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Moral development and the Women's Liberation movement

Sidney Goodman

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MORAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State College
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Psychology

by
Sidney Goodman
May 1975
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Approved by:

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Chairperson
Date
ABSTRACT

The nature of the correspondence between moral development and the feminist social movement was analyzed in terms of stages of moral reasoning, "activism," attitudes towards the role of women, and internal versus external locus of control for 86 women. Results showed that antifeminist women reasoned at the conventional moral levels, held traditional attitudes toward women, had a more internal locus of control, and were less activist oriented than the feminist women who used postconventional "Principled" moral reasoning, which was also shown to be associated with liberal or "radical" attitudes concerning the role of women and high levels of activism. The college women control group sample, as predicted, fell in between the two extremes. The relationship between the developmental structures of moral reasoning and the content and intent of feminist ideology is discussed.
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INTRODUCTION

The "feminist" cause, represented by the Women's Liberation Movement, may be the most rapidly growing and influential social movement in our society today. In many sectors of our culture, feminists are making their viewpoints known and are attempting to alter many of our institutional and legal practices.

Through a reading of the literature of these individuals, who are not psychologists or sociologists by profession, I have perceived a dramatic realization that their personal problems lie not solely in their "privatized" individualistic niches, but in the structure of society as a whole. This is documented in the women's movements literature (de Beauvoir, 1953; Friedan, 1963; Millet, 1970; Firestone, 1970; & Morgan, 1970). My exposure to their realizations has enabled me to conceptualize that they, especially the vanguard members of social movements, have attempted a true integration of personal and societal development.

On the other hand, there is still a vast segment of women in this country who accept, and often defend, the traditional female role. This invites some speculation and supportive research concerning what differentiates
feminists from their nonfeminist or antifeminist sisters.

Generally, since the Civil Rights and Peace Movement, the psychological study of members of social movements have focused upon two research issues: (a) Levels of moral development, and (b) internal versus external locus of control of reinforcements. Since each historical and cultural era produces its own "type" of social activist, it may be fruitful to bring the current feminist activist up to date with previous research profiles.

By doing this, I hope to achieve two main objectives: First, this investigation may serve as a barometer, or as a weather vane, for women in the movement. They just might want to know "where they are at" socially scientifically speaking, with the use of an objective measure, so that they might make adjustments (if they wish) in their psychological identity along the way. And, in turn, if this "checkup" indicates a state of psycho-social progress, it may serve the purpose of reassuring the women of the movement that their course is true. Secondly, I hope to explore the possibility that the field of psychology may be useful as a tool in analyzing whether a proclaimed social movement is, in fact, progressive, or if it is merely "old wine in a new bottle."

Review of the Research Literature Concerning Social Movements and Moral Development

Since the historical "activist" from Socrates to Gandhi
to Emma Goldman have maintained that there are moral (social and ethical) necessities for their activities on behalf of social change, the relationship between moral reasoning and social protest has been the subject matter of numerous empirical studies (Haan, Smith, & Block, 1968; Haan & Block, 1969a, 1969b; Haan, 1972; and Fishkin, Keniston, & MacKinnon, 1973).

While all of the above studies have employed the "cognitive-developmental" (Piaget, 1932; Kohlberg, 1963) approach towards their investigations concerning moral reasoning, it should be noted that there are various theoretical positions regarding the processes and characteristics of moral development.

**Moral Development**

A review of the literature indicates that the study of morality has been generally approached from the perspective of socialization, i.e., "internalizing" the standards or roles of one's culture. Within this perspective, there have been three main positions employed by the social science of psychology in explaining the concepts surrounding the processes of morality: the emotional, the behavioral, and the judgmental.

Using an emotional criteria of the internalization of cultural norms and values has been the approach of both the psychoanalytic (Freud, 1923, 1930; MacKinnon, 1938) and
several of the social learning theorists (Burton, Maccoby, & Allinsmith, 1961; Eysenck, 1961; Aronfreed, 1961, 1963). These orientations have centered in on the emotion of guilt and resistance to temptation as the basis of morality. Here it is assumed that the individual behaves morally in order to avoid the negative emotion of guilt that is usually experienced as anxiety, which is evoked when one transgresses social standards.

The behavioral criteria posited by the "moral character" (Hartshorne & May, 1928, 1930; Havighurst & Taba, 1949) and some social learning (Sears, 1957; Whiting, 1960; Bandura & Walters, 1963) schools of thought have posited theories based on the internalization of social rules due to selective reinforcement experiences and modeling behavior by socialization agents, such as one's parents, teachers, and social "leaders."

The judgmental criteria of morality, articulated and "operationalized" by Lawrence Kohlberg (1963a, 1967, 1968, 1970, 1971, 1973) builds upon Piaget's cognitive-developmental theory (1932), which attempts to integrate the extreme positions represented by the behavioral "moral character" and social learning orientations and the psychoanalytic position. Both a morality of internalization of social authority and a morality guided by resolved emotional conflicts are integrated and understood as stemming from the development of the self through processes of taking
on the roles and attitudes of others, through interactional processes of an "organismic-environmental" field of influence. Kohlberg, influenced by the works of J. Piaget (1932), G. H. Mead (1934), and J. Dewey (1938), writes the following:

The fundamental factor causing a structuring of a moral order is social participation and role-taking. In order to play a social role in the family, school, or society, the child must implicitly take the role of others toward himself and towards others in the group (Kohlberg in Hoffman & Hoffman, 1964, p. 395).

The position of Kohlberg is opposed to both the emotional and the behavioral approach on two levels: One level concerns research results, and the other brings up various "philosophical" problems that need to be answered. For example, if one uses an emotional criteria of morality, the research results indicate that projective measures of guilt have not proven to predict consistently actual resistance to temptation behavior (Aronfreed, 1961). The behavioral research of several other investigators (Glueck & Glueck, 1950; Bandura & Walters, 1959; Burton, Maccoby, & Allin-smith, 1961; Grinder, 1963) found very low correlations between socialization techniques of punishment and reward and resistance to temptation. Rau (in Hoffman & Hoffman, 1964) concluded that the most influential factors determining whether one cheats or not are "situational" rather than "character" or personality traits.

Both the behavioral and emotional orientations fail to
specify the "philosophical" basis for their concepts of moralit. This is crucial since the ontology of the concepts of morality is grounded in the science of philosophy under the rubric of "ethics." Since the area of morality is by its own definition a philosophical (ethical) concept, a psychological theory of morality is incomplete, even as a psychological theory, if its philosophical implications are not articulated. "Any such general theory presupposes a general ethical theory...without such a theory the notion of 'moral development' is pretty insubstantial" (Peters in Mischel, 1971, p. 264).

The behavioral and emotional criteria of morality suffers from ethical relativism because they are centered in a cultural-transmission ideology. Conformity to the value content of some social ideal is clearly subject to historical and cultural bias. This results in what Kohlberg calls the "bag of virtues" approach (1970).

The literature suggests that the problem of the moralization of the individual is not that of accounting for individual differences in "moral character" or "guilt" as revealed in behavior. Moral behavior that is explained in terms of "cultural-transmission" socialization has little ethical or philosophical relevance. A more direct focus of analysis centers upon the development of values and moral judgment, the third criteria of moral internalization.

Using Piaget's methodology (1932), Kohlberg (1963a)
used children in his research experimentation, but elaborated his technique, in order to ferret out any cultural bias, which had tainted all previous conceptions of morality. Beginning in 1957, Kohlberg tested the moral judgments or reasoning of children from the ages of 10 through 16 by asking them questions involving moral dilemmas raised through stories which he invented, but were representative of historically naturally occurring social conflicts. He tested youngsters in the U.S., Great Britain, Mexico, Turkey, Taiwan, and Malaysia and found the same patterns of thought, referred to as "stages," occurring in the same invariant developmental sequence. This cross-cultural "universal" pattern, led Kohlberg to conclude that these "types" of thought or cognitions represented structures elicited from the interaction of the child with his/her social environment, rather than directly reflecting external structures given by the child's culture.

These findings by Kohlberg, and subsequent investigations by his associates (Turiel, 1969; Blatt, 1969; Rest, 1969), have several convincing features. For one, every culture studied, ranging from the most advanced "sophisticated" societies to the most underdeveloped "primitive" society displayed research data that conformed to the very same pattern of cognitive and moral development. This eliminates the psychologist's "achilles heel" of cultural bias, a crucial source of power and a giant step towards
creating the least prejudiced taxonomy of moral development. This is especially important if one is interested in studying the psychology of women or other "minority" segments of our "white-male" dominated culture.

Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, a look at the hierarchy or invariant sequence of stages will demonstrate that there is a "fit" or isomorphism between these stage findings and the basic tenets of moral philosophy (Kant, 1949; Rawls, 1971). Here we have found both scientific validity, through factual questions of developmental prediction, and ethical or philosophical validity, through culturally free findings of moral reasoning that qualifies to moral philosophy's conceptions. Before this can be understood, I must define and describe the hierarchy of stages and the features of these progressive stages that support the claims of developing moral adequacy. (See Table 1.)

The unity of knowledge at stage 6 comes about through one's capacity to hold many paradigms in mind, choose between them, and know the approximate consequences of one's choice. An individual or a social movement that is operating at stage 6 may use actions that appear to represent other stage mentalities, and this is congruent with the theory. What is important is to understand the underlying structure behind that "choice." Each stage is described according to content, but the "test" is actually
Table 1

Definition of Moral Stages (Kohlberg, 1963)

I. Preconventional level

Stage 1: The punishment and obedience orientation. The physical consequences of action determine its goodness or badness regardless of the human meaning or value of these consequences. Avoidance of punishment and unquestioning deference to power are valued in their own right, not in terms of respect for an underlying moral order supported by punishment and authority.

Stage 2: The instrumental relativist orientation. Right action consists of that which instrumentally satisfies one's own needs and occasionally the needs of others. Human relations are viewed in terms like those of the market place. Elements of fairness, of reciprocity, and of equal sharing are present, but they are always interpreted in a physical pragmatic way. Reciprocity is a matter of "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," not of loyalty, gratitude, or justice.

II. Conventional level

Stage 3: The interpersonal concordance or "good boy--nice girl" orientation. Good behavior is that which pleases or helps others and is approved by them.
Table 1, Continued

There is much conformity to stereotypical images of what is majority or "natural" behavior. Behavior is frequently judged by intention—"he means well" becomes important for the first time. One earns approval by being "nice."

Stage 4: The "law and order" orientation. There is orientation toward authority, fixed rules, and the maintenance of the social order. Right behavior consists of doing one's duty, showing respect for authority, and maintaining the given social order for its own sake.

III. Postconventional, autonomous, or principled level

Stage 5: The social-contract legalistic orientation, generally with utilitarian overtones. Right action tends to be defined in terms of general individual rights, and standards which have been critically examined and agreed upon by the whole society. There is a clear awareness of the relativism of personal values and opinions and a corresponding emphasis upon procedural rules for reaching consensus. The result is an emphasis upon the "legal point of view" but with an emphasis upon the possibility of changing law in terms of rational considerations of social utility (rather than freezing it in terms of stage 4
Stage 6: The universal ethical principle orientation. Right is defined by the decision of conscience in accord with self-chosen ethical principles appealing to logical comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency. These principles are abstract and ethical (the Golden Rule, the categorical imperative); they are not concrete moral rules like the Ten Commandments. At heart, these are universal principles of justice, of the reciprocity and equality of human rights, and of respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons.
"content-free"; the test "protocol" is measured according to the "structural orientation." The value judgment concerns the level of structure, not the meaning of the content.

Moral Stages and Philosophical "Fit"

Kohlberg explains how the "psychological" stages of moral reasoning displays "adequacy" through philosophical criteria. He writes:

We may summarize our cognitive-developmental theory as claiming that a) moral judgment is a role taking process, which b) has a new and logical structure at each stage, paralleling Piaget's logical stages; this structure is best formulated as c) a justice structure, which d) is progressively more comprehensive, differentiated, and equilibrated than the prior stage structure. To concretize these claims, we may trace the progression of the role taking or justice structure through the stages. This will show how each stage is able to do things that prior stages could not, how it is more differentiated, comprehensive and integrated structurally than its predecessor. . . . For example, with respect to the moral value of the person, the stage 6 argument has become progressively disentangled from status and property values (stage 1), from one's instrumental uses to others (stage 2), from the actual affection of others for him (stage 3), etc. With each stage, the obligation to preserve human life becomes more categorical, more independent of the aims of the actor, of commands or opinions of others, etc. (Kohlberg in Mischel, 1971, p. 216).

The reader can see the hierarchical pattern of widening social perspectives involving the process of role-taking. At each successive level, the role-taking perspective achieves greater integration and differentiation that happen to parallel the formalistic moral philosophy's
criteria of prescriptivity and universality, as argued by philosophers ranging from Socrates to Hobhouse to Kant to Rawls. Philosophers may not agree on the exact "content" or ethical "behaviors" involved in moral judgment, but most philosophers do agree that values which are moral are based on principles that are universal, distinct from the rules of a given culture, and are reversible. "In fact, only claims which are reversible are valid. . . . A just solution to a moral dilemma is a solution acceptable to all parties, considering each as free and equal, and assuming none of them knew which role they would occupy in the situation" (Rawls, 1971, p. 215). Here is where the psychological facts of development (Kohlberg's findings of a universal invariant hierarchy of cognitive and moral development) "fit" with philosophical conceptions of a formal criteria of adequate moral principles.

Recapitulation of Cognitive-Development Perspective

The study of moral development, according to the orientation called "Cognitive-Progressivism" (Kohlberg & Mayer, 1972), is the study of the relationship or "dialogue" that exists between the individual's cognitive structures and the structures of the social environment. This relationship is best handled according to the "laws" of cognitive-developmental theory, since the individual's relation to his/her social environment is cognitive; it involves
thought and symbolic interaction. This assumes a "pro-
active" rather than a "reactive" model for people since the
individual's experiences are organized through cognitive
synthesizing processes; activated by taking the role and
perspectives of others in "naturally" occurring peer and
family situations.

Instead of viewing the individual as a process of
internalizing facts that are "out there" in an objective
culture, this perspective regards perceptions of facts as
being organized by one's style of existence. These styles
of existence, or stages of perspectives, tend to be self-
validating since every stage of this process is validated
by earlier and later stages so that they are congruent.

This thesis is a study of the moral development of
individuals engaged in a relationship or tension with the
social environment. Of course, like most relationships,
this one is characterized by an emphasis on the development
of certain values and moral preferences. As a social sci-
entist, I clearly recognize the need to affirm those core
values that are supportive of development; if they can be
empirically demonstrated. Developmental-Progressivism, as
a social scientific orientation, is value-full, but not in
terms of value-relativity, which recognizes that values
lie within the individual's inclination, which confuses the
individual's subjective state with scientific reality. Nor
does Developmental-Progressivism recognize the premise of
social-relativity, which postulates a cultural transmission ideology, which confuses the characteristics of the culture, nation, or system, with scientific reality; by postulating a "kingdom of order" outside of any individual.

Instead, Developmental-Progressivism assumes an epistemology that is built upon the foundation that the truth lies in principles that ought to be universal and that these principles are distinct from the rules or majority will of any given culture. Values can represent a "universal culture" that has evolved through historical developmental processes between the individual and one's symbolic interaction with the social environment. Now we can view or choose to value healthy psycho-social development of an individual or a social movement, not in terms of adaptation based on culturally relative survival traits, but in terms of nonrelative, universal, factual questions of prediction.

The capacity to develop, synthesize, and explore is a lawful process within the human condition and the freedom lies in people's ability to alter their condition as I believe individuals engaged in social movements realize and often act upon.

Social Movements and Moral Development

With the previously stated theory and suppositions in mind, I am hypothesizing that the "ideology" of social
movements are disguised moral judgments and, as such, may be classified according to Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Scale. This is not to say that everyone in a particular social movement is at any one level but that a social movement may be over-represented by a certain style or mode of moral development in its members, especially the vanguard "activist" members, who are engaged in creating the literature and institutions of their movement.

"Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises to establish a new order of life" (Blumer in McLaughlin, 1969, p. 3). Since social movements tend to stress the need for either a reform or a radical revision of society's core values (what Blumer calls "cultural drifts"), then the cognitive-progressive orientation may provide social scientists with a tool for determining whether a social movement represents a higher stage of progress, over and above the status quo, both developmentally and philosophically.

Since feminist "activism" is used in this study as the criterion variable of moral development, and it is not one that reasonable people can immediately accept as prima facie evidence of a moral action, more needs to be said about it and activism generally. Although moral protest must always be activist in the sense of intervening in an ongoing course of events, activism is not necessarily a moral behavior. It may be undertaken for nonmoral reasons that are merely personally preferred, or even capricious, e.g., it is the "hip" or the "in" thing to do, and, afterall, it may be
exciting and a platform for displaying one's personal prowess to one's peers.

However, as reported (Haan, Block, & Smith, 1968), activism was an actuarial preference of Bay Area principled (stages 5 and 6) students compared to the conventionally (stages 3 and 4) moral during the 1960's. Roughly 70% of a number of different activist groups, in the "New Left" social movement, used principled thinking as a major way of deciding moral issues, while only 25% of the various nonactivist groups used that high level of thinking. Haan et al. (1968) also found significant correlations between: (a) stages of moral development, and (b) the ideology, social behavior, and level of activism and protest of various social movements and role groups.

In short, the research findings of Haan et al., attempted to bring Kohlberg's typology of moral reasoning into relationship with contemporary features of the 1960's "radical" person. Her behavioral criteria of activism was civil disobedience, a "reasoned" tactic by the Berkeley Free Speech Movement (F.S.M.), and has direct bearing on the criteria of moral reasoning, since the students expressed commitment to the value of life over that of property. As a matter of historical fact, the establishment of the "People's Park," on unused university property, and the subsequent "law-and-order" reaction by the police by violently harassing and arresting those involved, high-
lights the moral issue of life versus property, and the research indicates that the position taken and articulated by the "People's Park" defenders attracted many previously uncommitted students and residents of that area.

Of those who fit the activist behavioral criteria of being arrested for their civil disobedience, 60% gave principled (stage 5 and 6) reasoning regarding their value judgment that it was "right" to break the law in this particular situation. But, only 15% of the average sample of U.C. Berkeley students could express principled thinking as a logic for overtly breaking the law, even if it was asked as a "hypothetical" question, which presumably would allow them the freedom and safety to make statements concerning the "right" to break the law and defy social standards without actually facing the behavioral consequences involved. Congruently, those at the more modal conventional stages 3 and 4 did not actively participate in the F.S.M. issue on either the side of the traditional property rights and academic authority of the University establishment, nor did they actively oppose the pro-free speech movement students, although they were attitudinally opposed to the attitudes of the "New Left" student activists. Fishkin, Keniston, and MacKinnon (1973) reported a replication of this and other general findings in a study of activism (campus protest and the "seizing" of the bureaucratic offices of the colleges' administrative departments).
The research of Somers (1965), Heist (1965), Watts and Whittaker (1966), and Katz (1968) found correlations between members of the Civil Rights and Peace social movements and a disposition to take action in the name of their beliefs.

Even though "activism" may be undertaken for nonmoral reasons, the research seems to indicate that the activism of several recent social movements bears a significant relationship with high or ethically adequate levels of moral reasoning.

Nevertheless, the criterion of activism, at a behavioral level, undergoes differential specificity according to each type of social movement. This is due, in part, to the conflicting issues involved, which at a common-sense level, are subject to both personality (individual) and situational (social) variables. Since this study will employ the feminist members of the women's liberation movement, and since it appears that out of necessity and through an understanding of the social predicament in which they find themselves, the feminist form of social activism cannot, and probably should not, be restricted to the previous criteria of civil disobedience, such as arrest records and the seizure of institutions.

With this viewpoint in mind, this study will tap the relationship of feminism to moral development and activism and will exercise a criterion test of activism
that is more suited to the issues and goals of the feminist social movement. For example, to this investigator, the ideology of the feminist movement deals with issues that are far more than purely "political" or "academic"; it is these and cultural, sexual, biological, social, and economic. Therefore, the measurement used to assess the degree of expressed behavioral intent to activism will reflect these multidimensional issues.

Not only did Haan et al. (1968) and Fishkin et al. (1973) find a significant relationship between activism and principled morality, both studies also found a significant relationship among levels of moral development and political ideology. Fishkin et al. (1973) reported a correlation of +.64, significant at the .001 level, with a one-way analysis of variance, indicating a significant F (1, 72) = 8.96, p < .001, between radical versus conservative ideology scores and levels of moral development. This remarkably replicates the research of Haan et al. (1968) and Haan and Block (1969), which also published Scheffe tests between groups with significant F ratios, showing the stage 6 principled moral individuals correlating to a radical ideology (p < .01), while the stage 4 "law and order" moral individuals correlated with a conservative ideology (p < .01). Stages 3 and 5 correlated at the p < .05 level with conservative and radical or "liberal" ideology, respectively. Note that the latter findings of Fishkin et al. (1973)
showed a higher level of significance (i.e., .001) as compared to the earlier Haan studies of the late 1960's. This may indicate that in the period of five years that separated the studies, both the radical and conservative segments of our society have more clearly and convincingly communicated their ideology to their own "kind" and may have attracted many uncommitted "fence-sitters." These ideological-moral relationships were also reported by Hampden-Turner and Whitten in *Psychology Today* (1970).

Just as I contended that behavioral criterias of activism are subject to the historical and issue specificity of the social movement in question, it also logically follows that the conceptual basis related to ideological scales are subject to revision in regards to the type of ideology the scale hopes to tap. A review of the research has clearly established that there is a significant correlation between levels of moral reasoning and radical as opposed to conservative political ideology. But, again, the feminist social movement seems to have evolved an ideology (i.e., a philosophy, a methodology, and a set of developed goals) that subsumes the political into an ideology of broader social implications, both on the level of the macro-social context (e.g., the law, the government, and the economy), and the micro-social context (e.g., one's role in relationship to oneself and to others, individual social preferences, and one's desires at the day-to-day common
level of daily life).

Again, since I wish to bring the current feminist social movement up to date with previous indices of the psychological correlates of social action, I must locate an ideological scale that concerns women's ideology and then test out the relationship between levels of moral development and conservative versus radical or liberal ideologies. In effect, I am claiming that the traditional ideology scales, which generally test the individual's political ideology, is conceptually male biased due to the fact that women have far less political power and control over or in the realm of politics and because just about all of the political choices open to the individual have been fundamentally established by men, whether conservative or liberal or radical (Firestone, 1970). With this conceptualization in mind, I intend to test the relationship between moral judgment and conservative (traditional) versus radical (feminist) ideology by utilizing an "attitudinal" scale that is, for awhile, currently up to date in terms of the declarative statements that are to be responded to and which place the individual along an ideological continuum. By doing this, I can now attempt to replicate the findings of Haan et al. (1968), and others with respect to the relationships between levels of moral development and dimensions of ideology and activism, while taking account of the "zeitgeist" and most importantly the
experiences and perspectives of the female members of our society.

Charles Hampden-Turner (1970), by integrating over 200 empirical research studies has developed a research profile of the "Radical Man--A Model of Psycho-Social Development." The "Radical Man" is an existential individual who can stare injustice in the eye, without letting the absurdity interfere with her/his attempt to bridge the distance to others, in order to achieve synergistical cooperative relationships that can expand one's consciousness, which in turn will allow the individual to repeat the process for more and more progressively integrated synergistic human relationships.

In fact, after investigating the various personality correlates that fit his conception of the "Radical Man" and the process of progressive psycho-social development, he concludes that principled moral reasoning is the best predictor of those empirically found personality correlates of healthy psycho-social development. Hampden-Turner states that "the highest stage of Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Scale comes the closest of any instrument to measuring my concept of radical perception" (1970, p. 39).

At the time that Hampden-Turner wrote his book, during the mid to the "radicalized" late 1960s, he found that the student activists in the New Left social movement were characterized by the following "basic" personality traits.
that empirically met Charles Hampden-Turner's criteria for the "Radical Man" (in comparison to nonactivist students): (a) more independence from traditional institutions, (b) rejection of reliance on material rewards, (c) more flexibility, (d) trust in their capacity for their feelings to point towards intelligible truths, (e) more volatile and more imaginative, (f) more socially concerned, humanistic, and complex, (g) grew up in more mother-centered, compassionate, and permissive homes, (h) more noninstrumental education, such as the social sciences and the humanities, (i) more open to rejection, (j) more committed to ethical principles, (k) more self-analytical, (l) allows for relative lack of structure and "free disorder", (m) stronger willingness to redefine one's identity, (n) more aroused by cruelty, (o) more intimate relationships with lower evaluations of the necessity for self-control, (p) more inclined to experiment with differing lifestyles, (q) much continuity within their lives, far from making self-conscious decisions to become "radicals," they simply went on to consummate the principles of their upbringing and later "woke up" to find themselves labeled as radicals (Hampden-Turner, 1970, p. 349-358).

Congruently, the work of Worell and Worell (1971) found very similar profiles in the feminist "supporters" of women's liberation, the targets of their investigation. They found that these women were characterized by some basic
personality traits that were in contrast to the female "nonsupporter" of women's liberation, such as: (a) highly independent, (b) free from external control, (c) less authoritarian, (d) less self-protective and cautious, (e) willingness to respond to attack, (f) more belief in internal control of reinforcements, stronger belief and active support for social change, (g) less father-centered oppressive homes, (h) needs less reassurance, (i) less resistance to change combined with a strong sense of autonomy, (j) responsive to logical arguments, (k) more self-sufficient and reliant, (l) less need for order, (m) more exploratory, (n) low on harm avoidance, (o) enthusiastic to report self-discoveries, (p) far more curious, (q) much continuity in their development, led remarkably average "American" lives but went on to develop a mature sense of independence, self-sufficiency, and internal control (Worell & Worell, 1971, p. 4-5).

Since the personality variables of the feminist supporters of women's liberation closely match Hampden-Turner's research profile of personality correlates, and since he claims that the highest levels of Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Scale is the best predictor of his model of psycho-social development, it seems to follow that this similarity gives support to my contention that feminist activists in the women's liberation social movement will also show high levels of moral development and are, in
Women's Liberation and Moral Development

I have chosen to study the moral development of individuals engaged in feminist activity in the women's liberation social movement because my experiences with feminism and the research profiles and the ideology or intent of their literature leads me to believe that feminists are seeking to revise society's core values in a developmentally, progressive direction.

It can be conceptualized that the literature, containing the ideology of the feminist social movement, represents an attempt at cognitive and moral education. As the findings of Rest (1969) has demonstrated, individuals prefer and naturally develop upwards to the next higher stage, if they are exposed to it. This is also congruent with Piaget's supposition (1932) that natural peer interaction and attempts at conflict resolution will create activities that will come to represent processes of cognitive and moral development.

The literature, and now the group dynamics created by various branches of the feminist movement, shows clear signs of recognizing the need to stimulate or "highlight" the sexist conflicts at large in contemporary society and provide exposure to answers or solutions that are more socially and morally adequate. The term, "consciousness
raising" may be taken as a "metaphor" that demonstrates an intuitive understanding for the need to cognitively develop.

Right at this moment, many women are questioning and acting on the social conflicts that have developed through a historical progression in the relationship between the sexes and the social environment. Many "core" values are being debated. A new, or at least progressive, morality is being called for (Burris in Koedt, 1973). Does the women's liberation movement represent movement towards a higher level of moral development or is it just a power "push" by certain disaffected political sectors that developmentally represent the "status quo" in a new form?

The literature and action that has been taken by this movement, to my understanding, claims to represent values that are based either on changing our "social contract" with the norms and expectancies of the social order and/or represents a cluster of core values that posit that women and men should live under the guiding principles of choice and individual ethical decisions according to principles of egalitarian "justice" (Bem & Bem in Garskof, 1971). A call for self-determination within a universal valuing structure. The following quotes are representative:

We appeal to our sisters...to arise from the lethargy of ages; to assert their rights as independent human beings; to demand their true position as equally responsible...take it not as the gracious boon tendered by
the chivalry of superiors, but as your "right," on every principle of justice and equality. (Jones in Tanner, 1970, p. 54).

Although we are, as women, united on the basis of our common feelings and experiences, we are also individuals with varied ideas, preferences and goals. These differences are not antagonistic but are an indication of the richness and variety of our ideas and contributions. . . . Total agreement is not our goal but self realization, a self initiative, mutual respect and a large variety of alternatives and choices are essentially what we hope to achieve (Westchester Radical Feminists in Koedt, 1973, p. 385).

I don't know what immutable differences exist between men and women apart from differences in their genitals. . . . But it is clear that until social expectations for both men and women are equal, until we provide equal respect for both men and women, our answers to this question will simply reflect our prejudices (Weisstein in Garskof, 1971, p. 81).

We are developing necessary skills. . . . the ability to work collectively and politically, rather than privately and personally, and the ability to teach our ideas to many other women in such a way that they can become teachers as well. From these new relations and skills will be built the values of the new society. Right now they are tools of struggle. Though we may work in isolated and difficult situations, we can know our larger strategy and goals, and know that we are a part of a worldwide struggle for human liberation (Dunbar in Morgan, 1970, p. 492).

The feminist movement has the essential mission of creating cultural acceptance of the new ecological balance necessary for the survival of the human race in the twentieth century (Firestone, 1970, p. 202).

Since the ideology of this social movement seems to "fit" the postconventional moral stages 5 and 6, as out-
lined by Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Scale, I propose to test the hypothesis that the "activist" women in the women's liberation movement will be overrepresented by postconventional individuals.

There is also another way of viewing the feminist movement that has led me to believe that it may be overrepresented by the postconventional morally "principled" individual. In this instance, I am "listening" to the theories of Piaget and Kohlberg and transposing them onto the possible situation of the feminist person. It follows as such: Moral development is contingent upon the environment and the experience which follows. If rich in social conflict within a nurturant, stimulating environment with exposure to higher moral reasoning, higher development may evolve. For the interactionalist, experience is essential to stage progression and more or richer stimulation leads to faster advances through the series of stages.

Cognitive-developmental theory holds that one must analyze the relation of the structure of an individual's specific experience to behavior structures. This analysis focuses upon the discrepancies between the individual's action system or "expectations" and the events later experienced. The hypothesis is that some moderate or optimal degree of conflict or discrepancy constitutes the most effective experience for structural change (Kohlberg & Mayer, 1972).

I think one could reasonably explain how this process
may be responsible for certain women to attain rather high levels of cognitive and moral development. A woman in our educated, technological, upwardly mobile, and affluent society may have both enough social conflict with rapidly changing roles and expectations, while at the same time, she is in a relationship with a rich stimulating social order that can stimulate her developmental growth upwards. The "rising expectations" brought about through the Civil Rights and Peace movements (Turner & Killian, 1972) may be viewed as a source of stimulation and experience in "taking the role of the other" for liberation purposes (Morgan, 1970).

In extremely simplistic terms, coming up from childhood (stages 0-1), the future-to-be feminist may move from the naive egalitarianism and egoistic world of adolescence with its conflicts of "identity" (stage 2)--to the good girl "Ex-Prom Queen" or bad-sexual "object" role stereotype (stage 3)--to the world of authority to the social order of dominance-submission, represented by the institution of marriage and its current "nuclear" privatized family life: "The Feminine Mystique" (stage 4)--to the renewing or transformation of the social contract, representative of the "liberated" career woman as "Ms." (stage 5)--to the master of all stages, represented by the activities and decisions made by the "historical" social activist (stage 6). Not so much a sequence of age or maturation, as I
have portrayed, although it is to a large degree, but following a sequence of age-specific social relationships and the conflicts that ensue (Worell & Worell, 1971).

In the above simplistic account of possible age-related stages of a contemporary woman's life experience, it can be noted that there is usually a discrepancy between her expectations and her later experiences; this can coalesce into a pattern of "optimal conflicts" which Piaget declares is so necessary for developmental growth. Within the future-to-be feminist individual, the conflict between the developmental and regressive themes in American or Western culture is being fought out in a micro-cosm.

Since role-taking is the primary process for development, it can be hypothesized that many women who achieved the modal conventional stage 4 orientation ran into conflicts with the "law-and-order" determinist social order, which has traditionally been male dominated. If the woman takes the role of the male, she may perceive the "vested-interest" of masculine bias; if she takes the role of other women, she may perceive many overt and "unconscious" inequities. Either way she may experience conflict. Between the "rising expectations" of society, the various liberation movements that have arisen in her lifetime, and the inherent stage 5 "Jeffersonian"
democratic ideals in the social milieu, this conflict may give rise to developmental growth (Hampden-Turner, 1970; Flacks, 1971).

Conversely and clearly, a look at the stage 3 and 4 orientations indicates that these are not the perspectives of the feminist ideology. Stage 3 role stereotypes and stage 4 submission to the social order have been the main targets of criticism and actions both legal and social have been undertaken to revise those "circumscribed" styles of life.

A stage qualification in moral development. A recent and interesting addition to Kohlberg's stage findings has been the reanalysis of previously scored adult stage 2 instrumental relativists (Kohlberg & Turiel, 1973). By follow-up testing, which included a more extensive degree of "probing" the limits of these subject's cognitive structures, it was found that many of these previously "typed" stage 2 adults were actually in a "transitional" period in their developmental growth. This style of thinking appears to be a stage 2 orientation to subjective-relativism, but is actually a philosophical-relativistic orientation, now scored as stage 4½.

Kohlberg and Turiel theorize that the individual goes through an "identity crises" as she/he develops beyond the "guideposts" and ontological validity provided
by the conventional social order. They compare this transitional stage to Erikson's (1964) concepts of moratorium, identity crises, and eventual renewed commitment. In effect, the stage 4½ individual's cognitive structure is in a period of disorganization heading for reorganization. The person has perceived the inadequacy of stage 4 notions, in certain sociocultural issues, but has not yet had enough time or healthy exposure to stage 5 orientations to reorganize and structurally stabilize at that higher level (Kohlberg & Turiel, 1973).

Due to the limitations of the social environment, such as continued male "oppression" and bias in the media, it is possible that certain role-taking conflicts go beyond the "optimal" level for some women in the movement or who support the feminist movement. Experiences of "role-conflicts" combined with exposure to labels of "deviance" and even psychological pathology may "feed" the transitional "identity crises" and retard or slow down one's ability to make the structural "leap" from the conventional to the postconventional "principled" morality.

It therefore seems likely to expect that in any group that appeals to or seems to operate at stage 5 and 6 conceptualizations, there will be a segment of that population that has been attracted to join because of preference (Rest, 1969) to those higher stages but have
not yet fully developed and stabilized at those levels. Accordingly, I will also hypothesize that the members of Women's Liberation groups will also be overrepresented by the "transitional" stage 4½ individual.

Although stage 4½ is not a "pure" stage and, as such, has not been included in Table 1, which describes the definitional "hierarchy" of stages, it is defined in the following manner for scoring purposes:

Stage 4½: Ethical relativism and egoism which rejects but is aware of stage 4 morality or society's point of view. At first sight these subjects seem to be mixtures of stages 2, 4, and 5. Their egoism or relativism, however, is abstract and philosophical, not subjectivism, not concrete stage 2 instrumentalism. Social duty is understood but questioned from the point of view of the individual making a personal decision, who can step outside society's viewpoint (Kohlberg & Turiel, 1973).

So, in short, I am hypothesizing that the ideology of the Women's Liberation Movement rejects stage 3 and 4 life "styles," attracts stage 4½ individuals with higher, more ethically adequate, stage 5 and 6 "answers" to our current society's "sexist" dilemmas and, as such, we may hypothesize that the individual members of this social movement will reflect this ideological-moral relationship.
Feminist Activism and Internal-External Control

Conceptually it has been held (Kohlberg, 1963a) that morally postconventional individuals "ground" their reasoning upon internal (logical and rational) ethical "principles" of choice, while the conventional individual utilizes external guidelines of proper roles or lawful behaviors, modeled by the historically and culturally specific values of the society.

Congruent with this supposition and congruent with the intent of this investigation to bring the current feminist social activist up to date with some previous research dimensions of social activism, the Rotter Internal-External Scale (1962), which has been employed in reports regarding the locus of control of "Civil-Rights" activists (Gore & Rotter, 1963; Strickland, 1965), becomes of interest to this study.

Basically, the internal versus external locus of control scale measures the degree to which a person attributes those events which happen to oneself as being a function of one's control and understanding (internal) or of luck, chance, or fate (external).

Both intuitively and logically it follows that people join activist groups or social movements because they believe it can bring about some change in the social environment; it also follows that these individuals must feel that they have a degree of control over the situations
that they find themselves in.

Gore and Rotter (1963) found a significant relationship between civil-rights social-political activism and an internal locus of control. This finding was also replicated by Strickland (1965).

As mentioned previously, Worell and Worell (1971) reported that women supporters of women's liberation were characterized by an internal locus of control. This was supported by the study of Ryckman et al. (1972), which also found a correlation between internal women and women's liberation activities. However, Sanger and Alker (1972) hypothesized and later found that fate control is not a unitary personality dimension for women and that there are several dimensions in which feminists scored internal and external, respectively, on "personal control" and "protestant ethic ideology."

Although this investigation will not concern itself with dimensional predictors of one's locus of control, it will inquire into the relationship between moral development, feminism, and internal versus external control of reinforcements.

Feminism and One's Attitude Towards the Role of Women

Finally, at a common-sense level, one could hypothesize that people join or do not join certain groups or social movements because of their differential attitudes.
As proposed previously (p. 22), various research projects have differentiated activists from nonactivists according to political ideology (Keniston, 1962), but for this study's subject population social ideology seems to be a more direct and less biased approach. Spence and Helmreich (1972) sought to remedy this state of affairs by devising a scale that measures one's attitudes towards women in contemporary society, in regards to role expectations and behaviors, along a continuum ranging from conservative (traditional) to radical (nontraditional). Therefore, this investigation will apply this attitudinal scale as a measure that can test the relationship between one's ideology of women and moral development and feminist activism.

Hypotheses

Major Hypotheses

1. Individuals active in the Feminist social movement (Experimental Group 1) are at a higher level of moral development than a sample of college women (Control Group 2), who, in turn, are higher in moral development than the antifeminist sample (Experimental Group 3). More specifically, women in Feminist organizations will have more transitional (Stage 4½) and
postconventional (Stage 5 and 6) scores on the Moral Judgment Scale than the nonparticipants in the Feminist movement.

2. Nontraditional (profeminist) attitudes toward the role of women is positively correlated with Kohlberg's stages.

3. An internal locus of control is positively correlated with Kohlberg's stages.

4. Expression of intent to activism is positively correlated with Kohlberg's stages.

Minor Hypothesis

5. Individuals active in the Feminist social movement (membership in Experimental Group 1) have a more internal locus of control than a sample of college women (membership of Control Group 2), who, in turn, are more internal than the antifeminist sample (membership in Experimental Group 3).

6. Individuals active in the Feminist social movement (membership in Experimental Group 1) have a more nontraditional (or profeminist) attitude toward the role of women than a sample of college women (membership in Control Group 2), who, in turn, have more nontraditional attitudes towards the role of women.
than the antifeminist sample (membership in Experimental Group 3.)
METHOD

Subjects and Procedures

The Experimental Group (1), or Women's Liberation Group sample is comprised of 44 women who are active in feminist organizational work. These subjects represent a sample of feminists from ten women's liberation groups contacted by letters sent to the title and addresses of various women's organizations listed in "The New Women's Survival Catalog" (1973). The letter requesting volunteers specifically asked for volunteers who could be considered the "activist" or "organizational" members of the contacted group. Materials and a self-addressed, stamped return envelope were subsequently sent to responding, willing persons and returned by them through the mail. Approximately 60% of the volunteers followed through and completed all of the instruments.

The groups contacted and the individuals who responded represent women from various sections of the country who are engaged in a variety of feminist activity, thereby, hopefully, representing a wide profile of individuals in the Feminist social movement. Table 2 lists the groups contacted and tested and the type of feminist "work" that they are engaged in.
### Table 2

**Summary of the Women's Liberation Group Sample**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contact Group</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Type of Feminist Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W.E.A.L Women's Equity Action League</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Legal work through education, legislation and litigation. Publishes newsletter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Law Caucus Syracuse, N.Y.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Women's Center at Syracuse College of Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact Group</td>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td>Type of Feminist Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falls Church, Virginia</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nonpartisan political consulting firm. Research polls, and surveys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Workshops in issue and coalition development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women—A Journal of Liberation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>One of the oldest continuing publications of the Women's Movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore, Maryland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Radical Feminists</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>One of the first groups to organize and spread the use of C.R. Groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Women's Clinic and Rape Counseling.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Control Group (2) is comprised of 17 women students enrolled in two sections of a "Child Development" psychology course at California State College, San Bernardino. The set of questionnaires were distributed under the cover story that the study involved "attitudes concerning the role of women and the process of conflict resolution." The surveys were given to both male and female students in order to minimize any bias or demand characteristics; but only the female subjects' responses were included in this study.

The Experimental Group (3), or "Anti-Feminist" group sample, consists of 25 women who were enrolled in a program called "Fascinating Womanhood" at Loma Linda University. This program is one of the activities of the Fascinating Womanhood Movement, founded by Helen B. Andelin. These subjects were approached by this investigator's wife at one of their weekly sessions and asked to volunteer for a research project that involved the study of women's groups in regard to their concepts of attitudes and morality. The women who volunteered were given the inventory of questionnaires and a self-addressed, stamped return envelope. Approximately 50% of the volunteers responded and mailed back the packet.

This "Fascinating Womanhood" program is based primarily on a book entitled, "Fascinating Womanhood." The book is reported to have sold over 400,000 copies, and 300,000 have taken the course throughout the country (TIME,
March, 1975). The philosophy of "Fascinating Womanhood" is basically a conservative Christian doctrine on the necessity for wives to submit to their husbands, regardless of who is "logically" right or wrong. One becomes a fascinating woman by acquiring and refining all of the traditional roles of a wife and mother. The philosophy is admittedly a "double-standard" as this quote from Helen Andelin's book demonstrates:

The first thing to learn is that MEN ARE DIFFERENT FROM WOMEN, so different in nature and temperament that it is almost as though they came from another planet. Men do not think like women do, approach a problem in the same light, nor do they have the same needs or the same sense of values as we do. Even those needs which may be similar in a man and a woman differ widely in essential value. (Andelin, 1965, p. 36).

A reading of this book's philosophy and the content of the "Fascinating Womanhood" program seems to this investigator to be principally opposed to the core tenets of feminism. In fact, Helen Andelin and her associates state this outright in magazine articles (TIME, March, 1975, p. 77) and on television interviews, such as the "Tomorrow Show" on N.B.C..

**Measures**

The Kohlberg Moral Judgment Scale was administered as a pencil-and-paper test, involving two stories with their subsequent "probing" questions. (See Appendix A.) The stories pose classical moral dilemmas and are followed by
questions which elicit the subject's resolution of the conflict, and more importantly, ask for the subject's supporting reasons. The first story concerns a husband who steals a drug to save his dying wife, with follow-up questions designed to probe the subject's reasoning concerning the rightness or wrongness of the husband's action, the responsibility of the druggist, one's obligations to relatives and nonrelatives, and the appropriate punishment for the theft. This story, called "Heinz's Dilemma," is the most widely used by investigators using Kohlberg's taxonomy, as it represents the classical conflict between the right to property and the right to life. Sample answers that are given by subjects and are used to score can be found in Kohlberg (1964, p. 401).

The second dilemma posed to my subjects concerns a woman who desires to go to college, even though she has a family to raise. This story was developed by this investigator specifically for this study, as it deals with the resolution of a contemporary "female" dilemma. Here I am probing my subject's reasoning concerning what is a "proper" resolution of a real-to-life role conflict. This "feminist dilemma" centers on the historical conflict between the roles of the sexes and the social unit of the family.

This moral judgment interview was scored by two judges in order to ascertain reliability. Judge number 1,
the author of this study, was trained by Kohlberg in a four-
day workshop at Harvard University in June of 1974. Judge
number 2 used a detailed scoring manual worked out by
Kohlberg and an additional scoring manual developed by
N. Porter and N. Taylor of the Moral Education Founda-
tion at Harvard University. All stories were scored inde-
dependently by the two judges, and Judge number 2 was blind
as to the samples' membership.

Each judge scored the written protocol with a "global"
score. Subjects were assigned to a "type" according to a
rule which requires that the subject must demonstrate at
least two "pure" answers at one's highest stage to be
assigned at that highest stage and that one's other stage
answers must display hierarchical stage congruence.

Reliability was based on the percentage of agreement
between the two judges in their individual "global" scores.
The agreement between the two judges was 85% and 90% of the
disagreements involved being just one stage off. After the
independent scoring and reliability was established, the
two judges reached a consensus as to how to assign a final
score to their disagreements. It was decided to go in the
direction of the more "naive" or "blind" judge, number 2.
Although published data on reliability is scarce, our find-
ings of 85% is very close to reliability attained in other
studies of the type (Haan, Smith, & Block, 1968, Keasy,
1972).
The Kohlberg instrument is usually administered as an interview with extensive probing questions that can uncover and help differentiate "sloganeering" content from one's true "structural" capacity. This paper-and-pencil version may have caused some subjects to abbreviate their responses and rely on cliche answers. This may have led to an inflated proportion of "transitional" stage 4½ types, who often fall back on philosophical truisms, since they haven't formed internal principles.

Three other measurement indices are presented in this study. The inventory used to measure the subject's attitude towards nontraditional roles for women is The Attitudes Toward Women Scale: An Objective Instrument to Measure Attitudes toward the Rights and Roles of Women in Contemporary Society, developed by Janet Spence and Robert Helmreich (1972). (See Appendix A.) This scale is a 55-item questionnaire with each item consisting of a declarative statement for which there are four response alternatives: Agree Strongly, Agree Mildly, Disagree Mildly, and Disagree Strongly. Each item is given a score from 0 to 3, with 0 representing the most conservative, traditional attitude, and with a score of 3 representing the most liberal, profeminist attitude. The score for each item is summed, thus giving the individual's total score, which may range from 0 to 165. Two items were added by this author (see Appendix A, items 56 and 57 of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale), which dealt directly with one's attitude towards
the Women's Liberation Movement; this increased the possible score to 171.

Basically, this questionnaire centers around the notion of a "double-standard" in one's attitudes toward women and men. An illustrative item is "A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man."

Another instrument used in the present study is the Internal-External Scale, developed by J. B. Rotter, S. Liverant, M. Seeman, and D. P. Crowne (1961). (See Appendix A, Social Reaction Inventory.) The I-E Scale is a 29-item forced-choice scale assessing the degree to which a person attributes the events that happen to oneself as being within or beyond one's personal control. An illustrative item is "I more strongly believe that: (a) In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck, (b) many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin."

The fourth, and last instrument, employed in this study is a Guttman-type questionnaire that measures the subject's expressed intent to "activism" concerning women in society. This contemporary "Women's Activism Scale" was developed by this investigator for this study, but in order to minimize contamination or bias, this scale is disguised in the "Attitudes Toward Women Scale" as the last five items, 58 through 62 (see Appendix A). The 5-item
scale is ordered along a continuum of difficulty or magnitude of behavioral commitment. Here it is assumed that acceptance of one implies that the person will accept all of lesser magnitude. A coefficient of reproducibility, $R$, is a technique for validating whether a "scale" is, in fact, "cumulative" or "Guttman-like." The value of $R$ was found to be .92, which is within the acceptable boundary (Lindzey and Aronson, 1954, p. 222).
RESULTS

Concerning Hypotheses

A chi square analysis of the relationship between moral development and women's group membership is presented in Table 3. The results indicate a confirmation of the hypothesis that women active in feminist organizations are at a higher level of moral development than the non-participants in the feminist movement ($\chi^2(2) = 45.61, p < .001$). T tests indicate that individuals active in the Feminist social movement (Experimental Group 1) are at a higher level of moral development than the antifeminist sample ($t(67) = 6.48, p < .001$) and the control group sample ($t(59) = 3.13, p < .001$). The control group sample was also higher in moral development than the antifeminist sample ($t(40) = 2.348, p < .05$). Table 4 adds support to these findings with a positive correlation between the more "feminist" groups and levels of moral development ($r = .585, p < .005$).

The hypothesis that nontraditional (profeminist) attitudes toward the role of women is positively correlated with Kohlberg's stages of moral development is confirmed in Table 4 ($r = .569, p < .005$), but the hypothesis that an internal locus of control is positively correlated with Kohlberg's stages is rejected, as indicated in Table 4.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moral Development</th>
<th>Pre-Conventional Stages 2, 3, 4</th>
<th>Post-Conventional Stages 4½, 5, 6</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feminist Women</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Women</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fascin. Womanhood Women</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 9.80 + 10.75 + 1.08 + 1.19 + 10.86 + 11.92 = 45.61^* \]

\[ *p < .001. \]
### Table 4
Correlation Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Age(^a)</td>
<td>-.471***</td>
<td>.229*</td>
<td>-.253*</td>
<td>-.404***</td>
<td>-.218*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Attitudes Toward Women</td>
<td>-.347***</td>
<td>.804***</td>
<td>.859***</td>
<td>.569***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Internal Locus of Control(^c)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.307***</td>
<td>-.339***</td>
<td>-.155</td>
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<td>4. Activism(^d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.713***</td>
<td>.552***</td>
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<td>6. Moral Development(^f)</td>
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\(^a\) Age of subjects.  
\(^b\) Scores on the "Attitudes Toward Women Scale"  
\(^c\) Scores on Internal-External Scale  
\(^d\) Scores on "Activism" Scale  
\(^e\) Membership in Women's Group (higher = more "feminist")  
\(^f\) Scores on "Moral Judgment Scale"

\(*p < .05\)  
\(**p < .01\)  
\(***p < .005\)
Table 4 also shows a positive correlation ($r = .552, p < .005$) between expressed intent to activism and Kohlberg's stages of moral development.

The hypothesis that feminists have a more internal locus of control than nonfeminists or antifeminists is rejected as the negative correlation ($r = -.339, p < .005$) in Table 4 demonstrates. In fact, the significance of the negative correlation and subsequent $t$ tests indicate that feminists have a more external locus of control than the control group of college women ($t (59) = 2.30, p < .05$) and more external than the antifeminist women ($t (67) = 3.154, p < .001$). No significant difference was found between the means of the control group and the antifeminist group regarding locus of control ($t (40) = .257, n.s.$).

A correlation of $.859, p < .005$, is listed in Table 4 and supports the hypothesis that feminists have more nontraditional attitudes toward the role of women than the antifeminist women ($t (67) = 8.59, p < .001$) and the college women sample ($t (59) = 1.87, p < .05$) who, in turn, have more nontraditional attitudes toward women's role than the antifeminist sample ($t (40) = 8.10, p < .001$).

**Other Differences**

Inspection of Table 3 and Table 5 clearly shows that none of the "antifeminists" have achieved principled morality (stages 5 and 6); while 12% of the college women tested
reached stage 5 with 30% of the feminists at that level. 6.82% of the feminists scored at stage 6 and accounted for 100% of that score.

Tables 6, 7, and 8 present the means of the attitudes toward the role of women, locus of control, and activism scores, respectively, which go in the directions of prediction, except for the I-E scale, which shows that "fascinating women" are more internal than feminists. In these tables it can be noted that there is almost no overlap between the groups and the obtained scores.

**Predictions from Data Groups**

Two sets of multiple regression analysis were conducted that took membership in groups and moral development as the dependent variables. The results in Table 9 indicate that attitudes toward the role of women is the best predictor of membership in various women's groups (final $F (5, 80) = 45.6, p < .001$). Moral development is shown in that table to be the second best predictor of membership (final $F (5, 80) = 4.56, p < .01$).

Using moral development as the dependent variable in Table 10 shows that group membership accounts for more of the variance than any other variable tested with a final $F (5, 80) = 4.3, p < .01$ and with "activism" coming in second as best predicting moral development with a final $F (5, 80) = 2.5, p < .05$.

Even though Table 4 shows that age is correlated
with all of the variables both sets of multiple regression analysis in Tables 9 and 10 indicate that age is the weakest predictor of moral development and membership in various women's groups.
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Table 10

Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Moral Development Scores

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DISCUSSION

Empirical

The results reported in this study have been analyzed in a fairly straightforward manner. Although a correlational study does not allow cause and effect interpretations, the very high correlations (see Table 4) between certain variables and the subsequent confirmation of these findings in the two multiple regression analysis (see Tables 9 and 10) gives us a clear picture to draw conclusions from.

The results show strong associations between membership in the women's liberation social movement and the highest levels of moral reasoning. The results also show a high correspondence between feminist social action, radical attitudes towards the role of women and the previously mentioned association between feminism and moral development, as opposed to the antifeminist women who morally reasoned more conventionally and, therefore, as discussed in the first section, less adequately. Con­gruently, the antifeminists held more traditional attitudes toward women and expressed less intent to "activism."

One of the more surprising findings was the degree of an external locus of control for women in the feminist
This may be interpreted along the lines of the works of Horner (1968, 1969) which found that many women have a "fear" of success. Since the I-E scale is a forced-choice test, it may be that the feminists were actually expressing a rejection (or fear?) of internal control rather than a true belief in the "externality" of one's life situation (Teevan & Fischer, 1974). The "internality" of the "fascinating women" maybe due to their philosophy (and practice?) of the power of "positive" thinking and the belief in the high degree of control one can achieve over one's husband through "subliminal" reinforcements of submission (Andelin, 1965).

Particularly notable is the extremely high correlation between the attitude scores and group membership and the activism scores. A correlation of .859 between the attitude test and group membership may indicate a contrast group validation or "validity check" of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale. But, also of interest is the high correlation ($r = .804$) between the activism scale and the attitude scale. This may, in effect, mean that the 5-item activism scale may be a simpler and more useful instrument than the lengthy 55-item attitude scale in regards to measuring that personality correlate, at least in a heterogeneous set of women.

Taken together, these results indicate a replication and extension of the findings of Haan et al. (1968, 1969, 1972) and Fishkin, Keniston, and MacKinnon (1973), except
in terms of the feminist social movement rather than the student "New Left" movement.

Due to the results of this study and its congruence with previous studies of socio-political activism, it may be concluded that Kohlberg's theory of moral development has a direct bearing on the ideological social issues of today.

The question becomes: Does high levels of moral development cause the individual to join a social movement to induce social environmental change because of a desire to maintain self-consistency (integrity), or does the processes of being attracted to and then interacting in a social movement in itself lead to cognitive-moral development? The answer would require a longitudinal study, but to this investigator it seems to be a fruitful area for further research.

**Conceptual**

Finally, and briefly, I would like to articulate my own impressionistic account of the women's liberation movement that was formed by and is based around Hampden-Turner's account of student radicalism (1970). This account centers upon a certain discontinuity in Western society. It appears that there is a structural conflict in American culture that arises due to the strength of the developmental and humanistic themes in America's educational and child-rearing philosophies and the relative
weakness of these developmental themes in the "hard core" world of business and politics. It seems only natural and a matter of time before the developmental themes in American life clashed with the regressive themes.

Imagine the disgust of many women faced with the prospect of leaving the developmental milieu of their own growth and respect to take up privileged positions in a cultural meat-grinder. What is more natural than the insistence of these women that the female culture should use all of its resources to criticize and reform the main-line "male" culture. What feminists are protesting so vehemently is the threatened end of their development as people! Some women are looking beyond the "home" and perceive a "wasteland" culture of competition and prejudiced individualism, not to mention a sexual ideology whose savagery would shame a jungle, and they are appalled. The "healthy" developmental backgrounds of many of our culture's women has led them to the conclusion that there is no reason to go on like this.

The feminist individual and movement seems to have realized its own developmental continuity and is seeking to infuse the wider society with the seemingly evolutionary ideals of humanism, social conscience, and justice.
APPENDIX A

Questionnaires Administered to Subjects

First Questionnaire

AGE_________SEX_________#_________

INSTRUCTIONS FOR DECISION STORIES AND QUESTIONS

The purpose of these stories and questions is to get your feelings and ideas. Please write down the ideas or feelings they bring to mind rather than giving "yes" or "no" answers. Each story is followed by questions for you to answer. Please keep your answers limited to about three sentences, if possible.

A. In Europe, a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist was charging ten times what the drug cost him to make. He paid $200 for the radium and charged $2,000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together about $1,000 which is half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, "No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it." So Heinz got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife.

* * * *

1. Do you think Heinz should have stolen the drug? Why?
2. Which is worse, letting someone die or stealing? Why?

2a. What does the value of life mean to you, anyway?

3. Is there a good reason for a husband to steal if he doesn't love his wife?

4. Would it be as right to steal it for a stranger as his wife? Why?

5. Suppose he was stealing it for a pet he loved dearly. Would it be right to steal for the pet? Why?
6. Heinz steals the drug and is caught. Should the judge sentence him or should he let him go free? Why?

7. The judge thinks of letting him go free. What would be his reasons for doing so?

8. Thinking in terms of society, what would be the best reasons for the judge to give him some sentence?

9. Thinking in terms of society, what would be the best reasons for the judge to not give him some sentence?
B. Jane and Tom have been married for ten years and they have two children; Sara, 4 years old, and Kevin, who is 6 years old. Tom is a high school teacher who really loves his work. Jane hasn't worked since the first two years of their marriage while Tom was finishing his College work for his teaching credential. Jane has decided that she wants to go to College at the local State University. But, Tom feels that their children and himself need her to be at home and that this sudden alteration in their lifestyle will create too much change and disruption, especially for the children. Jane realizes that her decision will affect the lives of her family but she feels that going to College is something that she really wants to do.

***

1. Do you think that Jane should or should not go to college? Why?

2. Which do you feel is more important—the needs of Jane's husband and children or Jane's own need to try to fulfill her potential? Why?
The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the role of women in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you (A) Agree Strongly, (B) Agree Mildly, (C) Disagree Mildly, or (D) Disagree Strongly. Please indicate your opinion by marking the column on the answer sheet which corresponds to the alternative which best describes your personal attitude. Please respond to every item.

(A) Agree Strongly; (B) Agree Mildly; (C) Disagree Mildly; (D) Disagree Strongly

1. Women have an obligation to be faithful to their husbands.

2. Swearing and obscenity is more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.

3. The satisfaction of her husband's sexual desires is a fundamental obligation of every wife.

4. Divorced men should help support their children but should not be required to pay alimony if their wives are capable of working.

5. Under ordinary circumstances, men should be expected to pay all the expenses while they're out on a date.

6. Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.

7. It is all right for wives to have an occasional, casual, extra-marital affair.

8. Special attentions like standing up for a woman who comes into a room or giving her a seat on a crowded bus are outmoded and should be discontinued.

9. Vocational and professional schools should admit the best qualified students, independent of sex.

10. Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.
11. Telling dirty jokes should be mostly a masculine prerogative.

12. Husbands and wives should be equal partners in planning the family budget.

13. Men should continue to show courtesies to women such as holding open the door or helping them on with their coats.

14. Women should claim alimony not as persons incapable of self-support but only when there are children to provide for or when the burden of starting life anew after the divorce is obviously heavier for the wife.

15. Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men.

16. The initiative in dating should come from the man.

17. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.

18. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.

19. There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex.

20. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.

21. Parental authority and responsibility for discipline of the children should be equally divided between husband and wife.

22. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

23. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out to dinner.

24. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

25. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

26. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.
27. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.

28. It is childish for a woman to assert herself by retaining her maiden name after marriage.

29. Society should regard the services rendered by the women workers as valuable as those of men.

30. It is only fair that male workers should receive more pay than women even for identical work.

31. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.

32. Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiancés.

33. Women should demand money for household and personal expenses as a right rather than as a gift.

34. The husband should not be favored by law over the wife in the disposition of family property or income.

35. Wifely submission is an outworn virtue.

36. There are some professions and types of businesses that are more suitable for men than women.

37. Women should be concerned with their duties of child-rearing and housetending, rather than with desires for professional and business careers.

38. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

39. A wife should make every effort to minimize irritation and inconvenience to the male head of the family.

40. There should be no greater barrier to an unmarried woman having sex with a casual acquaintance than having dinner with him.

41. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set by men.

42. Women should take the passive role in courtship.

43. On the average, women should be regarded as less capable of contribution to economic production than are men.
44. The intellectual equality of woman with man is perfectly obvious.

45. Women should have full control of their persons and give or withhold sex intimacy as they choose.

46. The husband has in general no obligation to inform his wife of his financial plans.

47. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

48. Women with children should not work outside the house if they don't have to financially.

49. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

50. The relative amounts of time and money to be devoted to household duties on the one hand and to a career on the other should be determined by personal desires and interests rather than by sex.

51. As head of the household, the husband should have more responsibility for the family's financial plans than his wife.

52. If both husband and wife agree that sexual fidelity isn't important there's no reason why both shouldn't have extramarital affairs if they want to.

53. The husband should be regarded as the legal representative of the family group in all matters of law.

54. The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulation and control that is given to the modern boy.

55. Most women need and want the kind of protection and support that men have traditionally given them.

56. The Women's Liberation Movement is a significant social movement in society today.

57. The Women's Liberation Movement represents something positive to me.

* * * *

The next five questions will just be answered "yes" or "no."

58. Would you like to sign up for a Psychology of Women course?
59. Would you boycott a product whose advertising and promotion is demeaning or chauvinistic to women?

60. Would you or have you joined a CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING GROUP?

61. Have you or would you be willing to institute a change in a close relationship with a member of the opposite sex, to make it more egalitarian, even though it might not be acceptable to the other and create tension and take the risk that it might destroy your relationship?

62. Would you be willing to give your own time and energy towards helping to establish a Women's Center in your town?
Third Questionnaire

SOCIAL REACTION INVENTORY

AGE ________ SEX ________ # ________

This is a questionnaire to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives lettered a or b. Please select the one statement of each pair (and only one) which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you're concerned. Be sure to select the one you actually believe to be more true rather than the one you think you should choose or the one you would like to be true. This is a measure of personal belief: Obviously, there are no right or wrong answers.

Please answer these items carefully. Be sure to find an answer for every choice. Circle the letter of the statement for each item which you believe is most true.

For example, look at the following item:

I more strongly believe that
1. a. Girls should keep up with the latest fashions.
   b. Girls should be independent and choose what they like.

If you more strongly believe that "a" is correct, circle the letter "a." If you more strongly believe that "b" is correct, circle the letter "b."

In some instances you may discover that you believe
both statements or neither one. In such cases, be sure to select the one you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you're concerned. Also, try to respond to each item separately when making your choice; do not be influenced by your previous choices.

REMEMBER

SELECT THAT ALTERNATIVE WHICH YOU PERSONALLY BELIEVE TO BE MORE TRUE.

I more strongly believe that:

1. a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
    b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

2. a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
    b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

3. a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
    b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

4. a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
    b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

5. a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
    b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.
6. a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
   b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

7. a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
   b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

8. a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.
   b. It is one's experience in life which determines what they're like.

9. a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
   b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to make a definite course of action.

10. a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever a thing as an unfair test.
    b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.

11. a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
    b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

12. a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
    b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

13. a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
    b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

14. a. There are certain people who are just no good.
    b. There is some good in everybody.
15. a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
   b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

16. a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
   b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

17. a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.
   b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

18. a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
   b. There really is no such thing as "luck."

19. a. One should always be willing to admit his mistakes.
   b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

20. a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
   b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

21. a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
   b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

22. a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
   b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

23. a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
   b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grade I get.
24. a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
   b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.

25. a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
   b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

26. a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
   b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.

27. a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.
   b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

28. a. What happens to me is my own doing.
   b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

29. a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
   b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national, as well as on a local level.
## APPENDIX B

### Summary of Raw Data

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| NOW| 4  | 40 | 164 | 4½  | 5  | 13 |
| NOW| 8  | 41 | 158 | 4   | 5  | 5  |
| NOW| 9  | 42 | 155 | 2   | 5  | 16 |
| NOW| 12 | 43 | 156 | 5   | 5  | 17 |
| NOW| 17 | 44 | 160 | 4½  | 5  | 17 |

### EXPERIMENTAL CONTROL GROUP 2  

**College Women**

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| A  | 14 | 8   | 153 | 5   | 5  | 19 |
| A  | 16 | 9   | 136 | 3   | 2  | 6  |
| B  | 2  | 10  | 120 | 4⅓ | 2  | 8  |
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