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**A comparison of the theories of adolescent moral development of
Lawrence Kohlberg and Carol Gilligan: Alternative views of the
hidden curriculum**

Wren, David Joseph, Ed.D.

Lehigh University, 1993

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Ann Arbor, MI 48106

A Comparison of the Theories of Adolescent
Moral Development of Lawrence Kohlberg
and Carol Gilligan: Alternative
Views of the Hidden Curriculum

by
David Joseph Wren

A Dissertation
Presented to the Graduate and Research Committee
of Lehigh University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Education
in
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1993

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ABSTRACT

This study compared and contrasted the adolescent moral development theories of Lawrence Kohlberg and Carol Gilligan as alternative positions on the hidden curriculum for middle school students. The hidden curriculum contains implicit messages for students about their values, attitudes, and behavior.

Kohlberg used the hidden curriculum explicitly to create a miniature participatory democracy at the Cambridge Cluster School, whereas Gilligan relied on a symbolic interpretation in her case study of females' adolescent development at the Emma Willard School. An historical description of those factors that educators during the past two centuries have considered to constitute the hidden curriculum is detailed in this study.

The process of gender role development is used to help explain a typical difference generally noted between moral judgments made by males and those made by females. The male judgments are responses in terms of rights, emphasizing a logical impartial model of autonomous reasoning based on moral absolutes, whereas the female judgments are responses of care, emphasizing the use of inductive reasoning and an interdependent mode of moral decision-making based on relativism in knowledge and values.

An integrated model of moral development arises as a synthesis from an analysis of these two modes of moral reasoning. This model

may allow teachers to function as moral educators directing students toward a more balanced type of moral maturity.

This study indicates a need for educators to redesign middle school adolescents' curricular and co-curricular experiences to accommodate autonomous and narrative learners. In addition, there are suggestions to adapt the Just Community concept for use with special education students in regular education classes.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Generally, when educators refer to the school's curriculum, they are discussing the explicit or manifest curriculum, the school's written instructional plan for teaching certain information. This curriculum is taught didactically, while the student simultaneously experiences another implicit or hidden curriculum.

During recent decades, sociologists, anthropologists, and social psychologists have become more aware of the "hidden" curriculum's influence on students. E. Henry (1990) defined the hidden curriculum as "school rituals and related social relationships that contain implicit messages for students" (p. 10). She investigated how values learned through the implicit curriculum carried over into both cognitive and affective domains of school life.

Many of the more important things that teachers impart to students are not formally stated either in a written curriculum guide or in officially adopted school texts. According to J. Henry (1965), the hidden curriculum "included a wide range of learning -- attitudinal, emotional, moral, and social -- that arise from the ways the school environment has been structured" (p. 120).

This learning of values constitutes a specific program of social norms or training that students are expected to internalize if they are to function effectively as members of a miniature society, the school, and later as productive members of the larger society.

Benson Snyder (1971), Dean of Institute Relations at M.I.T., described the efforts of freshmen to become familiar with the social and behavioral requirements in the "syllabus" of the hidden curriculum in these words: "For most students, this goal is more important than the visible curriculum during their freshman year" (p. 7).

Elkind (1987), a prominent psychologist, discovered that while skill learning is ongoing and subjects are being taught, students are interacting with fellow pupils and teachers in ways that strengthen their membership in the school's society. This process of socialization described by Robert Dreeben (1968) begins when students first enter school and is a continuing process. It is based upon repetition, emotions, and sometimes, sanctions.

Vallance (1980) discussed the pervasive nature of the hidden curriculum. The process appears as a generalized effort of schooling, one that occurs without educators' planning or explicit prior knowledge (p. 138).

Historically the two curricula were unified in the 19th century in America's classrooms. Generations of students mastered their lessons in a classroom climate that was carefully monitored by a teacher who expected conformity both in behavior and academics.

A significant change in the awareness of the hidden curriculum developed under the influence of Progressive educators in the early 20th century. Childs (1950), along with John Dewey and other Progressive educators, viewed the values (which they called "morals") as expressions of a given culture at a certain time and place. These morals were not absolutes, but assumed a kind of relativism under the

Progressives. They were a means to an end, the capacity to live as useful members of a society.

In recent decades, Lawrence Kohlberg and Carol Gilligan have added new insights to the area of moral development. Each perspective offers a different view of this complex, important subject, since they are alternative views of the hidden curriculum.

The main research question of this study was: What are the implications of the research of Lawrence Kohlberg and Carol Gilligan upon our understanding of the hidden curriculum?

Subsidiary questions included:

1. How did educators view the factors which one might call a hidden curriculum throughout the past two centuries?
2. How can different perspectives in moral judgment in boys and girls be explained by the process of socialization?
3. What model describes the hidden curriculum's role in moral judgment, especially of females?

Importance of the Research

An understanding by the classroom teacher of the teacher's role of moral educator can enable teachers to accomplish these objectives:

- a) Help them use the hidden curriculum to clarify and resolve issues of justice, care and responsibility between teachers, students, and administrators.
- b) Feel competent to engage in moral discourse with students.
- c) Guide students towards the development of moral maturity within the smaller context of the school and the larger society.

Definition of Terms

The formal or written curriculum is the official plan of study that is enacted under a teacher's direction in the social setting of a classroom (Walker, 1990).

The hidden curriculum contains the school rituals and related social relationships that contain implicit messages for students (Henry, 1990). The hidden curriculum also includes a wide range of learning -- attitudinal, emotional, moral, and social -- that arise from the ways the school environment have been structured (Henry, 1965).

Glatthorn (1987) defined the Hidden curriculum as "those aspects of schooling other than the intentional curriculum, that seem to produce changes in student values, perceptions, and behavior" (p. 20). Glatthorn's (1987) description of the hidden curriculum included both constant and variable aspects of education that produce changes in the student. The constants, or aspects intrinsic to the nature of schools, are: 1) schools reflect the ideology of the larger society; 2) certain knowledge is considered by educators as important or unimportant; 3) there are power relationships in schools through which students unconsciously learn the skills and traits required by the larger society (p. 24). The variables of the hidden curriculum, those aspects that can readily be changed by educators, include: 1) organizational variables or decisions about how teachers will be assigned and students grouped for instruction; 2) social system variables, those aspects of the school that reflect a "pattern of relationships" of persons and groups in the school; 3) cultural

variables, the belief systems, values, and meanings of the school's social dimension (p. 24).

Progressivism was the educational movement of the period (1876-1957) that was characterized by a broadening of the aims of elementary education, decline of classics study, which resulted in the abandonment of the Greek and Roman moralist authorities, expansion of vocational education, and a redesigning of curriculum materials (Walker, 1990).

Student centered classrooms contain such features as flexible space and other physical aspects of the environment designed to meet students' needs. The teacher functions as a facilitator of learning rather than as a director of the process (Nelson, 1975).

Traditional classrooms place the teacher in an important decision-making role about topics for study, use of space, and the amount of pupil interaction (Nelson, 1975).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature focused on four major aspects of the hidden curriculum: first, how the school environment enables the hidden curriculum to function in a consistent manner in schools; second, the history of the interactions of the two curricula over the past two centuries; third, the positive and detrimental effects of these interactions on students; and last, the moral dimension of the hidden curriculum was investigated.

The Role of the School Environment

The hidden curriculum exists and influences all aspects of school life. Researchers have observed its effects in many schools in the interactions between teachers and students.

Susan Stodolsky (1988) observed fifth grade mathematics and social studies classes to discover how teachers' preferences and values influence the ways they structured classroom activities. Simultaneously, she also learned how students' instructional experiences affected how they felt about learning in a particular subject area.

For example, those teachers who especially enjoyed working directly with students usually selected instructional methods such as group activities in order to allow active student involvement. Whereas, teachers who valued student achievement highest, generally conduct more passive, reserved classes. In addition, she observed that instructional practices planned for a specific purpose, e.g.,

cognitive development, might also produce emotional, social, and moral effects in students' lives.

Stodolsky (1988) summarized the effects of instructional practices on students as: "Long after we have forgotten specific facts, algorithms, or concepts taught, we will still hold beliefs about learning different subjects. Classroom activity provides routes to learning and develops and reinforces belief systems" (p. 129).

Walker (1990) described several features of the school's environment that allow the hidden curriculum to operate in a similar manner in most schools. These features include: the public nature of classrooms, teachers' handling of students' emotional releases, and the ways that teachers react to displays of students' affection directed towards them.

Dreeben (1968) examined how the hidden curriculum is shaped by the school's structure. Teachers use two norms that flow from the classroom's public nature. First, teachers attempt to implement the principle of universalism, a policy that treats all students equally. Second, educators admit that pupils sometimes should be considered as exceptions to the general rule, which is called the norm of specificity. Dreeben (1976) discussed the effect of the school's social structure on the acquisition of values, and commented: "children infer modes of thinking, social norms, and principles of conduct" from their social relationships with teachers and peers at school (p. 112).

Dan Lortie's (1975) sociological study of the teaching profession discovered that the structure of the educational system makes it hard,

but not impossible, for a teacher to openly favor particular students. It is also unacceptable to the teacher's peers and students' parents to argue a case that some children cannot be taught. Lortie believed that the concept of compulsory education would be undermined if it were allowed that not all children could benefit from an education (p. 115).

Jackson (1968) discussed the "immediacy of classroom events" with teachers, whom he referred to as "the managers of social traffic." He found that teachers often relied upon students' fleeting behavioral clues, including facial expressions as indicators of interest and enthusiasm, to tell them how well they were learning the written curriculum. Jackson estimated that there may be as many as 1000 daily interpersonal exchanges in a typical classroom. Students must learn to manage the social relationships of the hidden curriculum -- "the crowds, the power, and the praise" -- in the typical classroom setting.

Giroux and Perna (1979) supplemented Jackson's research from a Marxian interpretation and learned that students must learn to delay or give up individual wishes. The patience they must learn allows them to accept authority. They also learn how to evaluate themselves and other students in their classes. In this way, students become the recipients of praise or rebuffs as well as the "pawns" of the powerful (teachers and administrators).

The hidden curriculum exists in any classroom setting. Different settings usually do not have identical hidden curricula because they

are composed of a set of learning states which are unintended by teachers, and not openly discussed with their students (Martin, 1976).

Elliot Eisner (1990) included the school environment as a major factor that contributed to the maintenance of the status quo in schools. He cited the need for educational innovations in schools. Eisner's (1988) research identified three curricula in schools: the formal or written, the implicit or hidden, and the null curriculum which includes aspects of the formal and hidden (p. 83). Thus, schools may either emphasize or neglect certain aspects of the educational process.

Eisner (1988) stated:

The null curriculum refers to what schools do not teach, the options students are not afforded, the perspectives they never know about, much less be able to use, the concepts and skills that are not part of their intellectual repertoire (p. 187).

Sally Lubeck's (1985) ethnographic research with early education programs revealed that classroom teachers' use of space, time, activities, and materials, reflected patterns of interpersonal interactions between teachers and students that stressed the importance of the teachers' social authority. Consequently, these elements of the environment were used to help inculcate values in children (p. 96).

Anthropologists have discovered that children's participation in ritualistic behavior demonstrated their acceptance of a supraindividual's power and allowed students to achieve a sense of

belonging and a share in power (Gehrke, 1979). Gehrke learned that rituals display social relationships with the goal of drawing boundaries and placing people in a relationship. Rituals are a covert socialization process through which social rules, obligations, and responsibilities are taught. A teacher's use of ritual is "somewhat intuitive, part of the 'art of teaching' which may not rise to the awareness level of the students" (p. 125).

Gehrke (1979) learned that the nature of classroom rituals was to a great extent dependent upon the use of time and space. Therefore, certain actions are performed at definite times and in specific settings. Using the framework of time and space, he identified three categories of anthropological rituals that are promoted by the hidden curriculum in schools: status rituals, conflict resolution rituals, and rituals for crisis control.

The concept of territoriality, whereby a teacher regulates the uses of student time and access to areas in the classroom, is a status ritual designed to promote respect for the teacher. The rituals of "the raised hand," "taking turns" using limited resources of space and time, and "rituals to promote honesty" are all components of conflict resolution techniques.

Gehrke (1979) discovered

that at no time are there more rigid specifications for behavior than during examinations. Testing is heavily saturated with morality. The test is the supreme proving ground for honesty, a large part of which is a matter of appropriateness of action in time and space (p. 115).

Finally, "rituals for crisis control" are used to handle both large and small group transitional activities. They include procedures for entering and leaving classrooms, opening yearly convocations, promotions, and graduation ceremonies, according to Gehrke (1979).

Hall's anthropological research on the use of time in different cultures (1983, p. 211) related the scheduling of temporal affairs to gender orientation. For example, Hall discussed that a monochronistic (M-time) conception of time with its emphasis on linearity (one-thing-at-a-time), found among North Americans and Western Europeans, has a tendency to seal off and intensify relationships between a person and one or two others. It is used to schedule affairs in business, government, the professions and education.

The use of M-time on the preconscious level is described as "male time" because it stresses task oriented behaviors, according to Hall (1983, p. 50). M-time does not readily accommodate others' feelings and personal needs. However, polychronistic (P-time), the dominant temporal conception of Mediterranean lands, is cyclical in nature and allows for many-things-at-a-time. On the preconscious level, Hall (p. 47) called it "female time" because of its close identification with the relationships experienced by women in families, friendships and government bureaucracies that contain an inward orientation. It allows for females to balance the responsibilities of family, work, and other personal relationships more easily than M-time since it is geared to the formation of webs of relationships in intimate groups.

Anthropologist Peter McLaren's (1986) ethnographic study of the students at the St. Ryan's Catholic Middle School, discovered that the intended goal of the school's extensive use of ritual (use of icons, classroom prayer, and religious services) was the inculcation of working class values, attitudes, and skills in a future laboring class of practicing Catholics.

Tracy Kidder (1989) learned that teachers often made informal assessments of their students' progress. Even experienced teachers had guilt feelings about their inability to help all children in their classes. Kidder spent a year in observation of a classroom teacher. The teacher, Mrs. Zajac, had the expectation that she could handle classroom discipline. The children in her class cooperated and allowed her to project an air of confidence that permeated all daily teacher-student interactions (p. 123).

Apple's (1982) research described two important functions the hidden curriculum performed: 1) it helped reproduce the values, skills, and norms of the workplace into the social dynamics of the classroom; and 2) an explicit use of the hidden curriculum could be used to correct society's injustice on the classroom level. Lawrence Kohlberg's Just Community concept used the second function.

In conclusion, the school's environment provides the setting for the hidden curriculum to function. However, many factors present in the environment, including the teacher's activity pattern and the use of space and time, help to determine the shape and extent of its influence in students' lives.

The basis for our present understanding of the hidden curriculum has been shaped by the insights of professional educators during the last century, particularly the educational theorists called "Progressive educators."

Changing Historical Awareness of the Two Curricula

Traditionalist and Progressive educators had a different awareness of the hidden curriculum as they prepared students for their future roles in American society.

The Traditionalist Perspective: Colonial Times to Late 19th Century America

E. D. Hirsch's research (1987) disclosed that an almost complete unanimity of values as well as a similar cultural emphasis was present in American schools (1790-1900).

Ryan (1987) described how the McGuffey series of graded readers, which highlighted the heroism and commonly held social virtues, also stressed the importance of teachers' role modelling behaviors, were used to inculcate values in the 19th century American youth. It is important to note that during the 19th century, America's schools reflected a differential distribution of knowledge based upon one's class, racial, and gender lines.

Rupert Wilkinson (1964) described how British public schools promoted character education during the Victorian period in order to produce dedicated public servants. The prevailing thinking was that adverse conditions (outdoor lavatories, unheated dorms, and rigorous cross-country runs) would help develop the values of endurance, industry, and courage in students. Participation in competitive sports and games promoted self-restraint and cooperation, all done

under the watchful supervision of House Prefects who kept order, judged offenses, and administered punishments to younger students for rule infractions. In sum, there was a "gentlemanly distinction" in British educators' minds between academic affairs and the social side of public school life, the side mainly responsible for moral training (p. 120).

American schools during the 19th century stressed the importance of discipline, good conduct, punctuality and a reverence for authority figures. Corporal punishment was often used for school rule infractions, according to Reese (1986). Kidder (1989) researched the history of corporal punishment in Europe and America at that time. He concluded that "some Colonial American schoolmasters probably thought they were doing their students a favor by literally beating the devil out of them. In America, corporal punishment began to wane around the time when elementary education was becoming universal and compulsory" (p. 114).

Vallance (1973) presented an historical overview of changes in the hidden curriculum prior to and during the 19th century. She divided this period into three time periods which included: (1) the time prior to the 1830s; (2) the 1830s to the Civil War period; and (3) the post-Civil War period to the late 19th century.

The time prior to the 1830s. Walker (1990) found that the twin foci of formal education from the colonial period to approximately the 1830s were basic literacy and moral training. The elements of religion, nationalism, moral virtue, and strict discipline helped to

inculcate those who completed the basic elementary curriculum with God-fearing and patriotic attitudes.

Noah Webster (1931), the new Republic's foremost educator and first lexicographer, described his reasons for writing An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking (1789), as "to refine and establish our language, to facilitate the acquisition of grammatical knowledge and diffuse the principles of virtue and patriotism" (p. 37).

According to Vallance (1973), originally the hidden curriculum was used for social control and uniformity in molding our unique Anglo-Saxon culture immediately after the American Revolution. The major sources of socialization rested in the family and the Church. The opening of the West helped establish a pattern of independent village schools to teach the three Rs which used the Bible, Blue Back Spellers, i.e., American Spelling Book (1831) and readers as social catechisms to create social cohesion in the young society. Consequently, Vallance described the education of youth as a means of social control at this time.

An example of dealing with "the crowds" in this time period is the use of the Lancastrian or Monitorial system developed by Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) and Andrew Bell (1753-1832). The idea was that one teacher would be able to instruct 200-300 elementary children at a very low cost. According to this plan, the teacher would first teach the older children and they in turn would help instruct younger children. These monitors worked on down the line until all children received some instruction. The only cost incurred was the salary paid

to one teacher. Such a method was suitable for rote memorization, and helped to gain acceptance of the idea of managing the masses in school in a more economical fashion (Fawcett, 1964).

The 1830s to the Civil War period. The common school movement gained momentum during this period. Vallance (1973) described how Horace Mann (1796-1859) and Henry Barnard (1811-1900), prominent educational activists, wanted the common schools to promote a stable, moral order. Therefore, the schools of this period served as a supplementary socialization influence to assist the other social institutions of the family and the Church. Vallance described how Mann fought hard to remove sectarianism from Massachusetts' schools, and in so doing, recognized that the schools had an important role in the teaching of values.

Nelson (1975) commented that Mann had clearly recognized the need for moral training in the common schools. Mann's views on moral training were summarized by Nelson:

- (1) Moral or character training had a primacy in education.
- (2) There was a distinction between moral and religious education.
- (3) Moral training and religious training were to be handled differently in school (p. 38).

The post-Civil War period to late 19th century. During this period America was experiencing a time of vast industrial expansion. Urban areas were quickly becoming swollen by immigrants and migrants from rural areas.

Cremin (1961) described the need expressed by school authorities to "Americanize", i.e., Anglicize, immigrants from Europe. Cremin detailed the emphasis placed on teaching manners, cleanliness, proper dress, and social relationships. He concluded that

. . . schools were encouraged to transcend their traditional limitations and become all day neighborhood centers coordinating the larger work of Americanizing. Ultimately, Americanization came to be viewed as a venture in social education (p. 74).

W. T. Harris, the Superintendent of St. Louis schools (1869-1880), anticipated the need to provide specific economic and social skills training for the new industrial society by having teachers develop a practical production oriented curriculum which stressed the active socialization of immigrants as well as the teaching of morality which he defined in behavioral terms. Vallance (1973) noted that Harris' "cardinal virtues of the school" included: regularity, punctuality, silence, industry, and truthfulness. A process of indoctrination, the imposition of values, was still popular at this time.

Johann Herbart (1776-1842), the German philosopher and teacher-educator's ideas on moral development were popularized through textbooks on methodology used in American Normal schools and colleges, especially in the Midwest. Later, the National Herbart Society helped spread Herbartian educational views throughout the United States. Herbart viewed moral development as the foundation and primary aim of education. Five kinds of ideas or values were taught in schools:

inner freedom, perfection, goodwill, justice, and equity (Rippa, 1988, p. 169). It is important to remember that the uniformity between the hidden and explicit curricula enforced at this time required the publication and announcement of classroom rules, which were to be enforced uniformly by school authorities, according to Finklestein (1970).

In summary, the time prior to 1900 was a time when schools stressed the value of uniform behavior, efficiency in work habits, and obedience to school authorities as prerequisites for entrance into adult society. The instructional process was reduced to transmitting information, mostly factual, to rows of quiet, submissive students. Thus, public schools ran with the precision of a factory-like operation (Apple & King, 1983).

The Progressive Education Perspective: Late 19th to Mid-20th Century America

The Progressive education movement was the educational phase of progressivism, a vast humanitarian effort to apply the ideal of government of, by, and for all people to the urban industrial society in late 19th and early 20th century America (Cremin, 1961).

Three major social-educational functions were performed by the public schools of the time. First, the school's role in the improvement of health, vocational education programs, and family life was broadened. Second, the pedagogical principles derived from the discipline of the social sciences, especially the fields of psychology and anthropology, were being applied in classrooms. Finally, curricula and instructional methods were being tailored to meet the

needs of different groups of children, especially immigrants, who were now entering the schools in even larger numbers (p. viii).

Cremin's (1961) research found that the Progressives actively pursued the scientific study of pupil development. For example, they insisted that school records contain not only pupils' subject grades, but also reports of those physical, mental, moral, and social characteristics which their teachers considered could affect their school and later adult lives. In addition, there was an emphasis on objectivity of observation and the use of empirical methods to measure students' progress (p. 244).

Morris and Pai (1976) explained that the Experimentalist philosophical view espoused by John Dewey and other Progressives maintained that people should construct their own values. Values are dependent upon individual circumstances and significant for the results or effects they produce in behavior. According to this position, there are no absolute values.

Under traditionalist educators, values were held to be unchanging absolutes which could be taught by the process of indoctrination in school. These values, they maintained, contained merit in their own right. Teachers also modelled or used other role models, such as famous Americans' lives and examples, to develop appropriate behavior for students' imitation.

Progressives considered the method of indoctrination as hostile to our democratic way of life. Since there were no absolute values, students and teachers cooperatively attempted to develop the appropriate values. Values became relative and subject to alteration

as the need arose. Teachers still were expected to model the appropriate behavior, but they now assumed the role of guide or facilitator in the socialization process. According to the Experimentalist view, values were to be tested for their relevance and merit in real life situations using group decision making situations in a miniature society, the school (Morris & Pai).

Ryan (1987) examined the influences of those who held three major views that tried to sway the schools away from an indoctrination of values position. These three forces were: Social Darwinism, Scientific Empiricism, and Logical Positivism. Their combined effect stressed the inability of obtaining objectivity in moral values. It also accounted for variations in social behavior by looking at external and internal influences upon an individual's moral behavior.

Dewey (1916) indicated that schools' social structure and their latent cultural forces, rather than the written or explicit curriculum, were the main determinants of socialization. Dewey believed that a child learned to accept authority when (s)he understood the reasons for rules. Therefore, he concluded, intellectual and moral development should become the goals of education in a democratic society that was free of values' indoctrination. Dewey wanted the public schools to inculcate habits in students that would enable them to master rather than merely adapt to their environment. He stressed the need for parents and teachers to hold higher expectations about the quality of student behavior.

Dewey described three levels of moral development: (1) there is a premoral or preconventional level that is motivated by biological

and social impulses; (2) there is a conventional level in which an individual accepts group standards with little or no critical reflection; and (3) the highest level, the autonomous level, guided by reflective thinking, allows an individual to make judgments about the morality of an issue (Archambault, 1964, p. 213).

In summary, Dewey, followed the line of thought of Pragmatism, a philosophy wherein one judges one's actions by their results, therefore, he believed that children's life experiences could be designed by educators to inculcate a high quality of lifetime habits. Thus, educators played a crucial role in designing a better future society (Cremin, 1961, p. 123).

McCluskey (1958) conducted extensive studies on Dewey's work and concluded that Dewey, in the Experimentalist tradition, looked to society as the source of moral values. The development of moral character implied a continual process of growth toward the "good society."

Boyd Bode, a professor at Ohio State University who taught graduate courses in the Philosophy of Education, described the school's role in helping students constantly to expand their sensitivities, perceptions, and appreciations in order to produce the "ideal democracy" (1927). Bode called for a change in instructional emphasis away from the customary goal of social conformity in order to improve individual student creativity. Dewey and Bode agreed that the educational process involved a continual reconstruction of experience which needed to be expressed in the school practices of the time.

Kilpatrick (1936) urged teachers to become active guides in the process of values development. He wanted school personnel in each school to develop a school philosophy that contained relevant values for its students. He maintained that one's thoughts and actions were mutually reciprocal processes because they acted as a check on each other.

Earlier, in The Project Method (1918), Kilpatrick had advocated the use of "wholehearted purposeful activity proceeding in a social environment" (p. 330). The school environment could facilitate certain ethical outcomes since students determined their conduct and attitudes with reference to their class or social group. A regular pattern of "purposeful activities" organized around projects could enhance moral judgment since it afforded pupils a wide variety of realistic settings for moral decision-making.

Bobbitt (1941) considered moral education as the guide to a good life. The process of character education needed to be grounded in the activity curriculum. Previously, in his major work How to Make a Curriculum (1924), he compared a curriculum writer to a "great engineer" whose job was to classify in detail the full spectrum of human experiences as one tried to develop a curriculum to prepare students for their future roles.

Rugg (1950) examined the critical role that teachers played in the selection and promotion of values that conform to the American life style. He urged teachers to try to understand the historical and sociological transmittal of values. Rugg referred to values as "social virtues." Socialized play activities developed group loyalty,

honesty, courtesy, and self-control. Previously, in Culture and Education in America (1931), Rugg had proposed his conviction that the school acted as the conscious agent in the improvement of the social order (p. 183).

George Counts (1969) praised Progressive educators for setting the learning process in realistic situations that provided opportunities for character development. He believed that John Dewey had expectations that the school could produce intelligent citizens who were sensitive to social issues and willing to act on their convictions. Counts maintained that teachers had a duty to shape students' attitudes and develop appreciation for the "good life." Thus, he concluded that it was necessary for the school's culture to influence value choices -- all done under the planning of teachers.

Vallance (1973) reasoned that as a direct consequence of Progressivism's influence in education, teachers have become uncomfortable with the notion of a hidden curriculum. She learned that its usefulness as a socialization tool had become well established by the beginning of the 20th century. In short, the Progressives had stressed the importance of the school's environment in an individual's development.

Cuban (1984), using Finklestein's earlier research, noted that today's teachers often inherit vague and conflicting theories about and expectations for students' behavior from parents and colleagues. He explained that the Progressives had de-emphasized the former importance on centralized authority in decision-making because they had believed that it led to a uniformity of school beliefs and

practices. In response to the controversy raised by the Soviet Union's launching of Sputnik in 1957, Life Magazine printed a series of informative articles that were critical of the effects of the "new education" offered by Progressives. Wilson (1958), Life's education staff writer, criticized "group psychological engineering" which had stressed life adjustment processes over the mastery of subject matter.

In conclusion, the 20th century has been described as a time of changing values. All traces of religious teaching had been effectively removed from the nation's public schools. The Progressives had de-emphasized authority and social conformity in favor of democracy and personal freedom (Ryan, 1975).

There are both positive and detrimental effects on student learning that researchers have observed in the ways that the hidden curriculum influences the socialization process. These effects have been discussed in the next section of this paper.

Effects of the Hidden Curriculum on Student Learning

Some Positive Effects

Jackson (1968) envisioned two important contributions that the hidden curriculum has made to American schools. First, generations of pupils have learned important values, including how to compete in America's "pecking order." The hidden curriculum helps develop the skills, values, and attitudes that students need to acquire and keep jobs in the workplace. Second, in addition, the silence and obedience requirement offers educators a reasonable economic alternative for dealing with large numbers of students, which Jackson had renamed "the crowds," in the limited space of the typical classroom. In many

respects, a typical classroom may hold more people per square foot than the dimensions of most office spaces are expected to hold. Hall's (1966) anthropological research of people's use of space led him to conclude:

If one looks at people's space requirements only in terms of bodily limitations as the early slave traders did, then one pays little attention to the effects of crowding. However, it is possible to see how people may be cramped by the spaces in which they live and work. When stress increases along with an increase in sensitivity to crowding, people get more on edge so that more space is required and less is available (p. 121).

Sommer's (1968) research on personal space, the area with its invisible boundaries that surrounds people, convinced him that the pattern of students' distribution in classrooms "represents an accommodation to their environment that goes on to influence subsequent behavior: (p. 110). Consequently, Sommer believed that spatial freedom in schools for teachers can be beneficial only if they are already committed to educational innovations such as individual or small group instruction (p. 110).

Educators are in agreement that when both the explicit and hidden curricula complement each other in a consistent manner, learning can be very effective (Bloom, 1981). In Pennsylvania, one need only look at schools run by the Quakers and the Mennonites to see the successful fusion of the two curricula. For example, the bedrock of Quaker education has been the concept and practice of equity in their

society, especially equality of the sexes. Quaker religious doctrines of perfectionism and the Inner Light permeate their schools, thus creating a rejection of earthly authority. The Society of Friends, Quakers, values education for its utilitarian uses, but mistrusts academic or higher education (Baltzell, 1979).

The Mennonites' educational program has undergone a change in emphasis during the past three decades. Basic policies of resistance and non-conformity have led to policies of peacemaking and community service. Thus, there has been a transition from a policy of separation to one of engagement. Kraybill (1991) commented on the hidden curriculum:

Students learn more than technological procedures and scientific facts. They absorb the constellation of values esteemed by their communities. The hidden curriculum of the school imparts the world view of students perhaps as significantly as the formal concepts of the classroom. Moral commitments made in hallways and over lunch tables may, in the long run, parallel the significance of formal instruction (p. 260).

Recently, researchers including Garnett (1984) described the hidden curriculum's use in helping handicapped and learning disabled students master classroom routines. For example, the Get-It-Together curriculum allows Learning Disabled children to master classroom routines, complete class assignments, and move easily from one activity to another using its unique materials. In the past, Learning Disabled and other exceptional students were often at a disadvantage

because the hidden curriculum served the needs of only regular education students.

In conclusion, as long as a student is able to function in an appropriate manner with the demands of the hidden curriculum, (s)he can be expected to achieve satisfactory progress in school. However, if a student does not fit into the required academic or social mold of the typical student served by the schools, (s)he can be expected to experience some difficulties with the hidden curriculum's pervasive influence.

Some Detrimental Effects

Giroux (1980) considered teacher education programs as agencies of social control because generations of students have learned to accept the imposition of the majority group's values through the effort of teacher education graduates of these programs. Giroux learned that teachers have acted as receivers and transmitters of institutional norms rather than as shapers of values.

Students have often become discipline problems as a result of their difficulties with classroom rules and routines. Jackson (1968) remarked that the relationship of the hidden curriculum to students' difficulties was more striking than its relationship to students' successes. Jackson discovered that the school's reward system is closely linked to the hidden curriculum.

The hidden curriculum helps to promote a sense of docility for certain students according to J. Henry (1955). Thus, students give teachers the "expected answers to their questions." A sense of pseudo-complementarity exists in many American middle class

schoolrooms when teachers' views on answers are accepted uncritically by students. In the process, criticism directed by the teacher towards pupils is diffused among members of the class (p. 40).

Sociologist Edgar Friedenberg (1963) cited the negative aspects of the hidden curriculum on students' school experiences. He listed examples of its attempts to restrict students' personal mobility (the use of hall passes, a general lack of privacy, and locked bathrooms). Students are socialized into a mass middle class society characterized by banality, mediocrity, and conformity (p. 43).

In fact, A. S. Neill's Summerhill (1960) solution for moral education is to make the hidden curriculum symbolize freedom for children to be themselves. In this atmosphere, discipline, direction, and moral training are renounced in favor of allowing a child personal freedom. Neill stated, "We set out to make a school in which we should allow children to be themselves. A child is innately wise and realistic. I believe that it is moral instruction that makes the child bad, not good" (p. 58).

Kidder (1989) described crowded classrooms as "dual captivity," "The children have to be there, and the teacher has to take the children sent to her" (p. 115).

Anyon's (1980) sociological research found a qualitative difference in the school experiences of four different social groups: working class children, middle class, affluent professionals, and executive elite groups. She concluded that the hidden curriculum helped to replicate and thus perpetuate the economic and social inequities of the larger society in classrooms. Michelson's study

(1987) agreed with Anyon's findings. She learned that different values and work skills were taught to different social classes. For example, working class and minority students received training in punctuality, neatness, respect for authority, and a tolerance for repetitive tasks. Meanwhile, higher tracks of students were exposed to problem-solving and decision-making higher thinking processes, along with instruction in the functions of managerial and professional workers. She based her research findings on classroom visitations in 60 classes in the nine comprehensive high schools located in the Los Angeles area.

Other researchers, including Carnoy and Levin (1976), view the function of schools as preparation for students to work in business and industry. They investigated how lower and middle class students are offered different educational programs and career opportunities. High school students are tracked into courses for either college or vocational preparation. The hidden curriculum sorts and selects students in such a manner so that the children of blue-collar or unemployed workers and the children of the middle and upper social classes will become socialized for the jobs they will later hold.

The needs of business and industry are met by developing lower class children to be better workers and the middle class to be managers in the corporate economy and by reproducing the social relations of production in the schools to inculcate children with values and norms supportive of capitalist work organizations. Thus, rather than providing equal educational opportunities, schools

perpetuate existing social and economic inequities in society (Carnoy & Levin, 1976, p. 10).

The hidden curriculum also can be used to promote selective unethical practices. In the 1960s, it was often used in public schools to promote a wide range of sexist practices, attitudes, and beliefs with racial overtones, according to Martin (1976).

In conclusion, the negative or detrimental effects of the hidden curriculum appear to support the status quo in classrooms and schools. After an explanation of the research methodology, the next section of this paper compares and contrasts two current theories on adolescent moral development. These are Lawrence Kohlberg's and Carol Gilligan's theories, both of whom envisioned a morally just society.

RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

Research Background

The use of the hidden curriculum by educators to assist students' moral development is currently the subject of much interest among researchers. The main objective of this study was to provide a comparison of two current theories of moral development (Lawrence Kohlberg's and Carol Gilligan's psychological perspectives), using the hidden curriculum to describe the differences in middle school students' (ages 11-16 years) development.

These cognitive developmental theories require a basic understanding of the importance of sex-role development in order to understand the differences between the male (Kohlbergian) and female (Gilligan) perspectives. The role of gender development involves the

study of self-categorization. Kohlberg has suggested that a stable gender identity must be reached before one can achieve a sense of masculinity or femininity (Santrock, 1987). Gilligan's study of adolescent girls discovered a paradox: femininity in our society is either idealized and associated with personal self-sacrifice, or made to appear suspect by others. Problems of identity (connection) and separation (autonomy) may reoccur throughout the female life-span beginning in adolescence.

Studies of the differential treatment of the sexes in classrooms also have been reviewed, including the Sadker and Sadker studies in Sexism and the GESA (Gender Expectations Student Achievement) program, which is designed to make teacher-participants more aware of sexist behavior in the classroom. These and other studies on classroom interactions appear to support two conclusions: (1) males receive larger amounts of their teachers' time and attention, and (2) teachers generally are unaware of the impact of their gender bias upon students' performance.

In addition, many middle school teachers appear to hold stereotypes about male and female sex roles based upon observations of teacher/student interactions, as well as teachers' use of sex stereotyping in grouping, disciplinary, and evaluation procedures. Consequently, members of the 11-16 year old age group often perceive sex in an impersonal way, filled with anxiety and denial, according to Lipsitz (1980).

The cognitive developmental approach to moral reasoning was pioneered by genetic-epistemologist, Jean Piaget, and continued by

psychologist, Lawrence Kohlberg, who used the hidden curriculum to help describe the process of moral development. Both Piaget and Kohlberg discovered that moral reasoning could not be studied separately from intellectual development.

Piaget (1965) described the qualitative changes in reasoning that occur in invariant, hierarchial stages during a person's life-span. There are changes in the structure and organization, but not in the content of human thought, he believed. Piaget discovered that a child's desire for equality and justice gradually developed in stages as moral development proceeded. He identified two major stages of moral reasoning usually found in elementary school children -- a "morality of restraint" and a "morality of participation." The former, a common characteristic of the lower elementary grades, views control as a blind duty where justice is interpreted according to the letter of the law. The latter, a characteristic of the upper elementary grades, takes into consideration one's intentions in its interpretation of the spirit of the law.

Building upon Piaget's (1965) initial investigation into the Stage Theory of Moral Development, Kohlberg (1970) introduced the notion of a hidden curriculum that functioned in schools as an effective influence on children's moral development in his article, *The Moral Atmosphere of the School* (1970). He claimed that moral development should lead naturally toward a sense of moral maturity which he described as "a principled sense of justice."

Kohlberg also described the hidden curriculum in terms of the social relationships that exist between teachers and students in

school settings. Therefore, the school functioned as a "moral bridge" to the larger society. Originally, he used hypothetical moral dilemmas in peer discussion groups to expose students to more advanced levels of moral reasoning, and claimed that moral maturity is the sense of justice that gives meaning to the school context of "the praise," "the power," and "the crowds" described by Jackson (1968). The classroom teacher functions as a facilitator in the sessions. Proponents of the female perspective may have entirely different interpretations of identical dilemmas because they are viewing these moral situations with a different, but equally acceptable insight into the problem.

Kohlberg and Gilligan both employed three levels of moral development: (1) a preconventional level during which the child's behavior is determined by biological and social influences; (2) a conventional level where the group's standards are accepted with few challenges; and (3) a postconventional level where a person's moral decisions are based on broad moral principles. The postconventional level, or principled level, represents a state of mature moral decision-making.

Both Kohlberg and Gilligan agreed that the process of moral development should lead to a state of moral maturity; however, at the postconventional level, Kohlberg's theory emphasized a justice and rights response mode for moral decisions, while Gilligan's theory emphasized a care and responsibility response mode.

Gilligan objected to Kohlberg's research in which she claimed to have discovered gender bias against females. During the 1970s,

Kohlberg attempted to examine this theory in concrete situations which he termed "Just Communities." He also made two major modifications in his theory, (1) he concluded that it was unrealistic to expect self-principled reasoning (level 3) from most adolescents who still functioned on a preconventional or conventional level, and (2) he also modified his theory to accommodate a care and responsibility position in response to Gilligan's objectives.

Methodology

Three applications of Kohlberg's "Just Community" concept were researched: (1) the Cluster Alternative School within the Cambridge High School (1974-1980), (2) The Harvard Prison Program at the Connecticut Women's Institute at Neantic (1970-1975), which, according to Peter Scharf, et al., attempted to apply the concept of moral education to prison reform, and (3) the Israeli Kibbutz study (1969), which compared levels of moral development of the Kibbutz raised youth with village and city youth of Israel. The rationale for, moral curriculum developed jointly, participants, and evaluation of each program were researched.

The Female Perspective of Carol Gilligan objected to Kohlberg's almost entirely male subject research. Gilligan (1983) stated "Kohlberg's view does not adequately reflect connectedness with and a concern for others. Morality's highest level for both males and females involves a search for moral equality between one's self and others" (p. 443).

She responded to the male perspective's argument that women's apparent moral weakness is visible when they engage in moral decision-making. Their apparent confusion and indecisiveness stem from the fact that they listen to "the voices of others" while taking others' opinions into consideration in formulating their own views. She also claimed that Freud, Piaget, et al. have described women's development as inferior to males without adequate research.

The attached "Model Using the Hidden Curriculum in an Analysis of Moral Development Theory (Appendix) indicates that these two perspectives differ in their views of what is considered to be a moral problem, the measures participants use to resolve moral problems, and their evaluation of a moral problem's satisfactory resolution. The male perspective relied mostly upon Piaget's view of knowledge, while the female perspective drew heavily upon William Perry's theory of the contextual relativist value of all knowledge, which has been described in this research. Michael Polanyi's research on the influence of personal knowledge on Gilligan's epistemological views also has been included.

In addition, the Gilligan study of young female adolescents at the Emma Willard School in Troy, New York, has been included in this research. Willard School offers a private school education to both day and boarding students. The Dodge Foundation (1981-1984) sponsored this study as part of the Harvard University Project on the Psychology of Women and Girls' Development. The study attempted to trace the themes of mind (knowledge), voice (one's view of reality), and a sense

of identity found through females' relationships with peers and adults.

Using the hidden curriculum to analyze moral development theory through teaching patterns in traditional and student centered classrooms, the projected research attempted to produce a synthesis that will include an integrated view of moral development and its implications for classroom teachers and counselors of middle school age students.

Some relevant sources selected for this study included:

Elliot Eisner's works on curriculum development and practice.

David and Myra Sadker's works on sexism in the classroom.

Delores Grayson's work on Gender Expectations and Student Achievement (GESA).

The Peter Scharf study at the Connecticut Women's Prison.

Kohlberg's Philosophical and Psychological works which included:

The Child as a Moral Philosopher (1968)

Education for Justice: A Modern Statement (1970)

The Philosophy of Moral Development: Moral Stages and the Idea of Justice (1981)

The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages (1984).

The following research done by Gilligan, et al. included these works:

In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development (1982)

Making Connections: The Relational Worlds of Adolescent
Girls at the Emma Willard School (1990)
Mapping the Moral Domain (1988).

The comparison, in the Appendix, illustrates areas of comparison and contrast between Kohlberg's theory and that of Gilligan which were described in chapters 4 and 5 of this research.

CHAPTER III

THE MALE PERSPECTIVE ON MORAL DEVELOPMENT

(Research by Kohlberg)

INTRODUCTION

Since the earliest days of our history, America's educators have been concerned about the teaching of values. An explicit use of the hidden curriculum resulted in the fusion of religious and character training during the first century after independence. Consequently, there was a uniformity of student behavior and work habits in the nation's classrooms.

Gradually, the strict dependence upon centralized authority, religion, and value absolutes began to diminish and recede into a realm of uncertainty about curricular decisions based upon moral standards, and the values taught through the socialization process took on a relativistic nature. The process of indoctrination, or the imposition of value absolutes, changed into a less explicit inculcation process that used values arrived at by a consensus of concerned parties, including teachers and students, based on general societal norms.

During the late 1950s, Lawrence Kohlberg, a social scientist, began to develop the philosophical and psychological foundations for the Cognitive-Developmental Theory of Moral Reasoning. This theory assists teachers as moral educators to help the school, a miniature society, function as a bridge to the larger society. The school's ultimate goal is to foster the development of a sense of

moral maturity in its clients. Kohlberg attempted to demonstrate that an explicit use of the hidden curriculum using peer interaction could develop "Just Communities" in schools where a sense of justice, fairness, and responsibility in the daily interactions between teachers and students could prevail.

KOHLBERG'S PHILOSOPHICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ROOTS

Lawrence Kohlberg, a native of Bronxville, New York, earned his Bachelor's (1948) and doctoral degrees (1958) in psychology at the University of Chicago. At Chicago he studied psychoanalysis under Bruno Bettelheim, humanistic psychology under Carl Rogers, and behaviorism under Jacob Gewirtz.

While an Assistant Professor of Psychology at Yale (1959-1962), Kohlberg became a Fellow at Yale's Center of Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences (1962). Later in that year, he returned to Chicago where he remained until he joined the Center for Moral Education at Harvard University (1967-1987).

Kohlberg described his lifetime search for personal morality in a lecture given at the Institute of Moralogy in Tokyo, Japan (Kohlberg, 1986). He recalled that at the time of his high school graduation in 1945, he had considered rules as arbitrary conventions to maintain the status quo in society, instead of as guarantors of justice and concern for others' rights and freedom. While serving in the U.S. Merchant Marines, he experienced first-hand the horror of the Holocaust. Later, as a volunteer engineer on a ship that brought Jewish refugees through the British blockade into Palestine, Kohlberg commented: "I had no moral conflicts about breaking British law which was unjust to

the Jewish survivors of the Holocaust" (p. 4). Kohlberg's philosophical studies (1945-1948) at the University of Chicago helped him form a moral commitment based on a social contract. Postgraduate employment as an attendant in a mental hospital enabled him to perceive the needs of individuals as issues of social justice.

In addition, he acknowledged his theoretical debt to these prominent thinkers: Immanuel Kant, Emile Durkheim, Kurt Lewin, William Frankena, and John Dewey. Each individual's contribution to Kohlberg's theory is briefly described.

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) asked three major philosophical questions in the Critique of Pure Reason (1788): "What can I know?" "What may I hope?" "What ought I to do?" Kant's answers to these questions relied on a priori universal judgments, whose validity could not be proven from sensory or personal experiences.

Kant's moral theory, like Kohlberg's, was concerned with prescriptive (statements of ought) rather than descriptive (statements of is) morality. Kant objected to the double standard, two sets of behavior based upon one's current set of circumstances. Thus, he used his famous Categorical Imperative, a universal principle of morality: "So act that the maxim of thy deed may stand as a universal law." Kohlberg followed in the Kantian philosophical line of Idealism with his acceptance of the principle of autonomy in interpersonal behavior. Consequently, moral reasoning consists in choices between alternative goods based upon internalized moral principles (Copelston, 1965, pp. 101-144).

According to Frankena (1961), Kant described five roles for education: nature, discipline, culture, prudence, and morality. Moral roles have priority over intellectual tasks. "Education must see to the moralization of man. He is to acquire not merely the skills needed for all sorts of ends, but also, the dispositions to choose only good ends" (p. 92).

Both Kant and Kohlberg emphasized the child's activity, freedom of choice, and autonomy. Both used the Socratic Method of questioning with dialogue to elicit moral dispositions of a sense of duty and good will from their students. According to Kant, moral education helped to place into context duties to one's self (called perfect or obligatory duties, e.g., truthfulness and respect), and imperfect duties, (e.g., to seek one's perfection), as well as one's duties to others (perfect — to keep one's promises) and imperfect (e.g., gratitude).

Since we have a duty to be virtuous, we must be able to do so. "We have a duty to be virtuous, but 'ought' implies 'can.' If we ought to be virtuous, it must be possible for us to be. We must be able by an act of free choice to choose to be good" (Frankena, 1961, p. 130).

Emile Durkheim (1858–1917). Kohlberg credited Durkheim, a sociologist, with the idea to use the hidden curriculum in an explicit manner in order to create a moral society within the classroom (Durkheim, 1925). Durkheim described a "cultural transmission model" of education by which teachers could impregnate even ordinary daily routines with moral meaning. He claimed that the smaller society of

the classroom used its own rules and duties to instill a sense of social cohesion in students. Consequently, the larger society's rules, obligations and sense of social cohesion could also be transmitted through the classroom's culture on a smaller scale. In addition, an altruistic spirit helps to bond one's loyalty to a group through a collective process of rewards and punishments. However, Kohlberg advised that Durkheim's collective (heteronomous) spirit pushed to extreme limits, could be found expressed in governmental schools in the former U.S.S.R. and Communist China. Nevertheless, Kohlberg felt it was important to view the teacher's role as representative of the larger society's values. This belief permeated his Just Community concept in practice.

Kurt Lewin (1890-1947), a sociologist, believed that democratic rather than authoritarian or laissez-faire leadership styles, helped to create a stronger group morale which he called "we-feeling." Kohlberg adapted this management style for both his small and large groups in the Just Community program.

Lewin had proposed the use of a "cultural island", i.e., a physical setting somewhat removed from one's home base where one can view things in their proper perspective. The Just Community school program also incorporated an annual retreat activity, a week-end camping trip for staff and students at the start of each school year (Kohlberg, 1977).

William Frankena (1908-), a Professor of Ethics, advocated a morality that contained attributes of impartiality, and universalizability, as opposed to cultural and ethical relativism, as

well as an emphasis upon the ability of people to reach a moral consensus on ethical issues.

Frankena's Ethics (1973) used a cognitive reasoning process. Kohlberg's cognitive ethical framework incorporated three types of ethical reasoning. It used descriptive empirical inquiry which attempted to describe and categorize ethical issues. Second, its normative ethical aspects attempted to deduce reasons for normative principles. Kohlberg cited Socrates' questions in The Crito concerning the nature of goodness and moral obligations. Finally, his theory used meta-ethical reasoning, which attempts to justify reasons for one's value decisions or judgments (Frankena, 1973).

John Dewey (1859-1952) provided Kohlberg with a non-indoctrinative method for inculcating values in Democracy and Education (1916). Dewey provided the tripartite levels of moral development for Kohlberg's theory, i.e., Preconventional (heteronomous), Conventional, and Postconventional (autonomous) principled reasoning levels. In addition, Kohlberg's explicit use of the hidden curriculum also had its roots in Dewey's belief that the school's social structure and latent cultural forces, rather than the written curriculum, were key determinants of the socialization process (Dewey, 1916).

Jean Piaget (1896-1980), genetic epistemologist, former Co-Director of the Institute of Educational Science at the University of Geneva, also investigated moral stages in children's development, however, Kohlberg concentrated on adolescents. He considered peer interaction, like Piaget, essential to motivate a state of

disequilibrium and desire to advance to a higher stage of moral reasoning. Kohlberg's use of invariant, hierarchical, culturally universal stages came from Piaget (Piaget, 1965).

FACTORS IN GENDER ROLE SOCIALIZATION

Cognitive Factors in Kohlberg's Theory

Moral educators use the socialization process to explain the different perspectives in the moral judgments of males and females. In addition, many factors, cognitive, social, biological, environmental and educational, have an impact on this process.

Kohlberg described the cognitive view of moral development in sex roles. He investigated children's need to achieve a stable gender identity before they can develop a sense of masculinity or femininity, Individuals must undergo a self categorization process prior to the development of the ability to categorize their peers into either category (Kohlberg, 1966). By the age of five or six, these categories become relatively stable when the child begins to understand the sex role expectations of his or her gender. Thereafter, gender expectations will exert a strong influence on the child's behavior. Consequently, this process of self-categorization and the development of a stable gender identity appear to initiate sex-typed behavior (Kohlberg & Kramer, 1969).

Kohlberg's explanation of the cognitive factors in sex role development did not take into account the influences of biological and environmental (peers, parental, teachers and the media) experiences. His research on gender role development left him open to the charge that his research was male dominated and thus biased in favor of

males. Kohlberg's research had concentrated primarily on males' development. His measurement of moral development was based on males, also. Females generally scored lower on his scale of moral development than males because care and responsibility responses were scored at lower levels (Stages 3 and 4). In addition, he missed the different path that female moral development follows from males' which results from differential socialization practices according to gender (Gilligan, 1982).

The next section provides an analysis of Kohlberg's Cognitive Theory of moral development, which has remained the subject of major research studies since he first proposed it in his doctoral dissertation (Kohlberg, 1958).

THE COGNITIVE THEORY OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT

Themes in Kohlberg's Works

Key themes that provide insights into Kohlberg's theory appear throughout his philosophical and psychological works. These themes include:

The Adolescent as a Philosopher. Kohlberg perceived each stage of the human life cycle (childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age) from a philosophical perspective. Kohlberg and Gilligan (1972) described the adolescent as "a philosopher by nature" who searched for a new subjective self while questioning traditional adult values. They discovered that the adolescent's change from concrete to formal reasoning varied, while for many, it never occurred. They wrote:

There is no further development after age thirty. This means that almost 50 percent of American adults never reach

adolescence in a cognitive sense. The high variability in the age of attainment of formal operations, then, indicates that we cannot equate a cognitive stage with a definite age period (p. 150).

They compared adolescents of the 1950s and 60s and found that in the 1950s, adolescents' assumptions of progress and upward social mobility, as well as their faith in adult society, went unquestioned. However, a radical change occurred in the 1960s and 70s which resulted from an adolescent counter-culture that often rejected adult values.

The current radical rejection of adult society seems to be the rejection of any adult society whatever, if an adult society means one including institutions of work, family, law and government (p. 1053).

The Theme of Education for Justice. Kohlberg was an advocate of the Platonic View of justice based on knowledge rationally deduced. Thus, his response to the question "How can children be taught virtue?" required a preliminary inquiry into the nature of virtue (justice). Kohlberg concluded that moral education involved a process of drawing out knowledge of "the good" through the use of Socratic dialogue, moral discussions between students and teachers that featured peer interaction. Kohlberg adopted and incorporated eight Platonic ideas about the nature of justice:

- 1) Justice is the ideal form of the good.
- 2) Justice is universally found in all cultures.
- 3) The good can be taught.
- 4) To know is to choose the good.
- 5) The primary teachers of virtue are the Philosopher-Kings.
- 6) The process of moral education involves a calling out of our knowledge of the good through a dialogue between the teacher and students.
- 7) Teaching about the good involves a process of asking questions, not simply giving answers.
- 8) Justice is not many, but one. It is a moral principle, not a set of rules for resolving competing claims of injustice (Kohlberg, 1977).

Kohlberg rejected the Platonic hierarchical conception of degrees of justice. He investigated the presence of justice at all levels of moral development which also required opportunities to practice it.

Moral Development as the Aim of Education. John Dewey's Progressive education movement made two major contributions to Kohlberg's theory. First, it provided a non-indoctrinative approach for teaching values. In addition, Dewey's interactionist psychology required the child's active, reflective participation with peers to produce qualitative changes, i.e., structural changes in the reasoning process that followed an invariant sequence in an hierarchical progression. However, while Dewey did not allow for a dichotomy between the moral and intellectual domains, Kohlberg did (Kohlberg & Mayer, 1972, p. 458).

Kohlberg broadened his liberal, democratic, non-indoctrinative educational heritage to include all children. He stated:

Our educational system currently faces a choice between two forms of injustice, the first an imposition of an arbitrary academic education on all, the second a division into a superior academic track and an inferior vocational track. The developmental conception remains the only rationale for solving these injustices and for providing the basis for a truly democratic educational process (Kohlberg & Mayer, 1972, p. 495).

The Naturalistic Fallacy in Education. According to Kohlberg, the Naturalistic Fallacy consisted in efforts to derive statements of ought (value) from statements of is (fact). He believed that a higher stage of moral development is always preferable to a lower stage since higher stages are more complex, advanced, and include the characteristics of lower stages.

Kohlberg discussed the "Psychologist's Fallacy," a derivative of the Naturalistic Fallacy, as an attempt to derive statements about what human nature, values, and desires ought to be from psychological statements concerning their nature. In order to avoid this type of error, Kohlberg reaffirmed his belief in the necessity of testing his ideas about justice reasoning in ordinary social situations, i.e., the Just Community (Kohlberg, 1981).

The Reversibility of Justice. The process of making moral judgments involves two closely related processes. First, one assimilates others' diverse views in an integrated pattern through the

process of role taking, putting one's self in another's place. After one has gone through the process that Kohlberg described as "a process of moral musical chairs," one can readily select an appropriate course of action. During this process, an individual usually passes through a state of moral equilibrium to a state of disequilibrium until competing claims have been filtered, only to return to another higher level of restored equilibrium (Kohlberg, 1981).

The reversibility of justice enables a person to stand by a decision even if he/she were in the most disadvantaged role in a moral dilemma according to Cowden (1992).

The Cognitive-Developmental Method

Assumptions

Assumptions underlying the theory include:

Structuralism. Cognitive structures are organized patterns of mental operations. The process of cognition relates things and events to each other in an active process of information processing. These modes of relationship, called "categories of experience," in the moral domain include values, ideals, norms, duties, and rights. Kohlberg's structuralism assumes movement through a sequence of invariant steps. "Structural wholes" are complete ways of thinking.

Phenomenalism. An individual's behavior can best be understood within the context of one's conscious experience. Behavior is categorized either into moral or non-moral actions.

Interactionalism. This term describes a continuous process of interaction between the inner structures of the organism and the external forces of one's environment.

Self concept. One's social development is based upon a sense of ego identification which provides a sense of continuity across time and space.

Role-Taking Opportunities. The moral reasoning process requires the opportunity to reconcile conflicting claims of justice by viewing the issues from others' perspectives.

Equilibrium. The process of moral reasoning proceeds sequentially from heteronomous to autonomous principled reasoning.

Cognitive Stages. These are transformations of simple cognitive structures into more complex, integrated structures (Kuhmerker, 1991).

Levels of Moral Development

Kohlberg's theory contains three levels of moral development and each level has three substages.

The Preconventional Level. The lowest level where an individual shows no real internalization of moral values. At this level, one's moral reasoning is based on a fear of punishment (Stage 1) and rewards (Stage 2) experienced from the environment. It incorporates heteronomous reasoning, where justice and rules are conceived as unchangeable properties of the world, removed from one's own control.

The Conventional Level. An intermediate level at which an individual abides by others' external standards, e.g., parents and teachers. Interpersonal Conformity, Stage 3, is referred to as the "Good-boy," "Good-girl" orientation. In Stage 4, Social System and Conscience Maintenance, one follows society's rules and standards.

The Post-conventional Level is the highest level of moral standards in which morality is completely internalized. An individual

who attains this level is aware of alternate moral choices and is able to develop a personal moral code which may be based on community principles of a social contract (Stage 5) Prior Rights and Social Contract or a totally individualized morality of universal, ethical principles (Stage 6) where one's judgment of an action considers the actor's intentions as well as the action's consequences (Santrock, 1987, pp. 491-493).

Individuals at Stage 6 may be both justified and obligated to break morally unfair laws. Kohlberg's analysis of the following individuals led him to conclude the probability they were at Stage 6: Martin Luther King, Jr., Mohandas Gandhi, Abraham Lincoln, Socrates, and Dag Hammarskjold.

The cognitive theory of moral development emphasizes moral reasoning over moral behavior or actions. Although Kohlberg's work with the Just Community redirected his attention to the product also. He devised a series of hypothetical moral discussion dilemmas to estimate levels of moral development which focused on three aspects of justice: 1) distributive, the ways a society distributes its tangible goods, 2) commutative, the language of contracts and other types of exchange mediums, and 3) corrective, concerns unfair transactions and problems of restitution and retribution.

There are twelve norms that focus on the content of the dilemmas:

- 1) Life (preservation and quality)
- 2) Property
- 3) Truth
- 4) Affiliation

- 5) Civil Rights
- 6) Erotic Love
- 7) Authority
- 8) Law
- 9) Contracts
- 10) Religion
- 11) Conscience
- 12) Punishment

Kohlberg stated that peer group interaction involved mutual give and take and provided the stimulation for disequilibrium to challenge people to question their moral positions during role playing. Teacher/facilitators attempted to use the plus one stage discussion format in the hope that individuals would begin to reason one stage above their current level.

The Male Perspective View

Kohlberg revised aspects of his theory as the need arose. For example, the sixth stage of moral development has virtually been eliminated in the M.J.I. scoring manual of Colby and Kohlberg (1987). Prior to that, in 1983 Revised, Kohlberg commented: "The existence and nature of such a stage is, at this moment, a matter of theoretical and philosophic speculation" (Kuhmerker, 1991, p. 8).

As a result of Carol Gilligan's criticism of Kohlberg's emphasis on justice considerations over care issues, he re-evaluated his position and stated that both care and justice orientations converged on the Postconventional level (Kohlberg, Levine & Hower, 1984).

Kohlberg's study on old age in The Aging Person as Philosopher: Moral Development in the Adult Years (1981), described a "soft stage" of morality called Stage 7 in contrast to the lower "hard stages" (1-6). After attainment of Stage 5 reasoning, one may proceed to an ethic of agape, putting others' concerns before one's own. This soft, or metaphorical, stage (7), cannot be measured by any instrument. It develops as a result of a series of life crises during one's adult years. Consequently, it provides for a cosmic or religious view that presumes Conventional reasoning (Kohlberg & Shulik, p. 42).

In essence, the "male perspective" view of moral development attributed to Kohlberg contains these features, according to Kohlberg, Levine, and Hewer (1984, p. 139).

- 1) the male world view of individuals who stand alone, but are guided in moral decisions by the impersonal application of rules based on logical principles;
- 2) a concept of justice morality based on the principles of equality and reciprocity, the sanctity of the individual;
- 3) hypothetical dilemmas that have essentially male themes and characters that portray conflicts of an individual or societal nature (a conflict of rights);
- 4) a deductive reasoning process that uses critical thinking, a search for logical contradictions, and missing contrary evidence in a positional adversarial format.

THE EDUCATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE JUST COMMUNITY:
USES FOR THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

Kohlberg's Preliminary Research and Pilot Testing

Kohlberg realized that his ideas about justice, which included the explicit use of the hidden curriculum, needed to be tested in concrete situations. He feared falling into the error of the "Psychologist's Fallacy" where one prescribed actions purely from a theoretical basis. Consequently, in the late 1960s, he began to formulate his plans for the Just Community.

His early experiences with moral reasoning at Harvard had included the use of Socratic discussions in his graduate courses, which led him to a conclusion that there are no neutral values paths. He remarked: "A genuine concern about the growth of justice implies a similar concern for the growth of justice in the society. The teaching of justice in the schools requires just schools" (Kuhmerker, 1991, p. 37).

Three conditions needed to be met in order to implement his ideas: 1) the combined efforts of teachers, students, and researchers in the field of moral development, 2) avoidance of the Naturalistic Fallacy, and 3) a belief in democratic participatory government, i.e., one person/one vote.

Moshe Blatt, one of Kohlberg's Graduate Assistants, provided the impetus to start this experiment. In 1967, Blatt ran a pilot program that used moral dilemma discussions in several 6th grade classes in a Jewish religious school once a week during an entire semester of 18 weeks. One group used Blatt as its facilitator, another group used

only peer leaders, and a third control group did not use the discussion format.

The results of testing indicated that 64 percent of the Blatt-led group had an average gain of one-third of a stage, while the other two groups showed no gains. After follow-up retesting one year later, the Blatt-led group continued its lead in moral development (Blatt & Kohlberg, 1975).

The explicit use of the hidden curriculum was a critical element in creating a participatory democracy, according to Kohlberg (1986). "The idea of a Just Community involved dealing with the hidden curriculum of the school or institution, not simply a curriculum of classroom discussion" (p. 6). Kuhmerker (1991) described Kohlberg's use of the hidden curriculum:

What Kohlberg calls the hidden curriculum is the moral atmosphere of the school. Ideally, the daily interactions and discussions that take place in the meetings and the classes will all develop the moral atmosphere of the school. Community building activities to strengthen the bonds individuals feel toward the group are a major concern of the Just Community school (p. 129).

Thus, the hidden curriculum allowed Kohlberg to gain control over "the crowds," a necessary prerequisite to work for justice and care (Higgins, Power, & Kohlberg, 1989, p. 38).

Gordon praised Kohlberg's use of the hidden curriculum as a wise choice because a) the hidden curriculum is closely related to the social relationships that exist within a school, b) the hidden

curriculum represents the most pervasive influence that the school can exert on students' moral development, c) a sense of moral development can be directed towards a sense of moral maturity (Gordon, 1986). Blatt's experiment encouraged Kohlberg to continue his research on the Just Community.

Applications of the Just Community Concept

The Kibbutz Experience (1969)

Background of the study. Since the 1930s, Youth Aliyah, an organization established to foster immigration and aid the educational adjustment of Israeli youth, has helped over 150,000 adolescents. This project provides group social experiences, work opportunities, and provides for responsible membership in Israeli adult society.

A kibbutz (collective) functions similarly to a foster mother for both village and native born youth (kibbutz) because it provides socialization experiences. Candidates for its programs range in age from 12-15 years and receive 4-5 years of secondary education. After high school graduation, all youth are expected to serve a mandatory term of military service (Gottesmann & Wolins, 1971).

Gordon (1986) investigated how the adult-guided peer group under the madrichim, or youth leaders, provided for collective responsibilities and sanctions. He discovered there were few orders given and rarely were voices raised in anger in the unique experiment in collective education.

Kohlberg's Experiences on a Kibbutz. Youth Aliyah invited Kohlberg to observe kibbutz life in 1969. He and his colleagues, Clark Power and Ann Higgins, interviewed the Madrick, the principal, and

found that the collective experience demanded a high level of social, moral and educational performance from the residents, males and females. Life on a kibbutz discouraged a focus on self. One worked where one was needed, lived where accommodations were available, ate whatever was served to everyone, and all earned the same wages. Violations of collective norms resulted in both peers and adults' disapproval.

The kibbutz leaders exerted very little scholastic pressure on residents as compared to American or other Israeli schools. The Madrick had allowed peers to pressure reluctant students. However, students as individuals were encouraged to write, dance, and make music according to their own tastes in addition to their participation on common projects. Teachers were addressed by their first names, visited by pupils at home on school-related matters, and were frequently disagreed with and voted against at kibbutz group meetings.

Kohlberg, et al. discovered the value of the hidden curriculum in this setting:

The kibbutz is a self-consciously moral society that has created a collective system of education that deliberately uses the hidden curriculum to advocate for collective rather than individual achievement, equal rather than stratified social relations, and democratic rather than hierarchial decision-making" (Higgins, Power & Kohlberg, 1989, p. 38).

Evaluation of the Kibbutz. Kohlberg and Miriam Bar Yam researched a cross sectional study of the kibbutz's residents' levels

of moral development. Positive results indicated that kibbutz-placed youth had significantly higher scores than a comparable sample of urban youth. Life on a kibbutz had encouraged the development of morality to extend beyond Stage 3. These benefits of kibbutz life were reported:

- 1) The kibbutz exerted clearly defined youth norms needed for successful group living. Individuals learned to accept the group's expression of disapproval and sought to change their beliefs and actions.

- 2) A sense of collective responsibility had developed because the members formed a support group to help each other with personal and educational problems.

- 3) Residents were also encouraged to bring intergroup conflicts to group discussions to receive a fair hearing on moral grounds.

Several contrasts of kibbutz life with American schools were noted:

- 1) The kibbutz represents a multigenerational community, while American secondary schools are basically islands of adolescent peer cultures.

- 2) A kibbutz features group oriented moral education programs, while American youth live in a capitalistic/individualistic society.

- 3) A kibbutz provides a boarding school life with 24-hour care and support for its residents, while American high schools must compete with other social institutions for their clients' attention

(Kohlberg, Higgins & Power, 1989, p. 47).

Snarey and Reimer (1979) completed a longitudinal study on Youth Aliyah and the Ramat Yedidem residents which used subjects (N=92)

equally divided between kibbutz-born and Middle Eastern Israeli youth. They discovered that no sex differences existed in moral judgment. This finding was attributed to the fact that equality of sex roles had been stressed in all daily interactions among male and female residents. In addition, after controlling for differences in cultural background, stage usage and length of interview time, they again found no significant differences.

Moral maturity scores at age 13-14 became the best predictors of later ages' scores. They also learned that stage changes were sequential, gradual, and upward. None of their subjects skipped a stage. However, "kibbutzniks' stress on a communal life style had obscured their autonomous use of moral principles" (p. 620).

The Harvard Prison Project (1970-75)

Background of the Study. After his visit to an Israeli kibbutz, Kohlberg selected an unusual place, a correctional institution, to pilot test his Just Community concept, since school systems were unwilling to accept it at that time. R. Leight's (1974) introduction to Alienation and delinquent behavior: Pragmatic responses commented on the inherent difficulties of such a plan:

Unfortunately, moral education has been the focus more of erudite argument than of applied research. The traditional prison almost by definition, inhibits moral growth. Its procedures and practices have been established and implemented upon the assumption that the inmates' growth cannot go further" (p. 155).

The research team of Hickey, Scharf, Kauffman and Kohlberg (1976) investigated the rationale behind the failure of prisons to promote the moral rehabilitation of inmates. Traditionally, psychotherapeutic and behavioral modification treatment approaches here prevailed. Kohlberg et al. discovered that psychotherapy ignored inmates' relationships with correctional officers as well as with other inmates. Inmates were considered as mentally ill persons. Consequently, this perception of morality resulted in a decrease in inmates' sense of responsibility to one's self and others.

Behavioral modification techniques cannot change inmates' ideas or moral values, only their behavior. Behavioral incentives provided only individual rewards (Stage 2) and allowed no practice of socialized group behavior. These researchers provided their rationale for trying a different approach, the moral development approach, to corrections education:

- 1) Its effects are irreversible.

- 2) The program improved the lives of both staff and inmates by providing an atmosphere that encouraged more positive interactions and the development of loyalty and trust.

- 3) The responsibility for making and the enforcement of rules helped to establish a social contract based upon a written constitution (which was subject to periodic staff and inmate review) (Kohlberg, Scharf, & Higgins, 1974).

Rawls' (1971) description of the prison justice structure had indicated several ways that power could be distributed in a penal institution.

- 1) Coercive Power Orientation. The staff used arbitrary personal power without regard to fixed role standards.
- 2) Instrumental Exchange Orientation. Some personal contacts occurred between the staff and key inmates.
- 3) Informal Norm Agreement Stage. Penal staff and inmates shared some traditions or social conventions.
- 4) Structural Norm Agreement. A set of fixed rules mutually agreed upon regulated staff and inmates' behavior.
- 5) Shared Principled Agreement. A document, a social contract, existed that listed the contractual definitions of each party's rights and the means to adjudicate conflicts.

The use of a shared principled agreement was the goal Kohlberg envisioned for his program after the Constitution had been written.

Preliminary Research at Cheshire Prison. Preliminary observations for the program planned for the Neantic Women's State Farm in Connecticut were made during the stay at the men's prison at Cheshire (1970-71). The research team made observations in these four areas:

- 1) Civil Rights — Prisoners had no defined civil rights, e.g., freedom of movement, property, and assembly were all closely regulated by guards.
- 2) Status and Powers — The guards doled out "privileges."
- 3) Rewards — Prisoners who were cooperative were rewarded with favors and other privileges.
- 4) Punishments — Guards used acts of personal retaliation against uncooperative inmates.

Consequently, the researchers concluded that Cheshire operated from a coercive power orientation based upon personal power. Relationships of mutual protection and exploitation existed.

In addition, sets of prison and non-prison setting dilemmas were used and determined that inmates perceived the prison setting largely in terms of a Stage 2 orientation (Hickey, Scharf, & Kohlberg, 1977, p. 5).

The Neantic Women's Prison Experiment. In the Spring, 1971, at Neantic, Kohlberg and his project team established a Moral Development Unit which included the voluntary participation of administrators, line staff, and inmates. Program participants planned to administer their own program under the loose supervision of central administration. Living quarters for (18-25) women inmates and line staff were provided in a separate area of the prison.

Kohlberg suggested that a "Constitutional Convention" with representatives from inmates and staff should write a philosophy with a set of mutually acceptable rules, under a moral trainer/facilitator, who also provided inservice sessions for staff. Community meetings with mandatory attendance for all met at least once a week to discuss current issues; no issue was off-limits.

Small group meetings (mandatory) held two or three times per week constituted the heart of the program. In addition, a discipline board, consisting of correctional officers and inmates who served on a rotation basis, had the sole power of rule enforcement. A renegotiation convention met quarterly to review the Constitution and make any necessary revisions. A positive atmosphere prevailed which

featured freedom from destructive criticism and expression to enable moral reasoning to function to resolve conflicts and enhance moral development during the program (Hickey, Scharf, Kauffman, & Kohlberg, 1974, pp. 31-37).

Evaluation of the Prison Program. The investigators ascertained these benefits were gained by program participants:

- 1) Opportunities for role taking made allowances for personal and moral issues to be raised and for discussions to occur.
- 2) Since the inmates had assumed the responsibility for their decisions, the entire community had perceived their situations as fair and just.
- 3) Participants in the program were also allowed to take courses for intellectual improvement. Courses included classes in psychology, sociology, and Black history.

In 1973, a moral development unit in the vacant Y.W.C.A. building in New Haven became available for use in a work release program for inmates near the end of their sentences. By 1975, the researchers had reported only a 16 percent rate of recidivism which was based on returnees to prison or further encounters with the law. Having gained confidence from the results of his prison experiment in moral development, Kohlberg now prepared to transplant his Just Community concept to a purely educational environment (Hickey, Scharf, Kauffman, & Kohlberg, 1974).

The Cluster School Experience (1974-80)

This program was the first application of the Just Community concept in democratic government in an educational setting. Gordon

described this application in these words:

The Cluster School illustrates and encapsulates Kohlberg's concept which has gradually moved the Kohlbergian moral curriculum from Blatt-like classroom discussions of hypothetical moral dilemmas to the hidden curriculum of a "just community" (p. 266).

Preliminary Steps. In June, 1974, the Harvard Center for Moral Education received a Kennedy Foundation two-year financial grant to establish a Just Community school, an alternative school, within a public high school. That summer, Kohlberg, the proposal director, provided teacher training and curriculum work in English, social studies, and guidance for the newly selected volunteer teaching staff of the Kennedy Just School. The Kennedy grant provided workshops for 10-15 high school teachers in Cambridge and planned to establish a small alternative school of 60-70 students of diverse ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. The teaching staff comprised volunteers from the regular high school staff (4 males and 4 females). Most were experienced teachers under 30 years of age. Kohlberg and a part-time staff of three graduate assistants served as participant observers in small groups and community/staff in large group meetings during the school's existence.

Cambridge provided a suitable location for several reasons: 1) it was close to the Harvard Center for Moral Education; 2) the Cambridge geographical area contained a large population of both disadvantaged and academically gifted pupils; and 3) the Cambridge area had a long history of progressive educational change and growth which led to the

Director's hope that it would become self-sustaining if project funding decreased.

In July, 1974, the School Committee of the Cambridge High and Latin School approved Kohlberg's plans for the teachers' summer workshop. During this session, guidelines concerning the alternative school's enrollment, staffing, space and curriculum requirements were written. Another workshop was held in the early fall to plan for the school's opening.

Students and teachers received half-time assignments to the Cluster School, whose name referred to a cluster or block of time which allowed moral discussions, and English/social studies classes for half the day in a core curriculum program. The remaining time was spent in the regular high school program. Theodore Fenton of Carnegie Mellon University, nationally known social studies curriculum expert, helped Kohlberg and the staff develop curricula. Classes were located in three classrooms. In addition, social experiences, e.g., field trips and annual non-religious retreats, were scheduled each year.

Disputes over whether to schedule heterogeneous or homogeneous classes began in the first year, and continued until Cluster's third year when the community meeting decided that students should be free to select the level and instructional style that best met their educational needs. The four major governing principles devised by the planning group were:

- 1) The Cluster School would be run as a direct democracy where each student and staff member would have one vote each at the weekly community meetings.

- 2) There would be a number of standing committees composed of students, parents, and teachers.
- 3) A jointly written "Social Contract" would enumerate all participants' rights and responsibilities.
- 4) All members of the school community would enjoy the same basic rights which included freedom of expression, mutual respect, and freedom from verbal and physical harm (Higgins, Power, & Kohlberg, 1989, p. 64).

No prearranged rules concerning the school's administration were made prior to the opening in September, 1974. The faculty opposed Kohlberg's suggestion that a part-time principal be assigned to the school. The process for developing collective norms included the steps of norm proposal, discussion, modification/acceptance, followed by norm enforcement.

During the years the school existed, norms to handle situations that involved racial integration, stealing, absenteeism and tardiness were developed and enforced by the school community. Norms to handle drug and alcohol problems were not developed.

The School's Operation (1974-80). Most critics, including Powers, Higgins, Kuhmerker, and Kohlberg, were in agreement that the 1974-75 term began in chaos which resulted from a foul-up in logistics (no available classrooms for the program) and the limitations of student testing for the program. Throughout the program's yearly operations, Kohlberg viewed his role as a consultant who had an obligation to intervene actively in situations whenever the program appeared to be floundering.

Kuhmerker (1991) described changes in Kohlberg's moral education beliefs as a result of his practical experiences at Cluster. For example, Kohlberg's view of Conventional morality broadened. Preliminary testing of entrants had indicated that large numbers of students were functioning at the Preconventional level. Second, Kohlberg's appreciation for the content as well as the process or structure in social reasoning increased. He concluded that what individuals decided in the moral realm was just as important as how they reached their decisions (Kuhmerker, 1991, p. 195).

Kohlberg's initial educational planning included these goals: 1) to establish a congruence between the overt and hidden curriculum; 2) to develop moral reasoning by creating a school community that was perceived by students and staff as just and fair (Kohlberg, Wasserman, & Richardson, 1975).

Several committees provided the framework for the school's daily operation:

1) Advisory Groups (1 teacher per 10-15 students) provided client centered counseling and served as a support group for students' personal and academic problems. Peer counseling was also used in these groups.

2) Small groups (limit 10 students), a prelude to community meetings. Their primary goal was to focus on issues of a general nature, e.g., hooking or skipping school.

3) The Community Meeting (all) had several functions: a) to create the framework for the original structure and rules to run

Cluster, b) to handle crises, and c) to dispense punishments, revise rules and dispose of competing claims of justice among members.

4) The Discipline Committee (D.C.) also called the Fairness Committee (7-10 students plus two staff members). Its members served 8-10 weeks and were selected by a rotation process which gave all a chance to serve on it. Its duties were to hear rules violations, handle interpersonal problems, and recommend sanctions.

The Fairness Committee received criticism for the public nature of its deliberations, however, Higgins, Power, and Kohlberg (1989) defended it:

The D.C. is somewhat a more controversial institution because it violates our conventional ways of thinking about issues of student privacy, peer group loyalties, and responsibility. When the students break the rules, the morality of the school society is threatened. The restoration of public morality requires a public event or ritual which expresses disapproval and renewed respect for the community rules" (p. 94).

Evolution of the Cluster School. Power and Higgins (1989) summarized the development of major issues of concern and their collectively developed norms during 1974-80.

1) Property Norms in the first year originally were based on the fairness issue. Later in the second year and the remaining years, they were based on trust and a growing sense of community.

2) Attendance Norms, in the first year, were based on a sense of order. In the second year, order prevailed, but in succeeding years, a sense of participation in the community prevailed and was highly valued.

3) Racial Relationships remained a very controversial issue throughout Cluster's existence. Kohlberg always encouraged affirmative action, especially for selecting new students.

4) Drugs/Alcohol Norms were also very controversial issues. There were problems with enforcement from the first week of the first year. Students considered themselves to be "ratting" if they reported another's misconduct.

5) Collective Restitution. These norms indicated that students gradually developed concern over the repayment of staff members who had experienced losses at school from student thefts.

Higgins and Power concluded: 1) Cluster's norms were progressively collectivized through a process that started in the first year of its existence; 2) the content of its collective norms gradually shifted during its second and third years of operation away from a focus on fairness and over to norms that enhanced a sense of community life;

3) moral stage development followed a sequential order with no regressions to lower stages (p. 187).

In addition, these measures of student growth were used by the staff:

- 1) The Moral Judgment Interview (M.J.I.).
- 2) The Colby-Kuhn assessment of Piagetan formal operations.
- 3) Self reports and student reports.

- 4) The Feldman Critical Incident Technique, which combines direct observation of students' behavior in classes with follow-up student interviews (Higgins & Power, 1989, p. 12).

These assessments indicated an increase in prosocial behavior among students over the years. Students were becoming assimilated into the school community. Students were also beginning to accept their roles as contributing members of the school community.

The Demise of Cluster. Several factors helped contribute to the end of Cluster (1980), at which time it was reorganized as the K-100 school program. First, a new headmaster at the Cambridge High and Latin School tried to consolidate all alternative school programs under the regular high school. He began to cut Cluster's staff and budget. In addition, fewer numbers of students enrolled and those who did had more severe learning and disciplinary problems. Many staff members had felt professionally isolated from the mainstream high school staff and had opted to return there to teach.

Kohlberg left the school when these changes occurred. However, his concept of the Just Community was modified and continued in the Brookline School-Within-a-School (SWS) and in the Scarsdale Alternative School (SAS) (Higgins & Power, 1989, p. 12).

The Measurement of Moral Development

Kohlberg's original and later research on the measurement of moral development involved the use of individual and group instruments. Other researchers, e.g., John Gibbs, James Rest, Clark Power, et al., continued his research in this area. These instruments, according to Kuhmerker (1991), include:

The Standard Issue Moral Judgment Interview and Scoring System (M.J.I.) Revised edition (1987). This instrument provides criterion judgments that allow trained scorers to assign stage scores to specific interview responses. The three forms (A, B, and C) seek correct answers to nine hypothetical dilemmas. This instrument, devised by Kohlberg, allows the interviewer to understand issues from respondents' frames of reference.

Kuhmerker's evaluation of the M.J.I. is: "This detailed scoring system is one of Kohlberg's greatest achievements and has not been surpassed by any other methodological approach to the study of sociomoral development" (p. 61).

The Social Reflection Measure (S.R.M.) devised by John Gibbs, uses several moral dilemmas and also includes a questionnaire to code responses.

The Defining Issues Test (D.I.T.). Devised by Dr. James Rest, the D.I.T. provides a multiple choice test to categorize moral development. It is based on one's recognition of and a preference for 72 moral situations. The D.I.T. is the most frequently used test of moral judgment.

The School Climate Questionnaire (S.C.Q.). The S.C.Q., designed by Kohlberg and Ann Higgins, is used to determine a school's moral climate. It includes a 5-point scale to measure students' perceptions of the academic, social, and moral atmosphere of their school.

The Moral Culture Survey (M.C.S.). The M.C.S., developed by Clark Power, may be used as a follow-up measure to the S.C.Q. Its dilemmas' content arose from real life crises (cheating, stealing,

fighting, drugs and alcohol) experienced in the Just Community school. Students are asked to justify their choices and answers.

Students often reason below their actual intellectual abilities when they experience school-related issues. Thus, group norms on these instruments have more closely reflected the moral thinking of higher stage students.

In addition, Kuhmerker (1991) noted that these instruments' use of predetermined content in their dilemma situations may fail to measure an individual's ability to notice subtle moral implications in real-life situations. It is possible for one to use sophisticated moral decision-making reasoning, yet really pursue immoral goals (p. 77).

Summary and Conclusions

The major philosophical and psychological theorists' influences on Lawrence Kohlberg's Cognitive Theory of Moral Development were discussed. Major themes of justice and rights were listed.

Kohlberg's conception of the need for a stable gender identity was presented.

The Just Community provided an opportunity to envision how the explicit use of the hidden curriculum operating in and through the school's rules, rituals, routines, and rewards could be used to create a unique moral atmosphere within a miniature democracy.

Carol Gilligan's position of the "Female Perspective" on moral development would not perceive such a community as fair and just, if the use of the hidden curriculum did not also respond to promote and safeguard care and concern relationships, especially for adolescent

girls. Kohlberg's responses to Gilligan's charges of sex bias and gender differences have been detailed in the next chapter on the Female Perspective on moral development (Nunner-Winkler, 1984).

CHAPTER IV

THE FEMALE PERSPECTIVE ON MORAL DEVELOPMENT

(Research by Gilligan)

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1950s, Lawrence Kohlberg's Cognitive Theory of Moral Development has held a primacy in the field of moral reasoning. In addition, Kohlberg found a unique use for the hidden curriculum. He had pioneered its use in the creation of a miniature participatory democracy which he named the Just Community. In such an environment, he believed, the rules, rituals, routines, and reward system of a school would be perceived as just and fair by both staff and students. However, since the bulk of his research had used only male subjects, he received criticism from his former student and Harvard colleague, Carol Gilligan, for sex bias because his theory had failed to account for the two distinct perspectives in morality, justice and care.

Gilligan claimed that Kohlberg's theory addressed the moral development pattern of only half the population, i.e., males. She proposed a need to attend to issues of responsibility, care, and concern, all affective domain items, which Kohlberg's justice and equity cognitive research had neglected. Nevertheless, both Kohlberg and Gilligan did admit that females and males could equally address moral issues with either a "care" or a "justice" voice; a "justice voice" predominated in the former's research, while a "care voice" is essential to the latter's work.

Gilligan did not specifically address the issue of a hidden curriculum in her work, however, its symbolic use can be inferred from her case study of adolescent females at the Emma Willard School in Troy, New York.

The Historical and Philosophical Roots of Women's Moral Development

Carol Gilligan, a professor of education in the Harvard University Graduate School, has written that an androcentric or male dominated bias toward women exists in the works of prominent male theorists who have written on moral development. This subtle bias has underestimated the value of women's experiences, knowledge, and moral concerns. Consequently, issues of autonomy and achievement (male concerns) prevail in the research literature over themes of attachment and intimacy (female concerns) (Gilligan, 1979).

In addition, prior research on moral development has been characterized by a paucity of and often incorrect information about females. Gilligan cited some examples in an historical review of writers on gender studies by reviewing the studies of the pertinent developmental theorists: Sigmund Freud, Erik Erikson, Jean Piaget, and Lawrence Kohlberg.

Historical Trends in Women's Moral Development

Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) observed that since women generally had low self-esteem, they have attempted to compensate for this by childbirth. Freud concluded that women's moral development followed a different path from males'. He wrote: "Women have less sense of justice than men. They are more influenced in their judgments by feelings of affection and hostility" (Freud, 1925, p. 257).

In Erik Erikson's (1902-) Eight Stages of Man, the stage of adolescence is characterized by the need to accomplish a sense of identity versus role diffusion. Erikson believed that girls entered puberty either psychologically at-risk or with an agenda different from boys. A woman holds her identity while she prepares to attract her future husband, by whose name she will be known. Thus, for a woman, a relationship of intimacy with another is a fusion of her identity with her husband's. However, for a man, identity (separation) precedes intimacy (attachment) in the developmental cycle.

In Childhood and Society (1963), Erikson described a white male child, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, as the subject of his chapter on the American Identity. The boy's mother is described as a punitive, harsh voiced woman who perceives an idealized moral portrayal of masculinity in her own father, the boy's grandfather (Erikson, 1963).

Genetic epistemologist, Jean Piaget (1896-1980) included only four brief entries on girls' moral development in his classic, The Moral Judgement of the Child (1965), since the child of this work is assumed, according to Gilligan (1979), to be male. Piaget described boys' fascination with the legal aspects of rule-bound games and contrasted this process with girls' generally more tolerant attitude toward rules. Piaget concluded that the legal sense considered essential for moral development was less developed in girls than boys (p. 88).

Gilligan urged caution in accepting Lawrence Kohlberg's research, which used primarily males as subjects. She stated that care and

concern issues were incorporated at a Lower Level, Stage 3 in his theory. Thus, Kohlberg underestimated the value of women's life experiences. Consequently, women's scores on the Moral Judgment Interview (M.J.I.) are usually ranked lower than males'. In addition, his moral dilemmas used mostly male themes and characters which had the potential to present difficulties to girls in their interpretations.

Philosophical Considerations on Women's Moral Development

Nancy Tuana, a professor of Philosophy at the University of Texas, described the position of women in the history of philosophy beginning with the writings of Plato and Aristotle and concluding with David Hume's moral writings. Tuana raised two basic questions about moral development: 1) Is morality being considered as male? 2) Are women less capable than men of moral agency? She discovered that the practice of excluding the feminine view helped to reinforce the opinion of women as "Other" and thus inferior to males. Her research stated:

One of the most basic gender assumptions found throughout the philosophical canon is the tenet that man is the true form of humanity; masculinity is equated with humanness. The definitions of rationality and morality often emphasize traits which are viewed as masculine and minimize or exclude traits seen as feminine (Tuana, 1992, p. 8).

Tuana discovered that the feminine model of moral reasoning is based on relationships with moral actions arising from one's

responsibilities and affiliations; one of the most basic responsibilities is child rearing. She writes: "Many of the care theorists believe that the experience of rearing a child provides the basis of an alternative moral sensibility and that the mother-child relationship can provide a new model for moral relationships" (p. 119).

The only philosopher both Gilligan and Tuana mentioned as favorable to feminine traits in his view of the moral person is David Hume (1711-1776), the Scottish philosopher. Hume believed that moral actions arose from the emotions, thus he considered the moral person to be "an individual of feeling." Hume's theory of morality was based on a concern for relationships, especially familial ones (Tuana, 1992, p. 72).

Grimshaw's (1986) philosophical study of feminist thinking made a case for misogyny, or a dislike for women by the leading philosophers. She noted that most male philosophers, e.g., Aristotle, have devalued women as inferiors to males (morally and intellectually). She believed that a voice (point of view) that represented females' varied life experiences was lacking in philosophy (p. 21).

Significant Influences on Gilligan's Affective Theory

Social influences helped to shape the direction of Gilligan's theory. These influences include: authors in the Women's movement, William Perry's conception of moral relativism, and recent sociological/psychological research on adolescent females.

Key Women's Movement Authors

Gilligan's theory has been influenced by writers of the Women's Movement of the 1970s and 80s. Gilligan noted that females' moral development has been devalued in literature since the 19th century. For example, her research indicated that women educated in Western society usually first introduced their female characters at the time of adolescence, e.g., Maggie Tulliver in The Mill on the Floss (1860) and Jane Eyre in Jane Eyre (1850) by C. Bronte (1816-65). Several influential writers mentioned in Gilligan's research include: Tillie Olsen, Jean Baker Miller and Lillian Rubin, George Eliot, Virginia Woolf, Nel Noddings, Nancy Chodorow and Mary Field Belenky.

Several themes are common to this group of writers according to Fetterly's analysis (1978):

Literature is political in nature/because of its male bias.

There is a sense of powerlessness for women in a male-centered, patriarchal society that uses sexist practices.

There is a sense of exploitation or betrayal of women.

Women are forced to read and write literature from a male perspective.

Consequently, females must become "resisting readers" whose criticism of society and literature represents the discovery or recovery of their voice/views on issues (pp. x-xxii).

Millet's (1970) study of the politics of sex uncovered these descriptors of women in the literature: inferior intellectual abilities, habits of deceit, and childlike emotional natures (p. 54).

Tillie Olsen (1913-) discussed the lack of mention given to women in high school and college course textbooks. Women are depicted through men's ideas. This lack of notice caused women self doubts, a loss of confidence, and a realization that they must sacrifice their femininity in order to become successful authors. Olsen wrote "There is a wide discrepancy in American culture between the life of women as conceived by men and the life of women as lived by women. Literature has unwittingly aided the conspiracy of silence" (Olsen, 1978, p. 30).

Jean Baker Miller objected to the portrayal of males in the dominant societal mold with females as subordinates. She provided Gilligan's research with a "new language" that arises from women's experiences with a web of relationships and a sense of connectedness to others (Miller, 1976, p. 86).

Lillian Rubin and Carol Stack. Both researchers provided economic perspectives on female inequities through their use of the observer-participant method of research. Rubin (1976) observed the poor White working class and noted "worlds of pain" for lower social and economic status families. In such homes, adolescent daughters' highest goal was to marry well and thus escape ghetto life.

In contrast, Stack's (1974) research reached into the urban Black ghetto and found a support system of relationships that helped to maintain the traditional family functions of caring and protecting dependent wives and daughters.

George Eliot's (Mary Anne Evans) (1819-80) novel, The Mill on the Floss (1860) was used by Gilligan as an example that females always had to select a path of selflessness in order to preserve their femininity. Gilligan determined that a girl's choice between assertiveness or self-effacing behavior usually occurs around age 13. In Eliot's novel, her protagonist, Maggie Tulliver, exemplified a change in voice in her conflict between her love for her cousin, Lucy, and her boyfriend, Stephen.

Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) lamented that our society regarded masculine characteristics more highly than feminine traits. Women's consideration of others' views and feelings in their moral decision-making may cause self doubts. Yet, Gilligan saw in this apparent sign of moral weakness a source of strength because a sensitivity to others' needs could become a source of moral strength (Woolf, 1929, p. 76).

In Nel Noddings' work, Caring (1989), the theme of voice dominated through her caring ethic. Women develop chains of caring and feelings of connectedness to others whenever they recall prior "natural caring" experiences. Both Noddings and Gilligan recognized a "feminine ethic of caring" in the "receptive side" of the human psyche. Noddings' maxim is: "Do that which best fosters future caring," i.e., those actions that help to nurture this ideal in one's self as "one-caring" and in others. During a moral dilemma women often seek more information in order to form a mental picture that resembles real moral situations. However, Gilligan has not yet been

able to apply this caring ethic to larger societal concerns, according to Noddings (1984).

Nancy Chodorow researched the primary dyadic mother-child relationship in her psychoanalytic view of object relations. Since girls usually have closer relationships with their mothers than boys, they must undergo a socialization process that is necessary for them to become mothers. A mother perceives the same sex child as an extension of herself. Within the family context, a web of relationships (connections) develops. However, boys usually must undergo a more specific individuation/separation process and develop a more distinct ego (self-concept).

Consequently, the "mother-fusion" process is defined by the formation of affectional ties that produce a caring orientation. Simultaneously, males' development becomes a process of increasing autonomy which leads to a justice orientation. The human self concept is constructed out of social relationships which have been internalized.

Gilligan's theory incorporated these two distinct gender orientations. She attributed psychological adjustment problems of female students at the Emma Willard School to girls' inherent difficulties with the separation/fusion process (Chodorow, 1978).

Mary Field Belenky investigated the theme of mind and the types of knowledge that characterize the female perspective. Gilligan used Belenky's conception of women's connected knowledge in her epistemological considerations. Belenky discussed the primary sources of females' knowledge (silence, received knowledge, subjective or

inner voice, separate knowledge, i.e., procedural or rational modes). In ascending order of complexity, these modes or ways of knowing are:

1) The mode of silence refers to a female whose complete social and economic dependence upon males have contributed to her isolation. Gilligan's Abortion study (1982), with pregnant women facing the decision to abort their unborn children, investigated women's linguistic responses and discovered the use of such phrases as "I had to" and "I wanted." These phrases indicated to Belenky, et al. (1988) that women in this study who were completely socially and economically dominated by the significant males in their lives, felt they had no other choice except to have an abortion if these males indicated such a preference. These women felt their relationship would be damaged or terminated if they decided otherwise. Thus, these individuals' values and thoughts were devalued by themselves and significant others, according to Blackburne, Belenky, and Gilligan (1982).

2) The mode of received knowledge. At this level, females still depend upon authorities outside of themselves for their information. They use a simplistic view of happenings in their environment. Gilligan noted that their use of the words "should" and "ought" indicated that they perceived their choices as dichotomous, either/or decisions.

3) The mode of subjective knowledge (called inner voice). Anger and frustration over their state of dependency upon males may describe women in this predicament. Thus, they often use their sense of intuition or "gut feelings" to help them make more decisions.

4) Procedural knowledge (the rational mode). Belenky stated that women who advance to this stage "speak in measured tones" to indicate their independent choices and decisions. They have achieved a state of connected or constructed knowledge which Belenky described in this way:

Connected knowers learn through empathy. It is the form rather than the content. Each person tries to share one another's position. Through group sharing, they achieve a group vision rather than individual visions. Connected learners seek to understand other people's ideas in other people's terms rather than in their own terms (Belenky, Clinely, & Goldberger, 1986).

William Perry's Moral Relativism

Another major influence upon Gilligan's theory came from William Perry's (1913-) concept of the relativistic nature of morality. Perry's (1970) Ethical theory has been frequently mentioned in Gilligan's writings. Perry defined relativism as "a plurality of points of view, value systems in which the structural properties of contexts and forms allow for various sorts of analyses, comparisons, and evaluations in Multiplicity."

Perry used an interview system in a 13-year longitudinal study of Harvard undergraduates to identify changes in intellectual and ethical development during the college experience. By refocusing Piaget's epistemological research, Perry was able to describe an individual's attempts to make ethical commitments as responses to existential reasoning about ultimate concerns. Perry's theory included nine

"positions" or steps of moral development. Each of his positions represented a mode of intellectual development in a cognitive-developmental sequence of stages which proceeds from a simplistic/categorical stage to a more complex/pluralistic view of knowledge and values.

The main line of development starts with a basic dualism of absolute values (e.g., black/white, we/they) grounded in an authority source. Passive, silent learners depend upon others to give them the truth. Gradually, as one accepts the contextual relativism of all knowledge and learns to become aware of a diversity of opinions on issues, one also becomes aware of one's inability to completely justify choices and decisions on rational grounds.

In Perry's scheme, one may progress from a stage of dualism (Positions 1 and 2) through early formal operations (Positions 3 and 4) called Multiplicity, on to Relativism (Positions 5 and 6). Having reached Position 5, one begins to perceive knowledge and values as relative, contingent and contextual. Positions 8 and 9 represent a Commitment to Relativism where one finds that the understanding of an event depends on its context. The process of Commitment is an ongoing, unfolding activity which helps to affirm one's identity. Knowledge is constructed in an interactional process with other knowers, not received or given to a person.

Throughout the process of development, one may deflect or stop from one's course in one of three ways: temporizing which temporarily halts the process; retreading when one refuses to proceed on course; or escaping where one simply stops the entire process.

Gilligan adopted Perry's affirmation of personal identity and a Commitment to Relativism in her discussion of Philosopher Two's "Dilemma of the Fact." This discussion will be cited later in this chapter.

Contrasting Views of Kohlberg and Gilligan
on the Issue of Moral Relativism

Both Gilligan and Kohlberg were in agreement that there could be no unlimited moral relativism, e.g, a situation in which issues of right and wrong become strictly matters of personal opinion. Both theorists have incorporated different kinds of concerns and guiding principles to handle the problem of moral relativism. This section provides a comparison and contrast of both ethical systems.

Gilligan's Position. Gilligan incorporated Perry's concept of the multiplicity of moral contexts, regulated by contextually relative criteria, to allow for care and justice concerns in the moral domain. Gilligan asserted:

1) Kohlberg's cognitive theory incorporated individual sex bias against females resulting from his predominately male oriented research.

2) Kohlberg did not adequately explain the contextually relativistic properties of mature moral reasoning.

3) Justice and caring are separate and distinct moral contexts which will inevitably conflict, but they can be regulated by a personal commitment to a moral universe that one understands to be contextually relative. Consequently, moral relativism is the solution to moral choice.

As an example of a situation that allows for two equally appropriate moral solutions, Gilligan used the actions of Israeli

conscientious objectors during the Lebanese War. The same soldier (actor) has two morally acceptable choices: to fight (act) or not fight (not act) (Linn & Gilligan, 1990).

Kohlberg's Position. Kohlberg (1981) wrote:

1) There are conflicting individual goods regulated by a single, universal justice criterion. The specific content of moral beliefs may differ, but the forms of moral reasoning are universal through a process of deontological formalism, not contextually relative forms which are unable to produce a universal moral criterion. Therefore, people's ideas of the good may differ in specific situations.

2) Justice serves as a guide, not to choose between alternative moral choices, but to regulate each individual's claim to pursue one's own individual good with equal and impartial considerations.

3) Justice is the best guide for choosing between conflicting claims because it contains logical reversibility to filter out the non-moral from moral content.

4) Although people may not agree on what is good, they can agree on the principle of justice to regulate competing claims over it. Consequently, relativism in moral crises is a necessary step to lead to absolute principles (Kohlberg, 1981).

The Influence of Gender Research on Gilligan

The third major influence on Gilligan is psychological/social research on adolescents. Gilligan observed that the Handbook of Adolescent Psychology had this comment: "Adolescent girls have simply not been much studied."

Rutter (1986) investigated the reversal process in the negative self-concepts of boys and girls. This process occurs sometime between childhood and adulthood. During childhood, boys experience more negative reactions to stress than girls. However, during early adolescence, girls' behavioral patterns indicated more negative responses to challenges with a corresponding increase in episodes of depression. Girls generally exhibited more disturbances in their self image perceptions and usually evaluated themselves more unfavorably than boys. Rutter attributed these symptoms more to problems with connection (relationships) than to problems with autonomy (separation).

In their discussion of self-esteem problems experienced by adolescent females, Grayson and Miller (1990) discovered:

Self esteem problems lie at the heart of many educational concerns relating to young women, including the following: underestimation of one's personal ability, failure to consider the full range of career options (including the non-traditional occupations in mathematics and science), teen pregnancy, teen single parenthood, poor academic performance, fear of success, suicide attempts, lack of assertiveness and poor self-image (p. 36).

J. Hyde's (1985) research on gender roles discovered a hesitancy in females' motivation to accept their gender roles. Children adopt their sex role according to their perceptions of its inherent power and value. Since society attributes less importance and power to the feminine role, Kohlberg had indicated that the "niceness" girls

perceive in the female role assisted the gender acceptance process (Kohlberg, 1966, p. 121).

M. Horner (1972) compared how males and females handled issues of competition and achievement. She learned that some females feared the loss of their femininity if they must compete with males and were successful over them. Success anxiety (fear of success) was discussed among females when one's personal success prevailed at another's failure, according to Gilligan (1979).

Gilligan's (1982) study in the area of females' identity/intimacy fusion process learned that the female identity is defined within a context of relationships and should be evaluated by a standard of care and responsibility.

In contrast to females, males experience a narrower circle of friendships, which includes their professional and community contacts. Males follow a sequential ordering for identity and intimacy accompanied by a feeling of isolation resulting from their work experiences. Gilligan claimed that the male ego was defined by the separation process (p. 161).

Steiner-Adair (1990) described a phenomenon almost unique to upper and middle class Caucasian adolescent females (the majority of students at Willard), Anorexia Nervosa, an eating disorder characterized by a sudden, dramatic weight loss. She attributed its hold to the vulnerability experienced by girls in their "developmental double bind."

By the time of adolescence, females had been socialized to devalue the importance of personal relationships and to value

independence and a sense of autonomy, similar to males, according to Steiner-Adair (1990, p. 166). Their self-destructive dieting behavior finds a basis in our society because our culture places more importance on females' self-evaluations of body weight appearance than on males' appearances. Gilligan commented: "Where boys are given social approval for academic success and achievement, girls are most rewarded for being slim" (p. 168).

Zimmerman and West's (1975) research of gender conversational patterns revealed that males are easily able during conversations to deny equal speaking status to females by refusing them their rightful turns. This unequal socialization pattern has its roots in childhood according to Miller (1976), who observed that adolescent females are generally rewarded for their quiet predictability and conformity in class, the so-called "good girl" stage 4 in Kohlberg's theory, whereas, adolescent males have already acquired years of testing and exploring social limitations.

Sex equity research done by Fennema and Ayer (1984) and Sadker and Sadker (1982) indicated that many of the inequities that girls experience in the elementary grades are related to teacher-created sex segregation policies that unconsciously promote the preeminence of males. Fennema and Ayer found that segregation in academic and social tasks continued into the junior high years.

Three unproven assumptions and their consequences for women's education are described by Sadker and Sadker in their teachers' handbook on sex equity issues (pp. 13 and 14).

1) Women's place is in the home. Girls have no need for training in such subjects as calculus, physics, chemistry, auto mechanics, or welding. Instead, they need an education reinforced with domestic images.

2) Women should cultivate traditional feminine characteristics, e.g., dependence and role acceptance. In school, they will need a curriculum that reinforces them for the qualities of quietness, neatness, and sweetness.

3) Women are physically, emotionally, and intellectually men's inferiors. Consequently, there is no need for a vigorous physical education program or interscholastic team sports competitions. There is no need for leadership responsibilities for women in classes or school clubs.

In addition, there are five major areas in the school program where sex stereotyping, which is defined by Sadker and Sadker as a mental picture based on a common characteristic of a group of people that is not reality based, occurs (Sadker & Sadker, 1985, pp. 13-24). These areas include textbook and instructional materials, curriculum areas, teacher-student interaction patterns, the area of pupil personnel services, physical education, and co-curricular activities.

Textbook and curriculum areas. One or more areas of sex bias may be found here:

1) Invisibility. This form of bias omits the accomplishments of women and other minorities.

2) Stereotyping. This form of bias misses the diversity and individual differences in a group.

3) Selectivity and Imbalance. The presentation of only one-sided issues on a subject.

4) Unreality. The curriculum materials used do not accurately reflect women's roles.

5) Fragmentation and isolation. The separation of women and other minorities from the narrative's main body to produce an effect of isolation from the mainstream.

6) Linguistic bias. The use of generic terms (e.g., mankind, occupational terms).

Teacher-Student Interaction Patterns. Both formal and informal contacts favor males in frequency of occurrence and duration of time. There may be bias against females in assignments, testing, language, and grouping patterns.

Pupil Personnel Practices. In the past, minorities have been tracked into basic groupings. In addition, adolescent females will frequently discuss their hopes for fulfilling careers, with guidance counselors, yet have a tendency to underplan for their goals.

Physical Education. Boys who compete poorly in physical activities may be compared to girls. Physical Education is the only sex-identified body of knowledge in the entire school curriculum.

Co-curricular Activities. Boys' activities have been oriented to develop creativity, leadership traits and physical prowess. Girls' activities have been designed to develop domestic skills and have often focused on helping or serving others.

Voice Studies

Another significant influence on Gilligan's theory was her use of

voice studies to determine moral orientation. Gilligan's remarks about male and female voices (1982) did not refer to which gender statistically talked more frequently. Instead, it was their association of a gender with either an ethic of care or a justice orientation. Gilligan described an "objective, disembodied voice" of males that employs a monotonic language of structures and stages and compares it with the "musical language", or fugue, a musical form that listens to many voices continuing different variations on the same theme, of the female voice.

In Gilligan's relational practice of Psychology, she used a Guide for Listening (Brown and Gilligan, 1991). She has listened to clients during four different times in as many different ways that include: a) she listens and attends to the context or drama of a story (first session); b) She listens for the self to be expressed by the story's protagonist (second session). These two ways of listening help to involve a "responsive listener" who attempts to enter into a listening relationship with the story's protagonist on her own terms.

The "resisting listener" (Fetterly, 1978) in the third and fourth sessions listens against the tide of social conventions in our male dominated culture. Here one listens for issues of vulnerability, self sacrifice, or self-silencing modes presented by the speaker (third session). Gilligan's voice research made her aware that the quality and quantity of adolescent females' language may be an indication of their level of moral development (fourth session). As an example, she used a case study of Tanya, a 12-year-old Indian girl, the daughter of

two physicians, in the 7th grade in a midwestern town at summer camp. Tanya attempted to aid her seven-year-old homesick cousin and went against the wishes of an unsympathetic camp director. Thus, she faced the possible loss of her self-esteem in order to help her cousin.

Brown and Gilligan (1991) described Tanya's dilemma using the girls' own words: "I was faced with either saving myself or saving him" (p. 50). A common theme in voice research indicated that females who exhibit too great a degree of selflessness may risk the loss of their self-esteem, while too much self-concern may lead to being considered selfish and suffering from a loss of their femininity. At age 12, Tanya's voice "carries the sound of a candid, confident, psychologically astute 12-year-old, concerned about her cousin, sure of her perceptions, stubborn, and determined" (p. 50).

The next year's follow-up interview with Tanya, at age 13, indicated to Brown and Gilligan: "A loss of voice and a struggle for self-authorization" (p. 53). This is Tanya's own description of a different relational conflict she described at age 13:

One friend I have and she is supposedly my best friend, you know, and I don't talk to her, because everybody hates her in class. . . . I mean, I don't even like her, but I don't know how to act because I have to be nice (p. 53).

Gilligan concluded that Tanya's "fraudulent voice" which had expressed false concern for this friend, represented a common change experienced by girls during early adolescence.

In addition, verbal expressions such as "I don't know" indicate the repression of information from adults. The password, "you know"

admits the listeners to their private thoughts and feelings. Gilligan discovered the role that voice played in adolescent girls' need to express their knowledge without hurting their relationships with others. Western culture often denies them the right to express their opinions. They fear the consequences (educational, social, political) of expressing their true beliefs. Instead, they suppress the expression of their knowledge and conform. There is a psychological conflict in this process, i.e., girls feel the need to both enter and remain out of males' world.

Gilligan (1990) described what she called a need for "resistance" to this pressure to conform.

The tendency in girls' lives at adolescence is for a resistance which is essentially political -- an insistence on knowing what one knows and a willingness to be outspoken -- to turn into a psychological resistance: a reluctance to know what one knows and a fear that such knowledge, if spoken, will endanger relationships and threaten survival (p. 502).

The key to survival lies in girls' relationships with others, especially mothers, who can also remember this kind of disconnection at adolescence.

Girls must not withdraw or use "fraudulent voices" to express their knowledge, as Gilligan stated: "Girls must stop withdrawing authorization from their own experience and replacing realistic with inauthentic descriptions of relationships" (p. 530). A comparison of Gilligan's Affective theory and Kohlberg's Cognitive theory follows.

The Cognitive and Affective Theories of Morality:
A Comparison and Contrast

Gilligan's theory, as Kohlberg's, uses three levels of moral reasoning. These levels are: Level I, (Self-Sacrifice) Preconventional, a concern for self and survival; Level II, (Social Conformity) Conventional, a concern for being responsible; and Level III, a concern for the self and for others as interdependent sources of moral concern (Morality of Non-violence).

Kohlberg's use of a Principled, Level III, incorporated Aristotle's benevolence and included ideas of fairness and equity in the public and private distribution of goods, whereas Gilligan's Level III refers to the Greek word, *agape*, a community of caring, love, and empathy (Hyde, 1985, p. 33). Gilligan stressed a cognitive process of inductive thinking.

Unlike Kohlberg, Gilligan has no hierarchical, sequential stages that build upon lower ones in the Piagetan tradition. In fact, Gilligan carefully avoided using the term stages, and instead referred to her levels of moral reasoning as "views" or "perspectives." Gilligan applied a tension/complementarity interpretation to her theory. She explained that a mature sense of morality resulted from the complementarity of the two moral languages of justice and care. A state of "tension" existed when there was no synthesis of voices. She compared the process of moral reasoning to a spiral, not a circle like Kohlberg's, because moral issues overlap each other. Thus moral maturity lies in a balance of connection and separation, but males and females have different starting points.

Kohlberg's attainment of moral maturity occurs when a person's moral reasoning has reached a state of principled moral judgment. For Kohlberg, one's behavior at this stage should conform to internalized principles of justice and equity in order to escape self condemnation over lapses in moral conduct.

Both theorists used moral dilemmas to help stimulate the process of moral development. However, Gilligan observed that the Kohlbergian moral dilemmas that use males as protagonists often yielded lower scores for females on moral reasoning instruments. She described a need for gender neutral dilemmas.

Bussey and Maughan's (1982) study found evidence that males who used moral dilemmas that contained female characters and topics usually selected Stage 3 reasons for their answers to questions, while the same dilemmas that used male characters yielded Stage 4 or higher level answers from males. Gilligan's theory allows for multiple interpretations of Kohlbergian dilemmas, yet Kohlberg sought specific normed answers, e.g., life/property issues.

A notable example of a different use of voice can be found in the interviews of Jake and Amy, both 11 years old (Gilligan, 1982). The content of the dilemma is the story of Heinz, a man whose wife was dying of cancer and desperately needed a druggist's medicine. Heinz could not afford more than \$1,000.00 for it, yet the druggist demanded \$2,000.00. Gilligan discovered these differences in the children's responses to questions about this dilemma.

Amy's decision. Amy perceived the dilemma as one centered around three relationships. The druggist did not live up to a relationship

of need for Heinz's wife. Second, it was necessary for Heinz's wife to live in order to insure the continuation of their marital relationship. Finally, Heinz and the druggist needed to avoid a bad relationship over this crucial issue.

Jake's decision. Jake perceived the issue as one that involved the use of rules to balance the rights of all individuals. The druggist had a right to earn a profit on his cure, but Heinz's wife had a right to life (pp. 32-38).

Amy's decision represents the female perspective, while Jake's decision is an example of the male perspective.

Kohlberg's response to Gilligan on sex differences in moral reasoning has two components: 1) both justice and care concerns are used by both sexes; 2) one's preferred moral orientation is largely a function of the type of moral problem that is defined and of the sociomoral atmosphere of the environment into which the dilemma has been cast. Kohlberg's response to Gilligan's different orientation position was:

Many moral situations or dilemmas do not pose a choice between one or the other orientation, but rather call out a response which integrates both orientations. Justice and care do not represent different tracks of development (Kohlberg, Levine & Hewer, 1984, p. 132).

Kohlberg cited Nunner-Winkler's (1984) critique of Gilligan's gender orientation position. Nunner-Winkler's research on the interpretation of moral dilemmas had indicated to her that a moral dilemma that involves a personal relationship will evoke a care

orientation in its reader, whereas other types of stories may elicit a justice orientation.

The ethical self that Kohlberg described was based on a deontological model that stressed rules, rights, ought and ought not, and was limited to moral decision-making in resolving the clash of competing moral claims. Gilligan's ethical model is aretaic, an ethic of virtuousness that uses a broadly defined "moral self" who focuses on personality differences as compared to Kohlberg's universals which did not allow for personality differences.

Gilligan and Murphy discovered that regression to lower stages of moral reasoning occurred as individuals entered early adulthood (ages 21-27 years). Late adolescents have had certain life experiences and have made decisions under difficult circumstances, which were different from early adolescents' logically justified decisions made in a formal thinking mode. In late adolescence/early adulthood, a dialectical thinking mode that represents a "Commitment in Relativism" prevails in moral decisions as soon as individuals recognized that all human knowledge is imperfect and prone to error. Relativism, according to Murphy and Gilligan, robbed one of a claim to ownership of the knowledge of "the right thing to do." Young adults have begun to realize that there are other equally acceptable views on moral issues allowed by the contextual nature of morality.

As an example of the differences in Kohlberg's and Gilligan's positions on the issue of moral relativism, a change in one's position on moral issues (usually away from absolute values), Gilligan and Murphy described Philosopher Two's "Dilemma of the Fact" (Gilligan &

Murphy, 1979). Philosopher Two's moral dilemma existed because he had considered telling his lover's husband, whom he believed had a right to know, that he had been dating his wife. Yet, further deliberations about the possibility of causing his lover to have a nervous breakdown if he should proceed with his plan, required him to remain silent. In the end, Philosopher Two reached this conclusion: "I had violated my first principle of moral behavior, but I had made the right decision" (p. 96).

Kohlberg's interpretation of Philosopher Two's "Dilemma of the Fact" judged that this individual had not acquired a more complex perception of the factual realities of an interpersonal relationship together with the values that entered into interpersonal choices. Consequently, this dilemma did not indicate a qualitative shift in moral orientation, nor was it an alternative morality now being confronted in young adulthood by Philosopher Two. In addition, Kohlberg also recognized that this individual in Gilligan and Murphy's study had been part of a longitudinal study of a sample of Harvard students who had typically scored in the upper range of intellectual and moral development.

Kohlberg summarized his views on morality in these words: "We believe that moral stage development is the development of one morality, not of two, because moral situations and choices always involve both issues of justice and compassion" (Kohlberg, Levine, & Hewer, 1984, p. 150).

Gilligan's Measurement of Moral Development

Gilligan's primary research studies separate from Kohlberg's include: an Abortion Decision study (Blackburne, Belenky & Gilligan, 1982); a College Student Study (Gilligan & Murphy, 1980); a Rights and Responsibilities Study (Gilligan, 1982). In addition, she and Pollack (1982) had investigated violent fantasies in women and men.

Gilligan's research projects used hypothetical moral dilemmas, plus a Listening Guide for Voice, and open-ended questionnaires/sentence completion tests for girls and women, and other typical psychological testing instruments including the Thematic Apperception Test (T.A.T.) (Pollack & Gilligan, 1983).

Typically, her moral development research at the Emma Willard School (Gilligan, et al., 1990) used small samples of less than 60 subjects. Other examples include: the issue of Moral Relativism used 26 Harvard undergraduates (Murphy & Gilligan, 1980); her gender orientation research used 14 males and 34 females (Gilligan & Attanucci, 1988); basic gender orientation research for In a Different Voice (1982) had 16 females and 14 males.

Her theory has been faulted because it lacked an adequate philosophical basis according to Sichel (1985). Sichel, a Professor of Philosophy of Education at Long Island University, reported that 20th century moral philosophy is primarily derived from Kantian First Principles that stress cognitive processes, autonomous moral agents, and freely chosen universal moral principles. Gilligan has gone against the tide and chosen an aretaic language of virtuousness

appropriate for the private domain, but lacked a language of rights for the public domain.

Sichel commented:

The ethic of care might gain greater creditability if Gilligan criticized the adversarial system of the public domain. Gilligan should take a further step and argue that the two languages are dimensions of one integrated faculty, the moral faculty (p. 57).

In the final section of this chapter, Gilligan's case study of the adolescent females at the Emma Willard School in Troy, New York, was used to infer the pervasive presence of the hidden curriculum at work in the daily lives of these girls.

The Emma Willard School: A Case Study of the Symbolic Use of the Hidden Curriculum

Introduction

The school's foundress, Emma Hart Willard (1787-1870), a pioneer in women's education, believed that women had a responsibility to maintain moral standards in home and society. Women of her day were forbidden by legal and social customs from a full participation in civic and political affairs. At that time, a female's individual sense of identity was tied to her father's and her future husband's affairs. In addition, the prevalent thinking of the time considered women as the social, intellectual, and moral inferiors of males.

Willard founded the Troy Female Seminary (1821) which provided a diversity of courses not generally considered appropriate for females (algebra, geometry, and physiology), along with the traditional

history, geography and domestic science courses. Since she believed that the school should reflect the community, she encouraged her students during her tenure as principal (1821-38) to participate fully in school government (Tyler, 1944). Currently, the school continues to offer a private school education to both day and boarding students.

The Dodge Foundation sponsored Gilligan's study (1981-84) of adolescent girls' social development. This project was part of Harvard University's project on the Psychology of Women and Girls' development.

Themes in the Study

The Emma Willard case study is loosely organized around several themes relevant to adolescent girls' lives: voice, seen particularly in issues of unfairness or not listening to others, the role of separation and connection, the evaluation of moral problems, relationships between mothers and daughters, and different leadership styles.

Voice. This theme included issues of unfairness and not listening to others. Gilligan promoted equal interest in a "care voice" and a "justice voice." Her recent research (1990) at the Emma Willard School supported her hypothesis that academic achievement is not adversely affected by either a justice or care focus. She reported: "Girls who focus on justice and girls who focus on care do not differ in academic achievement as measured by grades or standardized scores" (p. 33). She also discovered a) girls responded to identified personal needs; b) during a conflict of values, conformity to rules takes second place to relationship considerations;

and c) girls approached their academic and co-curricular activities from different perspectives (pp. 64-69).

A sample of 34 students answered questions concerning their experiences with themes of unfairness and not listening. Nine answered who were between grades 9 and 11, seven answered in the years between 10th and 12th grades, and eighteen responded between 11th and 12th grades.

Fairness concerns fall in the public domain, while listening concerns reside in the private domain. The results indicated that as girls passed through the four year high school program, a convergence of fairness and listening concerns emerged.

Separation and Connection Themes. Adolescent girls face a major relational existential dilemma in valuing their connection to others, yet striving for their autonomy. Gilligan investigated these aspects of the feminine relational self-concept:

- a) When the girls were asked to describe themselves, they usually included information about others.
- b) Females readily acknowledged a variety of people and issues they may have consulted in making their decisions.
- c) Females attempted to understand others' perspectives, yet reflected critically on their own thoughts, feelings, and moral actions (p. 85).

The Evaluation of Moral Issues. Gilligan explained that the feminine position on values perceives rules as flexible and contingent upon one's environmental situation. One's personal experiences help

one "weigh" issues (the concept of believability) in a specific situation.

The relativistic, contextual nature of adolescents' moral decisions was displayed in this girl's responses: "It wasn't a question of morality. It was just a question of what was best for her. It had nothing to do with my values. It just had to do with life and my friendships with somebody" (p. 99).

The Mother-Daughter Relationship. Gilligan discovered that the continuation of this primary relationship was essential for the development of conflict resolution skills as well as adequate voice development and a sense of identity. She felt this issue was crucial since

No other relationship reported on by the girls in this study compares to the primary attachment bond in strength or influence. On the whole, the girls prefer to maintain a problematic attachment even at some cost to themselves, rather than suffer a state of true non-attachment (p. 144).

Different Leadership Modes. Gilligan learned that past and present faculty at the Emma Willard School had a long tradition of promoting student involvement in leadership activities. Students indicated their sense of relief at not being pressured to avoid leadership experiences because of boys' peer pressures.

There were two leadership modes used by the girls in this case study.

- a) An interdependent mode. Here, the group leader acts as a synthesizer of her own and others' ideas. This mode relies on

interpersonal listening skills. The role of the leader/facilitator is to motivate others by task association with compatible people. The leader listens to all speakers on an issue, relies on their believability, and uses a degree of creativity to integrate divergent views. This type of leadership style avoids a separation between a leader and others.

- b) An autonomous mode. In this style, the group's leader supplies the objectives, plans, and ideas for group action. An efficient use of the organizational skills provides the motivation for projects. The creative process is evident when many different ideas are presented. This type of leader avoids any abuse of power because it hurts her believability as a leader to perform her duties (pp. 204-205).

The Hidden Curriculum's Symbolic Influence at Willard School

Although Gilligan made no reference to the use of the hidden curriculum in any of her research reviewed for this study, nevertheless, its presence may be inferred from the context of the case study. These items are indicative of its presence:

- 1) Gilligan, et al.'s students' interviews indicated that Willard's curriculum, faculty, and moral atmosphere encouraged their complete participation in leadership activities. Gilligan learned "The school opens up myriad leadership opportunities for them. One does not have to assume that she cannot claim to be a leader until she has been elected to a particular position" (p. 303).

Dr. Robin Robertson, the School's 15th Principal, indicated in the Student Handbook (1992-93) that Willard's single sex environment

helps adolescent girls avoid the loss of voice and the fraudulent voice that Gilligan's Tanya exhibited. Robertson stated

At Emma Willard, I have seen first-hand how a single-sex environment transforms the bright thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen year-old girls who come to us into self-possessed, capable young women (p. 2).

2) The presence of hesitancy in girls' answers to teachers' classroom questions, according to Gilligan's interviews with the faculty, involved a consideration of the interdependent feminine, narrative learning style which used the logic of believability and considers others' input.

3) Gilligan discovered in the conversations of students and faculty the continuation of close bonds of friendships that last after graduation. The community of learning she investigated encouraged feelings of responsibility, an openness to others, and the value of hard work (p. 236).

4) Students indicated that they experienced a sense of relief from boys' peer pressures and had the freedom to avoid pressures to use illegal drugs and alcohol.

5) The girls in this study experienced little discontinuity in their life cycles. They also expressed admiration for women in their lives who demonstrated "control" over difficulties.

6) Gilligan reported, and the faculty confirmed, the presence of a strong feminist influence at Willard. "A feminist critique of marriage appears to be made available to them through discussions with their teachers" (p. 239).

Most of the girls planned to enter fulfilling careers after college graduation. They wanted to be self-supporting if and when they choose to marry (preferably after age 25). There were ambivalent views about matrimony. Unlike the lower class girls in the Olsen study (1976), who married to improve their economic and social positions, Willard's girls disclosed that their careers would help their sense of identity, not simply their relationships with their future husbands.

7) Finally, the Emma Willard School students' handbook promotes the girls' acceptance of traditional adult values (p. 9).

Summary and Conclusions

Gilligan's Affective Theory and Kohlberg's Cognitive Theories of Moral Development were compared and contrasted for their metaphysical, epistemological and axiological content. There were basic differences about the nature of moral issues, the thinking modes used to acquire knowledge of the good, and the ways that learners resolved and evaluated their moral decisions. Each theory handled psychosocial issues of autonomy, intimacy, identity, and achievement in different ways as indicated by gender sex role research.

The major influences on Gilligan's theory included key authors from the Women's Movement; William Perry's description of Moral Relativism, and gender research on philosophical, social, and educational issues.

In the previous chapter, it had been mentioned that Lawrence Kohlberg's Just Community concept made explicit use of the hidden

curriculum's pervasive influence in the school environment to create a distinct moral atmosphere. However, Carol Gilligan's study at the Emma Willard School also presented instances of its symbolic use in the formation of "self possessed, capable young women who may aim, according to the student handbook, to become Stars, Champions, Presidents, Editors, Captains, Scholars, and Dreamers" as they share in the inheritance of educated women in the 1990s.

In the next chapter, a synthesis of an integrated model of moral development using the hidden curriculum, resulting from an analysis of both theories, has been attempted. The intention was to present morality as a single domain which has educational implications for moral educators and their students.

CHAPTER V

AN INTEGRATED MODEL OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

In Chapters III and IV, the Male Perspective (Kohlberg's Cognitive Theory) and the Female Perspective (Gilligan's Affective Theory) of moral development were discussed, respectively.

The male view of morality emphasized a rights response mode based upon a foundation of rules, duties, and obligations. This theory's historical/philosophical roots in Kant, Durkheim, Frankena, Dewey, and Piaget, were discussed. Significant philosophical themes in Kohlberg's extensive works were also discussed. In addition, Kohlberg's efforts at measuring levels of moral maturity were detailed. Finally, Kohlberg's explicit use of the hidden curriculum in his Just Community school project was discussed in Chapter III.

The female view of morality which has its historical/philosophical roots in the Women's Movement in literature, was described in Chapter IV. Carol Gilligan, Kohlberg's former graduate student and colleague at Harvard University in the 1970s and 1980s, arrived at an explanation of moral development different from Kohlberg's. She described an affective view of moral development which she associated with females. Her aretaic moral perspective emphasized a care response, and also used a web of relationships. Themes of mind, voice, and identity permeate Gilligan's research.

Major theoretical differences between the two theories, e.g., their positions on moral relativism and the use of male and female voice, were compared and contrasted. In addition, a review of relevant sex role information on gender formation as applied to these theories was described. Finally, a case study of female adolescent moral development issues at the Emma Willard School, from which the symbolic use of the hidden curriculum was inferred, was described.

In the current chapter, the philosophical dimensions of these two theories will be compared and contrasted through an analysis which will result in the formation of an integrated model of moral development that incorporates an explicit use of the hidden curriculum.

Philosophical Considerations

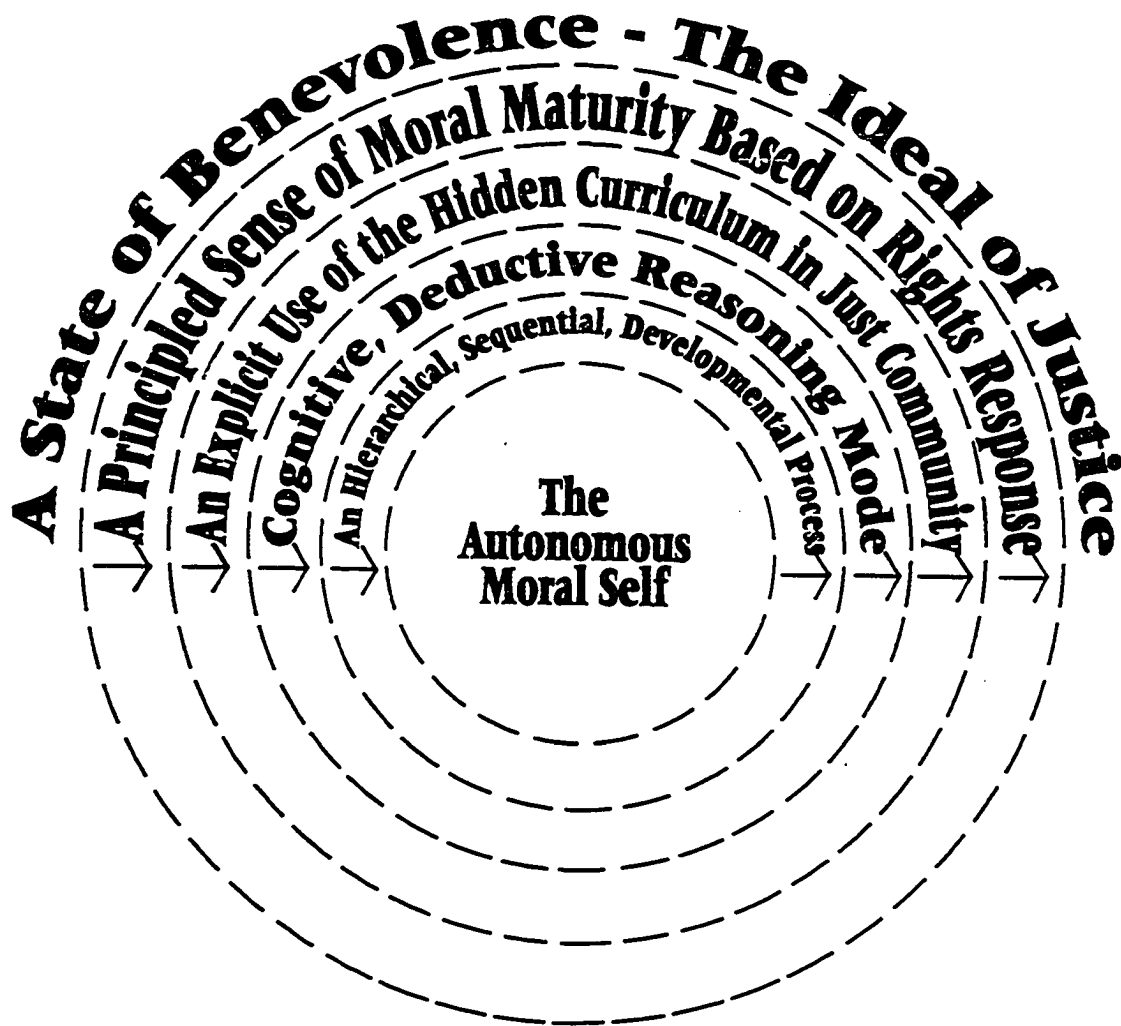
Metaphysical Aspects

An evaluation of Kohlberg's and Gilligan's metaphysical views illustrates their diverse perspectives on the nature of moral issues. Kohlberg's deontological theory has been described as a circular model. It stressed the importance of moral absolutes, i.e., duties, rights, and obligations. A learner acts alone, and is described as a "Paradigmatic knower" (Sichel, 1985, p. 153).

Sichel's (1985) analysis of the two theories described these characteristics of a circular shaped model of moral development: a universal moral development process, the use of invariant and sequential levels or stages of reasoning, and the same end point in a principled sense of moral maturity based upon a rights response (p. 153).

Broken, concentric circles are used in Figure I to illustrate that all parts of the moral development process are interrelated and interact with each other. Figure 1 is similar to Owens' (1987, p. 57) contextual description of individuals in educational organizations. Owens used a "linear model" with an open systems model of permeable, tangential circles to describe the interactions between subsystems and their larger environments.

Figure 1. Kohlberg's Metaphysical Model*



* Adapted from Kohlberg (1977)

The central aspect of Kohlberg's model is the autonomous moral self acting in an impersonal, rule-guided process of moral decision making. Kohlberg's deontological theory is predicated upon the use of moral absolutes to settle competing claims of justice. Consequently, the process follows along in an hierarchical, sequential manner since higher stages and levels include lower ones. Also, Kohlberg used the hidden curriculum in an explicit fashion to create a unique moral experience of a participatory democracy in the Cluster School project (1974-1980).

For Kohlberg, the highest level of moral development consisted in the attainment of a principled sense of moral maturity whose decisions were regulated by the criterion of justice. Consequently, all moral decision-making followed this directive: "Do not treat others unfairly" -- an example of the concept of benevolence.

Gilligan's aretaic model of moral development has been depicted through a series of overlapping spirals whose center is the moral self. The spirals represent the progression of women's moral development throughout various life crises (Gilligan, 1982, p. 122). The use of a spiral model indicated a continuous progression in moral development while its overlapping spirals illustrated major life experiences and influences on this process. Thus, there is no one best way to journey since the process of moral development is considered as a contextually relative process because it is dependent on one's unique circumstances.

Figure 2. Gilligan's Metaphysical Model *



* Adapted from Gilligan (1982,1990)

Gilligan's model has been classified as an aretaic model of morality, since it stressed an ethic of virtuousness whose moral dilemmas arose from problems with personal relationships and were affected by care and response concerns. An individual may acquire meaning only by entering into a relationship with others, according to Buber's (1958) description of primary relationships.

In Gilligan's research, the moral self acted as a "Narrative learner" since she preferred a learning style that wove a web of interrelationships. The guiding directive of her theory was: "Do not abandon one in need," which is an aspect of the Greek concept of *agapé* or community.

Each of the overlapping spirals of Figure 2 represents an important component of Gilligan's metaphysical views. The moral self interacted with several major influences which included: personality factors, the cumulative effects of the gender socialization process, one's experiences with moral decision-making, the use of a narrative mode of reasoning, and an adherence to a belief of moral relativism (a belief that truth is dependent upon its context, and the meaning one puts into it). Rules were perceived as flexible constructs which were used to avoid a sense of detachment from or abandonment by others. During the course of the moral maturation process, one passed from earlier levels of concern for one's own self survival on to higher levels of concern for the self and others viewed as interdependent sources of concern.

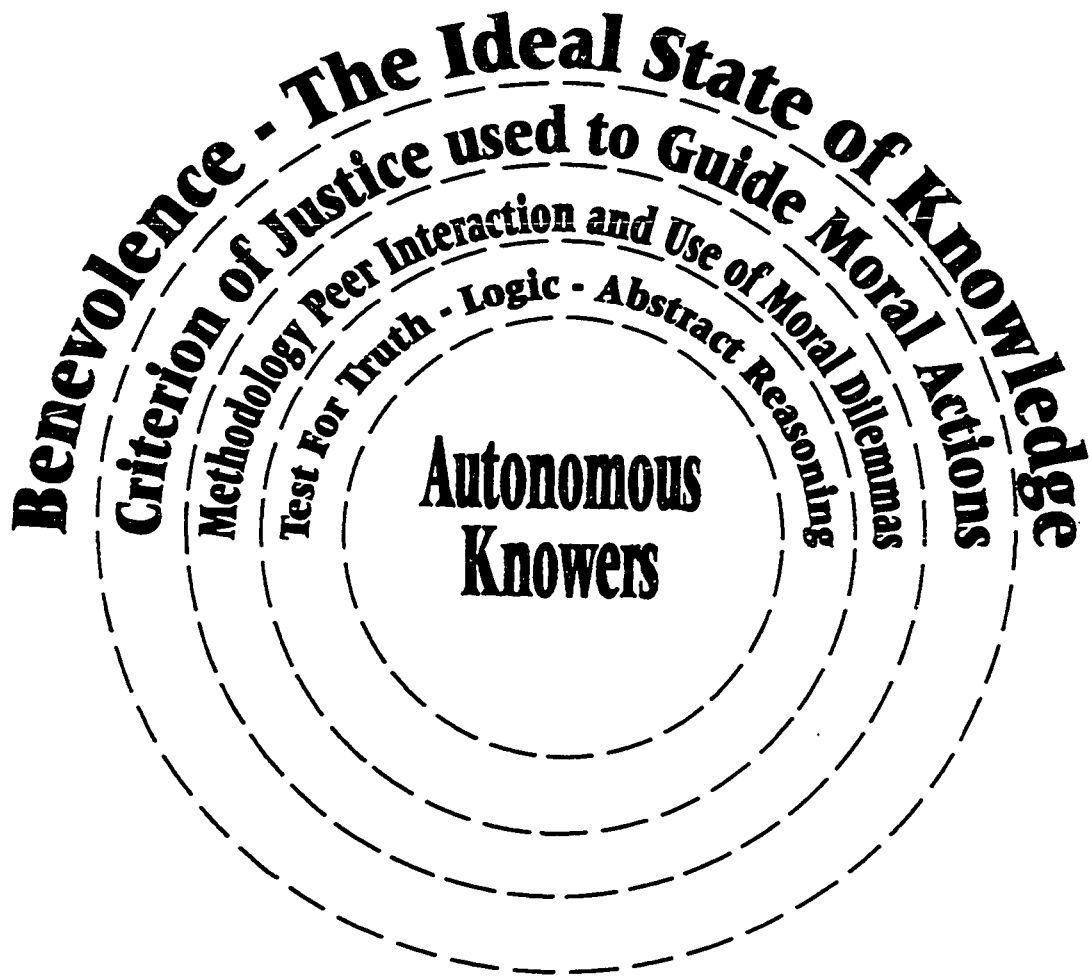
Epistemological Aspects

Kohlberg's circular model is based on the activities of autonomous or Paradigmatic knowers.

Figure 3 incorporates the stages and levels of the Kohlbergian hierarchical, sequential, cognitive reasoning mode. This mode used moral dilemmas in a reasoning process that separated thoughts and feelings during moral decision-making. Truth may be discerned by learners through the use of abstract, logical arguments in a process of questioning and probing. Justice is the universal guide to mediate between competing claims of injustice.

Kohlberg's process of knowledge acquisition was described as a correspondence between the mind and reality which formed a state of mind known as benevolence, the Greek ideal of knowledge (Gilligan, 1982, p. 173). A knowledge of the Good can be discerned among all people. Nevertheless, different interpretations of the Good may result from cultural differences (Kohlberg, 1984, p. 58).

Figure 3. Kohlberg's Epistemological Views*

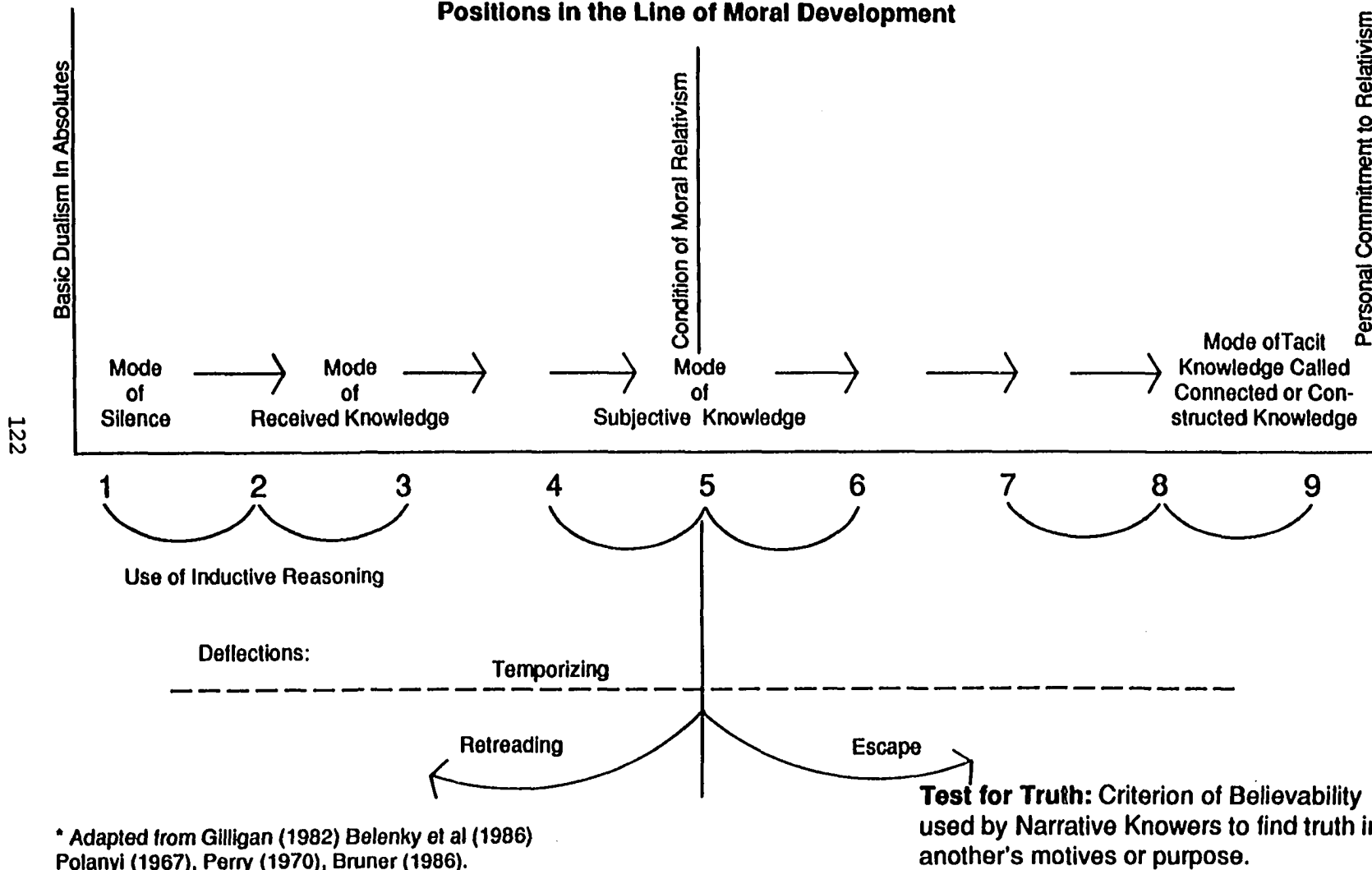


* Adapted from Kohlberg (1977)

Originally, Kohlberg's theory used hypothetical moral dilemmas, peer interactions, and a stress on biological maturation to assist in the development of higher stages of moral development. During this process, a knower explored his present level of development in a process called *décalage* (Piaget, 1965), only to be confronted by a state of disequilibrium until a new state of equilibrium developed, according to Langer (1969). After several years of observation, study, and planning, Kohlberg tested his ideas in a miniature, participatory democracy called the Just Community. His expectation was that all participants would perceive it as fair and just.

In contrast, Gilligan's dependence upon Belenky's (1986) and Polanyi's (1967) views of the modes of knowledge had a major effect on her epistemological descriptions of narrative knowers. In addition, Perry's (1970) views on moral relativism convinced Gilligan of the contextual nature of knowledge and truth in moral decision-making. Figure 4 depicts the relationship between moral relativism and the diverse modes of knowledge in Gilligan's affective theory.

**Figure 4. Gilligan's Epistemological Views
Positions in the Line of Moral Development**



Perry's (1970) views on moral relativism included nine positions in the line of moral development. The developmental process begins with a basic dualism of absolutes in which one may receive knowledge in the mode of silence (Belenky, 1986, p. 3). This position imposes upon a knower a state of dependence upon the personal knowledge and influence of outside experts for one's information. The process continues and allows one to form a kind of inner or subjective knowledge (p. 52). At this juncture, one is enabled or empowered to challenge and/or criticize outside experts' imposition of knowledge for one's source of knowledge.

When one has reached the middle positions (Positions 4, 5, and 6), one has attained a state of moral relativism in one's values and knowledge. Consequently, at this point, the subjective nature of knowledge or "gut feelings" and values becomes evident to a knower. One now realizes that truth is dependent upon its context and circumstances. Next, one may enter into a mode of "tacit knowledge" according to Polanyi (1967) where one is empowered to construct, i.e., participate in a state of "connected" or "constructed" knowledge. All knowledge is constructed by knowers (Belenky, 1986, p. 131).

Polanyi (1967) described "personal knowledge" as "the passionate participation of the knower in the act of knowing," as an essentially inarticulate or tacit process. However, during the course of moral decision-making, participants are also empowered and enabled to comprehend others' views if they will emphasize a caring (understanding) perspective. The act of caring renders the inarticulate act of thinking to become an important component of

creative problem solving. Polanyi believed that individuals could help to shape their own knowledge since judgments represented the commitments of those who formed them (p. 79).

Belenky (1986) listed the characteristics that connected knowers used in constructing their own knowledge: the use of a discovery mode of learning in collaborative settings with others, a personalized relationship between the self and the object of one's knowledge; narrative learners have the ability to listen to their own experiences of voice, and show a willingness to demonstrate their sense of responsibility to care for others and themselves (p. 237). The end of moral development becomes one's personal commitment to a world consisting of contextually relative truths.

Perry's (1970) developmental views allowed one to temporarily or permanently halt one's participation in the process by the use of two kinds of delays he called deflections. One type of deflection, temporizing, stops development for a short time. Thus, one may either retreat, i.e., return to an earlier position, or may escape and stop the process completely.

Gilligan's narrative knowing mode described learners who often considered input from others while making their moral decisions. The presence of hesitancy in females' voices and their inability to make rapid decisions, have often been considered as signs of women's moral weakness. Yet, Gilligan defended this need for a collaborative style of decision-making (Gilligan, 1982, p. 66).

The criterion of "believability," a concern about understanding another's motives or reasons, helps guide knowers in their quest to

discern the truth, according to Bruner (1986). During this process of discernment, thoughts and emotions remain united. Knowers use a questioning mode to help understand others' intentions. Consequently, Gilligan described knowledge as a process that involved close relationships, similar to its use in the New Testament word, *agape*, an early Christian community of caring and sharing individuals (Gilligan, 1982, p. 173).

Another aspect of Gilligan's epistemological views is her emphasis on *in-the-bodiness*, or a recognition of females' sensitivity to pain during cyclical or other hormonal changes. According to Duran (1991, pp. 113-114), feminine modes of knowledge have often been described in their relationships to bodily functions.

Axiological Aspects

Morris and Pai (1976, p. 20) considered the philosophical question: "What is good?" as the subject of a valuing process called axiology. They described the school as an important component of philosophical inquiry, and commented: "The school is at bottom an axiological institution" (p. 268).

In the realm of values, learners are concerned with how they can define, resolve, and evaluate moral dilemmas. Figure 5 depicts a comparison of Kohlberg's and Gilligan's ethical positions.

Figure 5. Kohlberg's and Gilligan's Axiological Positions*

Definition of Axiology	Theoretical Basis	Methodology	Nature of Truth	Basis for Relationships	Mediation Process	Evaluation of Moral Issues
<p style="text-align: center;">Ethical concerns about how individuals define, resolve, and evaluate one's use of moral issues and dilemmas.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Lawrence Kohlberg</p>	<p>Use of an "Ethic of Justice" based on relationships of reciprocity. A process of deductive, abstract, formal reasoning.</p>	<p>Allowance for differences in the content of values, but uses a process guided by justice criterion to regulate competing claims of injustice.</p>	<p>Foundation in roles that arise from duties, obligations, and commitments.</p>	<p>Impartial use of rules to help maintain fairness and reciprocity in relationships.</p>	<p>A focus on reasons for one's decisions and actions according to the use of principles with no compromise of values or principles.</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">Carol Gilligan</p>	<p>Use of an "Ethic of Care and Response" based on helping others in need.</p>	<p>Truth is considered to be contextually relative. Each person's case is unique. There is a need to maintain or restore relationships and stop suffering.</p>	<p>Foundation in a sense of interdependence and a recognition of interconnectedness of people. This is often called a web of relationships.</p>	<p>Focus on the context of a moral dilemma. Need to attend to one's own, and others needs in relationships.</p>	<p>A focus on a caring response and a commitment to one's self and the larger community regardless of rules. An inquiry to see if relationships were maintained or restored. Seeks an end to hurt and suffering for oneself and others.</p>

*Adapted from: Gilligan (1990), Kohlberg (1977), Morris & Pal (1976).

Kohlberg's "Ethic of Justice" used relationships based on a sense of reciprocity which led to a state of benevolence, the Greek ideal of justice. A sense of one's duty or obligation guided an individual during moral decision-making. Rules are applied impartially to maintain fairness in decisions and relationships. Logic and reasoning are used to justify, not compromise one's principles.

In comparison, Gilligan's aretaic genderized ethics of virtuousness used an "Ethic of Care and Responsibility" in moral decision-making, based on a need to respond to one's own and the needs of others. A basic desire to alleviate both the physical and psychological sufferings of others motivates individuals to maintain and/or restore personal relationships. Learners are helped by a web of interpersonal relationships (a sense of connectedness) with others. Consequently, Gilligan focused on caring responses, based on personal commitments to action, while trying to maintain a sense of personal responsibility that neither neglected one's self or others in the larger community.

In conclusion, from an analysis of the philosophical components (metaphysical, epistemological, and axiological) of the Cognitive and Affective theories of moral development, a synthesis of an integrated position which promotes an explicit use of the hidden curriculum will be developed in the next section of this study.

The Need for an Integrated Model of Moral Development

Moral issues may be described as laying along a continuum of potential responses. An integrated or unified view of moral development will occupy a common ground between the two major

philosophical views, a cognitive, deontological (Kohlberg's) theory and an affective, aretaic (Gilligan's) theory.

Recent Attempts to Unify the Moral Faculty

Joseph (1990) described the dichotomy that existed when educators emphasized stage theory explanations of moral development and gave little attention to the influence of affect or emotions. She suggested that a unified approach to research, theory, and the practice of moral education, could assist in the development of an integrated theory that incorporated elements of cognition and affect (p. 7).

Two prominent contemporaries of Kohlberg and Gilligan, Helen Haste and Georg Lind, previously had attempted to develop such models. Haste's (1990) model attempted to incorporate affective and cognitive aspects in moral issues with a sense of responsibility and commitment. She hypothesized that moral experiences frequently included an emotional response before a cognitive analysis could be made. Haste described the need for an initial strong affective response to a moral crisis to help engage an individual in moral decision-making. In addition, Haste stated that cognitive theories left "no space for an affective response, and also assumed a gap existed between reasoning and commitment" (p. 316).

In contrast, while affective models do not require a cognitive level of moral reasoning, nevertheless they allow an individual to become morally responsible via the influence of a personal crisis in one's life. Haste's integrated model of development used psychological schema theory to relate personal responsibility to

cognitive processes. Schema theory allows one to make parallels in new and unfamiliar situations with similar experiences. Schemata are selected for their usefulness, availability, and the extent they fit into one's global view of morality.

Lind (1985) used the dual concepts of affective-cognitive personality traits in a developmental framework to indicate changes in individuals' socio-moral orientations over time. Lind found that the socialization process resulted from interventions between an organism and its environment. During the developmental process a gradual transformation of an individual's attitudes occurs. Lind studied the attitudinal changes that occurred in selected university students in Germany.

The first phase of this process found students inconsistently either rejecting or accepting both Liberal and Conservative positions on political issues. During Phase 2, these subjects rejected Conservative but accepted Liberal positions. In Phase 3, the students consistently rejected Liberal and Conservative positions in favor of neutral positions. Consequently, Lind described moral development as a "structural process of the integration of reasoning and action at new stages." "It is not required to separate these two basic cognitive and affective aspects of human behavior," he commented (p. 190).

A Synthesis of Cognitive and Affective Elements in Moral Development

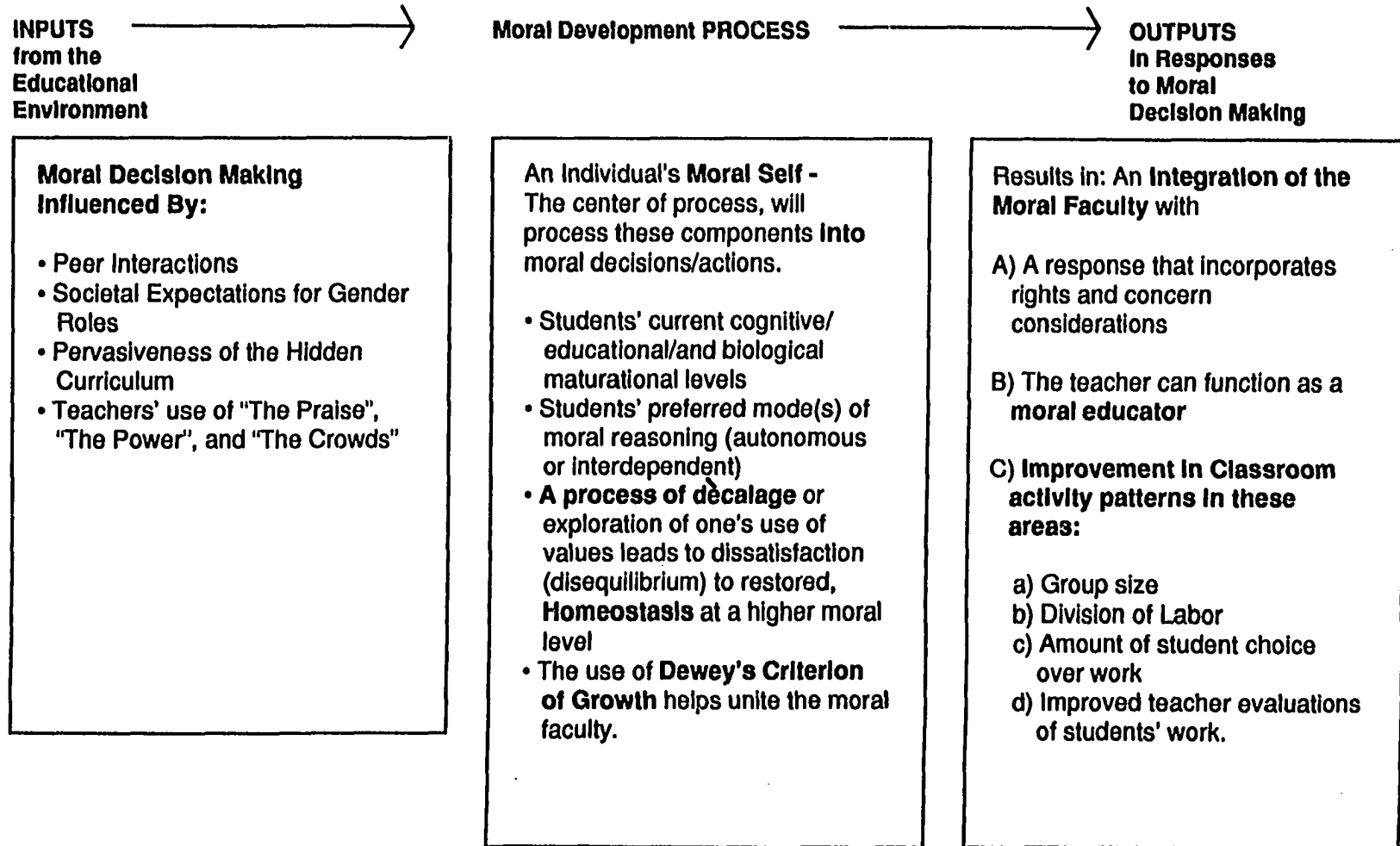
The two previous descriptions of research to develop an integrated theory of moral development pointed to the need to unite

cognition and emotion within the moral faculty. In this new synthesis, John Dewey's (1916) developmental concept of growth will be the unifying principle of these two aspects. This new model is designed to help produce positive changes in teacher-student classroom interaction patterns which occur under the direction of the teacher as a moral educator, a concept described by Ryan (1988). This model is essentially a Systems model. Owens (1987) used such a model to describe the behavior of individuals in educational environments. For example, Owens' model entitled "Schooling as an Input-Process - Output System" (p. 57), used inputs from the environment. It processed these inputs through the school's social system, and returned outputs in the form of changed individuals to society.

Similarly, this Systems model of moral development will incorporate inputs from the educational environment, process these during the stages of moral development, and produce outputs as moral responses in the form of improved classroom interaction patterns.

The process of moral decision-making is influenced by several major components which include: peer interactions, societal expectations for gender roles, and the pervasive nature of teachers' uses for the hidden curriculum based on Jackson's (1968) description of "the praise," "the power," and "the crowds."

Systems Model of Integrated Moral Development Using the Hidden Curriculum Explicitly*



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* Adapted from: Owens (1987), Brossert (1979), Brell (1989).

The main components of the integrated systems model of moral development are described in the remainder of this chapter. The model contains a series of inputs that arise within the students' environment. Then, these inputs are processed by a moral faculty reunited by John Dewey's growth criterion.

With the reunification of the moral faculty accomplished, three major responses to moral decision-making are possible. First, it will now be possible to respond to moral dilemmas with responses that incorporate both rights and concern considerations as appropriate. Second, teachers should become empowered to assume their roles as moral educators, competent in their use of moral discourse with students. Third, with the two above conditions in place, visible improvements in the quality of classroom activity patterns or interactions between teachers and students should become evident. Key areas likely to experience improvements include: teachers' use of group size, students' division of labor and tasks, the amount of students' choice or control over their work, and improved teacher evaluations of their pupils' work.

The major features of the integrated model of moral development will now be presented.

An Explicit Use of the Hidden Curriculum in Moral Development

Goodlad's (1984) comprehensive study of America's schools listed the use of the hidden curriculum as a recurring theme from the educators who were interviewed (p. 30). Goodlad's discussion of the moral dimension of the hidden curriculum stated that although schools do not deliberately try to encourage antisocial behavior,

nevertheless, they do little to promote the prosocial behavior often listed in their school philosophies (p. 242). Students need input into the rules, rituals, and routines of the school. Goodlad commented:

Particularly lacking in our data is anything to suggest the deliberate involvement of students in making moral judgments and in understanding the difference between these and decisions based on scientific facts (p. 242).

In the 4th Annual Lawrence Kohlberg Memorial Lecture (1992), Goodlad called Kohlberg's explicit use of the hidden curriculum: "the appropriate context for shaping individual moral development" (p. 88). He concluded "My perspective is that schools and school systems can be perceived and discussed legitimately and understandably as moral and immoral" (p. 88).

Gordon's review of the hidden curriculum's pervasive influence (1982) focused on the educational environment, which he subdivided into cognitive and physical-social environments. Gordon associated the cognitive environment with the formal or written curriculum, and the physical-social environment with the hidden curriculum. He applied an "environmental" definition to the hidden curriculum:

The school's physical environment is surely pervasive and consistent in its influence. The properties of the school's social setting are also uncontroversially pervasive and consistent, and they are perhaps the central part of the school's social environment (p. 190).

Societal Sex Role Expectations

As previously described in Chapters III and IV, society holds certain expectations for children of both genders. These roles are sometimes examples of stereotypical behavioral expectations, e.g., boys - leaders, assertive, and girls - docile and conformist. The hidden curriculum can be used within the school's environment to produce a nonsexist environment where children of both genders can work cooperatively to resolve issues of identity, intimacy, achievement, and autonomy.

An individual's moral self is the focus of moral development. The integrated systems model takes into consideration students' current cognitive, physical, and educational levels as well as their preferences for autonomous or interdependent modes of reasoning.

Peer Interactions in the Systems Model

A process of decalage, or an exploration of one's current environment, uses peer interactions, according to Langer (1969) to produce a state of disequilibrium. During this exploratory process, the organism seeks to restore a state of homeostasis or equilibrium which results in a higher or more advanced stage of moral development.

Dewey's Unifying Principle of Development

Brell's (1989) research used Dewey's criterion of growth to unite cognition and emotion. His use of a growth criterion meets the requirements of inclusivity, prescriptivity, and universality (p. 109). According to Brell (1989), Dewey (1916) first used the principle of growth, i.e., development, as his ultimate moral

criterion. Brell explained that growth is able to define a much broader moral context than the narrower concept of gender.

Growth helps to solve the common theoretical problem treated by both Gilligan (1982) and Kohlberg (1981) of moral relativism, since it provides a natural principled criterion which is able to explain the roles of deliberation and character while it handles contextual variations, or individual differences.

Carew and Lightfoot (1979) wrote: "Developmental theorists believe that man is inclined toward growth. Our net conclusion is life is development, and growth is life" (p. 37).

In sum, growth provides for both an autonomous mode of reasoning according to a justice mode, and the social connections of caring and community, which are both complementary aspects of an integrated moral theory (Brell, 1989, p. 109). Consequently, a state of mature moral reasoning can be achieved which "entails some sort of integration of these two perspectives" (p. 97).

As a consequence of the varied inputs from the educational environment becoming assimilated and transformed by the process of moral development, an integrated view of a moral response that incorporates the possibility of both a Rights (cognitive) and a Responsibility (affective) combined, new response now becomes a theoretical possibility for both genders.

The improved quality of teacher-student classroom activity patterns should become visible signs of the positive benefits to be gained from the reunification of the moral faculty. Ryan's (1988) description of teachers as moral educators lends itself to the

student-centered multitask activity classroom described by Brossert's research (1977, 1979).

Multitask Classroom Activity Patterns

Ryan (1988) described teachers as moral educators because they helped create a "moral curriculum" in their classrooms. A moral educator is familiar with and uses moral discourse in teacher-student interactions. The student-centered multitask activity classroom environment, as described by Brossert (1977, 1979), offers moral educators opportunities to use integrated moral responses.

Prior to Brossert's research, Fox's (1966) study described teachers' classroom behavior patterns with students as "a continuing process of interaction with pupils" (p. 51). Fox discovered discrepancies between teachers' self perceptions of their teaching effectiveness and students' self-perceptions of teachers' effectiveness.

An integrated moral response can be discerned in Brossert's (1977, 1979) description of classroom activity patterns. Brossert analyzed the areas of group size, division of labor, amount of pupil choice over tasks, and teachers' evaluations of their students' work. Brossert described education as a process of social interaction. He believed that teachers needed to examine their classroom environment's effect on teacher-student interactions. Daily classroom activity patterns played a decisive role in shaping students' social relationships.

Janet Kierstead (1986) replicated the Brossert studies. Her description of the multitask classroom structure is similar to a

description of the hidden curriculum. For example, she described students' work patterns as "a set of routines, procedures, rules, and consequences that spells out for students exactly what is expected of them" (p. 8).

Classroom activity patterns must consider the personal relationship between the learning facilitator and the learner. Carl Rogers (1968), a prominent leader in Humanistic, child-centered psychology, elaborated on this important relationship:

The facilitation of significant learning rests upon certain attitudinal qualities which exist in the personal relationship between the learning facilitator and learner. In classrooms where pupils perceive their teachers as understanding them, there is likely to be a more diffuse liking structure among the pupils" (p. 27).

Rogers listed "personal learnings" as significant -- independence, self-initiated and responsible learning, release of creativity, and a tendency to become more of a person (p. 18).

Group size, an area of Brossert's (1977, 1979) studies, is used by teachers for crowd control. The use of flexible space allows middle school students to participate in either independent or small group work. The teacher functions as a guide, organizer, and coordinator of learning tasks. There are fewer demands on equity and use of sanctions because the teacher's role as a moral educator allows one the expectation to exert a considerable personal influence.

Wagman's (1988) ethnographic research with middle school students described the need for teachers to restructure their

classrooms to allow for flexible student movement patterns (p. 20). Thus, a nonsexist model of seating arrangements avoids the possibility of segregation along the lines of race, class, or gender. In addition, students are not allowed to self segregate or to self select their seats based on stereotypical ideas of superiority, inferiority, according to Grayson (1990, pp. 60-61).

Secondly, Brossert's area of task or division of labor helps students to realize that there are many different non-sexist tasks or projects in a multitask environment. Unlike the traditional classroom, the best students do not always serve as standards of excellence. The norm of specificity, an allowance for individual treatment as needed by students, enables students to receive help based on their specific needs.

Brossert (1979) learned:

When the division of labor within the classroom is extensive, as it is in multitask classrooms, the teacher cannot control all activities. This aspect allows the teacher to use a more personalized and individualized means of control (p. 561).

Third, Brossert's (1977) study found that the multitask environment provided activities that involved the greatest degree of pupil choice in organizing and completing their activities and projects. Students are empowered in a non-sexist manner.

This sense of freedom is not the norm in traditional classrooms. Goodlad (1984) described the traditional school's allowance for pupil choice:

Students in the classrooms we observed made scarcely any decisions about their learning. Nearly 100% of the elementary classes were almost entirely teacher dominated with respect to seating, grouping, content, materials, use of space, time utilization and learning activities. A similar situation prevailed in 90% of the junior high and 80% of the senior high classes (p. 229).

Adolescent Psychosocial Issues in Moral Development

Brossert's fourth area of classroom activity patterns examined teachers' evaluations of students' achievement. In the student-centered multitask classroom, the evaluation of students' work is less public and non-comparative. There is no sexist labelling by gender. Consequently, a non-comparative, non-hierarchical pattern of peer relationships can exist and provide internal rewards for students' achievement gains. In addition, all curricular and co-curricular areas are equally open to both genders.

Grayson (1990) urged teachers to critique student work on ability, not by the use of gender stereotypes (p. 66). Silvermail (1979) learned:

It is apparent that task oriented behavior correlates positively with pupil learning, and consequently warrants being viewed as part of an effective teaching style (p. 27).

Issues of autonomy over one's choices in scholastic work are another area of psychosocial concern for adolescents. In multitask settings, students can exert a high degree of autonomy over their

work. Also, teachers can provide for both autonomous and narrative modes of reasoning.

Intimacy issues are reflected through an improvement in the quality of peer relationships as seen in the interactions in multitask environments. An interdependent, non-sexist pattern of student relationships can exist. There is less docility and conformity, as well as an improved sense of personal responsibility, creativity, and problem-solving abilities, according to Brossert (1979).

Finally, identity issues have indicated that a positive sense of self-esteem can prevail in multitask classrooms. Consequently, conflict resolution skills develop through a democratic process of shared decision-making and varied leadership styles (Brossert, 1977, 1979).

Summary and Conclusions

The philosophical (metaphysical, epistemological, and axiological) aspects of Kohlberg's and Gilligan's moral theories were described in this chapter. A systems model of an integrated moral development process that incorporated features of both theories, gender research, and an explicit use of the hidden curriculum was developed and discussed.

Brell's research suggested that Dewey's principle of development, i.e., growth, could be used to unify rights and response orientations into an integrated model. In addition, Brossert's ethnographic studies of classroom activity patterns in a multitask classroom environment were used to discuss the role of the teacher as a moral educator who promotes a positive moral atmosphere in the psychosocial

areas of: intimacy, identity, autonomy, and achievement. Brossert studied the instructional areas of group size, division of labor, amount of pupil choice, and teacher evaluation. With the explicit use of the hidden curriculum, outputs in the form of improved teacher-student interaction activity patterns should be visible.

In the final chapter, suggestions, recommendations, implications, and areas for further study will be described.

In conclusion, an integrated theory of moral development should confirm Lawrence Kohlberg's (1984) hope for a moral development process that allowed for both ethics of justice and concern. Kohlberg quoted the New Testament directive: "Love your neighbor as yourself" (Matthew, Chapter 22, Verse 39). This directive, he believed, went beyond the strict contractual meaning of an obligation to a sense of response in an ethic of concern. In such an environment, cognition and emotion are now reunited within a unified moral faculty to enable students to reach moral maturity.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

Summary

The philosophical and psychological roots of the Cognitive (Lawrence Kohlberg) and Affective (Carol Gilligan) theories of adolescent moral development were compared and contrasted. Both theories emphasized the factors that influence males' and females' acceptance of their socially expected gender roles. Kohlberg and Gilligan agreed about the necessity for children to achieve stable gender identities. However, Kohlberg used a cognitive explanation, while Gilligan's description of women's development charged that Kohlberg displayed an inherent male bias that contained inaccuracies, omissions, and distortions.

According to Gilligan, the process of gender socialization produced two distinct views or voices, i.e., a male voice characterized by a disembodied voice based on a sense of logic, rights, and the impartial administration of decisions; and a female voice, characterized like a musical fugue or language of caring, concern, and a sense of response to one's self and others' needs responding in a narrative, collaborative manner.

Neither Kohlberg nor Gilligan ever asserted that these orientations were the exclusive property of either gender. However, Gilligan's research convinced her that each gender has a preferred mode of response in moral decision-making. In addition, Gilligan researched the changes that often occur in the voices of adolescent

females during the important years of ages 11-16. Her work described a significant change in girls who previously had been confident, self-assertive individuals during the early years of adolescence, to confused, equivocating, dependent, middle and late aged adolescents.

Gilligan's ethnographic study of teenage girls at the Emma Willard School in Troy, New York, identified the recurring themes of voice, mind, and identity as major issues of adolescence, which if left unresolved, may reoccur later as eating disorders, problems of self-esteem, and other peer-parental separation/connection problems. Gilligan frequently asserted that Kohlberg's Cognitive theory contained an inherent sex bias against females. Kohlberg vigorously denied that accusation. Gilligan produced arguments that indicated that Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Interview scoring system devalued females' caring responses.

In his defense, Kohlberg stated that the rights and response orientations to moral dilemmas converged at a hypothetical or "soft" seventh stage of moral development. Indeed, both theorists had always maintained that a state of moral maturity required a convergence of both rights and response orientations. Kohlberg claimed that both modes of response were united and practiced in his Just Community concept, the Cluster School.

In addition, Kohlberg's and Gilligan's levels of moral development, ways of handling the problem of moral relativism, measurement systems of moral maturity, and studies of the ways adolescents define, resolve, and evaluate the effects of moral decisions, were compared and contrasted. Both researchers agreed that

values inculcation could best be accomplished in a non-indoctrinative, democratic environment, not through the traditional route of indoctrination, the imposition of values. Also, Kohlberg's and Gilligan's metaphysical, epistemological, and axiological roots were discussed. The psychosocial areas of identity, intimacy, achievement, and autonomy were singled out as special concerns of adolescent moral development.

The hidden curriculum, an elusive educational construct, whose effects on the learning environment may be either positive or detrimental, was described as an important component of the developmental process during adolescence. Over the past two centuries, educators' interpretations of the factors that constituted the nature of the hidden curriculum may have changed, but a general consensus about its pervasive nature exists. Traditionally, the hidden curriculum has been used to help promote a state of conformity, docility, and dependence in females and minority group members who often received educational training for less important jobs. Middle class males were socialized in traits that required independence, assertiveness, and leadership while receiving training for managerial positions.

Consequently, Kohlberg used the concept of the hidden curriculum during the 1970s and 80s to create a miniature participatory democratic school structure which he called the Just Community. In this environment, teachers acted as moral educators and created a moral atmosphere where the rules, rituals, and routines of the hidden curriculum were perceived as fair and just by students. Kohlberg had

realized that students needed to manage effectively the crowds in school, learn to use the power, and cope with the school's reward system — all components of the hidden curriculum. An autonomous leadership style was preferred.

Carol Gilligan took a different approach to the hidden curriculum. She preferred to look at the symbolic significance of this side of academic life. She discovered meaning in the interpretations one attributed to rules, rituals, and routines. Her research indicated that females must develop communication skills and a sense of political awareness to handle the power if they are to use the hidden curriculum to their advantage. The praise aspect required a strong self-concept, much introspection, and a sense of personal identity. Last, the crowded conditions of schools presupposed a sense of responsibility and the use of a web of interdependent personal relationships to be used in a narrative leadership style.

Proposals concerning the necessity of unifying both cognition and affect into an integrated moral faculty were described by Joseph (1990), Haste (1990), and Lind (1985). An integrated model of moral development that utilized a systems model approach which used the hidden curriculum was developed in this study. Dewey's concept of development, i.e., growth was used to reunite cognition and emotion into a unified moral faculty. The outputs of this model should become visible in improved teacher-student interactions in student-centered multitask classrooms.

Finally, throughout the process of moral development it is a necessity for teachers to assume the role of moral educators in order

to help students achieve their prospective goal of becoming morally mature individuals in the nonsexist environment of the school and in the larger society. Moreover, educators need to design curricular and co-curricular programs to accommodate both narrative and paradigmatic learners.

Conclusions

There are several major conclusions that have emerged from this study on adolescent moral development. First, the middle school years are especially perilous for adolescent females in the approximately 11-16 year-old age group. At this time, girls often begin a drastic decline in scholastic achievement that often continues into early adulthood. Teachers should be cognizant of this well documented drop in achievement, lack of self-esteem, and changes in voice their students may be experiencing. Middle school educators must be prepared to understand and accommodate girls' narrative model of learning by using texts, instructional grouping methods, evaluation procedures and counseling/scheduling procedures to halt this decline.

Second, there is a need to reunite the moral faculty into a unified whole while making allowances that some students may have a preference for a rational or an affective approach to knowledge and values. Humans possess rational powers, and are endowed with emotions. Any theory that neglects or subordinates one aspect to the other must present an incomplete picture of human development. Moral decisions should not be decided solely along gender lines, but real differences between the genders should not be ignored either.

Third, this study uncovered several limitations which should be taken into consideration. For example, there is considerable public support for values education as an integral part of children's socialization process, but there is also disagreement over the methods and content (values) to be inculcated through such a program. The proposed Pennsylvania plan for Outcomes Based Education (OBE) is an example of such a proposal (1993).

Kohlberg developed a cognitive approach to development that was value free in content, whereas Gilligan's research led her to conclude that people needed to make personal commitments to a world of relativistic knowledge and values which were self constructed. These researchers assumed that educators could remain neutral and impartial in their instructional duties.

In addition, the hidden curriculum remains an elusive educational construct. Until Philip Jackson labelled it the "hidden curriculum" in the 1960s, it was variously referred to as the ethos, spirit, or school culture. Its use by educators as a socialization device has changed over time, also. Kohlberg deserves credit for the foresight to turn it into an explicit use to create a moral atmosphere at the Cluster School. In order to make it more explicit, all participants met, discussed, and gained experience in implementing the school's rules, rituals, and routines. However, even this project was limited by time, finances, and other considerations.

Sex equity issues in education have been prominent for several decades in federal, state, and local legislation. The literature of the Women's Movement in the 1960s and 70s has helped to bring to the

public's awareness the state of social and economic dependence and exploitation of women. While a new awareness of equity issues may be present in people's minds, many of the old sexual stereotypes, myths, and omissions of women's development still remain. Thus, if teachers received inservice training to function as moral educators, and became comfortable with the use of moral discourse in the classroom, social interactions between teachers and students could improve in quality and quantity.

Finally, Kohlberg and Gilligan were trained as social scientists, and have displayed a real sensitivity to minorities in the miniature society of the school. Nevertheless, neither individual had formal training in philosophy or moral theology. Their theories are limited because they are one-sided views of the dynamic nature of the human personality with their emphases on either cognition or emotions. A genderized ethics, which ends in a state of moral relativism in knowledge and values, was the result of Gilligan's lack of adequate philosophical roots. Whereas, Kohlberg's weakness lay in his stress on the process of moral reasoning and his neglect of the content (moral actions). Consequently, an individual could provide an elaborate rationale for his immoral actions.

In addition, there were limitations in the research completed by both theorists. Kohlberg used almost all male research subjects, while Gilligan used small samples, atypical of the characteristics of the majority of middle class youth. Both theories were developed using above average I.Q. subjects with higher S.E.S. levels.

Implications for Education

In general, curriculum planners should consider restructuring adolescents' curricular and co-curricular experiences in order to provide for both autonomous and narrative reasoning modes. For example, narrative learners could receive additional help from collaborative group work, e.g., cooperative learning experiences and Whole Language activities, while autonomous learners should receive opportunities to participate in such activities as independent research projects and individualized writing skills practice. Teachers should avoid favoring students of either preference in their evaluations.

Middle school sports moderators, club and student council advisors should insure that competitions between the sexes involved agreed upon shared experiences. As in the academic areas, non-sexist instructional techniques and teacher language should be closely monitored in order to insure gender fairness.

Specific implications for adolescent males follow.

Adolescent males should become cognizant that their masculinity is not endangered if emotional pressures overwhelm them at times. Displays of emotions, e.g., crying, are not purely for females; rather, both genders have cognitive and affective capacities.

Boys may need to be encouraged to become more sensitive to the needs and concerns of others. Male teachers can serve as role models to help set acceptable standards for boys. In addition, the building's hidden curriculum needs to be fine-tuned by teachers to promote fairness, forgiveness, and a tolerance for diversity.

Guidance counselors may need special inservice sensitivity training sessions to help teachers implement these considerations.

Boys may need encouragement to break out of rigid stereotypical masculine roles. They may need their horizons enlarged to understand that there may be places for them in occupations that traditionally have been almost entirely female, e.g., nursing or clerical. Acceptable images of successful males in nurturing roles and non-traditional occupations should be presented in textbooks as well as career educational materials.

Teachers must avoid a type of reverse discrimination that occurs when boys' creative endeavors (the arts, music, drama) are ignored or given perfunctory praise for their efforts.

Also, as teachers become aware that they usually interact more with males and expend more attention on them in class than females, they must avoid setting artificial quotas or treating males as females' inferiors to compensate girls for past injustices in the educational system.

Kohlberg's cognitive theory has its roots in the philosophical tradition of Idealism which incorporates an educational search for patterns, regularities, and precision. Thus, boys should benefit from a curriculum filled with concepts and skills designed to facilitate the development of formal, abstract, reasoning skills. They will benefit from mastery learning and critical thinking activities, as well as help from exemplary male role models.

The hidden curriculum should reinforce the Idealist tradition that schools have a distinctive spirit or ethos that characterizes a

particular community of learners. The Idealist principle that one's misbehavior reflects on one's class or school is included in the Just Community concept.

Specific implications for adolescent girls follow.

Gilligan's pedagogical views lie in the Existentialist tradition of affective, humanistic education, which places the thinking, feeling individual at the center of the curriculum. This belief implies that females need personal freedom to make choices in the area of self determination. They should benefit from female mentors who understand that a spiral curriculum must make allowances for personal experiences simultaneously as it values their opinions. A symbolic use of the hidden curriculum allows girls to find meaning in their relationships with peers and teachers.

In the Existentialist view, there are no absolute truths to be inculcated, e.g., through the hidden curriculum. Girls need time and help in ascertaining a clear awareness of their personal situations and the acceptance of the responsibility for their educational and ethical choices.

Recommendations for Further Study

Several topics for further research can now be suggested from this study of the implications of the research of Lawrence Kohlberg and Carol Gilligan on adolescent moral development upon our understanding of the hidden curriculum. First, educators may wish to incorporate the Just Community concept into adolescent special education classes. An explicit use of the hidden curriculum may be

beneficial both in academics and behavior for these students. A mastery of the rules, rituals, and routines of their classrooms' hidden curriculum is a prerequisite for success in school. In addition, the frequency of antisocial incidents could decrease with a corresponding increase in prosocial behavior. The Get-It-Together curriculum for Learning Disabled (L.D.) students is such an attempt (Garnett, 1984).

A second area for investigation can result from a comparative study of late 19th and early 20th century selected male and female authors to identify similarities and differences in their depictions of female adolescent protagonists. A search of primary source materials (diaries, journals, and other forms of correspondence) may reveal the sources of adolescent psychosocial problems.

Third, an ethnographic study of middle school students' preferences and uses for rights and/or care voices in public and private settings could investigate whether these students primarily used a rights voice in the public and a care voice in the private domains.

Fourth, it would be beneficial to educational planners to investigate whether all male or female boarding schools provided unique educational and social advantages to middle school students as compared to both genders currently housed together in most schools.

Finally, specific reasons for the changes in voice from confident to confused, that often accompany an academic decline in the age 11-16 year-old female group, should be investigated with the aim to stop or prevent this decline.

The middle school curriculum should be exploratory in nature and present a holistic approach that helps unite females' emotions and thoughts. In the educational process, the teacher acts as a guide in moral discourse. There will also be an emphasis on life-long learning and personal development courses in the spiral developmental curriculum for girls.

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APPENDIX

Model, Using the Hidden Curriculum in an Analysis
of Moral Development Theory*

I. Philosophical Considerations about the Learner

A. Metaphysical considerations about the nature of moral issues.

Kohlberg's Cognitive Model

This view sees morality consisting of rules, standards, and principles that guide the self. It draws attention to mediating issues of conflicting claims of inequality and oppression, and holds to the ideals of reciprocity and mutual respect in conduct and relationships. The learner is separate in relation to others -- called a "paradigmatic knower." Underlying principle: do not treat others unfairly.

Gilligan's Affective Model

Moral problems concern relationships or activities of care and responsibility. Allows for a flexibility of positions. Rules can be changed depending on the context of their use. This view draws attention to issues of detachment and abandonment. It holds to the ideals of response and attention to one's self and others' needs -- using a "care voice." The learner is called a "narrative knower." Underlying principle: do not turn away from someone in need.

B. Epistemological and considerations -- modes of knowing the truth.

This method uses an autonomous thinking style. It incorporates stages of cognitive reasoning about moral dilemmas, indicates simplistic or opaque thinking models. Thoughts and feelings held apart in decision-making. Uses logical arguments, questioning, and problem-solving to the truth. Test for truth found by using consistency, logic, and reasoned hypotheses. Based upon Piaget's research.

This method uses an interdependent thinking style. It has complex reflective thinking modes. Uses a logic of understanding that unites thoughts and feelings. Test for truth found in the principle of "believability," concern over one's motives. Uses questioning to learn understand people and their situations. Suspends final judgment while gathering facts. Based upon William Perry's theory of moral relativism and Michael Polanyi's concept of tacit knowledge's involvement of the knower in the act of knowing.

*Adapted from Gilligan (1990) and Cuban (1984).

- C. Axiological -- ethical concerns about how learners resolve and evaluate moral dilemmas.

An "Ethic of Justice." The learner depends on rules or obligations impartially applied to solve moral dilemmas. Questions used for evaluation:

- a) How can my decision be justified?
- b) Were my values or principles compromised, especially equity issues?

An "Ethic of Care and Responsibility." The knower focuses on attachments, relies on attention to the specific needs of participants including oneself. Questions used for evaluation:

- a) Were relationships restored or maintained in this process?
- b) How did things work out for everyone concerned?
- c) Has the hurt and suffering stopped for oneself and others?

II. Historical Links for the Two Moral Positions.

Kohlberg's Method

- a) Links to Progressivism in its belief of nonindoctrinaire methods of inculcating moral values.
- b) It has roots in Piaget's Cognitive-Developmental stages of moral reasoning (Morality of Restraint and Morality of Participation).
- c) It has roots in Humanistic psychology. Colleagues include Inhelder and Mayer.
- d) There is a substantial body of Philosophical and Psychological works of Lawrence Kohlberg.

Gilligan's Method

- a) She was a pupil of Lawrence Kohlberg.
- b) It has roots in the Women's Studies movement.
- c) It attempts to provide a balance in the Psychology of Human Development by concentrating on female moral development.
- d) Her colleagues include: Lyons, Hammer, and Pollack.

III. The School Context Used in Resolving Moral Dilemmas Using the Hidden Curriculum

- A. The School Environment -- Use of time and space relationships, culture.

Kohlberg

Students must learn to manage the crowds (economic dimension); the power (political dimension); and the praise (the school's reward system) in the typical classroom.

Gilligan

The power requires females to develop communication skills and a sense of political awareness. The praise demands a strong self-concept, much introspection, and a sense of personal identity. The crowds require a sense of responsibility, and the use of a web of personal relationships.

B. The Positive and Detrimental Effects on Student Learning
(The use of rules, rituals, and routines)

Kohlberg

Moral stages arrived at by the use of moral dilemmas. Stages are:
Level I -- Preconventional - obedience and punishment orientation to rules. Heteronomous morality.
Level II -- Conventional acceptance of law and order orientation.
Level III - Principled stage -- a social contract orientation leading to a set of self selected ethical principles. Autonomous morality.

Gilligan

Use of a symbolic framework for rituals and rules. The performance of a ritual or the observance of a rule may have different meanings for people. Moral conflict arises in choosing between an autonomous and an interdependent relationship role.

IV. Psychosocial Developmental Areas for Adolescents in Moral Development

A. Autonomy Issues (conformity, dependency, values, attachment, independence).

Kohlberg

Sees others in terms of their own terms and contexts. Aims to meet the self's needs. Concerns for the self.

Gilligan

Realizes that continued growth in this area comes from attempts to understand oneself and others. Issue in attachment to others while maintaining one's self.

B. Intimacy Issues (friendships, maturity, and family issues).

Kohlberg

A paradigmatic individual acts alone in moral decisions. A sense of fairness and obligation to observe duties with others in relationships. A male needs a sense of intimacy to end his isolation in work or career.

Gilligan

A web of relationships surrounds a person and can manifest itself in concern for parents and peers. Results in a fusion of identity and intimacy issues for girls.

C. Identity Issues (self-esteem, integrity).

Kohlberg

Issue: A paradigmatic individual must meet self's needs. Adjectives used by males to describe males: intelligent, logical, abstract, imaginative, and honest.

Gilligan

Issue: One must not compromise one's standards in a relationship. Adjectives used by women to describe women's development: courageous, praiseworthy, self-sacrificing.

D. Achievement Issues (differences between the genders in academic and extracurricular activities)

Kohlberg

A man is defined by his work. Much life stress upon individual achievement and success. Males are isolated from close relationships in their work. May use an autonomous leadership mode.

Gilligan

There are constant problems in balancing relationships of family, school, and work using a care perspective. We need to handle this process in a way that avoids hurting others. May use an interdependent leadership mode.

V. A Comparison of Teaching Patterns Using the Hidden Curriculum

	<u>Traditional Classrooms</u> (19th Century)	<u>Student Centered</u> (20th Century)
Seating Patterns	Type of architecture favors a hard design of school plant (angular rooms, wood or stone construction).	Type of architecture favors a soft design of school plant (open spaces, circular areas). No rows of seats, clusters of desks. No dominant seating arrangements. Allows for much social interaction and for communication between social groups in class. Useful for cooperative learning and Whole Language work.
"The Crowds"	Permanent rows of seats facing the blackboard. May have helped to perpetuate the social and economic inequities in society. Promoted social conformity, obedience, and silence. Class stratification. May have encouraged sexist and racist attitudes and behavior.	
Group Instruction	Whole class instruction. Single subject textbooks. Common roles for teachers:	Varied group instructional patterns, Tries to meet individual interests, needs, and skill development. Authoritative teaching style. Common roles or functions for teachers:
"The Power"	a) <u>The Intellectual Overseer</u> -- assigns work, corrects mistakes, rote memory. b) <u>The Drillmaster</u> -- stresses recitation of lessons. Uses an authoritarian teaching style. Used to maintain the <u>status quo</u> in society through tracking and ability grouping practices. Lower S.E.S. groups learn social and academic skills for low status jobs used to Americanize the immigrants. Stressed efficiency, neatness, and punctuality.	a) <u>Facilitator of learning</u> b) <u>Resource person</u> c) <u>Co-learner</u> Allows for decision-making and problem-solving techniques, including Inquiry Learning and Interdisciplinary Teams.

Classroom Talk	Teacher-led talking. Use of lecture/recitation modes, some discussion. Students quiet. May ask questions. Questioning and student participation patterns tied to the school's reward system. Selective favoring of males. Students learn and use rituals such as, the "ritual of the raised hand."	Amount of student talk is equal to or greater than teacher talk in most subject areas. Allows for conflict resolution skills and democratic participation in decision-making process.
"The Power"		
Student Movement	Virtually no free movement of pupils. Student needs permission to leave seat. Limitations on students' personal mobility. Teaches patterns of territoriality as well as social relationships of power and dependency. Teacher alone decides rules for behavior of students. Movement in school is closely supervised.	Students may move freely throughout classroom. The need for movement determines their actions. Rules of behavior are jointly decided by teacher and students. Less stress upon location of teacher's desk. Conflict resolution skills can be taught.
"The Power"		
Class Activity	Students worked at permanent desks. There is a linear progression (task oriented) use of time and space under teacher's direction. Students learn to share scarce resources, and learn the "ritual of taking turns."	Class works in varied groupings. This method promotes sharing and participation skills in a democratically run classroom environment. There is a combination of linear (task oriented) and cyclical (activity) time use.
"The Praise"		

VITA

David Joseph Wren was born on January 7, 1944, in Scranton, Pennsylvania. His parents are Mr. and Mrs. Paul Wren, Sr.

Mr. Wren graduated from the University of Scranton in 1968 with a Bachelor's degree in History and Latin. In 1970, he received a Master's degree in secondary education from the University of Scranton.

During the past two decades he has been employed in the Scranton Public Schools and has served in a number of positions including: elementary teacher, secondary social studies teacher and reading specialist, and adult education guidance counselor. He has also served as Scranton's summer school administrator of a grades 1-12 program.

Additional teaching duties include service as an adjunct instructor at the University of Scranton and Lackawanna Junior College.

His Pennsylvania Professional Certifications include: the Assistant Superintendent's Letter of Eligibility, Supervisor of Curriculum and Instruction, Supervisory Certificates in Elementary Education, Reading, and Social Studies, as well as Elementary and Secondary Principals' Certificates.