach, which set the debate of morality for many years, is criticized for focusing especially on sexual morality and focusing largely on moral feelings of anxiety, shame, and guilt. Yet, this approach is very important in the sense that the capacity for moral feeling has been seen an indicator of having a conscience (Sunar, 2018). Social learning theorists who focus on reinforcement, modeling, and punishment together with the role of emotions have put an emphasis on conditioned anxiety. However, they have failed to account for other moral feelings such as shame and guilt regarding age-related changes. Moreover, cognitive developmental theory introduced different premises developed by Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1969, 1981). They called psychoanalytic and social learning approaches into question and showed that moral understanding may continue to develop across the years into adulthood which explains progressive developing moral judgment. Although this was a remarkable step for moral psychology, cognitive developmental theory was limited to providing clear evidence for moral developmental stages and centered

only upon one aspect of morality i.e. issues of justice (Sunar, 2009). Furthermore, the evolutionary psychologists put emphasis on the functions of morality in group competition that became dominant in the field. All these aspects shed light on new theories and give rise to suggestions for new integrations such as the cultural developmental approach to moral psychology by Richard Schweder and Lene Arnett Jensen. This theoretical approach to human psychology includes both universal and culturally distinctive ways of thinking about psychological development in today's global world (Jensen, 2015). Therefore, it can be claimed that the "one-size-fits-all psychological theories" of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are giving way to a flexible and dynamic way of thinking in psychological development (Jensen, 2019).

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Kohlberg (1969) introduced moral development theory building his theory on Piaget's (1932) theory of cognitive development. Kohlberg's theory was highly influenced by Piaget's theory and he extended Piaget's account of moral reasoning. Piaget in 1932 wrote *The Moral Judgment of the Child* in which he became the first psychologist who tried to explain the moral judgments of children in a systematic way. Piaget (1967) argued that moral development is in line with cognitive development in which morality develops along with specific cognitive developmental stages and interaction with the child's social environment. Kohlberg (1969) agreed with Piaget that morality develops in parallel with cognitive development which means that it develops as a result of age progression and increased experience. Piaget (1932) was interested in how children understand moral theories and whether these developmental phenomena will help us understand the transformation of ethical codes in society.

Understanding the moral reasoning of a child helps us to understand moral development as the development of a system of rules, and enlightens the relation between the rules and individuals who acquire the rules. In this search for the origin and development of morality, important aspects include justice, fairness, and gaining the ability to regulate one's own behavior along with society's standards (Bandura, 1986; Piaget, 1932). Piaget (1932) in exploring children's moral reasoning investigated the process of how children act in accordance with

society's norms of what is right and wrong as active, exploratory members of society. He believes that the development of moral reasoning is a qualitative transformation of a child's thinking and the course of development requires a logically ordered sequence of stages (Durkin, 1995).

## **1.2. MORAL DEVELOPMENT**

### **1.2.1. A Cognitive Developmental Approach**

#### **1.2.1.1. Piaget and Moral Development**

To begin with, Piaget first focused on schematizing the perception of rules in children by examining their rules when they play games. Then, he started investigating issues such as honesty, lying and moral judgment. Piaget (1932) in his search for development of reasoning about moral issues identified three stages for moral development: amoral, heteronomous and autonomous. The first stage is the amoral stage. In this stage, the behavior of children is regulated predominantly from outside and children are not receptive to moral meanings. Piaget put emphasis on the latter two stages. He outlined the characteristics of heteronomous and autonomous stages of morality through his clinical interviews. Heteronomous morality is also referred as moral realism and autonomous morality is also regarded as moral relativism. Briefly, there are universal stages to children's moral development just like their cognitive development and morality is not inherited and it is not simply learned from others.

According to Piaget (1932), the stage of heteronomous morality puts an emphasis on morality imposed from outside therefore, morality is centered outside of self. Children at this stage (from approximately 5 to 10 years) see morality as obeying the rules in terms of its observable consequences. Young children's respect for authority and rules are said to be absolute and directed towards adults. So, in heteronomous stage, children perceive rules as unchanging, "divine like" and established by others. This is also called as "moral realism". Children accept

that rules are made by authority figures like parents, teachers or God and breaking the rules (such as lying or stealing) will result in immediate and strict punishment.

In other words, at this stage children see rules as unchangeable and believe that the rules and justice is whatever the authority says it is. If rules are broken, imminent justice follows, that is, immediate punishment. So, children see each other as either good or bad by the consequences of their actions because they do not see intentions and motives. Therefore, a child who breaks one cup on purpose is seen as being better than a child who breaks three cups by accident because they see that more objects broken means more punishment. Piaget (1932) believes that this attitude is due to two cognitive inabilities; distinguishing their point of view from others (egocentrism) and confusing subjective events with objective results (realism). The moral ideology that emerges from the interaction of this dependent respect and cognitive realism can be described as moral realism (Cesur, 2018).

The second and last stage for Piaget is the stage of autonomous morality (or the morality of cooperation). At this stage, morality is based on one's own rules. Children stop anticipating the unquestionable just world where authority detects misdeeds and deals with it accordingly. The child's absolutist concept for rigid and unalterable rules shifts into a concept of rule that is based on reciprocity. In the late childhood, children realize that there is not an absolute right or wrong and morality is dependent on intentions rather than consequences. At this stage children start to interact with their peers more and they can see that rules can change if the group agrees upon it. They also begin to take one another's perspective and to cooperate more. So, they value fairness more than they used to. Children no longer accept blind obedience to authority as the basis for moral decision. They begin to understand rules as a product of social agreement and the majority of the group can change them if they agree. They also understand that our motives and intentions direct our actions and that therefore, the punishment should fit the crime. Hence, children's understanding of morality undergoes an important reorganization and children's thinking evolves into adult like thinking.

The first signs of autonomy emerge when children discover that honesty is necessary for mutual respect and sympathy. In addition, autonomy will derive from mutual respect in that the child will behave the way they want to be treated (Cesur, 2018). Piaget (1932) believed that the development of mutual respect for others is due to the development of an autonomous view of rules that serve the function of cooperation and group consensus. So, mutual respect develops as the capacity to distinguish one's own point of view from others improves along with reciprocity.

In brief, Piaget in his theory of moral development focused on the way children understand rules, moral responsibility and justice. He investigated where do rules come from? Who makes the rules? Can rules be changed? What is the difference between accidental and deliberate wrongdoing? Is it the outcome or the intention that makes an action "bad"? Is guilt always punished? Or should the punishment always fit the crime? (McLeod, 2015). Piaget (1932) as a cognitive developmental theorist proposed the first theory for the development of moral reasoning. Many studies of cognitive development in children were built on his theory. Piaget's model is also very important in emphasizing the child as constructing moral principles rather than just learning them. Piaget challenges the dominant 'outside-in' model in psychoanalytic and social learning approaches where moral norms are 'outside' and expected by authorities to induce the child to 'internalize' (Sunar, 2009). According to Piaget's model, children construct their conception of moral rules with regard to the social world, especially the world of peers (Sunar, 2018). Therefore, Piaget's theory is important for implying that moral criteria can be generated in the light of social experience. Furthermore, numerous studies (e.g., Costanzo, Coie, Grumet, & Farnill, 1973; Farnill, 1974; Imamoğlu, 1975; Walden, 1982; Yuill, 1984) showed that young children can and often do use information about intention in their moral judgments much earlier than Piaget recognized. In other words, research found that young children are able to show sophisticated understanding regarding the roles of intention in their moral judgments (Nobes, Panagiotaki, & Pawson, 2009).

### 1.2.1.2. Kohlberg and Moral Development

Following Piaget, Lawrence Kohlberg extended Piaget's account of stage-sequence development in moral reasoning. Kohlberg (1958) agreed with Piaget on his constructivist theory but he wanted to develop his ideas further. Kohlberg found Piaget's theory insufficient in terms of the methodology used and, Kohlberg believed that Piaget's analysis of later development is restricted. Hence, Kohlberg (1963) extended his study of moral reasoning into adolescence and adulthood. In addition, he made a great contribution to the psychology of morality by developing a standardized procedure to elicit responses from participants. Kohlberg has changed Piaget's clinical interview technique into a structured, standardized research enriched by both qualitative and quantitative research methods.

Kohlberg is best-known for his moral dilemmas. Kohlberg (1963) presented moral dilemmas to large numbers of American participants and asked them to make a decision about what a person should do. Then, they are asked to explain the basis for their responses. Rather than focusing on judgments of right and wrong, Kohlberg (1969) used the reasoning behind the judgment to distinguish moral reasoning into three broad levels: *morality of constraint*, *morality of convention*, and *post-conventional level*. Furthermore, each level consists of two stages. In the first level, morality is imposed by authority with greater power; at the second level, the child perceives the rules and authority as an element of the social order; and at the third level, the young person perceives morality with respect to principles of justice and abstract values (Durkin, 1995). Kohlberg, like Piaget, believes that moral development proceeds sequentially. Not everyone reaches the higher stages, but each individual progress through the stages in the same logical order. Each stage is built on the previous stage by transcending the reasoning for the previous stage and the change in moral reasoning is predictable across childhood and youth.

There are similarities and differences between Piaget's and Kohlberg's theory of moral development. Kohlberg is different from Piaget in terms of the



number of the sequential stages and the age period in which moral development is believed to be completed. While Piaget argues that at the age 11-12, children complete their moral development as they reach the cognitive stage of formal operations; Kohlberg argues that moral development continues until at least 16 years of age. Therefore, for Kohlberg (1975), moral reasoning is a process that develops through adolescence and early adulthood.

Early theories and research in the field of moral psychology were largely dominated by Piaget and Kohlberg's work that stresses universal standards of moral reasoning and development. Although their work expanded the scale of moral psychology research, they were criticized in both theoretical and empirical terms. Many of Piaget and Kohlberg's studies provide support for the improvement in moral reasoning following a stage wise process and many aspects of their theories were supported by cross-cultural research. However, there are disputes about the methodologies they use, whether young children are amoral or not, the difference between moral rules and social conventions, the relationship between moral development and moral action, and the neglect of the emotional dimension in moral judgment.

Both Piaget and Kohlberg grounded their theories on stages and self-contained structures. Piaget (1932) believed that moral development progresses toward individual autonomy and mutual respect. This presumes a prioritizing of justice over society indicating that convention is seen as an inadequate form of morality (Nucci & Turiel, 1978). Similar to Piaget, Kohlberg (1969) did not distinguish moral and societal domains. Turiel (1983) on the other hand, distinguished moral domain from social conventional domain. For him, focusing on an individualistic understanding of morality shows a lack of concern for community involvement (Turiel, 2002).

### **1.2.2. The Domain Approach**

Turiel (1983) in *The Development of Social Knowledge: Morality and Convention* emphasized the way moral judgments develop in children and

adolescents, and the way conventions of social systems evolve. He studied social and moral development of individuals and the way cultural contexts affect individuals' thoughts and actions (Turiel, 2002). In light of his studies, he introduced a new perspective and a more general view of social development.

Turiel and Nucci (1978) investigated social interactions and the development of social concepts in younger children in terms of moral and societal domains. The domain of moral knowledge is concerned with concepts of justice, fairness, individual rights, and harm to other people. The domain of social convention is concerned with rules, social organization, and behavioral uniformities that allow individuals to coordinate their behavior in a community. The difference between these domains is derived from social experiences. To find this, Turiel and Nucci (1978) observed and rated 98 events (50 social conventional and 48 moral events) from different preschools in a naturalistic setting that involve social conventional or moral transgressions. It is hypothesized that young children form different conceptual frameworks from different types of social interactions. So, some types of experiences lead to social convention concepts and others lead to moral concepts. As a result, they found that responses to moral transgressions are qualitatively different than social conventional transgressions. In light of the observational data supporting this developmental model, researchers found that preschool children construct different concepts originating from different types of responses. To clarify, they found that young children are able to name behaviors like hitting, lying, and stealing as wrong even when there is not an institutional authority, while they can accept other transgressions such as calling the teacher by their name or eating with hands at school if they are not prohibited (Turiel, 1983). These findings contradict both Piagetian and Kohlbergian views of morality. The source of rules in young children is no more seen as external, given only by an authority and consequence based like in Piaget's theory or conventions are not outweighed only in the later stages of adolescence like in Kohlberg's theory. Their theories are extended by Turiel (1983) with his orientation to social reasoning and the way it is transformed in the process of growth.

In brief, Turiel (1983) draws a distinction between the moral domain and the social conventional domain. The rule that prohibits killing other people belongs to the moral domain because this rule is obligatory, it is same for everyone, it is not based on a personal preference, and it applies to everyone. On the other hand, the rule that you must take off your shoes when entering a house belongs to the social conventional domain. This is because this rule is arbitrary and it applies only to certain cultures. Turiel (1983) believes that in both cases the knowledge that divides the moral domain and the social conventional domain comes from social experiences. If morality is based on the consequences of an action for other people as in early theories, then entering a house with shoes on would not be moral knowledge since it is not like hitting someone and injuring the recipient. Yet, it is a social conventional knowledge taking its roots from the social system. Conventions can be both preserved and changed by consensus and they may vary in different situations. All in all, the difference between the moral domain and the social conventional domain is a philosophical debate and morality should be examined from a wider perspective by extending the discussion with social knowledge.

Back to the disputes regarding cognitive developmental theories of moral reasoning, the relationship between moral reasoning and moral behavior has been questioned. For Kohlberg (1976) moral stage was a good predictor of behavior. Hence, people with higher levels of moral reasoning tend to have higher standards of behavior in accordance with stages. Although there is an association between moral level and moral action (Blasi, 1980), the link between them is not strong enough and it is criticized as not being well established (Kutnick, 1986). Furthermore, moral dilemmas that were proposed by Kohlberg do not sufficiently represent real life situations since the perception of the dilemma does not necessarily reveal the way people will choose to behave in real life situations (McClelland, 1982). The importance of decision making and the study of thinking were neglected by cognitive psychology along with emotions. Kohlberg's theory was criticized for not paying attention to the role of emotions as a guide to behavior (Hoffman, 1970). Even though Kohlberg's theory was subjected to

criticism, he was very successful in contributing to the moral psychology literature by enriching the discussion on moral development in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Especially, his idea that individuals start questioning norms of the society as they develop the capacity to take other's perspective has a great importance for explaining that morality was not necessarily represented in actual social norms (Sunar, 2009, p. 449).

Cognitive developmental theorists believed that moral reasoning was fundamental to explain the development of morality. Theorists following Piaget tried to uncover the stages in moral development. In particular, Kohlberg provided a basis for many studies. Although there are studies supporting the development of moral reasoning in a hierarchical stage-sequence account and its universality, there are disputes on the fundamental premises of these views. These ideas had been challenged with an attempt to (1) provide more information for preschool children's moral judgment, (2) emphasize the difference between morality and convention (also applying to young children), (3) point out the inadequate explanation of the relationship between moral reasoning and moral behavior, (4) stress the neglect of emotions, decision making and thinking processes. The more the number of studies in the field of moral psychology increased, the more the lack of social context of moral development and behavior was felt. Therefore, theorists began to consider issues regarding family, gender, and culture to challenge cognitive developmental perspective. In other words, the concept of a universal moral code, the link between moral reasoning and behavior, and prevailing societal values began to be seen as more complicated than the way cognitive developmental theorists had discussed them in the earlier years.

Researchers such as Thoma, Rest, and Davison (1991) changed Kohlbergian justice based assessments of moral judgment development model into an improved model with motivational and behavioral aspects of morality. They believed that Kohlbergian moral dilemmas allow us to make inferences only in the level of justice reasoning. Therefore, the possibility of other interpretive systems was sought in solving moral dilemmas. Turiel (1983) and Nucci (1985), with Social Domain Theory, presented a new perspective by claiming that the

concept of morality and the concept of social convention develop separately and these concepts are constructed in the process of differentiated social interactions and social experiences among children. Also, Hoffman (2000) brought three dimensions of behavioral, cognitive and emotional dimensions of moral development together which he named as prosocial moral development. He also offered a stage based theory, but for empathy development. All these theories improve, extend and to some degree contradict Kohlberg and Piaget's models (Sunar, 2009).

### **1.2.3. Two Orientations Approach**

In addition to these researchers, Carol Gilligan (1977, 1982) challenged Kohlberg's model by arguing that Kohlberg's model is based on a male perspective and mostly focused on the development of the concept of justice (fairness or harm). Therefore, she believed that the testing process was biased. Since Kohlberg's early work was mostly conducted with male participants and with male characters involved in the dilemmas, she began to search for real-life moral decisions of women by adding a new dimension to moral psychology, that is, "care". Gilligan (1982) argued that Kohlberg's theory is limited in the sense that it is not generalizable to females. She believed rather that moral development is based on masculine and feminine moral voices. Hence, she focused on "different voices" with a "care perspective" by putting emphasis on interpersonal relationships, cooperation, intimacy, and responsibility to others. In brief, Gilligan by introducing new dimensions to moral development broadened the scope of moral reasoning and contributed to how concepts of morality should be measured and interpreted.

### **1.3. CULTURE AND MORALITY**

It is clear that both Piaget and Kohlberg set the cornerstones of moral development as a social achievement. Furthermore, with recent studies, the search

for complexities in moral development increased. Especially, with Richard Shweder's studies, the importance of the search for social cognitive structures that are fundamental to understand moral orders in different cultural groups was highlighted. There is a dispute on whether Kohlberg's model is insensitive to the moral reasoning in other cultures. Kohlberg's study was conducted in Western culture yet; Shweder (1991) believed that there might be differences in understanding morality with respect to culture. Although there were cross cultural studies supporting Kohlberg's model, it did not hold up well in different cultures. Studies in the rural areas or "less developed" nations showed lower scores in moral reasoning. Kohlberg's stages 1 through 4 were found in most cultures, but stages 5 and 6 that are regarded as higher stages were found to be in artificially lower placements (Heubner and Garrod, 1993; Snarey, 1985). In addition, it is found that individuals from middle-class industrialized environments tend to have higher endpoints on moral stages than people living in non-industrialized environments (Edwards, 1982, 1986; Snarey 1985). First of all, not all the cultures need complex reasoning about justice, since their social practices or daily regulatory mechanisms might be simpler. Therefore, the sequence and irreversibility of the stages were questioned together with the universalistic perspective. This resulted in realization of the need for many new studies from cultural perspective. Kohlberg in this sense inspired a new movement for moral development.

Cultural psychologists believe that morality is culturally variable and moral issues are beyond harm, rights, or justice (Haidt, Koller, & Dias, 1993). In the search for cross cultural roots of morality, Miller, Bersoff, & Harwood (1990) compared American and Indian participants' moral reasoning in hypothetical situations. The results showed that the decision to help friends and strangers in different situations was seen as a personal choice for North Americans while for almost all Indians it was seen as a moral obligation to offer help. Another research conducted by Miller and Luthar (1989) was designed as a cross cultural study in which American and Indian subjects' evaluations and rule categorizations for 14 everyday incidents were interpreted. It was found that Indians are more

likely to use their moral code in the incidents and categorize role-related interpersonal responsibilities as moral issues than Northern American participants, who see those responsibilities as a right to choose one's own action. This study is in line with Shweder & Bourne's (1982) study in which separating behavior from its context was perceived to be more frequent in Western cultures than relation oriented cultures, such as India, where people's conceptions and ideas were found to be more occasion-bound. Shweder, as a cultural anthropologist put emphasis on social duties, obligations and religious structures which was missing in Kohlberg's theory (Sunar, 2009). Both of these studies have a great importance in supporting cross-cultural differences in moral reasoning.

### **1.3.1. The Three Ethics Approach**

Shweder et al. (Shweder, Mahapatra, & Miller, 1987) in search for the relationship between cultural experiences and moral development, demonstrated that the development of understanding of obligations were different than Kohlberg's theory. It was found that a broad range of social practices were considered as moral issues and these moral issues were seen as moral obligations by Indian participants which was not the case for American participants. American participants judged the same moral issues as social conventions unlike Indian participants. For example, for Indian participants, it is wrong if a woman whose husband has died wears bright clothes whereas, for American participants, it is not morally wrong and it is her right to do so. As a result of these, Shweder et al. (1987) concluded that some members in one culture can interpret one case as morally wrong; another culture can interpret the same case as harmless; and another culture can interpret it as unjust. Therefore, moral appraisals can differ from culture to culture as well as from person to person. Also, moral appraisals can be different in different historical periods. All these culture based, plural, unique understandings of morality provided a basis for a new system that will bring cultural particularities into harmony by classifying moral codes into three

domains; *autonomy, community and divinity* (Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park, 1997).

This three domain theory is also called the “Big Three” of Morality or the CAD triad hypothesis in which the letters are the initials of; *community* (C), *autonomy* (A), and *divinity* (D). Shweder proposed a new theory of morality (Shweder et al., 1997) where each culture can have a unique mix of three moral codes. These ethics are defined as follows: *autonomy ethic* is based on individual rights and preferences; *community ethic* reflects duties and traditions stemming from interdependence within a collective structure; and *divinity ethic* is concerned with spirituality, purity and sacredness. To examine in detail, ethics of autonomy resembles Turiel’s moral domain which puts emphasis on harm, rights, and justice (Haidt et al., 1993). This is because the autonomous self is restricted by the concern for not harming anyone. This ethical code is important for legal systems and is prominent mostly in Western secular societies.

In addition, ethics of autonomy puts emphasis on the effort for fulfillment of needs, achieving goals, being aware of one’s needs, taking responsibilities, and making choices (Jensen, 2011). However, Shweder with his new formulation as a cultural anthropologist proposed two other ways that people perceive morality; suggesting that morality is not unitary, but plural. The universalist structure paints a monistic picture in which morality was ranked in stages, and differences in cultures were seen as superficial, while moral pluralism accepts that there is more than one true and mature morality (Shweder & Haidt, 1993).

To continue with other moral codes, ethics of community requires thinking about duty, hierarchy, obedience to authority, loyalty, protection, interdependence, social roles, preservation of community, and respect (Rozin, Lowery, Haidt, & Imada, 1999). Finally, the ethic of divinity is concerned with sacredness of God, whether a person causes impurity, whether an action is right or wrong, whether the soul is protected, whether a person commits sin. In this moral code, self is seen as a spiritual entity trying to achieve purity and sanctity. Also, bodily practices are taken to be very important. This ethic in conceptualizing self



as divine entity does not necessarily suit Western societies. However, it is highly involved in Hindu rules (Fuller, 1992).

To put it briefly, for Shweder, morality is not limited to the single domain of autonomy (justice, fairness and harm) as in early Western theories, but rather it is broader in different cultures. Also, for him, every culture possesses a unique approach to solving moral issues that can be assessed in the three ethics framework with different degrees of elaboration. In analyzing cross-cultural similarities and differences in thinking, practices, emotions and morality, Shweder deepened the theories of cultural psychology.

### **1.3.2. Cultural Developmental Approach**

Lene Arnett Jensen (2015) extended Shweder's *Big Three of Morality* by exploring new empirical and theoretical dimensions for moral development in a global world. She developed a "cultural-developmental approach" (Jensen, 2008, 2011, 2012) in which she introduced an account of cultural differences in using the three ethics across different periods of life. She aims to examine human development with respect to universal and cultural components. Her studies mostly focus on moral development and cultural identity formation in the "culture war" tensions, globalization and migration (Jensen, 2015). In researching these issues, Jensen and her colleagues conducted studies in many different countries such as Denmark, Turkey, Thailand, India, and United States. Then, she presented series of comparative studies of moral development in her book *Moral Development in a Global World: Research from a Cultural-Developmental Perspective*. This book also includes many empirical and theoretical studies on the "Big Three" from all around the world.

For Jensen (2015), the cultural developmental approach was not a one-size-fits-all-model but it is an approach built on large sets of findings from different traditions like cognitive-developmental model (e.g. Kohlberg, 1984; Piaget, 1932), domain theory (e.g. Turiel, 1983), pro-cultural psychology and anthropological stance on morality (e.g. Shweder, Mahapatra, & Miller, 1990) and

studies of moral emotions (e.g. Rozin, Lowery, Imada and Haidt, 1999). Therefore, these findings were integrated in order to improve cultural-developmental approach.

Bloom (2013) discusses that babies may be moral, however they are not uniquely diverse in their moralities yet. However, unlike babies, adults from different cultures are uniquely diverse. In this respect, the cultural developmental approach bridges cultural and universal perspectives. As mentioned above, Jensen bases her research on the “Big Three of Morality” and this provides a template for a cultural developmental approach. Studies have shown that these three ethics vary with age (developmental approach) and cultural groups (cultural approach). This is why Jensen (2008) calls her theory a “cultural-developmental approach”. Many studies have supported this variation in diverse samples (Arnett, Ramos, & Jensen, 2001; Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2010; Haidt, Koller, & Dias, 1993; Jensen, 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2008; Padilla-Walker & Jensen, 2016; Rozin, Lowery, Imada, *et al.*, 1999; Vasquez, Keltner, Ebenbach, *et al.*, 2001). Therefore, differences in the degree of use in three ethics have been supported by many studies. For instance, in some cultures the use of Ethic of Divinity might go down as individuals’ age, whereas in another culture its use might increase. Furthermore, since each culture will have a unique representation, wording, and concepts for each domain of morality, the way it is measured across different ages and culture will vary. Hence, it is difficult to provide a manual for coding morality or a questionnaire to place each person into subcategories of three ethics. Jensen (2015) analyzed earlier researches and suggested a standard coding for three ethics which also provided coding of a person’s moral reasons.

Although a majority of studies involve interviews and coding of oral discourse, three questionnaires have been developed in order to assess the degree and type of usage of the “*Big Three of Morality*” (Jensen, 2015). Firstly, the *Community, Autonomy and Divinity Scale (CADS)* asks for the importance of different bases for judging an action as right or wrong (Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2010). Secondly, The Ethical Values Assessment (EVA) is a questionnaire that measures the extent to which participants endorse value statements related to the

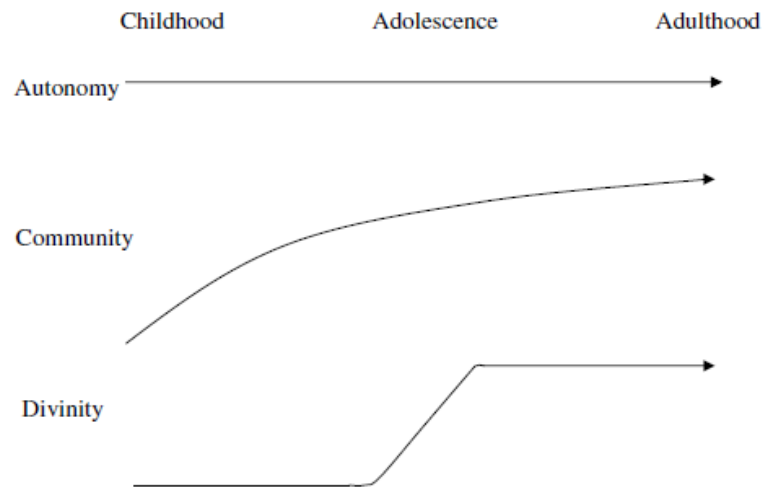
three ethics (Padilla-Walker & Jensen, 2016). Thirdly, *The Three Ethics Reasoning Assessment* (TERA) assesses moral reasoning in specific issues such as abortion, suicide, and divorce (Jensen, 2015).

### 1.3.3. Empirical Literature

Many studies have been conducted in the search for the three ethics. Jensen (1998) investigated moral reasoning among religiously conservative and religiously liberal groups in India and United States. She conducted in-depth interviews with participants and found that the three ethics were useful in examining religious conservatism and liberalism. Furthermore, this study, along with other studies, strengthened the idea that “diverse people in diverse countries use all three ethics” (Jensen, 2011). Although different groups used the three ethics to various extents, participants both recognized and used all three ethics. Since moral ethics were widely recognized and used, Jensen suggested a model (Figure 1.1) showing the age trends related to the degree and type of use of the three ethics based on empirical researches.

Although available evidence for the cultural-developmental template can be improved, a descriptive model is helpful to understand which ethics are fundamental to people and how those ethics develop across the lifespan.

According to Jensen (2011), the Ethic of Autonomy is predicted to stay “relatively” stable from childhood to adulthood. Yet, the type of autonomy reasoning is likely to change with age. This idea derives from studies in which it is found that children in different cultures can emphasize *harm to self-interest or to self* (Gilligan, 1982; Kohlberg, 1984; Turiel, 2002; Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs, & Lieberman, 1983; Walker, 1989) together with *harm to other individuals and interests of other individuals* (Carlo, 2006; Gilligan, 1982; Warneken & Tomasello, 2006).



*Figure 1.1* The cultural-developmental template of moral reasoning (From Jensen, L.A., [2011]. *The cultural-developmental theory of moral psychology: A new synthesis*. In L.A. Jensen (Ed.) *Bridging cultural and developmental psychology: New syntheses in theory, research, and policy* [pp. 2-25] New York, NY: Oxford University Press.)

*Note.* Each line indicates developmental patterns across life span from childhood to adulthood and lines do not show the frequency of ethics. For instance, Community is not more frequent than Divinity.

Furthermore, Jensen and McKenzie (2016) stated that as children grow into adolescence and adulthood in different cultures, it was found that some specific type of autonomy reasoning, such as consideration of one's own welfare and others, will remain (Eisenberg, Carlo, Murphy, & Van Court, 1995; Gilligan, 1982; Jensen, 1995; Vasquez et al., 2001; Walker, Pitts, Hennig, & Matsuba, 1995; Zimba, 1994). There is also some evidence on adolescents and adults giving consideration to rights and equity (Killen, 2002; Miller & Luthar, 1989; Piaget, 1932; Snarey, 1985; Zimba, 1994) however, it needs to be improved with new studies in diverse cultures and contexts. Therefore, this developmental trajectory indicates stability of autonomy reasoning across the lifespan. Jensen (2015) also noted that autonomy reasoning might not be stable in collectivistic cultures due to the possible force on submission to divinity and push for collectivity which may result in a decrease of autonomy reasoning.

The Ethic of Community, in the cultural developmental approach is predicted to rise across the lifetime starting from childhood. To support this idea,

Jensen (2015) emphasized the findings that supported the idea that young children living in different cultures can reason in terms of community ethics such as family interests and customs (Kohlberg, 1984; Miller, Bersoff, & Harwood, 1990; Olson & Spelke, 2008; Shweder, Mahapatra, & Miller, 1987). Then, as children grow up and become a part of other social groups (Whiting & Edwards, 1988) such as peers and authority figures in places like school or work (Schlegel, 2011), new types of reasoning regarding the community ethic is needed as children's social circles widen and duties to others increase. Findings also support the idea that the use of the ethic of community is likely to increase because focus on societal organizations increases (Eisenberg et al., 1995; Eisenberg et al., 2002; Nisan, 1987; Walker, 1989; Zimba, 1994) by late adolescence to adulthood.

Jensen (2015) proposed that the ethic of Divinity will be low in childhood and then it will rise in adolescence and continue at a similar level in adulthood. It was found that moral behaviors were often expressed in divinity terms by adults (Colby & Damon, 1992) involving adults living in relatively secular communities (McAdams et al., 2008). The important thing regarding the *Ethic of Divinity* is that there were fewer studies available. However, in Jensen's book of *Moral Development in a Global World* it is seen that some cases pay particular attention to the ethic of Divinity as a subdomain of moral thinking. Still, more studies are needed to explain and discover the types of divinity reasons used in order to understand the moral developmental change across lifetime. It is also important to note that Jensen (2011) asserted that the age pattern proposed in Figure 1.1 may only apply to some cultures because each culture has a unique way of connecting with god or god-like supernatural or transcendent entities. In brief, the cultural developmental model is not a one-size-fits-all model but rather it is dependent on cultures and contexts.

All in all, more recently, the concept of morality has been transformed by new concepts, theories and models. This research, empirically investigates one of these newer ideas, namely Shweder's moral domain theory, in Turkish adolescents. The focus is on adolescents since it is a significant phase for the development of moral reasoning. Adolescence is an important period of life where

adolescents face critical phases like identity formation and emotional preparation for adult roles (Jensen, 2012). It is also important for forming personal ideologies and worldviews (Arnett, 1997; Arnett, Ramos, & Jensen, 2001). Adolescents at this distinct phase strive to fulfill their developmental potential, personal agency, social independence and social accountability (Curtis, 2015; Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Graber & Brookes-Gunn, 1996; Modell & Goodman, 1990; Steinberg, 2002). The cultural meaning of adolescence may express different meanings in collectivist and individualist cultures (Zimmer-Gembeck & Collins, 2003). So, this transitional life stage between childhood and ‘emerging adulthood’ is dynamic and it takes different forms regarding cultural, economic, historical and social contexts (Arnett, 2011; Larson, Wilson, & Rickman, 2009; Steinberg, 2002; Swanson et al., 2003).

The major aim of the study is to carry out an empirical research investigating the moral development of adolescents in Turkey from the point of view of Shweder’s cultural theory of morality (Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park, 1997) and Lene Arnett Jensen’s (2015) application of that theory to adolescent development. This developmental-cultural framework proposes three ethics (Autonomy, Community and Divinity) that may vary across cultures and across the lifespan. These ethics are defined as follows: the Autonomy ethic is based on individual rights and preferences; the Community ethic reflects duties and traditions stemming from interdependence within a collective structure; and the Divinity ethic is concerned with spirituality, purity and sacredness. Jensen (2015) found that the three domains gain prominence at different ages in childhood in U.S., but she has not specifically studied age-wise changes during adolescence, and up to now age-related development in this model has not been investigated cross-culturally.

Even so, there are studies conducted with adolescents from cultural developmental perspective in the search for cultural diversity. For example, Vainio (2015) compared nonreligious, liberal religious and conservative religious Finnish adolescents on how they define and reason about morality from a cultural developmental vantage point. She found that conservative participants used the

ethic of Divinity more than nonreligious and liberal religious participants, whereas nonreligious and liberal adolescents used the ethic of Autonomy significantly more than conservative adolescents. In addition, it was found that the ethic of Community is more commonly used by nonreligious and liberal religious adolescents. This study is important for focusing on the relationship between religion and moral reasoning.

Another study that examined the moral reasoning of adolescents and adults was conducted by Kapadia and Bhangaokar (2015). This study investigated the presence of the three ethics and the connection between them in Indian contexts from a cultural developmental perspective. In comparing adolescent and adult responses to everyday social-moral hypothetical dilemmas, it was found that the use of the ethic of Autonomy was higher among adolescents than adults, whereas the use of the ethic of Community was higher among adults than adolescents (Kapadia & Bhangaokar, 2015). It was also found that adults used the ethic of Divinity more than adolescents. This study is important for its emphasis on the developmental perspective. It is also important for providing evidence for the effect of familism and collectivity in the use of ethics.

Lastly, Guerra and Giner-Sorolla (2010) studied the endorsement of the three ethics across five national samples (Brazil, Israel, Japan, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom) of emerging adults. Results of the study supported Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, and Park's (1997) idea that the three ethics were endorsed and they are widespread. This proposal is also in line with previous studies on cultural and developmental differences (Haidt, Koller, & Dias, 1993; Jensen, 1998; Rozin, Lowery, Imada *et al.*, 1999; Shweder, Much, Mahapatra *et al.*, 1997; Vasquez, Keltner, Ebenbach *et al.*, 2001). Regarding the three ethics; the ethic of Autonomy was found to be endorsed most highly, whereas the ethic of Community had the second highest level of endorsement, and the ethic of Divinity as the least endorsed moral code (Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2010). Also, with respect to age, the use of the ethic of Community and Divinity were found to be stable for groups across different countries while the use of the ethic of Divinity was found to be lower for older participants. This cross-cultural study is important

for emphasizing the cultural aspect of Jensen's (2011, 2012) cultural-developmental model of moral reasoning.

#### **1.4. THE CURRENT STUDY**

The proposed study investigates the development of moral worldviews of adolescents in Turkey according to the cultural developmental model, and the results will contribute to the interpretation of differences in moral reasoning from a cultural and developmental perspective. In brief, a *cultural-developmental* model suggests that the use of Autonomy, Community, and Divinity ethics will vary across different age groups showing that ethics develop in varied ways in different cultures (Jensen, 2008, 2011, 2015). This study aims to search for the degree to which each ethic (Autonomy, Community, Divinity) is used at different ages throughout adolescence, specifically in four groups (12-13 years, Group 1; 14-15 years, Group 2; 16-17 years, Group 3; and 18-29 years, Group 4) in responding to the Ethical Values Assessment (EVA).

A further research question is whether adolescent moral development, as defined in the three-ethics model, is affected by religious education (whether or not students have taken any special religious course outside of school) and how much time they spend on religious practices in their everyday lives. Whether or not the age differences in terms of the three ethics is related to religious education and daily practice will also be examined.

Results of the study will contribute to (1) understanding how moral values develop across adolescence; (2) understanding the relation between religious training and the development process; (3) understanding the relation between religious practice and the development process; (4) understanding cross-cultural similarities and differences in the development process, by comparing data from this study with previous studies done in the U.S. and other countries



## CHAPTER 2

### METHOD

#### 2.1. PARTICIPANTS

Participants of this study were 315 students (157 females) aged between 12 and 29. They were from four different groups; Group 1 (12-13 year-olds), Group 2 (14-15 year-olds), Group 3 (16-17 year-olds), and Group 4 (18-29 year-olds). 23 of them were excluded because they (1) did not state their gender, (2) did not answer the question about religious education, (3) did not answer the question about how frequently they engage in religious activities on a daily basis, or (4) did not answer all questions of the EVA questionnaire. After the exclusion of 23 participants, there were a total of 292 participants (154 female) again aged between 12 and 29 ( $M = 16.78$ ,  $SD = 3.58$ ).

**Table 2.1**  
*Distribution of Age and Gender in the Sample*

| Age groups | Gender       |              |
|------------|--------------|--------------|
|            | Female       | Male         |
| Group 1    | 35 (50.00%)  | 35 (50.00%)  |
| Group 2    | 32 (44.00%)  | 40 (56.00%)  |
| Group 3    | 33 (45.00%)  | 41 (55.00%)  |
| Group 4    | 54 (71.00%)  | 22 (29.00%)  |
| Total      | 154 (53.00%) | 138 (47.00%) |

*Note.* Group 1 represents 12-13 year-olds, 7<sup>th</sup> graders ( $n$ : 70). Group 2 represents 14-15 year-olds, 9<sup>th</sup> graders ( $n$ : 72). Group 3 represents 16-17 year-olds, 11<sup>th</sup> graders ( $n$ : 74). Group 4 represents 18 to 30 year-olds, university students ( $n$ : 76). ( $N$ : 292).

Demographic characteristic of the participants are presented in Table 2.1. Gender distribution was relatively balanced except for Group 4. Group 1 was recruited from a public middle school and Group 2 and 3 were recruited from two

public high schools in the Maltepe district of Istanbul during the spring semester of 2018-2019 academic year. All consenting students in the available classes were included in the study. Group 4 were volunteers from psychology courses at Istanbul Bilgi University who participated in exchange for partial course credit. Before collecting the data, a statistical power analysis was performed in G\*Power for sample size estimation with an alpha = .05 and power = 0.80; the sample size needed with this effect size (GPower 3.1 or other software) is approximately N = 256 for this simplest between group comparison. Therefore, 292 participants were adequate for the main objective of this study.

## 2.2. INSTRUMENTS

*Demographic Information Form.* The form included month and year of birth; gender; grade in school; whether participant has taken any special religious course (yes or no), and how much time participants spend on their religious practices in a day as a multiple choice question (Never, Less than one hour per day, More than one hour per day, or I am constantly engaged in these activities). The *Demographic Information Form* was administered following the completion of the *EVA*, to prevent any priming. Furthermore, for the question asking whether participants have taken any religious course besides schools, religious course examples were added by the question such as Kur-an Course, Alpha Course, Catechism Course, Torah Education, Semah Education, Sufi Education, Islamic Ethics Course, Risale-i Nur Course.

*Etik Değerler Ölçeği (EVA).* Dr. Jensen and Padilla Walker (2016) assessed Three Ethics of Autonomy, Community and Divinity with the questionnaire EVA: Ethical Values Assessment. Cronbach's alpha values for each of the three ethics have ranged from about .80 to .95 (Jensen, 2019). The long form of this questionnaire (EVA\_L) was used in this research in order to assess the importance attributed to various ethical values among adolescents and Group 4. Participants were asked to rate the importance of moral values ("What moral values do you think are important to how you should live at this time in your

life?”). The scale consists of 18 items answered in a 5-point Likert format ranging from 1(not at all important) to 5 (Completely Important). The original scale yielded high levels of Cohen’s Kappa inter-rater reliability assessments ranging from about .80 to .95 (Jensen, 2019). This Scale was translated into Turkish by Ayfer Dost Gözkan as Etik Değerler Ölçeği (EDÖ) (Jensen, 2019).

### **2.3. PROCEDURE**

Initially, necessary ethical approval from Istanbul Bilgi University Committee on Ethics in research on Humans (see Appendix A) and permission from National Directorate of İstanbul were obtained (see Appendix B). For 7<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 11<sup>th</sup> grade students the directors of schools were contacted and informed about the purpose and the procedure of the study by the researcher. As directors agreed to collaborate, teachers of the classrooms and guidance counselor were also informed about the study. Next, consent letters to parents (see Appendix C) were sent with arbitrary identifying numbers on them. In the informed consent forms for both parents and participants, the fact that participation would be anonymous was clearly explained. The question regarding birth date only asks for month and year, so it is not possible to identify a student through birth date. Likewise, it is stated in the consent forms that the participant can decline to participate or withdraw at any time without penalty, and this information was repeated orally when beginning the procedure.

After the approval of parents, students’ informed consent was also obtained (see Appendix D). Lastly, the purpose of the study was explained by the researcher and questionnaires were distributed in the classroom with numbers matching numbers on the consent forms.

The survey consisted of *EVA* and *Demographic Information Form*. The survey was completed during counseling hours, with the supervision of the classroom teacher and the principal investigator. Since some of the questions pertain to personal attitudes and values, as well as experiences, it was clearly explained to the students that their answers are entirely voluntary. Furthermore,

since the questionnaires were filled out in a classroom setting, the students were asked not to discuss their answers with one another during the procedure. Students' questions were answered by the researcher at the beginning and during the administration of the questionnaire. Completion of the questionnaire took approximately 20-25 minutes. After completing the questionnaire, both students and teachers were thanked for their participation.

For Group 4, the questionnaire was presented online in *Survey Monkey* ([www.surveymonkey.com](http://www.surveymonkey.com)). The link to the questionnaire, including both an informed consent statement and the *EVA* and *Demographic Information Form* were provided via e-mail to Bilgi University students enrolled in participating courses. In the consent form, participants were informed about the purpose and procedure of the study; about how long the questionnaire takes; about their right to quit at any point; about confidentiality of the data. After the approval of the Informed Consent Form, the survey was presented.

#### **2.4. DATA ANALYSIS PLAN**

First, questionnaires with missing data were dropped from the sample. Then, a reliability analysis was conducted for the EVA measure. The internal consistency of the scale was measured using Cronbach's alpha coefficient (Cronbach, 1951). A recent study which investigated the construct validity of the EVA scale has confirmed that it supports the three-factor model (Padilla-Walker & Jensen, 2016). For this reason, the construct validity of the scale was not carried out in the present study. Finally, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to explore the effects on endorsements of the three ethics of age, religious education, and frequency of religious practice. The statistical software package SPSS (v20) was used to conduct all the analyses described above. The results of the analysis are described in detail in the following section.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESULTS

#### 3.1. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

##### 3.1.1. Internal Reliability of the EVA Measure

The internal reliability of the EVA measure was assessed with the internal consistency coefficient Cronbach's alpha (Cronbach, 1951), testing the subscales for each ethic separately. The alpha coefficient was found .67 for Autonomy, .75 for Community, and .87 for Divinity, showing that the EVA measure reached an acceptable level reliability ( $\geq .70$ ) in Community and Divinity and moderate reliability in Autonomy. One item (question 2) of Community and one item (question 9) of Divinity were found to increase the alpha by .015 and .008 if deleted, respectively. Since these increases were negligible, both items were retained in the EVA measure.

During the testing stage, some participants asked for additional explanation regarding some concepts mentioned in the EVA items, such as the concept of *divinity* or *compass*. This observation may point out the possibility that the EVA measure, or its translation into Turkish, was not equally comprehensible for people who were at different stages of adolescence. This consideration motivated the decision to test internal consistency for different age groups of the sample as well. Whether internal consistency differed as a function of gender was also examined. Table 3.1 presents the Cronbach's alpha values for all subgroups of the sample. In general the reliability levels were consistent across age groups, with the exception of somewhat lower reliability on the Autonomy subscale for adolescents in Group 3.

**Table 3.1***Cronbach's alpha values for all subgroups of the sample*

| Ethic     | Gender |      | Age group |         |         |         |
|-----------|--------|------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|
|           | Female | Male | Group 1   | Group 2 | Group 3 | Group 4 |
| Autonomy  | .69    | .67  | .78       | .71     | .53     | .69     |
| Community | .80    | .70  | .75       | .71     | .73     | .77     |
| Divinity  | .88    | .85  | .84       | .87     | .82     | .88     |

*Note.* Group 1 represents 12-13 year-olds, Group 2 represents 14-15 year-olds, Group 3 represents 16-17 year-olds, and Group 4 represents 18-29 year olds.

Generally, reliability levels were consistent across age groups. There was one exception of somewhat lower reliability on the Autonomy subscale regarding adolescents in Group 3.

### 3.1.2. Examination of the EVA Scores

For the EVA scores to be included in any analysis, they needed to be treated as measured at continuous level. Means of the scores given to the items of each ethic were calculated to be used as the dependent measures in the subsequent analyses. The 'daily religious practice frequency' variable was transformed into a 2-level variable, because the number of people falling under half of its categories were too low. The resulting variable (i.e. religious practice) consisted of two levels, which were 'engaged in religious practice' and 'not engaged in religious practice'. 43.2% of the sample reported no engagement in daily religious activities and with regard to religious education background, 47.9% of the participants reported to have received no education before.

An examination of the EVA scores revealed that the participants reasoned in the ethic of Autonomy most ( $M = 4.31$ ,  $SD = .54$ ), with the ethics of Community ( $M = 3.97$ ,  $SD = .66$ ) and Divinity ( $M = 3.51$ ,  $SD = .96$ ) following. Table 3.2 shows the means and standard deviation of the three subscale scores

according to age level, and presence or absence of religious practice and religious education.

**Table 3.2**

*Means and Standard Deviations of Scores in Each Ethic Subscale by Age, Religious Practice, and Religious Education*

| Religious practice | Religious education | Ethic     | Age Groups  |            |             |            |
|--------------------|---------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|
|                    |                     |           | Group 1     | Group 2    | Group 3     | Group 4    |
| Engaged            | Received            | Autonomy  | 4.55 (.38)  | 4.38 (.56) | 4.23 (.53)  | 4.10 (.63) |
|                    |                     | Community | 4.31 (.43)  | 4.19 (.62) | 3.84 (.54)  | 3.85 (.77) |
|                    |                     | Divinity  | 4.39 (.48)  | 3.97 (.86) | 3.78 (.66)  | 3.75 (.93) |
|                    | Not received        | Autonomy  | 4.27 (.52)  | 4.29 (.64) | 4.33 (.51)  | 4.35 (.61) |
|                    |                     | Community | 4.10 (.57)  | 4.31 (.72) | 3.80 (1.09) | 3.62 (.73) |
|                    |                     | Divinity  | 3.99 (.80)  | 4.01 (.98) | 3.22 (.94)  | 3.67 (.83) |
| Not engaged        | Received            | Autonomy  | 3.33 (.58)  | 3.62 (.64) | 4.32 (.46)  | 4.47 (.42) |
|                    |                     | Community | 3.33 (.49)  | 3.83 (.57) | 3.84 (.60)  | 3.93 (.78) |
|                    |                     | Divinity  | 3.25 (.52)  | 3.10 (.67) | 3.04 (.92)  | 2.62 (.94) |
|                    | Not received        | Autonomy  | 4.42 (.56)  | 4.25 (.55) | 4.33 (.44)  | 4.40 (.44) |
|                    |                     | Community | 3.83 (.76)  | 3.99 (.51) | 4.06 (.58)  | 3.63 (.64) |
|                    |                     | Divinity  | 3.73 (1.14) | 3.00 (.67) | 2.94 (.54)  | 2.75 (.72) |

*Note.* Group 1 represents 12-13 year-olds, Group 2 represents 14-15 year-olds, Group 3 represents 16-17 year-olds, and Group 4 represents 18-29 year olds.

The numbers in parentheses represent the standard deviation values.

For religious education; participants received religious education ( $n$ : 152) and participants did not receive religious education ( $n$ : 140). For religious practice; participants who engaged in daily religious activities ( $n$ : 166) and participants who was not engaged in religious activities ( $n$ : 126).  $N$ : 292.

To answer the research questions of the present study, a three-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was planned to be conducted on the mean scores of the EVA measure with the factors of age, religious education background, and religious practice as independent variables. Before conducting the MANOVA, all dependent measures were examined for correlations to test the MANOVA assumption that the dependent measures are moderately correlated

with each other. A series of Pearson's correlation tests revealed moderate correlations between Autonomy and Community ( $r = .52, p < .001$ ), between Autonomy and Divinity ( $r = .30, p < .001$ ), and between Community and Divinity ( $r = .48, p < .001$ ).

However, it was highly probable for two of the independent variables, religious education background and religious practice, to be correlated due to measuring similar constructs. Including correlated variables as independent measures would violate the 'independence of observations' assumption of MANOVA. A chi-square test of independence on these variables confirmed their association,  $\chi^2 (1, 292) = 19.33, p < .001$ . Those who received a religious education were more likely to engage in religious practice than those who did not receive any religious education. Hence, these two variables were decided to be examined in two separate MANOVAs. This decision could also help to see if one of these variables explains more variance in the data than the other one could.

### **3.2. MEAN DIFFERENCES**

**MANOVA 1.** To answer the questions about whether ethical values vary across different ages of adolescence and whether ethical values are associated with having a religious education background, a two-way (4 x 2) MANOVA was conducted on the average scores obtained on the three ethics (Autonomy, Community, and Divinity) with the factors age and religious education as independent variables.

The assumption of 'multivariate normality' was checked by performing Shapiro-Wilks tests of normality on each dependent measure. These tests resulted in the violation of normality in all measures (all  $ps < .001$ ). F tests are robust to normality violations when the sample size is large enough. The present study had a very large sample size; therefore, it was assumed that the MANOVA would not be affected by the violated normality in the dependent measures. The Box's M value of 84.85 with a  $p$  value of less than .001 suggested the violation of the 'homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices' assumption, stating that the



observed covariance matrices of the dependent variables were equal across groups. As an additional check, Levene's test of Equality of Error Variances revealed that the equal variances assumption was violated only in the ethic of Divinity ( $p = .006$ ). As the Box's M and Levene's test can be sensitive to large samples, a final check was made with a Spread-versus-Level plot of Divinity for visual confirmation of the violation. Spread-versus-Level plots are scatterplots of the cell means and standard deviations. The plot of Divinity demonstrated no meaningful pattern, providing no evidence for violation of the assumption. Hence, it was concluded that the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices was met.

The combined outcome variables (i.e. the three ethics) were found to vary significantly between different age groups, Wilks'  $\Lambda = .78$ ,  $F(9, 686.46) = 8.12$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .08$ , and between those who received religious education and those who did not, Wilks'  $\Lambda = .96$ ,  $F(3, 282) = 3.98$ ,  $p = .008$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .04$ . There was no significant interaction between age and religious education,  $p = .24$ .

Separate univariate ANOVAs on the outcome variables revealed a main effect of age on the ethics of Community,  $F(3, 284) = 5.30$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .05$ . and Divinity,  $F(3, 284) = 19.21$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .17$ , but not Autonomy ( $p = .54$ ). The main effect of religious education was present only for the ethic of Divinity,  $F(1, 284) = 9.78$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .03$ . Those who had a religious education background scored higher than those who did not in the ethic of Divinity.

Bonferroni's post-hoc tests were conducted to follow up the significant effect of age. With regard to the ethic of Community, the Group 1 and Group 2 were found to have obtained significantly higher scores than the Group 4 did ( $p = .009$  and  $p = .004$ , respectively). In the ethic of Divinity, Group 1 had significantly higher scores than the other age groups: Group 2 ( $p = .013$ ), Group 3 ( $p < .001$ ), and in Group 4 ( $p < .001$ ). Also, the participants in the Group 2 scored higher than the Group 4,  $p < .001$ .

**MANOVA 2.** A second two-way (4 x 2) MANOVA was conducted on the average scores obtained on the three ethics with the factors age and religious practice as independent variables.

Similar to the previous MANOVA, it was again assumed that the analysis would be robust to the violated normality due to the very large sample size of the present study. The Box's M value of 78.57 with a  $p$  value of less than .001 suggested violation of the homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices assumption, stating that the observed covariance matrices of the dependent variables were equal across groups. As an additional check, Levene's test of Equality of Error Variances revealed that the equal variances assumption was violated only in the ethic of Autonomy ( $p = .02$ ). Since Box's M and Levene's test can be sensitive to large samples, a final check was made with a Spread-versus-Level plot of Autonomy for visual confirmation of the violation. The plot of Autonomy demonstrated no meaningful pattern, providing no evidence for violation of the assumption. Hence, it was concluded that the homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices assumption was met.

The outcome variables (i.e., the three ethics) varied significantly both across different age groups, Wilks'  $\Lambda = .86$ ,  $F(9, 686.46) = 5.04$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .05$ , and between those who engaged in religious practice and those who did not, Wilks'  $\Lambda = .80$ ,  $F(3, 282) = 23.83$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .20$ . There was also a significant interaction between age and religious practice, Wilks'  $\Lambda = .92$ ,  $F(9, 686.46) = 2.57$ ,  $p = .007$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .03$ .

Separate univariate ANOVAs on the outcome variables revealed that the main effect of age was present only for the ethics of Community,  $F(3, 284) = 3.27$ ,  $p = .022$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .03$ , and Divinity,  $F(3, 284) = 8.61$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .08$ . The main effect of religious practice too was present only for the ethics of Community,  $F(3, 284) = 4.54$ ,  $p = .034$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ , and Divinity,  $F(3, 284) = 67.10$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .20$ . The interaction between age and religious practice was observed only in the ethics of Autonomy,  $F(3, 284) = 3.59$ ,  $p = .014$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .04$ , and Community,  $F(3, 284) = 3.08$ ,  $p = .028$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .03$ .

Bonferroni's post-hoc tests were conducted to follow up the significant effects of age and religious practice on endorsement of the three ethics. With regard to the effect of age, the Group 2 was found to have significantly higher scores than the Group 4 did in the Community ethic ( $p = .014$ ) whereas the Group

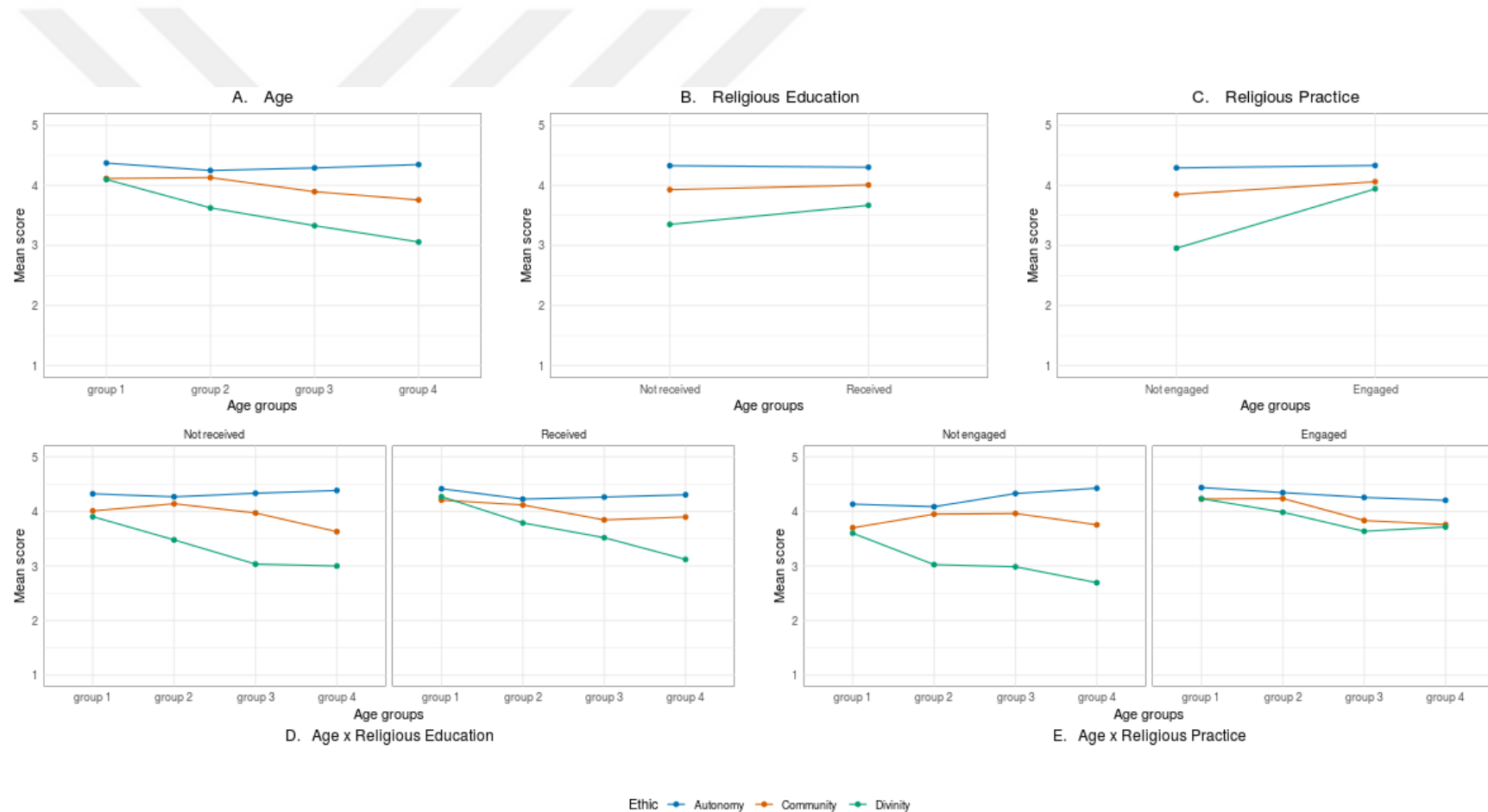


Figure 3.1 Average scores for Three Ethics among adolescents

Note. Lines showing the average scores for Three Ethics according to different age groups in adolescents. ‘Received’ and ‘not received’ represent whether participants received and religious education. ‘Engaged’ and ‘not engaged’ represent whether participants engage in religious practices or not. Group 1 represents 12-13 year-olds, Group 2 represents 14-15 year-olds, Group 3 represents 16-17 year-olds, and Group 4 represents 18-29 year-olds.

1 was found to have significantly higher scores than all three of the other age groups: Group 2 ( $p = .038$ ), Group 3 ( $p < .001$ ) and Group 4 ( $p < .001$ ) in the Divinity ethic. Regarding the religious practice effect, those who engaged in religious practice were found to have significantly higher scores than those who did not in the ethics of Community ( $p = .034$ ) and Divinity ( $p < .001$ ).

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **DISCUSSION**

#### **4.1. GENERAL DISCUSSION**

The cultural-developmental approach introduced by Jensen (2008) brings cultural and developmental perspectives together. This approach takes its roots from Shweder's theories on developmental model of three ethics (Autonomy, Community, and Divinity) across different cultures (Shweder, Mahapatra, & Miller, 1987). The present study makes contribution to the moral psychology literature by specifically examining the development of morality throughout adolescence in Turkey. Earlier cross-cultural studies that were presented in Jensen's book of *Moral Development in a Global World* revealed differences in the use of three ethics across cultures (e.g., Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2015; Kapadia & Bhangaokar, 2015; Pandya & Bhangaokar, 2015). However, these studies do not provide detailed information on the use of ethics among different ages of adolescence in the use of three ethics. This study aimed to fill this gap by providing evidence from a different culture and developmental period that have not been investigated much with regard to moral development. Therefore, this study focused on the use of the three ethics (Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, *et al.*, 1997) in Turkish culture among different age groups of adolescents.

In addition to the major goal to explore whether there are age trends in the three ethics, this study also investigated whether religious education and religious practice are related to endorsement of the ethics. Previous work on the development of moral reasoning implied that moral reasoning and development,

especially in the the ethic of Divinity, and religious conservatism may be linked (e.g., Jensen, 2011). Similarly, the possibility of a link between moral development and religious education or religious practice was sought out as well. Jensen (2011) stated that in cultures where people believe in an omnipotent, supernatural, omniscient God, the degree of use of ethic of Divinity will be low among children and it will rise in adolescence. She believes that (Jensen, 2011) when the culturally articulated concept of God is largely distinct from humans, its abstract nature is emphasized and this abstract nature can be translated into moral reasoning when the cognitive ability for abstraction develops in adolescence (Adelson, 1971; Keating, 1990; Kohlberg, 1976; Piaget, 1972). Since the majority of the population in Turkey identify themselves as Muslim (Cukur, De Guzman, & Carlo, 2004), the present study investigated whether the monotheistic cultural roots of Turkey are related to endorsement of the three ethics. Consequently, the main objective of this study was to provide evidence regarding moral development from a cultural developmental perspective.

First, it is important to stress that all three ethics were endorsed, as it can be seen from the mean scores of above “3” for each ethic. These results provide evidence from a Turkish cultural context regarding the prevalence of the three ethics in different cultures (Haidt, Koller, & Dias, 1993; Jensen, 1998; Rozin, Lowery, Imada, *et al.*, 1999; Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, *et al.*, 1997; Vasquez, Keltner, Ebenbach, *et al.*, 2001). The overall pattern of endorsement of each ethic was found to be different from previous studies which investigated the three ethics in different countries (e.g., Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2010, 2015; Kapadia & Bhangaokar, 2015), supporting the cultural aspect of Jensen’s cultural-developmental perspective of moral reasoning (Jensen, 2008, 2011, 2012). The highest level of endorsement was found for the ethic of Autonomy. In earlier studies, this moral code was shown to be endorsed across cultures (Vauclair & Fischer, 2011) and this study provided evidence for the emphasis on the importance of the concepts such as justice and fairness in the ethic of Autonomy. Also, this finding is consistent with previous literature on the endorsement degree of the three ethics (e.g., Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2015; Jensen, 2011). Moreover,

the lowest level of endorsement was found to be the ethic of Divinity when compared with the ethics of Autonomy and Community. This finding is congruent with previous studies (e.g. Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2015; Kapadia & Bhangaokar, 2015) pointing out the lower use of ethic of Divinity in comparison to other ethics.

#### **4.2. HYPOTHESIS**

With respect to the emphasis on the effect of age, an age trend across adolescence was expected in the use of three ethics consistent with Jensen's cultural developmental model of moral reasoning (Jensen, 2008, 2011, 2012). The results revealed that there is an effect of age, confirming this hypothesis. In particular, age was found to influence the use of the ethics of Community and Divinity but not of Autonomy (See Figure 3.1 again). The extent of use of the ethic of Community slightly decreased throughout the adolescence. The ethic of Divinity, however, was found to be used more by adolescents in Group 1 than other age groups, and its extent of use lessened with age, reaching its minimum in adulthood. The decrease in the use of Divinity was more pronounced than that in the use of Community. Although the extent of using Community and Divinity changed with age, the overall pattern of using the ethic of Autonomy as the most and Divinity as the least were preserved regardless of age.

In brief, an effect of age was expected in the use of the three ethics across adolescence since this developmental period is characterized by identity formation (Arnett, Ramos, & Jensen, 2001), along with an increase in the awareness of the problems in society as well as ideologies and worldviews (Flanagan & Levine, 2010), and gaining greater responsibility (Vainio, 2015). Yet, the findings were different from Jensen's model regarding the ethic of Community and Divinity.

According to Jensen's (2011) cultural developmental model, the ethic of Community increases with age whereas, in this sample, a decrease in the ethic of Community was observed. In addition, Jensen's cultural developmental template proposes that ethic of Divinity will rise in adolescence (Jensen, 2011). However,

unlike Jensen's model, a decrease in the ethic of Divinity was observed in this sample.

This difference from Jensen's model is important as it provides information needed to understand the ethical values among young people in modern Turkey. Along with the studies explaining the intersection of cultural and developmental psychology (e.g., Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996), bridging those perspectives is the focus of interest of the present study in the search for cultural diversity (Jensen, 2011). The difference from Jensen's model can be explained by the phases of adolescence, the characteristics of the sample and the cultural context of modern Turkey.

First, the decline in the use of ethic of Divinity can be associated with the increase in the critical thinking capacity of adolescents. Arnett (2014) states that adolescents start to analyze information, relate that information with prior information, make judgments, and have a greater capacity for critical thinking with cognitive development in adolescence. Additionally, adolescents have more access to information resources, which supports the increase in their critical thinking. Media such as Internet, movies, and television increase the spread of ideas across cultures. Studies also showed that adolescents and emerging adults have more interest in media culture than children or adults (Dasen, 2000; Schlegel, 2011). Adolescents can choose which information they want to reach in an objective manner with the changing global world. Along with the access to new information, adolescents might begin to question religious judgments which may result in decrease in the use of Divinity as a moral code. Hence, the age trend found in the present study might be distinctive on the basis of characteristics of developmental issues of adolescence.

Secondly, the fact that the participants of this study are in an urban, educated environment which is dominated by a secular ideology might be one of the reasons for the decline in endorsement of divinity. Students taking secular education in an urban context may have different views of moral values than students undergoing similar education in a rural context.

In addition, the predominant worldview of Turkish culture is influential in explaining the difference with Jensen's model. As Sunar and Fişek (2005) clarified, Turkish culture is classified as "collectivistic" (as defined by, e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). In collectivist cultures, the interest of the group is considered to be more important than the interests of individuals (Sunar & Fişek, 2005) and self is mostly conceptualized on the basis of relationships (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1985, 1996). Kağıtçıbaşı (1990, 1996) suggested a model where new modern Turkish family members become "autonomous-relational." Although Turkish society tends to protect its characteristic of "relatedness", there are studies that portray Turkish respondents as neither strongly collectivistic nor individualistic (Anamur, 1998; Göregenli, 1995). Jensen's (2008, 2011) model proposed an increase in the use of ethic of Community across lifespan. However, the results showed the opposite in which the use of the ethic of Community decreased in different age groups. This decline in the use of the ethic of Community may be due to the association between Community and Divinity (correlation with an  $r$  of .48) in Turkish culture; however, since the correlation coefficient between Community and Autonomy is nearly the same ( $r = .52$ ), this is probably not the whole explanation.

For the last century, Turkish society has struggled with the issue of religiosity versus secularism. With the establishment of the Republic in the 1920's, the Ottoman tradition of the ruler being also the spiritual head of Islam (caliph) was overturned and secularism became one of the defining legacies of Atatürk's revolution. Urban elites and the governing class promoted secularism and discouraged public displays of religiosity, outlawing the use of the traditional fez for men or the veil for women. Towards the turn of the 21st century, political parties began to mobilize around demands for rights of religious expression. One of these parties, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) won a series of elections and has been in power since 2002. The resulting split between loyalists to the Kemalist position and those supporting the resurgence of public religiosity has been deep and stubborn, dividing the nation almost in half. The split is especially acute between urban, educated coastal populations and rural, inland,



less educated populations. The governing party has also increasingly embraced not only Islamism but also neoliberal economics coupled with progressively greater consolidation of political power in a more authoritarian structure (Kaya, 2015; Yılmaz, Barton & Barry, 2017; see also Günay & Dzihic, 2016).

Thus there are two competing visions with very different value systems, one of them rooted in the Republican legacy of secularism and modernization, and the other rooted in pro-religious, neoliberal and authoritarian values. Not surprisingly, the government has established large numbers of religiously-oriented public high schools, and its supporters have likewise established many religiously-oriented private schools, as alternatives to the public and private schools established during the previous era, when secularism was the official policy.

The schools from which the sample in this study was drawn are public schools that do not have a declared religious orientation. Thus it is likely that the students in these schools come from families with leanings toward a more secular vision of society. At the same time, these students may have negative reactions to government actions they see as oppressive. The decrease with age in the ethics of Community and Divinity in this group may be interpreted in light of these social divisions and the likely position of the participants within them. As the desire for independence increases through adolescence, social pressure may lead to a feeling of opposition and to a decrease in the use of Community and Divinity.

With regard to religious education and religious practice, differences between those who received religious education and those who did not, as well as those who engaged in religious practices and those who did not were expected. Religious education was found to be related only to the use of the ethic of Divinity, whereas religious practice was found to be related to the use of the ethics of both Community and Divinity. Those who received religious education used Divinity as a moral code more than those who did not receive any religious education outside of school. Yet, it is important to note that the size of this effect was small ( $\eta^2 = .04$ ). Furthermore, the participants who engaged in religious practices endorsed both the ethics of Community and Divinity more than those

who did not engage in religious practices, and this difference was more pronounced in the ethic of Divinity. These findings suggest that having a religious education background and engaging in religious practices both positively influence moral values, with the latter being more influential. This suggests that active involvement in religion (i.e. "religious practice") may alter moral values, especially in the ethic of Divinity, more distinctively than having a religious education background (Durkheim, 1915, 1951, 1965; Graham & Haidt, 2010).

There was no interaction between age and religious education, meaning that the individuals who received religious education did not show any developmental differences in terms of their responses to moral values from those who did not receive any religious education. An interaction effect, however, was observed between age and religious practice, demonstrating different developmental patterns of moral values for those who engaged in religious practices and those who did not (see Figure 3.2 again). This interaction effect was present only for the ethics of Autonomy and Community. With regard to those who did not engage in religious practices, the level of endorsement in the ethic of Autonomy showed a trend of slight increase across the period of adolescence whereas the level of endorsement of the ethic of Community was the same throughout the adolescence. Those who engaged in religious practices, on the other hand, demonstrated a trend of slight decrease in both ethics during adolescence. However, it is important to note that these effects need to be considered carefully since their size were quite small (for Autonomy,  $\eta^2 = .04$ ; for Community,  $\eta^2 = .03$ ).

These findings contradict with Jensen's findings of the interaction between age and religiosity in moral development (Buchanan 2003; Jensen 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 2008; Vainio, 2003). Jensen (2011) reported an increase in the ethic of Community but stability in Autonomy and Divinity in religious liberals, compared to an increase in Divinity and Community but a decrease in Autonomy among religious conservatives. Contrary to Jensen, in the sample of this study, the ethic of Divinity decreased with age regardless of the religiosity of the participants. Again, contrary to Jensen (2015) who reported that Community would increase

with age regardless of religiosity of the individual, in the present study, Community decreased in those who engaged in religious practice but stayed fairly stable in those who did not. Furthermore, the developmental pattern found for the ethic of Autonomy in relation to religious practice was the opposite of what Jensen (2008, 2015) reported, that is, an increase in Autonomy with age in those who did not engage in religious practices whereas Autonomy remained fairly stable across different age groups in those who engaged in religious practices.

A gradual decrease in the extent of using the ethic of Divinity was previously observed in the cultural contexts of Israel, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom in a cross-cultural study of moral reasoning by Guerra and Giner-Sorolla (2015), even though this decrease concerned a narrower time frame (18 to 23 years of age). This suggests that the effect of having a religious background or being actively involved in religious activities might differentially influence moral values across cultures. This might be due to the context-dependent nature of religion. Religion is as diverse as cultures are and it varies widely among different cultural contexts. Just as not every culture is the same, not every religion is the same either. Religions vary and they can be differentiated within themselves. For example, there are many denominations in Islam and the views of different sects can be dramatically different from each other. Therefore, the diversity in religion might be influential in the use of the ethic of Divinity among adolescents. Still, the way Divinity develops over the course of adolescence in Turkey will require more research.

Since cultural factors affect moral judgment and behavior, societal differences such as political ideology, cultural norms, demographic and economic factors have a great importance on the endorsement of moral codes (Graham, Meindl, Beall, Johnson, & Zhang, 2016). Turkey, an “institutionally secular, democratic state in which religious lifestyles have been ascendant within public sphere in the past decade (Gökarıksel & Secor, 2015)” brings Islamic values and neoliberal policies together. Secular and religious characteristics of Turkish society, social class (upper and lower) differences, and regional variations (rural and urban) shape cultural dynamics of Turkish culture. So, religion, Islamism,

everyday life in rural and urban areas, changes in educational attainment, income, preferences, and subjective social status become indicative in interpreting the use of ethics among Turkish adolescents. Consequently, the results of this study cannot be generalized to nonstudent adolescents in rural context since participants of this study were from urban, educated environment that is dominated by a secular ideology.

As mentioned above, the present study aimed to empirically investigate patterns in the developmental trajectories of the three ethics (Autonomy, Community, and Divinity) in the light of Jensen's (2008, 2011) cultural developmental approach in Turkish adolescents. The cultural developmental synthesis allows reflection on both developmental commonalities and cultural diversities. In this rapidly changing global world, it is important to discover cultural characteristics in moral development. Overall, it can be concluded that this study supports the use of the cultural developmental approach in understanding the differences of moral reasoning within a Turkish context.

#### **4.3. LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH**

With regard to limitations, although the EVA questionnaire is very helpful in capturing the variety of moral codes, adding indigenous Turkish moral features might be helpful. Moreover, it is believed that if the wording in the questionnaire such as "manevi pusula" and "manevi selamet" could be adapted to younger age groups, the questionnaire might be more valid for younger adolescents. Furthermore, there is a need to further explore and compare adolescents from different socioeconomic groups within Turkish culture. Many adolescents who participated in this study were from lower-middle, middle, and upper-middle classes of Turkish society. Also, for future studies longitudinal studies would yield a better understanding of how moral values develop across the lifespan. Lastly, further studies can be done in the search for the relationship between moral development and education, media, parenting styles, attachment, and psychological well-being. These studies will also be important for clinical

evaluations of therapists. Briefly, there is a need to specify moral concepts for younger age groups to understand and enrich the questionnaire with new culture-specific concepts, new studies with more socioeconomically diverse samples, and further longitudinal examinations with new topics.

#### **4.4. CONCLUSION**

Finally, as mentioned above, although there are limitations, this study contributed to the growing literature using the cultural developmental template for understanding how moral values develop across adolescence; understanding the relation between religious training and religious practice in the developmental process; and understanding the cross-cultural similarities and differences in the developmental process.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Istanbul Bilgi University Committee on Ethics in research on Humans

**ETİK KURUL DEĞERLENDİRME SONUCU/RESULT OF EVALUATION BY  
THE ETHICS COMMITTEE**

(Bu bölüm İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul tarafından doldurulacaktır /This section to be completed by the Committee on Ethics in research on Humans)

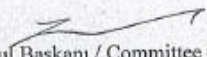

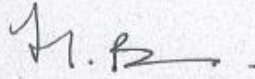



**Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant:** Şebnem Erinç

**Proje Başlığı / Project Title:** A Cultural Development Perspective on Differences in Adolescents' Judgements about Moral Values at Different Ages

**Proje No. / Project Number:** 2019-20024-22

|    |   |    |
|----|---|----|
| 1. | Herhangi bir değişikliğe gerek yoktur / There is no need for revision | XX |
| 2. | Ret/ Application Rejected<br>Reddin gerekçesi / Reason for Rejection  |    |

Değerlendirme Tarihi / Date of Evaluation: 12 Şubat 2019

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <br>Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair<br>Doç. Dr. İtir Erhart | <br>Üye / Committee Member<br>Prof. Dr. Aslı Tunç       |
| <br>Üye / Committee Member<br>Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak          | <br>Üye / Committee Member<br>Prof. Dr. Turgut Tarhanlı |
| <br>Üye / Committee Member<br>Prof. Dr. Koray Akay          | <br>Üye / Committee Member<br>Prof. Dr. Ali Demirci    |

## Appendix B: Permission from National Directorate of İstanbul



T.C.  
İSTANBUL VALİLİĞİ  
İl Millî Eğitim Müdürlüğü

Sayı : 59090411-604.02-E.3736677  
Konu : Anket ve Araştırma İzin Talebi

20/02/2019

### VALİLİK MAKAMINA

- İlgi: a) 19.02.2019 tarihli ve 3605516 Gelen Evrak No'lu dilekçe.  
b) MEB. Yen. ve Eğ. Tk. Gn. Md. 22.08.2017 tarih ve 12607291/2017/25 No'lu Gen.  
c) Millî Eğitim Müdürlüğü Araştırma ve Anket Komisyonunun 01.02.2019 tarihli tutanağı.

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü yüksek lisans öğrencisi Şebnem ERİNÇ'in "Üç Farklı Yaş Grubundaki Ergenlerin Çeşitli Ahlakî Değerlere İlişkin Tutumlarındaki Farklılıkların Kültürel Gelişimsel Perspektiften İncelenmesi" konulu tezi kapsamında, ilimiz Maltepe ilçesinde bulunan özel/resmî ortaokul ve liseerde; anket uygulama istemi hakkındaki ilgi (a) dilekçe ve ekleri Müdürlüğümüzce incelenmiştir.

Araştırmacının söz konusu talebi; bilimsel amaç dışında kullanılmaması, uygulama sırasında bir örneği müdürlüğümüzde muhafaza edilen mühürlü ve imzalı veri toplama araçlarının kurumlarınıza araştırmacı tarafından ulaştırılarak uygulanması, katılımcıların gönüllülük esasına göre seçilmesi, araştırma sonuç raporunun müdürlüğümüzden izin alınmadan kamuoyuyla paylaşılmaması koşuluyla, okul idarelerinin denetim, gözetim ve sorumluluğunda, eğitim-öğretimi aksatmayacak şekilde ilgi (b) Bakanlık emri esasları dâhilinde uygulanması, sonuçtan Müdürlüğümüze rapor halinde (CD formatında) bilgi verilmesi kaydıyla Müdürlüğümüzce uygun görülmektedir.

Makamlarınızca da uygun görülmesi halinde olurlarınıza arz ederim.

Levent YAZICI  
İl Millî Eğitim Müdürü

- Ek:  
1- Genelge.  
2- Komisyon Tutanağı.

OLUR  
20/02/2019

Ahmet Hamdi USTA  
Vali a.  
Vali Yardımcısı

İl Millî Eğitim Müdürlüğü Binbirdirek M. İnanç Ökten Cad.  
No:1 Eski Adliye Binası Sultanahmet Fatih/İstanbul  
E-Posta: sgbt4@meb.gov.tr

A. BALTA VHKİ  
Tel: (0 212) 455 04 00-239

Bu evrak güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır. <http://evrak.meb.gov.tr> adresinden 9e41-191a-30e0-bc7f-de0c koda ile teyit edilebilir.

## Appendix C: Parental Consent Form

### Ebeveyn Onam Formu

Sayın Veli,

Çocuğunuzun İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi klinik psikoloji bölümü yüksek lisans öğrencisi Şebnem Erinç'in "Üç Farklı Yaş Grubundaki Ergenlerin Çeşitli Ahlaki Değerlere İlişkin Tutumlarındaki Farklılıkların Kültürel Gelişimsel Perspektiften İncelenmesi" konulu tez çalışmasında katılımcı olması istenmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, ergenlerin çeşitli değerlere karşı tutumlarının farklı yaş grupları içinde nasıl değişiklik gösterdiğini gelişimsel olarak belirlemektir. Buna ek olarak din eğitimi ve pratiklerinin değerlere karşı tutumlarıyla ilişkisi araştırılacaktır. Bu çalışmaya yedinci, dokuzuncu ve on birinci sınıf öğrencisi olan bireyler katılabilecektir.

Öğrenciler, yaklaşık 25-30 dakika sürecek olan anket formlarını bir ders saati içinde kendileri dolduracaklardır. Çocuğunuz eğer araştırmaya başlayıp katılmaya devam etmek istemezse, istediği yerde çalışmayı bırakma hakkı kendisine tanınacaktır.

Katılımcı olarak çocuğunuzun adı-soyadı sorulmayacaktır ve kaydedilmeyecektir. Bu araştırmadan elde edilen bilgiler sadece grup olarak değerlendirilecektir. Bu çalışmaya katılım gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Katılımdan kaynaklanabilecek herhangi bir zarar beklenmemektedir.

Çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız olursa araştırmacı Psk. Şebnem Erinç'e 536 498 97 68 numaralı telefondan ya da sebnemerincc@gmail.com e-posta adresinden ya da çalışmanın danışmanı olan Prof. Dr. Diane Sunar'a diane.sunar@bilgi.edu.tr adresinden ulaşabilirsiniz. Araştırmaya değerli katkılarınız için şimdiden çok teşekkür ederim.

Araştırmanın şartlarını okudum ve çocuğumun bu çalışmaya katılmasına **izin veriyorum**

Araştırmanın şartlarını okudum ve çocuğumun bu çalışmaya katılmasına **izin vermiyorum**

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

**İmza:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Not: Bu formu işaretleyip imzaladıktan sonra kapalı zarfta öğretmene verilmesi rica olunur. İmzalı izin formları, öğrencilerin doldurduğu anket formlarından ayrı tutulacaktır.**

## Appendix D: Informed Consent Form

### Katılımcı Onam Formu

Değerli Katılımcı,

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi klinik psikoloji bölümü yüksek lisans öğrencisi Şebnem Erinç'in "Üç Farklı Yaş Grubundaki Ergenlerin Çeşitli Ahlaki Değerlere İlişkin Tutumlarındaki Farklılıkların Kültürel Gelişimsel Perspektiften İncelenmesi" konulu tez çalışmasına katılımınızı rica ediyorum. Bu çalışmanın amacı ergenlerin çeşitli değerler ile ilgili düşüncelerini anlamaktır. Özellikle, farklı yaş gruplarındaki ergenlerin bakışlarındaki farkların incelenmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Buna ek olarak din eğitiminin ve pratiklerinin çeşitli değerlerle ilişkisi araştırılacaktır.

Bu çalışmaya yedinci, dokuzuncu ve on birinci sınıf öğrencisi olan bireyler katılabilecektir. Formun doldurulması yaklaşık yarım saat sürer.

Bu çalışmaya katılım gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Eğer araştırmaya katılmaya devam etmek istemezseniz, istediğiniz bir yerde çalışmayı bırakma hakkınız vardır.

Bu araştırma bilimsel bir amaçla yapılmaktadır ve katılımcı bilgilerinin gizliliği esas tutulmaktadır. Adınız ve soyadınız sorulmayacaktır ve böylece kimliğiniz gizli kalacaktır. Bu kabul formu, araştırmanın soru kısmından ayrı olarak saklanacaktır. Bu araştırmadan elde edilen bilgiler sadece grup olarak değerlendirilecektir.

Bu anket, bir test değildir. Soruların doğru veya yanlış bir cevabı yoktur. Eğer çalışmaya katılmaya gönüllü olursanız lütfen bütün soruları olabildiğince samimi bir şekilde kendi yaşantınız doğrultusunda cevaplamaya çalışın.

Çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız olursa araştırmacı Psk. Şebnem Erinç'e 536 498 97 68 numaralı telefondan ya da sebnemerincc@gmail.com e-posta adresinden ya da çalışmanın danışmanı olan Prof. Dr. Diane Sunar'a diane.sunar@bilgi.edu.tr adresinden ulaşabilirsiniz. Araştırmaya katılarak yaptığınız değerli katkı ve ayırdığınız zaman için çok teşekkür ederim.

Araştırmanın şartlarını okudum ve **katılmayı kabul ediyorum.**

Araştırmanın şartlarını okudum ve **katılmayı kabul etmiyorum.**

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....