

**MORALITY,
MORAL
BEHAVIOR, AND
MORAL
DEVELOPMENT**

Edited by
WILLIAM M. KURTINES
JACOB L. GEWIRTZ

MORALITY, MORAL BEHAVIOR, AND MORAL DEVELOPMENT

WILLIAM M. KURTINES

JACOB L. GEWIRTZ

Florida International University

A WILEY-INTERSCIENCE PUBLICATION

JOHN WILEY & SONS

New York • Chichester • Brisbane • Toronto • Singapore

Copyright © 1984 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

All rights reserved. Published simultaneously in Canada.

Reproduction or translation of any part of this work beyond that permitted by Section 107 or 108 of the 1976 United States Copyright Act without the permission of the copyright owner is unlawful. Requests for permission or further information should be addressed to the Permissions Department, John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data:

Main entry under title:

Morality, moral behavior, and moral development.

“A Wiley-Interscience publication.”

Includes indexes.

1. Moral development. 2. Ethics. I. Kurtines, William M. II. Gewirtz, Jacob L., 1924–

BF723.M54M69 1984 155.2 83-16703
ISBN 0-471-88740-4

Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

Preface

The basic themes that define current theory and research on morality, moral behavior, and moral development can perhaps be captured best by the terms *growth* and *evolution*. Growth is evident in the size and scope of the literature on moral issues, which has increased enormously in size over the last three decades and has now become a substantive area of scholarly and research interest in its own right. The second theme, *evolution*, is discernible in the alterations and transformations that have taken place in the field. Theoretical orientations have undergone dramatic change, and new perspectives have begun to emerge. Theory and research on morality and moral development is thus in the midst of a period of growth and evolution that promises to extend well into the coming decades. In this frame, the goal underlying the present book is to expedite developments in the literature on morality, moral behavior, and moral development by *bringing together in one place a representative and comprehensive collection of writings by scholars and researchers in the area that (1) reflects the basic issues in current theory and research, and (2) defines new trends and directions for theory and research in the coming decades.*

The chapters that follow deal with a wide range of issues. Still, three broadly defined central themes emerge in the book and point to the directions in which work in the field is moving. The first theme is the clear need for theoretical models that are more comprehensive and integrative than those developed to date. Compared with past work, theoretical accounts are becoming increasingly complex as they attempt to integrate a greater range of phenomena. These phenomena include behavior, conditioning, context, affect, and cognition. This book thus contains a number of chapters that describe work both on the expansion of existing models and on the development of new, more integrated approaches. A second basic theme is the need for more methodological rigor than has characterized past empirical work on moral development. The need for more empirical rigor, however, is accompanied by a recognition of the limitation of traditional methodologies, the unique methodological problems presented in work on morality, and the need to explore and develop alternative research strategies and tactics. A third basic theme of the book is the need further to clarify and refine the boundaries between philosophical and psychological issues and to render more explicit the variety of moral, ethical, or value positions that currently exist in the literature.

This book is a product of the collective efforts of a group of scholars and researchers with differing as well as broad backgrounds. As a collective effort, it represents a substantive contribution to the theoretical and research literatures and can extend the frontiers of the field in many directions. The background and overview part presents an analysis of central philosophical and theoretical issues and provides an overview of the current research literature. The part on the Kohlberg cognitive-developmental approach contains state-of-the-art reviews of developments and advances that have occurred within that orientation. It includes separate chapters on theory, application, and research methodology that pull together several recent significant developments in that approach. In addition, the part dealing with recent work on stage-structural and constructivist models expands the scope of concepts that are included within the stage-structural frame. Also included is a comprehensive part on learning and behavioral development approaches that ranges from a straightforward non-cognitive social-learning perspective through a modern cognitive-behavioral perspective to a recently developed integrated cognitive-social-learning model. The part on social and personality theory includes chapters advancing innovative approaches that attempt to integrate a variety of social, personality, affective, and motivational variables at both a conceptual and a methodological level. Finally, the last part of the book addresses basic issues in the literature from historical and philosophical perspectives.

This book would not have been possible without the cooperation and assistance of a number of people and institutions. Invaluable support was received at various stages in the preparation of this work from the College of Arts and Sciences, the Department of Psychology, the School of Education, and the Department of Conferences at Florida International University and from the editors and staff at John Wiley & Sons. We also wish to thank those persons whose individual contributions at various stages of the project were instrumental in its successful completion. The list of persons to whom we are indebted is too long to enumerate here. We would like simply to dedicate this book to *all* the people who helped make it possible and to Florida International University as it enters its second decade of existence.

WILLIAM M. KURTINES
JACOB L. GEWIRTZ

Miami, Florida
January 1984

Contributors

AUGUSTO BLASI is Professor of Psychology at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. He received his doctorate in Clinical Psychology from Washington University in 1971. Doctor Blasi has done extensive work in the area of moral judgment and moral action.

DWIGHT R. BOYD is Associate Professor of the History and Philosophy of Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. In 1976 he received his doctorate in the Philosophy of Education from the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Doctor Boyd's interests span a broad range of topics in the history and philosophy of education.

ROGER V. BURTON is Professor of Psychology and Director of the Developmental Psychology Program at the State University of New York at Buffalo. He received his doctorate in Psychology from Harvard University in 1959. Doctor Burton is author of studies on resistance to temptation and guilt, the socialization of self-control, and sex-identity development.

CATHERINE BUSCH is Staff Fellow at the Gerontological Research Center, National Institute of Aging, Baltimore. She received her doctorate in Personality from the Johns Hopkins University in 1983. Her research interests include personality and life-span development.

DANIEL CANDEE is Assistant Professor in the Department of Research in Health Education at the University of Connecticut Health Center, Farmington, and Associate, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University. In 1972 he received his doctorate in Psychology from the University of Chicago. Doctor Candee has conducted extensive research in the area of moral reasoning.

ANN COLBY is Lecturer in Education and Research Associate at Harvard University and Director of the Henry A. Murray Research Center at Radcliffe College. She received her doctorate in Experimental Psychology from Columbia University in 1972. Doctor Colby's current interests include cognitive, social, moral, and ego development.

xii Contributors

WILLIAM DAMON is Professor of Psychology at Clark University. He received his doctorate in Developmental Psychology in 1973 from the University of California, Berkeley. Doctor Damon has published in the area of social and cognitive development.

JACOB L. GEWIRTZ is Professor of Psychology at Florida International University and Professor of Pediatrics at the University of Miami Medical School. He received his doctorate in Developmental and Experimental Psychology from the University of Iowa. Doctor Gewirtz's theoretical and research contributions have been on topics of social learning and development including attachment acquisition and loss, imitation/identification, parent-child interaction and directions of influence, and the behavioral effects of shifts in maintaining environments.

ANN HIGGINS is Lecturer in Education and Research Associate at Harvard University. She received her doctorate in Developmental Psychology from the Pennsylvania State University in 1979. Doctor Higgins' interests are in the area of moral assessment and the educational implications of moral development theory and research.

MARTIN L. HOFFMAN is Professor of Psychology at the University of Michigan. He received his doctorate in Personality Psychology in 1951 from the University of Michigan. Doctor Hoffman has published extensively on moral development, empathy, conscience, guilt and prosocial behavior in childhood, as well as on social cognition and parent-child relations.

ROBERT HOGAN is Professor of Psychology and Department Chairman at the University of Tulsa. He received his doctorate in Personality Psychology from the University of California, Berkeley in 1967. Doctor Hogan has conducted research and published in the area of moral conduct, moral development, and personality.

HENRY C. JOHNSON, JR. is Professor of Educational Policy Studies at the Pennsylvania State University. He received his doctorate from the University of Illinois in 1970 in the History and Philosophy of Education. Doctor Johnson's research interests center on the impact of scientific thought on American education.

HOWARD KAMINSKY is Professor of Medieval History at Florida International University. He received his doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1952, specializing in the area of Medieval European History and in particular on the Great Schism of the Western Church and on the Hussite Movement in 15th Century Bohemia. Doctor Kaminsky's current interests are in developing a general philosophy of culture and society that would include all the topics of the humanities and social sciences.

- MONIKA KELLER** is Research Associate at the Max Planck Institute of Human Development and Education, Berlin. She received her doctorate in Developmental Psychology from the University of Heidelberg in 1974. Doctor Keller's research interests include moral and personality development.
- LAWRENCE KOHLBERG** is Professor of Education and Social Psychology and Director of the Center for Moral Education and Development at Harvard University. He obtained his doctorate in Psychology from the University of Chicago in 1958, where he embarked upon his longitudinal study of the moral reasoning of then pre-adolescent and adolescent boys. The center, directed by Doctor Kohlberg, currently sponsors moral development research and intervention projects in schools and prisons.
- WILLIAM M. KURTINES** is Associate Professor of Psychology at Florida International University. He received his doctorate from the Johns Hopkins University in 1973. Doctor Kurtines' current areas of interest include social, personality, and moral development.
- ROBERT M. LIEBERT** is Professor of Psychology and Psychiatry at the State University of New York at Stony Brook and founding director of the Media Action Research Center there. He received his doctorate in Personality from Stanford University in 1966. Doctor Liebert has written on a wide range of basic and applied topics in personality and developmental psychology, including moral development and experimental designs and methods in psychology.
- FRITZ OSER** is Professor of Education and Director of the Pedagogical Institute at the University of Fribourg. He received his doctorate in 1975 from the University of Zürich. Doctor Oser's research interests have been in moral development and education.
- MORDECAI NISAN** is Senior Lecturer in Educational Psychology and Head, Department of Education, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He received his doctorate in Human Development from the University of Chicago in 1968. Doctor Nisan's research interests are in the area of moral judgment, self control, and content learning in moral development.
- GERTRUDE NUNNER-WINKLER** is Research Associate at the Max Plank Institute for Psychological Research, Munich. She received her doctorate in 1969 from the Free University of Berlin. Doctor Nunner-Winkler's research interests include moral judgment, moral action, and moral development.
- CLARK POWER** is Assistant Professor in the Program in General Studies at the University of Notre Dame. Doctor Power received his doctorate in 1979 from the Harvard University School of Education. He has been concentrating on moral education and the moral atmosphere of the school and on the relation between religious thinking and moral judgment.

xiv Contributors

JAMES R. REST is Professor of Social, Psychological and Philosophical Foundations at the University of Minnesota. He received his doctorate in Clinical Psychology from the University of Chicago in 1969. Doctor Rest has published on the assessment of moral stages and on research using his objective measure of moral reasoning.

JUDITH G. SMETANA is Assistant Professor of Education, Psychology and Pediatrics at the University of Rochester. She received her doctorate from the University of California, Santa Cruz in 1978, specializing in social and developmental psychology. Doctor Smetana has conducted research on the development of social cognition and social behavior.

ERVIN STAUB is Professor of Psychology at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. He received his doctorate from Stanford University in 1965, specializing in the area of Personality. Doctor Staub is the author of several volumes on prosocial behavior and papers in the area of personality theory.

ELLIOT TURIEL is Professor of Education at the University of California, Berkeley. He received his doctorate in Developmental Psychology from Yale University in 1965. Doctor Turiel has conducted research on processes of development and social cognition.

HELEN WEINREICH-HASTE is Lecturer in Social Science at the University of Bath. She studied at the Universities of London and Sussex from 1964 to 1970. Her research interests are on the development of sex roles, and of social, moral, and political reasoning.

Contents

PART ONE BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

1. Certainty and Morality: Objectivistic versus Relativistic Approaches
William M. Kurtines and Jacob L. Gewirtz 3
2. The Major Components of Morality
James R. Rest 24

PART TWO THE COGNITIVE-DEVELOPMENTAL STRUCTURAL APPROACH

3. Invariant Sequence and Internal Consistency in Moral Judgment Stages
Ann Colby and Lawrence Kohlberg 41
4. The Relationship of Moral Judgment to Moral Action
Lawrence Kohlberg and Daniel Candee 52
5. The Relationship of Moral Atmosphere to Judgments of Responsibility
Ann Higgins, Clark Power, and Lawrence Kohlberg 74

PART THREE THE STAGE-STRUCTURAL CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH

6. Self-understanding and Moral Development from Childhood to Adolescence
William Damon 109
7. Moral Identity: Its Role in Moral Functioning
Augusto Blasi 128

8. Resolving Conflicts in Friendship: The Development of Moral Understanding in Everyday Life
Monika Keller 140
9. Cognitive Stages of Interaction in Moral Discourse
Fritz Oser 159

**PART FOUR LEARNING-BEHAVIORAL
DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES**

10. What Develops in Moral Development?
Robert M. Liebert 177
11. A Paradox in Theories and Research in Moral Development
Roger V. Burton 193
12. Content and Structure in Moral Judgment: An Integrative View
Mordecai Nisan 208

**PART FIVE SOCIAL-PERSONALITY THEORY
APPROACHES**

13. Moral Action as Autointerpretation
Robert Hogan and Catherine Busch 227
14. Steps toward a Comprehensive Theory of Moral Conduct: Goal Orientation, Social Behavior, Kindness, and Cruelty
Ervin Staub 241
15. Social Knowledge and Action: The Coordination of Domains
Elliot Turiel and Judith G. Smetana 261
16. Empathy, Its Limitations, and Its Role in a Comprehensive Moral Theory
Martin L. Hoffman 283
17. Moral Behavior as Rule-Governed Behavior: A Psychosocial Role-Theoretical Approach to Moral Behavior and Development
William M. Kurtines 303

18. **Morality, Social Meaning, and Rhetoric: The Social Context of Moral Reasoning**
Helen Weinreich-Haste 325
19. **Two Moralities? A Critical Discussion of an Ethic of Care and Responsibility versus an Ethic of Rights and Justice**
Gertrude Nunner-Winkler 348

PART SIX PHILOSOPHICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

20. **The Principle of Principles**
Dwight R. Boyd 365
21. **On Avoiding “Single Vision and Newton’s Sleep”:
 Sketches from an Unorthodox Moral-Education History**
Henry C. Johnson, Jr. 381
22. **Moral Development in a Historical Perspective**
Howard Kaminsky 400

AUTHOR INDEX 415

SUBJECT INDEX 421

PART ONE

Background and Overview

CHAPTER 1

Certainty and Morality: Objectivistic versus Relativistic Approaches

WILLIAM M. KURTINES AND JACOB L. GEWIRTZ

This chapter examines the issue of objectivistic versus relativistic morality using a history-of-ideas approach. A systematic reconsideration of the historical roots of this issue offers a broad perspective from which to view one of the central issues of our age. Such a perspective, we suggest, has significant implications for a critical analysis of the role of an objectivistic versus relativistic orientation in modern epistemological and moral thinking. More specifically, we attempt to show that the objectivistic orientation that characterized epistemological and moral thought for most of Western intellectual history has become increasingly overshadowed by a relativistic orientation that is now one of the main themes in the history of ideas in the West.

In our analysis of this issue we illustrate first how the largest part of Western intellectual history was dominated by an objectivistic or absolutist moral and epistemological orientation. We illustrate next how a number of intellectual developments in the modern world, and the rise of modern science in particular, were the basis for a gradual but radical relativistic transformation in the foundations of Western epistemological thought. Finally, we show that the relativistic orientation that characterizes many modern conceptions of morality differ significantly from the orientations of previous historical periods in that for the first time relativistic moral thinking is consistent with the mainstream of epistemological developments in the Western world. The present analysis leads to several significant conclusions with respect to theory and research in the area of morality, moral behavior, and moral development.

At the time of Socrates's death, near the end of the fifth century B.C., the world was on the verge of a revolution that was to alter dramatically the course of intellectual history in the West. Socrates's drinking of the hemlock

The authors thank Howard Kaminsky, Lawrence Kohlberg, and Robert Liebert for their constructive comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

4 Certainty and Morality: Objectivistic versus Relativistic Approaches

set the stage for a radical transformation of the very foundations of Western morality. Based on his conviction that an objective knowledge of the good was possible, his decision to comply with the sentence of the Athenian court was one of the most influential moral judgments in the history of the Western world. The effects of the events that took place in Socrates's prison did not end with his death; on the contrary, they are still very much with us today (MacIntyre, 1966). Whether the good is objectively real and invariant or dependent on context (historical, cultural, situational, or individual), that is, the issue of objectivistic versus relativistic morality, is perhaps the most basic theme running through this book and the field (see Lickona, 1976).

In this chapter we will examine the issue of objectivistic versus relativistic morality from the perspective of the history of ideas (Lovejoy, 1961). A systematic reconsideration of the historical roots of this question, we hope to show, can offer a fresh perspective on one of the central issues of our age. Although we employ a history-of-ideas approach, this chapter is not a historical document in the formal sense, that is, a detailed chronicle of a sequence of events. Nor is our argument a historical argument in the sense of being dependent on a particular sequence of events. We will, however, draw on the ideas of writers and thinkers who we feel are representative of the various historical periods that have been instrumental in defining the issue of objectivistic versus relativistic morality. The basic "data" for our argument will thus consist of ideas as they are reflected in the major works of historical figures representative of the main periods in Western thought. Section 1 of the chapter presents a brief overview of the basic lines of our analysis; Section 2 provides several detailed examples from representative historical periods; and Section 3 presents the conclusions of the analysis. Although this chapter cannot present all views on morality, it does attempt to put the issue of objectivistic versus relativistic morality into a broader perspective. Much of moral knowledge, perhaps even its essence, derives from the great themes of literature and myth, art, drama, law, and religion—themes that would carry us far beyond the scope of this chapter. The chapter is not intended to be an exhaustive review; rather, its goal is to use a history-of-ideas approach to survey the ideas of representative thinkers from each major historical period used in our analysis. Such a perspective we feel will help to deepen our insights into the intellectual and historical forces that have shaped the moral consciousness of our age.

1. BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

The basic thesis of this chapter can be stated simply: We hope to show that the relativistic orientation that characterizes many modern conceptions of morality is rooted in the mainstream of intellectual developments in the modern world. We argue that from its very beginnings in classical antiquity through the Middle Ages, Western intellectual history was dominated by an objectiv-

istic orientation (i.e., a belief in the possibility of obtaining “absolute,” “objective,” or “certain” knowledge), in both an epistemological and a moral sense. We further argue that during the modern age this objectivistic orientation has been overshadowed increasingly by a relativistic orientation that has now become one of the main themes in the history of ideas in the West. Although our conclusions are not based on purely a historical argument (i.e., that events in the modern age are a necessary consequence of antecedent historical events), we will use historical examples to illustrate fundamental differences between the epistemological and moral orientations of the modern world and those of previous historical periods. Central to our analysis is the view that the intellectual history of the West has been defined by three more or less identifiable periods, each characterized by a distinctive attitude toward the natural world. Each of these characteristic epistemological orientations, we argue, was instrumental in shaping the moral consciousness of that age. During the first major period of Western intellectual history, the classical age, the world was viewed as a product of natural forces, and reason served as the cornerstone for the belief in the possibility of obtaining absolute, objective, or certain knowledge. Consistent with this objectivistic epistemological orientation, the mainstream of classical moral thinking assumed the existence of objective moral standards. Thus, to the classical mind conceptions of morality were naturalistic, objectivistic, and rational.

During the Middle Ages, the mainstream of Western thought was distinctly otherworldly in its orientation, and the Western world’s chief source of knowledge was the truth as imparted by divine revelation (Aiken, 1956). Divine knowledge is absolute or certain knowledge, and, consistent with this objectivistic epistemological orientation, conceptions of morality assumed the existence of objective moral standards. Medieval moral thought, however, tended to be spiritualistic rather than naturalistic and was based more on faith than on reason. Medieval moral thinking was primarily concerned with the hereafter and spiritual life—with one’s relation to God and with personal salvation. For the medieval mind, conceptions of morality were otherworldly as well as objectivistic.

The mainstream of Western thought in the modern age, we argue, differs significantly from both the classical and medieval periods. In keeping with its classical heritage, Western epistemological thought is again naturalistic, but with a peculiarly modern flavor. Science has replaced both faith and reason as the Western mind’s chief source of knowledge about the world, and the mainstream of modern epistemological thought is probabilistic as well as naturalistic (Burtt, 1924). Consistent with this trend, modern conceptions of morality have moved away from the supernatural, otherworldly orientation of the Middle Ages and now tend to be naturalistic. Like the classical philosopher, the contemporary moral thinker tends to view ethics and morality as part of the natural world, but with an important difference. With the rise of modern science, which has been called the most significant intellectual revolution in the entire history of the West (*ibid.*), conceptions of morality have