The impact of acculturation on the moral development of Mexican-Americans: A cross-cultural study

Jaime Ponce Aguilar

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THE IMPACT OF ACCULTURATION ON THE MORAL DEVELOPMENT OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS: A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

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

by
Jaime Ponce Aguilar
December, 1996
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Approved by:
David V. Chavez, Ph.D., Chair, Psychology
Gloria Cowan, Ph.D.
Joanna Worthley, Ph.D.
ABSTRACT

The relation between the process of acculturation and moral development in Mexican Americans was examined in the present study. It was predicted that Mexican-American subjects with more education would be more acculturated than Mexican-American subjects with less education, as measured by the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (ARSMA-II) (Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995). Furthermore, it was predicted that more acculturated subjects, as well as more educated subjects, would attain higher scores in the principled-index-morality variable of moral development (P) as measured by the Defining Issues Test (DIT) (Rest, 1976). A pearson-product moment correlation was computed and significance was found for these predictions, p<.05. Multiple regression analyses were run in order to control for education and acculturation, and to determine the amount of variance accounted for by these variables. Significance was found for the predictions. Results of the current study were discussed.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"... the term multiculturalism ... refers to ethnic pluralism of the coexistence of distinctive ethnic, racial, or cultural groups in a society. ... and at least some members of each group are presumed to be interested in maintaining a cultural identity."

--Wallace E. Lambert, and Donald M. Taylor (1990, p.9)

"The person is also encouraged to learn from other cultures and peoples in order to learn how to better the condition of his own people and community and family..."

--Manuel Ramirez III (1990, p.59)

It has been argued that different sociocultural groups develop different worldviews with regard to values, customs, rituals, attitudes, and behaviors (McAdoo, 1993). Therefore, culture and society might play an important role in the development of one's morality. Different cultures use different criteria for making moral judgments. It has been argued that the Latin-American culture, in relation to the Anglo culture, varies tremendously with regard to a wide variety of psychological dimensions (Burnam, Hough, Telles, & Escobar, 1987). Furthermore, it has also been suggested that the Latin-American culture, such as the Mexican culture, has values that are contrary to American values (Domino & Acosta, 1987). Latin-Americans, for instance, tend to strongly value interpersonal relations--a characteristic that is observed in the Mexican culture. On the other hand, the Anglo culture seems to emphasize
individual rights and abstract principles (Cortese, 1990). Thus, it seems obvious to state that different cultures "construct a sequence for moral development and a mode of moral judgment appropriate to their own members, which are morally neither superior nor inferior to other cultures. Rather, they simply are different" (Cortese, 1990, p. 107). As a consequence, what is considered to be moral in one culture might not be moral in another culture. Thus, cultures seem to have an influence in determining which moral reasoning principles are relevant to their members' way of living (Fitzpatrick, 1987).

RESEARCH ON ACCULTURATION

Acculturation of ethnic minorities into the American society may have an impact on their moral development; it is likely that as they learn the way of living, thinking, and behaving of the host culture, they begin to utilize the host culture's criteria with regard to moral development. Thus, some researchers (Domino & Acosta, 1987; Orozco, Thompson, Kapes, & Montgomery, 1993) suggest that when ethnic minorities acculturate into the American culture, their cognitive style, intelligence, attitudes, behaviors, values, and moral reasoning become similar to the Anglo population.

LaFramboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) suggest that a person's cognitive processes and development are influenced by the sociocultural environment in which he/she lives. Therefore, it is likely that during the process of
acculturation, ethnic individuals replace some of their native culture's values with some of the values of the American culture (Cortese, 1990). Thus, through the process of acculturation, ethnic minorities seem to integrate a new set of values into those of their original culture. As a consequence, ethnic minority individuals who are more acculturated, in comparison to those who are less acculturated, might seem to have a different type of moral maturation because they have acquired some of the values of the dominant culture. Furthermore, their personal development might be affected so as to produce some changes in their cognitive processes and behavior, as well as in their moral development with regard to justice and fairness (Sapp, 1986).

It has been suggested that acculturation is faster and easier among ethnic minorities whose personality qualities, such as intellectual style and assertiveness, are similar to those of the American culture (Smither, 1982; Domino & Acosta, 1987). For instance, in a study of Hungarian immigrants, those who acculturated into the American society at a more rapid rate were the ones who exhibited a high-achievement orientation and who held more hedonistic values (Domino & Acosta, 1987).

Similarly, Domino and Acosta (1987) conducted a study on the effects of acculturation on the values of Mexican-American subjects. They hypothesized that more acculturated
subjects, as opposed to less acculturated subjects, would show a closer similarity to Anglo values. Their results indicated that Mexican-American subjects who were more acculturated tended to endorse and rank values with substantially greater similarity to those of the Anglo groups than Mexican-American subjects who were less acculturated. More acculturated subjects tended to endorse values which emphasized competence and which were more oriented towards a societal security, as opposed to a religious morality and family security.

This value and reasoning modification that ethnic minorities undergo while going through the process of acculturation might be the result of their having learned to move into the mainstream society, which has helped them to adopt and/or learn certain social skills proper to the host culture (Cortese, 1990). Thus, it seems that as ethnic minorities become more acculturated, their moral development is affected and their way of reasoning is modified in a way that resembles that of the members of the host culture.

MODELS OF SECOND-CULTURE ACQUISITION

As people move from their culture of origin to another culture, they need to acquire, at least to a given extent, the culture of the host cultural group. The acquisition of a new culture occurs when individuals undergo a process of changes while they are making a transition within, between, and among cultures. This process is influenced by many
factors such as the individual's psychological state, education, ethnic background, and social interaction (Jiobu, 1990).

There are several models that have been used to explain this process "by which an individual from one culture, the culture of origin, develops [or fails to develop] competence in another culture, often the dominant culture" (LaFramboise et al., 1993, p.396). A brief overview of the type of relationships that might develop between different cultural groups and individuals is given below.

Outdated Views of Second-Culture Acquisition

The views described in this section seem to have lost favor in describing the type of relationships that ethnic minority groups and Anglos establish in the present day society. However, they seem to have been more acceptable in the past; thus a brief overview of them is given below.

Segregation was used to describe a type of relationship where ethnic groups were kept separate in spite of fulfilling each other's particular needs. On the other hand, elimination took place when ethnic minority groups who failed to develop competence in the host culture were eliminated (Smither, 1982).

Fusion takes place when people from diverse ethnic/cultural backgrounds come together and either create a new culture or change the existing one, rather than integrating themselves into a particular culture (Smither,
1982). Under this model, members of minority groups become indistinguishable, in their psychological reality, from members of the majority culture (LaFramboise et al., 1993). Similarly, Anglo conformity states that ethnic minority groups become like the majority; however, the majority does not learn much of the minority's ethnicity (Jiobu, 1990). On the other hand, minoritization describes the process by which the majority learns about, and becomes like, the minority by adopting many of its customs and practices (Jiobu, 1990).

**Current Views of Second-Culture Acquisition**

The models described above have not been very successful in describing the process that is taking place in the present U. S. society with regard to ethnic minority groups and immigrants. Thus, the following models seem to be more accurate in describing ethnic relations among different cultural groups that exist in the US today. Therefore, in order to have a deeper understanding of these models, a more lengthy explanation of them is given below.

**Assimilation**

This model describes a gradual process, occurring over time, by which ethnic minorities acquire a new cultural identity by sacrificing their culture of origin and adopting, in its entirety, the majority culture (Smither, 1982; McAdoo, 1993). The goal of this process, is to "become socially accepted by members of the target culture"
(LaFramboise et al., 1993, p. 396); it takes place as individuals acculturate and start making the transition into the political, social, economic, and cultural life of the majority culture (Omi & Winant, 1994; Burnam et al., 1987).

According to LaFramboise et al. (1993), assimilation might be problematic because people who assimilate lose loyalty to, and awareness of, their original culture. As a consequence, they might be rejected by members of their original culture, as well as by members of the host culture. In addition, they might have to reject the values of their original culture in order to succeed in the host culture.

Jiobu (1990), contrary to LaFramboise et al. (1993), Omi and Winant (1994), McAdoo (1993), and Smither (1982), argues that assimilation is a multivariate phenomenon; and as such, different cultural groups might be assimilated into each other in some areas, but not in others. Jiobu (1990) states that a given group can be assimilated into the educational system of the majority group, but not into the latter's political life.

**Acculturation**

This model, as well as the assimilation model, has been of great interest to psychologists in the last decades. Contrary to assimilation in which the individual becomes immersed in the host culture, acculturation suggests that the individual chooses how to interact with the host culture. It is, therefore, described as a psychosocial,
human adaptation and adjustment process (Domino & Acosta, 1987). It takes place when different ethnic minority cultures and the mainstream culture come into continuous contact with each other (McAdoo, 1993); and as a result, their original cultural patterns are altered (Zohoori, 1988). During this process, the attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors of immigrants and individuals from minority groups "change toward those of the dominant cultural group as a result of exposure to a new cultural system" (Orozco et al., 1993, p. 149).

Acculturation is a multifaceted phenomenon; it is composed of several factors which are difficult to clearly specify. However, it has been stated that some of the most important factors in the process of acculturation are values, beliefs, and attitudes, as well as language and cultural customs (Cuellar, Harris, & Jasso, 1980).

Theories of Acculturation

There are several theories of acculturation that try to explain and understand this phenomenon by which individuals from different sociocultural backgrounds acquire the majority's culture and become competent participants in the host culture (LaFramboise et al., 1993). However, they cannot explain the reasons for one individual's lack of acculturation while another individual living in the same environment, and having the same background, does acculturate (Smither, 1982). Some researchers, however,
have tried to give an explanation for the inability or unwillingness to acculturate that some members of ethnic minorities exhibit. For instance, Cortese (1990) suggests that lack of opportunity may hinder the development of social skills that are needed in order to move into the mainstream culture. Thus, individuals who fail to develop such social skills are unable to acculturate, or acculturate at a much slower rate. It is also possible that individuals who associate only with members of their own cultural/ethnic group do not acculturate into the dominant culture because their way of relating to society is not altered in any way (DiMartino, 1991).

The theories of acculturation explained below offer an insight into how and why individuals might be motivated to adapt and adjust to the way of living of the majority culture.

The communications theory.

This theory is based on the four areas of human communication: interpersonal, intrapersonal, mass media behavior, and communication environment (Smither, 1982; LaFramboise et al., 1993). The communications theory suggests that acculturation is influenced by the degree of comfortability ethnic minority individuals have while performing in the four different areas of communication in the language of the host culture (LaFramboise et al., 1993). Similarly, Zohoori (1988) suggests that communication skills
are necessary for establishing meaningful social interaction with members of the host culture and to learn their way of living. According to him, the mass media are "main sources of information about the host culture" (p. 105), and as foreign children acculturate to U. S. culture, "television appears to be an important source of education and information about the American way of life" (p. 111). Thus, this theory seems to suggest that the better the individual speaks and understands the language of the host culture, the easier it is for him/her to get information about the host culture's values through the mass media and to establish multiple social relationships with members of the majority culture. As a result, the new interactions that the individual develops might facilitate acculturation.

The behaviors/values theory.

This theory suggests that ethnic minority individuals will modify their behavior (Smither, 1982) in order to survive in the host culture (LaFramboise et al., 1993). Their values, however, will undergo a much slower rate of change (Smither, 1982). The behaviors/values theory assumes that modification of values and behaviors is the result of continuous contact with the host culture (LaFramboise et al., 1993). Furthermore, length of time ethnic minority individuals are exposed to the majority culture, as well as the individual's age and sex are factors which are positively correlated with acculturation (Smither, 1982).
It is likely that as the amount of contact that individuals have with the mainstream culture increases, they learn the values of the majority culture and become more competent in performing the behaviors learned in the host culture.

**The cultural awareness/ethnic loyalty theory.**

This theory takes into consideration "the preference of the individual for the majority or minority culture and the effect of such a preference on the overall acculturative process" (Smither, 1982, p. 62). This theory states that not only language familiarity (proposed by the communications theory) or interethnic interaction (proposed by the behaviors/value theory) are important in the process of acculturation, but also interethnic distance, ethnic pride and identity, and cultural heritage (Smither, 1982; LaFramboise et al., 1993) because these three latter factors exert an influence on the type of relationships a particular individual forms with members of either the host culture or the ethnic culture, or both. According to LaFramboise et al. (1993), "this model argues for a multidimensional understanding of the cultural acquisition process" (p. 398).

**The socioanalytic theory.**

Even though the theories reviewed above provide important information with regards to the process of acculturation at the group level (LaFramboise et al., 1993), and view acculturation as a multidimensional phenomenon, Smither (1982) argues that they do not consider "individual
differences and the personality processes of the individual which facilitate or retard acculturation" (p. 62). Thus, in order to explain individual variations in acculturation (LaFramboise et al., 1993), Smither (1982) proposed the socioanalytic theory to account for individual differences in acculturation.

This theory states that it is important to understand the way some constant variables, such as age, education, ethnic background, and degree of cultural discontinuity are affected by the role and character structure, as well as the psychological differentiation of individuals (LaFramboise et al., 1993) in order to understand how individuals adapt to a new culture (Smither, 1982).

The psychological role theory.

The psychological role theory proposes that acculturation consists of broadening one's role repertoire (values, beliefs, behaviors, etc.) so that one will be able to meet the demands of the majority culture (Smither, 1982). Therefore, acculturation, according to this model, refers to the process by which ethnic minorities understand the importance of performing the roles that are valued by the majority.

Moerk (1972) suggests that while going through the process of acculturation, Mexican-American families show loyalty to their Spanish mother tongue; however, their values, beliefs, and behaviors are modified. In 1972, Moerk
conducted research on the acculturation of the Mexican-American minority to the Anglo society. He surveyed 446 subjects (Anglos, Mexican-Americans, and African-Americans) at an elementary school and a high school of the Southwest of the U. S. The survey covered different areas such as educational and occupational aspirations, as well as income expectations. The results indicated that, as compared to a similar study that he conducted in 1967 with a similar population, there were not significant differences with regard to educational nor occupational aspirations between Mexican American subjects and Anglos or African-Americans. He suggests that through education, Mexican-Americans seem to understand and integrate, into their way of living and interacting with the new culture, the value system of the dominant population. Thus, it is possible that by integrating the value system of the Anglo society, Mexican-Americans might acculturate and become similar to the Anglo population.

Some researchers, interested in the premise of value modification as a function of acculturation among ethnic minorities, have conducted experiments on value modification among Hispanics as a result of acculturation (Sabogal et al., 1987). For instance, "familism," a very important value in the Hispanic culture, is recognized by the strong identification and attachment among the members of Hispanic families, as well as by the feelings of loyalty,
reciprocity, and solidarity that they offer to each other (Sabogal et al., 1987). Sabogal et al. (1987) conducted research on the importance of the value of familism for Hispanics living in the United States. They tested the hypothesis that familism and other core Hispanic values change with acculturation. Their results indicated that Hispanic values do change as a result of acculturation.

Domino and Acosta (1987) also conducted research on the effect that acculturation has on the values of Mexican Americans. Their results indicated that for more acculturated subjects a social orientation, societal security, and respect were more important than a personal orientation, family security, and love. These latter factors were more important for less acculturated subjects. Thus, Domino and Acosta (1987) assert that the more acculturated subjects exhibited a greater similarity to the Anglo population with regards to values. Thus, their results suggest that acculturation increases similarity of values between Mexican-Americans and Anglos.

In another study, Manaster, Chan, and Safady (1992), studied the phenomenon of modernism on academically successful and academically unsuccessful high-risk Mexican-American migrant high-school students. They state that "modernism reflects the degree of acculturation to the middle-class value system of modern society" (p. 126). Thus, they described modernism as a set of individual
attitudes/beliefs found in western societies (i.e. planning for the future, feelings of control, universalism, inner direction, etc.). They hypothesized that the academically successful group would hold more modern values, and thus show a higher degree of acculturation than the academically unsuccessful group, which would hold more traditional values. Their predictions were supported by their findings. Furthermore, Manaster et al. (1992) state that when migrants are exposed to modernism and acculturate to urban norms, they exhibit a more competitive social orientation than those who are not acculturated to urban norms.

The multivariate model of acculturation.

Some researchers argue that acculturation is a multidimensional phenomenon in which acceptance of new, and loss of, cultural traits varies from one dimension to another (Orozco et al., 1993). Therefore, they suggest that whether ethnic minorities acculturate or not is not an issue of success in society. Rather, depending on some personality qualities (i.e. prudence, assertiveness, intellect, etc.) which are important in the American culture for successful role performance, it is an issue of feeling comfortable in a given situation, so as to choose to perform a role which is compatible within a given sociocultural context (Smither, 1982).

With this stance toward acculturation, it seems as if the individual has the option to choose to perform a role,
in a given situation, which will categorize him/her as being acculturated or not. And since acculturation can be identified in a wide variety of the behaviors and values (Burnam et al., 1987) of a given individual, the multivariate model of acculturation is proposed as being flexible enough as to identify the many different situations and conditions which affect individuals who try to adapt to a new sociocultural environment (LaFramboise et al., 1993).

The multivariate model also suggests that some factors from the individual's culture of origin might be positively correlated with successful acculturation as well. For instance, socioeconomic status, parent's occupation, behaviors, attitudes, situations, and age might have an effect on how comfortable an individual feels performing certain roles. Various conditions in the host culture, such as length of residence, income, and education might also be positively correlated with successful acculturation (Smither, 1982; LaFramboise et al., 1993). These factors are thought to have an effect on how an individual will interact with the host culture. According to Smither (1982), education and length of residence in the host culture have been found to be some of the stronger predictors of acculturation. Other researchers have found that age at the time of migration, ethnic pride, and length of stay in the host culture are positively correlated with acculturation (LaFramboise et al., 1993).
Depending on the factors mentioned above, an individual might choose to adopt a more Anglo orientation by adopting a high-identification stance toward the American culture and a low-identification stance toward the culture of origin (see quadrant I in table 1 below). Or she/he might adopt a more ethnic identification by doing the opposite (see quadrant III in table 1 below), depending on the situation and the role that a particular individual chooses to perform. For instance, research has shown that ethnic minority individuals adapt to Anglo-American norms when dealing with the American society; however, when they are back in their communities, they adopt roles which are "expected by the traditional, political, and religious leaders of the community" (LaFramboise et al., 1993, p. 400).

Table 1 below illustrates the relationships that might develop between cultures and individuals, depending on the level of identification and attitudes that individuals might take towards/against their own culture and the American culture.

This model of acculturation allows individuals to adopt specific traits from the host culture, as well as to discard some traits of their original culture; however, they may hold on to, or even reaffirm, some of their traditional cultural values and behaviors (Orozco et al., 1993).
Research suggests that individuals have the capacity to choose how they will interact with the host culture and their culture of origin (LaFramboise et al., 1993). Thus, it is possible for an individual to adopt dual models of social behavior, to be considered bicultural, and to have the opportunity to alternate his/her behavior by adopting one cultural adaptation over another, depending on the situation and his/her reaction to it (LaFramboise et al., 1993). Therefore, it is possible that an individual might accept both cultures; but in some situations, he/she might
adopt a Mexican orientation, while in others, she/he might adopt an American orientation (Montgomery, 1992). For instance, a Mexican-American subject might feel comfortable speaking Spanish at home, and at another time, he/she might enjoy and feel comfortable eating hamburgers and listening to rock music in the company of English-speaking friends. Therefore, acculturation, according to the multivariate model, "can be reflected in many different aspects of behavior and values, including language use in different contexts, . . . preferences for food and music, . . . and relationships with family and friends" (Burnam et al., 1987, p. 107). According to LaFramboise et al. (1993), the multivariate model allows scientists to address different factors which are involved in the process of acculturation.

Obviously, there are many individual and situational differences to be considered in the process of acculturation. And depending on the situation and the person, any one of the theories of acculturation explained above "may represent an adequate explanation for a person's experience as he or she [moves through the process of acculturation and] acquires competency in a new culture" (LaFramboise et al., 1993, p.401). However, the issue of whether acculturation will be able to be explained by a single theory is far from being settled. Much of the existing research on acculturation of ethnic minorities into the Anglo society presents acculturation as a complex
phenomenon. This study continues with the assumption that acculturation is a complex phenomenon which can take many different paths depending on what roles the individual chooses to perform in a given situation. Therefore, the present study will employ the multivariate model of acculturation by utilizing the scale ARSMA-II developed by Cuellar, Arnold, and Maldonado (1995).
CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH ON MORAL DEVELOPMENT

"Kohlberg assumed that everyone will progress through the same sequence of moral stages regardless of culture, race, ethnicity, social class, or gender. However . . . the cultural context of moral judgment must be taken into account."

Anthony Cortese (1990, p. 91).

"If, however, an individual lives in a community differentiated in its values and norms, confrontation of various influences is inevitable. This kind of social environment will create the disequilibrium that is essential for moral development."

Donald Duska and Mariellen Whelan (1975, p.102).

Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development

For the past two decades, Kohlberg has been the dominant figure in the field of moral development. As a cognitive-developmental psychologist, he believes that moral judgment represents thought organization. His moral development theory is divided into three stages with two levels each. The first stage of moral development takes place during early middle childhood. It is known as the pre-conventional stage, and it is characterized by the fact that moral choice is derived from egocentric desires (Sapp, 1986). At this stage, children's moral judgments are based on anticipated rewards and punishments (Brodzinsky, 1986). Table 2 presents a brief outline of this stage.

The second stage of moral development is known as the conventional stage. In this stage, the basis for moral
decisions is the desire to maintain "harmonious interpersonal relationships and to obey existing formal rules, laws, and standards in a society" (Brodzinsky, 1986, p.347). The concepts of "good boy/good girl," as well as respect for authority, are found in this stage (Sapp, 1986). Table 3 presents a brief description of this stage.

The last stage is known as the post-conventional stage in which the individual is characterized by adhering to universal ethical principles (Sapp, 1986). At this stage, individuals' foundation for moral reasoning is their own standards of what is right, rather than conforming to social expectations and rules (Brodzinsky, 1986). Table 4 offers a brief summary of the post-conventional stage of moral development.

The three stages of moral development (i.e. pre-conventional, conventional, and post-conventional) are characterized by the idea that they follow a hierarchical sequence which does not vary. Furthermore, each stage is thought to be more cognitively advanced than the previous one. Therefore, it is impossible for someone to get to a given level without passing through the previous ones (i.e. a person cannot get to level four from level two, it is necessary to pass through level three first).
### Table 2

**Characteristics of the Pre-Conventional Stage of Moral Development**

| Level 1: Obedience and punishment orientation. Children obey rules in order to avoid punishment |
| Level 2: Egoistic orientation. Children obey rules out of self-interest |

### Table 3

**Characteristics of the Conventional Stage of Moral Development**

| Level 3: Good boy/good girl orientation. Children's basis of moral reasoning is the desire to please others |
| Level 4: Respect for authority. People are concerned with respecting authority and maintaining social order |
### Table 4

**Characteristics of the Post-Conventional Stage of Moral Development**

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<th>Post-conventional stage of moral development</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Level 5:</strong> Morality of contract and individual rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People value the will of the majority. They believe that the welfare of society depends on obeying the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level 6:</strong> Universal ethical principles. People follow their well-informed conscience in order to determine what is right</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A person who moves to a higher stage is able to make "finer distinctions among moral issues, understands how different issues are related, and takes a broader and more stable perspective on moral conflicts" (Moshman, 1987, p. 531). Kohlberg (1981) indicates that moral maturity is more solid as one continues moving toward the final or post-conventional level of maturity; therefore, the higher the level in which one is, the better. However, only a few seem to reach maturity (level six).

Kohlberg's theory of moral development is based on the assumption that all individuals, no matter what their
cultural background are, undergo permanent changes in their stages of cognitive development until they reach a stage of maturation. Kohlberg believes that this progress of maturation is based on classic stage theory in that

a) each stage is preceded by another stage that cannot be missed
b) the individual cannot regress to a previous stage
c) If fixation occurs at a particular stage prior to maturation, then there must be an abnormality in the individual's development, and
d) all individuals undergo the same universal sequence of development.

The stage at which the individual is at a given time is characterized by a typical kind of moral reasoning. And, as the individual's moral reasoning develops, each stage involves a more complex and more integrated moral reasoning; furthermore, moral reasoning is more differentiated as it passes from one stage to the next (Sapp, 1986).

Kohlberg's theory and stage interpretations are based on normative-ethical criteria of adequacy which enable people to make judgments regarding the greater or lesser moral rationality of the reasoning being interpreted. It is believed that stage six of normative-ethical criteria is the most appropriate for justice and reasoning; and therefore, it is used to describe the developmental logic inherent in the development of justice reasoning (Levine, Kohlberg, &
For Kohlberg, the base of moral development, as well as of morality, is an issue of rights and duties as prescriptions. The way Kohlberg examines the development of morality in an individual is as follows; first, he presents a person with a moral dilemma, and then he asks the individual what he/she would do about it. The most popular dilemma is about a man who cannot afford to pay the high price for a drug which his wife, who is dying, needs. Should the man steal the drug?

The moral dilemmas that Kohlberg presents require a choice "between competing values and then stimulates judgment about related rules and institutions" (Nisan & Kohlberg, 1982). Therefore, the response to the dilemmas is relevant to the confrontation of two moral values. For instance, the dilemma mentioned above about the man stealing a drug in order to save his wife's life elicits judgments about the value of upholding the law and doing what is just versus the value of preserving life (Nisan & Kohlberg, 1982). According to some researchers, this dilemma would be solved in a different manner by a man and a woman. While the man might more often take a stance of justice, the woman might more often take a stance of care.

**Research on Moral Development and Gender**

It has long been recognized that the psychosocial development of boys and girls is different (Early, 1992).
For instance, attachment to the mother is fundamental in female identity development which results from connection and relation (Johnson & Newcomb, 1992). On the other hand, Söchting, Skoe, and Marcia (1994) suggest that "the boy's connectedness to his mother creates a conflict between his need for intimate relations and his equally urgent need for a gender-relevant identity" (p. 132). Thus, the development of male identity might be the result of achieving separation and differentiation from others, while female identity might be the result of relating to others. Taking this into consideration, some researchers argue against the universality of Kohlberg's moral development theory. For instance, Gilligan (1982) believes that Kohlberg's theory is not applicable to women because it was established and normed based on research done only with males. Therefore, it is suggested that women are at a disadvantage when judged with Kohlberg's model.

Following Gilligan's (1982) thinking, Johnson and Newcomb (1992) state that both men and women develop "different perspectives toward nurturance, morality, and justice" (p. 112); and while men favor an ethic of justice, women favor an ethic of care. The reason of these remarkable differences between men and women is that while men are socialized "to be competitive and aggressive... women are socialized to demonstrate caring and tender traits" (Johnson & Newcomb, 1992, p. 115). Therefore, men
and women might develop different perspectives with regard to care and justice issues. Similarly, Söchting et al. (1994) suggest that while men might tend to focus more on justice and individual rights while solving moral dilemmas, women might tend to favor care and responsibility.

In order to test the hypothesis that men and women differ in their moral development, Gilligan and Attanucci (1988) examined gender differences and similarities on moral orientation. They concluded that, even though both genders are aware of the existence of care and justice moral orientations, men tend to choose to solve dilemmas with a justice orientation, while women prefer to solve dilemmas with a care orientation.

Subsequent similar studies have obtained comparable results on moral development and gender. For instance, Bakken and Ellsworth (1990) conducted research on the relationship of moral development to age, gender, and education; Santilli and Hudson (1992) conducted research on moral reasoning; Early (1992) studied moral orientation and gender differences; and Söchting et al. (1994) conducted a study on the relationship between gender and care oriented moral though. All those studies yielded significant results indicating gender differences. Therefore, the studies mentioned above seem to suggest that males' and females' moral reasoning might develop along different paths.

Even though Gilligan (1982) indicates that men and
women have different experiences while growing up, and as a result of these experiences, they develop different perspectives toward solving moral problems, many researchers suggest that there are not significant sex differences in moral development (Snarey, John, Reimer, & Kohlberg, 1985). For instance, Pratt, Golding, Hunter, and Norris (1988) investigated age and sex variations in moral judgment processes across the life-span; they presented their subjects, whose ages ranged from fourteen to ninety-two years old, with Kohlberg's dilemmas and found few indications of sex differences in moral reasoning. However, subjects over age seventy-four scored at a significantly lower stage level than younger subjects.

In another study, White (1988) investigated age and education in adult moral reasoning by using Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental stage theory of moral development. He used 195 adults ranging from nineteen to eighty-two years old and from three to twenty-five years of education. His results indicated no significant effect for age of subject nor for sex, but a significant effect for education.

Miller and Bersoff (1992) investigated moral reasoning on justice and interpersonal expectations; American and Hindu subjects were used in their experiment. They did not find any significant results to demonstrate that women are more inclined than men to choose interpersonal issues over justice issues.
Even though there is conflicting evidence with regard to moral development and gender, it has been stated that both men and women have different experiences while growing up (Gilligan, 1982), and those experiences vary across sociocultural settings. Therefore, it is possible that sociocultural background might have an effect on the way men and women tend to solve moral dilemmas. For instance, while conducting research on moral reasoning with American and Hindu subjects, Miller and Bersoff (1992), found evidence showing a cultural effect on the resolution of moral dilemmas. American subjects, when compared to Hindu subjects, tended to place more responsibility on the individual himself/herself while solving moral dilemmas.

Silberman and Snarey (1993) also conducted research on gender differences and moral development during early adolescence. They administered the MJI to 190 sixth grade boys and girls. The results of the study indicated not only that the mean level of moral development among females was significantly higher than among males, but also that race had a significant effect on the child's level of moral reasoning. Children from racial immigrant groups, such as Hispanic or Asian, scored higher than Black or White children. Furthermore, their results also indicated that girls of all races scored higher than boys of all races. Therefore, based on research conducted by Miller and Bersoff (1992) and by Silberman and Snarey (1993) as well, it can be
suggested that cultural background might in fact have an
effect on an individual's moral development.

**Cross-Cultural Research on Moral Development**

Since moral development is thought to proceed through
an invariable hierarchical stage, Kohlberg believed that
sub- and cross-cultural variation do not impede the
unfolding of moral development (Levine, Kohlberg & Hewer
1985) because people's moral development is thought to
follow the same sequence regardless of cultures. However,
Miller and Bersoff (1992) state that moral development
theories are not to be considered culture-free; therefore,
they are not universally applicable. Similarly, it has been
argued by Edwards (1985) that there is a difference in the
way different cultural groups classify their hierarchy of
values. According to Miller, Bersoff, and Harwood (1990),
this is due to the fact that the development of moral codes,
in a particular society, is affected by the society's
cultural meaning system.

Arguing against the applicability of Kohlberg's moral
development theory to other cultures, Sapp (1986) suggests
that the sociocultural group determines principles of right
and wrong; Cortese (1990) states that moral development
varies from one sociocultural group to another; and Heubner
and Garrod (1991) claim that morality is subject to the
society in which people are to be moral. Furthermore,
Heubner and Garrod (1991) state that Western theories of
moral reasoning cannot adequately measure Buddhists' moral reasoning because their moral development unfolds from a different perspective or worldview. Similarly, Miller and Bersoff (1992) indicate that since American's moral reasoning is based on the premise of the autonomous individual as the stepping stone for social systems, this premise is not valid in other cultures (such as the Hindu Indian culture) which stress social tasks as the foundation for society.

Cortese (1990), taking into consideration cross-national research, states that the rate and final level of moral development varies tremendously from one sociocultural environment to another. Furthermore, he indicates that "individuals in highly industrialized settings are reported to move through the lowers stages of Kohlberg's developmental framework at a more rapid rate and to achieve higher stages than do individuals in less industrialized and less urban settings" (p. 95). Thus, according to him, it seems as if higher levels of moral development are linked to highly industrialized sociocultural environments.

Even though Kohlberg's developmental stage theory and its cross-cultural universality has been criticized, Kohlberg and his associates provide good support for the applicability to other cultures of the hierarchical theory. For example, research conducted by Kohlberg and Kramer (1969) with middle-class urban boys from the U. S., Taiwan,
and Mexico supports their claim of universal application.

In another study, Snarey et al. (1985) investigated the development of social-moral judgment among Israeli Kibbutz adolescents using Kohlberg's theory of moral judgment development; their purpose was to verify the validity of Kohlberg's model and measure in a cross-cultural context and to assess the cultural uniqueness of social-moral reasoning among Kibbutzniks; their findings strongly supported the validity of Kohlberg's structural developmental understanding of moral judgment.

In 1982, Nisan and Kohlberg conducted a longitudinal and cross-sectional study of moral judgment development in Turkey. They used Kohlberg's moral dilemmas to interview subjects from the city and from rural areas; their findings supported the claim for structural universality in moral judgment. However, subjects from the city showed a more rapid rate of moral maturation than subjects from rural areas, which suggests that the individual's moral thought is affected by the individual's world view (Reid, 1990).

Based on the findings of Nisan and Kohlberg (1982), it seems as if modern/technologically developed (urban) societies have an impact on the nature of an individual's moral reasoning and development. In the premodern world (rural) the individual is obliged to fulfill certain roles (i.e., familial, political, religious, societal norms, etc.), which are the basis for moral decisions. On the
other hand, the modern/technological (urban) world goes beyond these roles and adopts emotivism as the foundation of morality. In this latter type of society, the individual views personal insight as the proper cause of moral reasoning; as a consequence, it has been argued that, when individuals make the transition from a rural environment toward the sociocultural environment of a modern/technologically developed society, their individualism is increased (Reid, 1992). Thus when immigrants from a culture which emphasizes responsibility of the entire family to solve moral dilemmas (such as the Mexicans) immigrate and acculturate into a culture (such as the American) which tends to be more individualistic, their world view might become more egocentric. Therefore, immigrants might replace their sociocentric moral orientation with a more egocentric style of moral reasoning (Reid, 1992).

**Acculturation and Moral Development**

Edwards (1985) suggests that sociocultural groups differ in the way they classify their values. Thus, it is possible that the sociocultural environment has an effect on the level and rate of moral development (Cortese, 1990) of the members of a particular sociocultural group. Therefore, it has been stated that moral development theories that are normed with a particular population should not be considered to be universal because they are affected by sociocultural
factors (Miller et al., 1990; Heubner & Garrod, 1991; Miller & Bersoff, 1992).

It has also been suggested that as ethnic minorities become more acculturated into the U. S. culture, they develop cognitions that are more prototypical of those found in the host culture's middle class. This cognitive maturation is aided by diverse factors, such as education, occupation, and social status aspirations. These and many other factors that are transmitted by the media exert an influence in the cognitive development of ethnic minorities and might replace a given social identity that has strong ethnic components (Cortese, 1990). Thus, it is possible that the moral development of ethnic minorities is affected as their interaction with the dominant culture increases.

The psychological role theory of acculturation and research conducted by Domino and Acosta (1987), Orozco et al. (1993); Burnam et al. (1987); Manaster et al. (1992); and Sabogal et al. (1987) suggests that through acculturation, the values that Mexican-Americans hold, as well as their cognitive processes and development, become similar to those found in the American culture. It is also very likely that the moral judgment and moral development of Mexican-Americans similarly undergo some alteration as they become more exposed to the U. S. culture and their way of thinking and reasoning is modified in order to become more capable of coping with the demands of this society.
Among anthropologists, moral reasoning and moral development are seen as the result of a particular culture. Moral reasoning is thought to be culturally formed and passed on from generation to generation. Thus, each person's moral reasoning and moral development is shaped by the cultural group in which he/she lives (Edwards, 1985). Duska and Whelan (1975) suggest that moral judgment is affected by different factors, such as the social environment, the cognitive development of the individual, and the cognitive dissonance that the sociocultural environment creates for individuals. And when the environment creates cognitive conflicts, then "the [individual] seeks to construct adequate cognitive structures to cope with [his/her sociocultural] environment" (p. 102). Thus, it can be argued that the sociocultural environment has an effect on the rate, and level, of moral development that one attains. As a consequence, "one must consider the possibility that [different sociocultural] groups have different moral structures, each adequate to the reproduction of the social life-world found in each ethnic group" (Cortese, 1990, p. 107). However, none of those moral structures are superior nor inferior; rather, moral structures and values are generated "as a result of situational demands coupled with person's perceptions and actions on these demands" (Sapp, 1986, p. 66). In other words, ". . . social dilemmas [that are found in a
particular sociocultural setting] stimulate reasoning [of individuals], at a stage of moral development [that is required by that sociocultural group . . . ]" (Cortese, 1990, p. 105).

It has been stated that some societies, such as the Samoans, expect their family members to have an obligation to help with a particular problem. As a consequence, the family is seen as a source of assistance for solving problems. On the other hand, European societies consider the individual responsible for solving moral dilemmas; thus showing the background of an individualistic culture (Reid, 1992). Fitzpatrick (1987) argues that in cultures where family ties and obligations are strong, people are expected to favor their kinsfolk against strangers; however, if this happens in the United States when dealing with the law, the behavior might be labeled improper, corrupt and/or immoral. However, as Fitzpatrick (1987) states, "in a culture where family values are supreme . . . such favoritism to one's kin or family would be much more acceptable. In fact, it could even be defined as obligatory" (p. 48). This provides one example of moral development affected by the sociocultural environment of the individual.

In order to find evidence for the assumption that the individual's moral views are affected by his/her cultural beliefs and values, Miller and Bersoff (1992) investigated moral reasoning involving interpersonal and justice
expectations between American and Indian cultural groups. Their results indicated that while most Americans considered justice expectations as more important, Indians believed that interpersonal expectations were more important. Therefore, they concluded that one's private morality of interpersonal responsiveness and caring is not universal, but it "may be a phenomenon specific to highly rights-oriented cultures such as the United States" (p. 551). Thus, culture seems to have an effect on the type of moral views and values that its members develop.

According to Sapp (1986), Kohlberg declared that two conditions are necessary for moving from the conventional to the post-conventional level of moral reasoning. According to Kohlberg:

"Both conditions are situational, that is, environmental changes external to persons which in turn affected their process of moral development. The first concerned persons leaving their sheltered home environment for an environment in which their traditional values, ideals, and principles would be challenged by other persons. The second involved leaving home for an environment which encouraged rational, deductive, and logical cognitive process" (p. 58).

It seems as if a modern/technologically developed country would be the perfect setting for immigrants from less developed countries to experience moving from the conventional stage to the post-conventional stage of moral development, since both of the conditions mentioned above are present in a new sociocultural environment.

It has been suggested (Reid, 1992) that when
individuals make the transition (acculturate) toward the state level of a given society, their individualism is increased. Reid (1992) examined the differences on the resolution of moral dilemmas between Samoans and Europeans. She found that acculturation caused the non-Western group to replace a sociocentric moral orientation with a more egocentric style of moral reasoning into its value system. Thus, providing evidence for the premise that acculturation into the American society might cause ethnic minority groups to modify their way of reasoning.

In a similar study, DiMartino (1991) studied the impact that culture has on the appraisals of moral and conventional dilemmas among male- and female-American, Sicilian-American, and Sicilian subjects. The results indicated that, in comparison to the other research participants who tended to value socioconventional thinking, Sicilian-American females valued reasoning more when confronted with the dilemmas. It can be concluded that women from different cultures address moral issues differently.

DiMartino (1991) argues that even though Sicilian-American subjects had immigrated to this society as young adults, and with their value system formed already, women modified their way of reasoning because they were more involved in the education of their children than their spouses. As a consequence, females were more exposed to the American culture and had to develop new ways of reasoning in
order to be able to cope with the new society. On the other hand, males tended to associate more with other Sicilian-American men, which did not require any alteration of their social reasoning; as a consequence, they retained their same thinking patterns that they had acquired in Sicily as children.

DiMartino (1991) asserts that culture does not have any impact in the way children responded to the dilemmas. Even children who were bicultural were not affected by changing cultures. This might be due to the fact that children who move to a different culture have access to the same education as children in the host society. As a consequence, they learn the same way of thinking and reasoning as children in the host culture. Thus, when people immigrate as children to another culture, and attend elementary school and college in the new society, their way of thinking and reasoning is shaped by the ideology of the host society. Therefore, as compared to people who immigrate as adults, children may become more acculturated into the host culture and show a similar type of moral reasoning as people of the new culture.
HYPOTHESES

After review of the literature on the roles that culture plays in people's moral development, the present study makes several predictions outlined below.

It is believed that through education, members of ethnic minority groups learn the values of the mainstream culture. Therefore, the present study hypothesized that Mexican-American subjects with more education would be more acculturated into American society, as measured by the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans-II (ARSMA-II) developed by (Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995), than subjects with less education.

It is possible that ethnic minority groups' way of solving moral dilemmas is affected by their acculturation into American society (Domino & Acosta, 1987; Orozco et al., 1993). Therefore, the present study predicted that once education was accounted for, acculturation would further explain additional variance in the moral development scores. In other words, the present study hypothesized that regardless of education level as compared to less acculturated Mexican-Americans, more acculturated Mexican-Americans would score higher in the principled-index-morality variable of moral development (P) as measured by the Defining Issues Test (DIT) developed by Rest (1986).
METHOD

Subjects

Sixty-eight Mexican-American subjects (40 females and 28 males) were recruited from different small Southern communities in California and Texas. The subjects were affiliated with Catholic churches in the communities of Indio, Coachella, Riverside, and San Bernardino in California; and San Antonio and Austin in Texas. The subjects were both male and female; represented three generations, and varied in ages (18-45) and level of education (9-17 years of education). No incentives were offered to the subjects for their participation. All subjects were treated in accordance with principle 9 of the "Ethical Principles of Psychologists." (American Psychological Association, 1991).

Measures

The subjects for this study were given the two scales described below.

Acculturation Scale

Acculturation was measured by the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans-II (ARSMA-II) (Cuellar, et al., 1995). This scale has a test-retest reliability coefficient of .96. Because acculturation is a complex phenomenon, Cuellar et al. (1995) acknowledge that their scale is limited and might not measure some other important
subcomponents of acculturation. However, they assert that ARSMA-II measures some of the most important subcomponents of acculturation which are presented in table 5 below.

Table 5

Acculturation Components Measured With ARSMA-II

1) language familiarity, usage, and preference
2) ethnic identity, and generation
3) reading, writing, cultural exposure, and
4) ethnic interaction.

Thus, their scale takes into consideration each of the factors mentioned above in order to determine how acculturated a particular individual is.

The acculturation scale (ARSMA-II) consists of 30 questions, each question with five possible answers (from 1 - 5) which indicate the grade of acculturation of each subject (1= monocultural -strong Mexican orientation, 3= bicultural, and 5= monocultural -strong Anglo orientation). This scale is scored by adding the answers and dividing this number by 30 or by the number of items answered. It yields two scores, a Mexican-orientation score and an Anglo-orientation score. The acculturation score is computed by subtracting the Anglo-orientation score from the Mexican-orientation score.
Moral Development Scale

Moral development (P) was assessed by the short form of the Defining Issues Test (DIT). Instead of presenting the subjects with six dilemmas, the short forms employs any three of the six dilemmas contained in the long form. This test was developed by Rest (1986) and it is based on Kohlberg's developmental theory; however, it differs in methodology. The DIT is a standardized questionnaire, rather than an interview method. It consists of six moral dilemmas which contain twelve questions which are to be rated and ranked (on a five-point scale) by the subject according to how important each item is in making a moral decision (Rest, 1986). Each of the issues represents a level of moral judgment that is typical of stages two through six. The subject's choices of the most important issues of the six moral dilemmas (three in the short form) give a score known as the "principled index morality" or "P" which is taken to be the measure of the subject's level of moral development.

The P (moral development) score is interpreted as the relative importance subjects place on principled moral considerations while taking a decision about moral dilemmas. This score is obtained by adding the answers given to the items of stages 5A, 5B, and 6 where stage 5A represents the "morality of social contract," 5B represents "the morality of intuitive humanism," and stage 6 represents "the morality
of principles of ideal social cooperation" (Rest, 1986).

The scoring for the Defining Issues Test followed the procedure outlined in the test manual and a P score was obtained. The DIT has a test-retest reliability of .82 (Rest, 1986).

**Table 6**

**Average DIT Scores and Average Population Represented by the Score**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Average Group Represented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>Moral philosophy and political science doctoral students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>Seminarians in a liberal Protestant seminary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>Advanced Law students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>Practicing medical physicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>Average college students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>Average of adults in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>Average senior high students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>Average junior high students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>Institutionalized delinquent boys, 16 years old</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Rest, 1986).

The P score obtained from the DIT was matched with one of the categories found in table 6. After using the DIT in over 500 research experiments, Rest (1986) concluded that his system represents the six stages of moral judgment (i.e.
pre-conventional through post-conventional stages).

Procedure

The subjects recruited in California were contacted personally by the researcher and were asked to participate in the study. The experimenter gave them an informed consent form to read and sign if they were willing to participate in the experiment. Once they agreed to participate, the experimenter gave the subjects a packet containing the acculturation scale (ARMSA-II) and the DIT. The packet also contained a debriefing statement, and a demographic information form. The subjects were given the opportunity to take the packet home to answer it at their own convenience. A time was arranged with the subjects for the experimenter to collect the packets.

Subjects recruited in Texas followed a procedure similar to the subjects recruited in California. The only difference was that they were given the scales and instructions by trained research assistants.
RESULTS

Sample Characteristics

Sample size (N), means (M), and standard deviations (SD) for the variables examined in the present study are presented in table 7.

Table 7

Means and Standard Deviations of Variables Examined

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>24.21</td>
<td>5.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ED</td>
<td>13.21</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEX</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YUS</td>
<td>16.37</td>
<td>9.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>25.70</td>
<td>14.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=68

Subjects in this sample had, on the average, thirteen years of education (ED); were young adults (AGE); had been living in the United States for over a decade (YUS); most of them were females (SEX) and bicultural (ACC) with a Mexican orientation; and were second generation (GEN). Subjects in this study had a P score with a mean of 25.70, which places them just beyond the average junior-high-students group as reported by Rest (1986).
Simple Correlations

Pearson-product moment correlations were computed for the variables previously mentioned. Results are reported in the correlation matrix shown in table 8 below.

Table 8

Correlation Matrix of Variables Affecting Moral Development and Acculturation Among Mexican-Americans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ED</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>YUS</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ED</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>.53**</td>
<td>.59***</td>
<td>.48***</td>
<td>.52***</td>
<td>.72***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEX</td>
<td>-.24*</td>
<td>-.26*</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>-.25*</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE</td>
<td></td>
<td>.57***</td>
<td>.36**</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.37**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YUS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.85***</td>
<td>.62***</td>
<td>.59***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.67***</td>
<td>.53***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.66***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

As predicted, education (ED) and generation (GEN) were highly correlated with acculturation, p<.001. These results indicate that later generations of Mexican-Americans tend to be more acculturated than earlier generations. Results also indicated that Mexican-Americans with more education tend to be more acculturated than Mexican-Americans with less education. Furthermore, the number of years that the subjects had been living in the United States (YUS), p<.001,
and age (AGE), p<.01, were also highly correlated with acculturation.

**Prediction of Acculturation**

A stepwise-multiple-regression analysis was computed in order to identify the variables that were significantly associated with acculturation. According to this analysis, generation (GEN) and education (ED) contributed a significant amount (50%) of explanatory power of acculturation (ACC). Results of the multiple regression analysis are presented in table 9.

**Table 9**

**Multiple Regression Analyses of Variables Affecting Acculturation Among Mexican-Americans**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>R Square Change</th>
<th>Signif F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. GEN</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ED</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

p<.01

Generation (GEN = .45) and education (ED = .50) appear to significantly predict the acculturation of Mexican-Americans. Together, these variables accounted for 50% of the variance. These results suggest that generation, and not education, is the most important factor that predicts Mexican-American subjects' acculturation. However,
education adds an additional 5% to the variance, which is significant at $p<.01$.

Results on Moral Development

As expected, Education (ED) and acculturation (ACC) were strong predictors of the moral development (P) of Mexican-Americans (See table 8). This suggests that as the level of education and acculturation increase, so does the similarity between Mexican-Americans and Anglos in their style to solve moral dilemmas.

Other variables, such as age (AGE), generation (GEN), and the number of years that individuals have been living in the United States (YUS) were also highly correlated with the subjects' moral development score (P) (See table 8).

Forced-entry-multiple regression analyses were run in order to determine the extent to which education and acculturation significantly explained additional variance of P scores. In the first multiple regression analysis, education was entered first, followed by acculturation. Results of this analysis are presented in table 10.

Two variables appear to influence moral development (ED = .51, and ACC = .62). Together, these variables accounted for 62% of the variance. Education, in and of itself, accounted for 51% of the variance, and acculturation explained an additional 11% of the variance which is significant at the $p<.05$. 
Table 10

Multiple Regression Analyses of Variables Affecting the Moral Development of Mexican-Americans-A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>R Square Change</th>
<th>Signif F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ED</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ACC</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results indicate that education is the best predictor of resemblance between Mexican-Americans and Anglos in their style to solve moral dilemmas. Furthermore, the results suggest that acculturation is the best second predictor of these similarities between Mexican-Americans and Anglos.

In the second multiple regression analyses, acculturation was entered first, followed by education. Results of the analyses are presented in table 11.

When acculturation (ACC) was entered first, it only accounted for 43% of the variance, and education (ED) added a significant 19% to the variance, p<.001.
Table 11

Multiple Regression Analyses of Variables Affecting the Moral Development of Mexican-Americans-B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>R Square Change</th>
<th>Signif F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ACC</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ED</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.19</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The two regression equations indicated that education is the best predictor of the moral development of Mexican-Americans. However, adding acculturation explains a significant amount of the variance.

A forced-entry-multiple-regression analysis was computed in order to control for the number of years the subject had been living in the United States (YUS), sex of subject (SEX), age of subject (AGE), and subjects' generation (GEN). This analysis was also used to determine the extent to which these variables accounted for the variability of the P scores. Results of the analysis are presented in table 12.
Table 12

Multiple Regression Analysis of Variables Affecting the Moral Development of Mexican-Americans After Less Significant Variables are Entered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>R Square Change</th>
<th>Signif F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. YUS</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. SEX</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. AGE</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. GEN</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ACC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ED</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As results indicate, the first four variables, together, accounted for 35% of the variance. Acculturation and education, together, accounted for an additional 28% of the variance, p<.05.
DISCUSSION

Limitations of the Study

Cuellar et al. (1995) state that the ARSMA-II is a multidimensional scale of acculturation; however, this version of the scale continues to yield a linear score on this complex phenomenon. As a consequence, it is difficult to clearly state which constructs of acculturation are more favored by Mexican-Americans who choose to be acculturated. For some, language might be more indicative of acculturation. For others, it might be values, behaviors, or attitudes where they feel more comfortable to interact with the host culture; thus showing evidence of being acculturated. And others might choose to exhibit their acculturation through ethnic identification and interaction.

It might be useful, therefore, to construct a scale of acculturation that gives a separate score for all its components (i.e. language, values, attitudes, behaviors, ethnic interaction, ethnic identity, and situational factors) because as stated above, for some Mexican-Americans language may be more indicative of acculturation, while for others, values or another factor would be more indicative of the same.

Even though the two hypotheses on moral development were supported by the findings, several cautions should be made:

a) the Spanish version of the DIT may not yield
accurate results,

b) an error in the translation to Spanish of the English version of the DIT may have occurred, and
c) the DIT may not accurately measure the moral development of Mexican-Americans, because it has been normed with White-middle-class subjects.

Therefore, the DIT scale measures an American perspective of moral development. As a consequence, since more acculturated subjects tend to resemble the American population in their way of reasoning, their higher scores in this scale are indicative of a more Americanized perspective with regard to solving moral dilemmas. It does not mean that more acculturated Mexican-Americans are more morally developed than less acculturated Mexican-Americans.

It has been argued that moral development theories are not culture free nor universal (Miller & Bersoff, 1992) because the moral codes are influenced by society (Miller, et al., 1990). Furthermore, Fitzpatrick (1987) states that "... the development of moral reasoning is relevant ... to the culture in which it is to be applied" (p. 38). Therefore, even though the results supported the hypotheses, it might be necessary to develop a scale which deals with core personal values relevant to the Mexican-American population. The new scale could contain issues dealing with interpersonal relationships, the extended family, and quality of life; rather than abstract principles, law, and
order (Cortese, 1990).

Cortese (1990) has suggested that moral development is a multidimensional phenomenon which differs among ethnic groups. Thus, he states that in order to correct any error in the instrument used with Mexican-Americans, it is necessary to develop or modify moral development scales by

"(1) . . . adapting the original dilemmas or creating new ones appropriate for Chicanos . . . ; (2) in interviews, oral rather than written responses are generally most pertinent; (3) dilemmas and probing questions must be presented in the first language of the subject--if the interview is administered in Spanish, answers should be written and scored in Spanish" (p. 105).

Thus, even though the results yielded significant support for the hypotheses mentioned above, it might be necessary to construct new scales that accurately measure the level of moral development of ethnic minorities. The new scales would avoid speculations about the accuracy of the results and would appropriately measure the moral development of a particular ethnic group.

**Implications of the Study**

With regard to acculturation, it has been suggested that education helps ethnic minorities acquire certain social skills which are necessary to enter into the dominant culture (Cortese, 1990). Some of these social skills are language, an understanding of the differences of cultural values, and an understanding of the life style of the host culture's members. These skills might enable
Mexican-Americans to choose how to interact with the dominant culture. Furthermore, the education, plus interaction with the host culture, seem to have a positive influence in the process of acculturation (Moerk, 1972). Thus, one of the hypotheses of the current research stated that Mexican-Americans with more education would be more acculturated as compared to Mexican-Americans with less education. This premise was supported by the findings; therefore, it might be suggested that one of the means for Mexican-Americans, and especially for recent Mexican immigrants, to move into the main stream culture is to attend high-school and college, so as to learn the social skills that Cortese (1990) suggests to be necessary to become acculturated.

The support of the previous hypothesis indicates that it might be important to consider implementing a policy/curriculum in high-schools, colleges, and universities aimed at increasing the awareness of the importance of education for ethnic minorities. It might also be helpful to implement educational programs that target recent immigrants, so as to offer them an opportunity to not only learn the language and the way of living of this culture, but also to contribute to the betterment of this society. Creating these different educational programs for ethnic minorities and recent immigrants could be a collaborative effort between the government, employers, and
schools.

Results also indicated that later generations of Mexican-Americans in this country were more acculturated as compared to earlier generations. Therefore, it can be argued that one's thinking, behaving, and relating to society is shaped by the ideology of the particular sociocultural group to which one belongs (DiMartino, 1991). Thus, it can be suggested that when one makes the transition from a particular sociocultural group to another, it might be possible, through education and time, to learn the way of living of the new sociocultural group. The results could be used to educate parents and teachers/professors, so that they can encourage and support ethnic minorities to graduate from high-schools and colleges and pursue a graduate education, so as to contribute to the betterment of this society and the well being of their own people.

Research suggests that education is an important factor for moral development. For instance, Cortese (1990) and DiMartino (1991) assert that education in this country influences the cognitive, as well as the moral, development of ethnic minorities. Thus, the first hypothesis concerning moral development stated that Mexican-Americans with more education, as compared with Mexican-Americans with less education, would score higher in the principled-index-morality variable of moral development (P).

The previous hypothesis was supported by the results.
Therefore, evidence was found so as to suggest that moral development is shaped by the education, ideology, values, behaviors, and attitudes found in a particular sociocultural group (DiMartino, 1991). Thus, when Mexican-Americans attend school in the United States, their way of reasoning might be influenced by the ideology of this society. Therefore, through education, Mexican-Americans might learn to solve moral dilemmas in a way that is similar to that of the members of the host culture.

It has been suggested that education aids ethnic minorities acquire some social skills which are necessary to acculturate (Cortese, 1990). Furthermore, acculturation, in and of itself, seems to have an effect on the moral development of ethnic minorities. It is likely that their cognitive development undergoes some modification as their interaction with the U. S. culture increases (DiMartino, 1991). Furthermore, Reid (1992) has also suggested that the moral reasoning of ethnic minorities is affected by acculturation. Thus, the second hypotheses regarding moral development stated that Mexican-Americans who were more acculturated would score higher in the principled-index-morality variable of moral development (P).

The previous hypothesis was supported by the results. Therefore, evidence was found to suggest that moral development is affected by the sociocultural environment in which the individual uses his/her moral reasoning.
(Fitzpatrick, 1985). These results also indicate that acculturation, or exposure to the U. S. culture, has an effect on the moral reasoning and moral development of ethnic minorities (Reid, 1992; DiMartino, 1991). Thus, as Duska and Whelan (1975) state "[moral reasoning and] moral development is not changing one's point of view . . . but transforming one's way of reasoning, expanding one's perspective to include criteria for judging that were not considered previously" (p. 101). Therefore, it might be possible that as Mexican-Americans become more educated and acculturated, their cognitive development undergoes some alteration because they come in contact with new issues which require a new way of moral reasoning.

The findings of this study do not suggest that one culture is more moral than the other; they do suggest however, that the moral development of a particular sociocultural group is different from another and it changes as a function of context and education. Education, in this particular sample, was the stronger predictor for the differences in the moral development scores (See table 8). The findings also suggest that the reasoning that a particular sociocultural group follows in order to solve moral dilemmas is appropriate to its own members (Cortese, 1990). Nonetheless, this way of reasoning can be learned by people from another culture who come into continuous contact with this different way of reasoning. In other words, the
finding of this study suggest that the orientation that a particular group has toward solving moral dilemmas changes as a result of context and schooling.

Results of this study do not indicate that more acculturated Mexican-Americans are more morally developed than those who are less acculturated. They do suggest, however, that since more acculturated Mexican-Americans are more familiarized with the U. S. culture and have been more exposed to the U. S. culture's way of reasoning, they have learned to solve moral dilemmas in a way that is more prototypical of the members of the host culture.

It is likely that less acculturated Mexican-Americans have not had enough contact with the host culture so as to modify their way of reasoning. Therefore, their lower score in the principled-index variable of moral development does not mean that their moral development is inadequate; rather, it indicates that they still favor a more traditional Mexican orientation toward solving moral dilemmas than more acculturated Mexican-Americans. In addition, since less acculturated subjects preferred the Spanish version of the moral development scale, it is possible that inaccurate results were obtained for this particular group of people.

In conclusion, even though results of this study supported the hypothesis previously mentioned, caution should be taken while interpreting these results. Furthermore, while Kohlberg and his colleagues (Kohlberg &
Kramer, 1961; Nisan & Kohlberg, 1982; and Snarey et al., 1985) provide good evidence for the validity of his moral development theory across cultures, Sapp (1986), Cortese (1990), Heubner and Garrod (1991), and Miller and Bersoff (1992) among other researchers provide good evidence against its validity across cultures; as a result of this ongoing controversy, more studies in this area are needed in order to determine the extent to which the sociocultural environment, as well as education, gender, and ethnic background influence people's moral development.
APPENDIX A

English Version of the DIT Scale

OPINIONS ABOUT SOCIAL PROBLEMS

This questionnaire is aimed at understanding how people think about social problems. Different people often have different opinions about questions of right and wrong. There are no "right" answers in the way that there are right answers to math problems. We would like you to tell us what you think about several problem stories. The papers will be fed to a computer to find the average for the whole group, an no one will see your individual answers.

Please give us the following information:

Sex: Male_____ Female_____ Age: __________

In this questionnaire you will be asked to give your opinions about several stories. Here is a story as an example.

Frank Jones has been thinking about buying a car. He is married, has two small children and earns an average income. The car he buys will be his family's only car. It will be used mostly to get to work and drive around town, but sometimes for vacation trips also. In trying to decide what car to buy, Frank Jones realized that there were a lot of questions to consider. Below there is a list of some of these questions.

If you were Frank Jones, how important would each of these questions be in deciding what car to buy?

Instructions for Part A: (Sample question)

On the left hand side check one of the spaces by each statement of a consideration. (For instance, if you think that statement #1 is not important in making a decision about buying a car, check the space on the right).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Great</th>
<th>Much</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>Little</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 3 2 1 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Whether the car dealer was in the same block as where Frank lives. (Note that in this sample, the person taking the questionnaire did not think this was important in making a decision).

2. Would a used car be more economical in the long run than a new car. (Note that a check was put in the far left space to indicate the opinion that this is an important issue in making a decision about buying a car).

3. Whether the color was green, (Frank's favorite color).

4. Whether the cubic inch displacement was at least 200. (Note that if you are unsure about what "cubic inch displacement means", then mark it as no "important").

5. Would a large, roomy car be better than a compact car.

6. Whether the front connectives were differential. (Note that if a statement sounds like gibberish or nonsense to you, mark it as "no important").
Instructions for Part B: (Sample Question)

From the list of questions above, select the most important one of the whole group. Put the number of the most important question on the top like below. Do likewise for your 2nd, 3rd, and 4th most important choices. (Note that the top choices in this case will come from the statements that were checked on the far left-hand side--statements #2 and #5 were thought to be very important. In deciding what is the most important, a person would re-read #2 and #5, and then pick one of them as the most important, then put the other one as "second most important", and so on).

1ST MOST IMPORTANT = 5
2ND MOST IMPORTANT = 2
3RD MOST IMPORTANT = 3
4TH MOST IMPORTANT = 1
HEINZ AND THE DRUG

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 in the same town had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make, but the druggist was charging ten times what the drug cost to make. He paid $200 for the radium and charged $2000 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 $1000, 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 began to think about breaking into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife.

Should Heinz steal the drug? (check one)

_ Should steal it _ Can't decide _ Should not steal it.

IMPORTANCE:

GREAT MUCH SOME LITTLE NO

4 3 2 1 0 1. Whether a community's laws are going to be upheld.

4 3 2 1 0 2. Isn't it only natural for a loving husband to care so much for his wife that he'd steal?

4 3 2 1 0 3. Is Heinz willing to risk getting shot as a burglar or going to jail for the chance that stealing the drug might help?

4 3 2 1 0 4. Whether Heinz is a professional wrestler, or has considerable influence with professional wrestlers.

4 3 2 1 0 5. Whether Heinz is stealing for himself or doing this solely to help someone else.

4 3 2 1 0 6. Whether the druggist's rights to his invention have to be respected.
IMPORTANCE:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GREAT</th>
<th>MUCH</th>
<th>SOME</th>
<th>LITTLE</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Whether the essence of living is more encompassing than the termination of dying, socially and individually.

2. What values are going to be the basis for governing how people act towards each other.

3. Whether the druggist is going to be allowed to hide behind a worthless law which only protects the rich anyhow.

4. Whether the law in this case is getting in the way of the most basic claim of any member of society.

5. Whether the druggist deserves to be robbed for being so greedy and cruel.

6. Would stealing in such a case bring about more total good for the whole society or not.

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

First most important ______
Second most important ______
Third most important ______
Fourth most important ______
At Harvard University, a group of students, called the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), believe that the University should not have an army ROTC program. SDS students are against the war in Viet Nam, and the army training program helps send men to fight in Viet Nam. The SDS students demanded that Harvard end the army ROTC training program as a university course. This would mean that Harvard students could not get army training as part of their regular course work and not get credit for it towards their degrees.

Agreeing with the SDS students, the Harvard professors voted to end the ROTC program as a university course. But the President of the University stated that he wanted to keep the army program on campus as a course. The SDS students felt that the President was not going to pay attention to the faculty vote or to their demands.

So, one day last April, two hundred SDS students walked into the university's administration building, and told everyone else to get out. They said they were doing this to force Harvard to get rid of the army training program as a course.

Should the students have taken over the administration building? (Check one)

__Yes, they should take it over ___Can't decide ___No, they shouldn't take it over

IMPORTANCE:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GREAT</th>
<th>MUCH</th>
<th>SOME</th>
<th>LITTLE</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Are the students doing this to really help other people or are they doing it just for kicks?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Do the students have any right to take over property that doesn't belong to them?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Do the students realize that they might be arrested and fined, and even expelled from school?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Would taking over the building in the long run benefit more people to a greater extent?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPORTANCE:</td>
<td>GREAT</td>
<td>MUCH</td>
<td>SOME</td>
<td>LITTLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Whether the president stayed within the limits of his authority in ignoring the faculty vote.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Will the takeover anger the public and give all students a bad name?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Is taking over a building consistent with principles of justice?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Would allowing one student takeover encourage many other student take-overs?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Did the president bring this misunderstanding on himself by being so unreasonable and uncooperative?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Whether running the university ought to be in the hands of a few administrators or in the hands of all the people.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Are the students following principles which they believe are above the law?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Whether or not university decisions ought to be respected by students.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

First most important _____
Second most important _____
Third most important _____
Fourth most important _____
ESCAPED PRISONER

A man had been sentenced to prison for 10 years. After one year, however, he escaped from prison, moved to a new area of the country, and took on the name of Thompson. For 8 years he worked hard, and gradually he saved enough money to buy his own business. He was fair to his customers, gave his employees top wages, and gave most of his own profits to charity. Then one day, Mrs. Jones, an old neighbor, recognized him as the man who had escaped from prison 8 years before, and whom the police had been looking for.

Should Mrs. Jones report Mr. Thompson to the police and have him sent back to prison? (check one).

__ should report him  can't decide  __should not report him

IMPORTANCE:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GREAT</th>
<th>MUCH</th>
<th>SOME</th>
<th>LITTLE</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Hasn't Mt. Thompson been good enough for such a long time to prove he isn't a bad person?

2. Every time someone escapes punishment for a crime, doesn't that just encourage more crime?

3. Wouldn't we be better off without prisons and the oppression of our legal systems?

4. Has Mr. Thompson really paid his debt to society?

5. Would society be failing what Mr. Thompson should fairly expect?

6. What benefits would prisons be apart from society, especially for a charitable man?

7. How could anyone be so cruel and heartless as to send Mr. Thompson to prison?

8. Would it be fair to all the prisoners who had to serve out their full sentences if Mr. Thompson was let off?
9. Was Mrs. Jones a good friend of Mr. Thompson?

10. Wouldn't it be a citizen's duty to report an escaped criminal, regardless of the circumstances?

11. How would the will of the people and the public good best be served?

12. Would going to prison do any good for Mr. Thompson or protect anybody?

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

First most important
Second most important
Third most important
Fourth most important
THE DOCTOR'S DILEMMA

A lady was dying of cancer which could not be cured and she had only about six months to live. She was in terrible pain, but she was so weak that a good dose of pain-killer like morphine would make her die sooner. She was delirious and almost crazy with pain, and in her calm periods, she would ask the doctor to give her enough morphine to kill her. She said she could not stand the pain and that she was going to die a few months anyway.

What should the doctor do? (Check one)

____ He should give the lady an overdose  ____ can't decide  ____ Should not give the lady an overdose

IMPORTANCE:

GREAT  MUCH  SOME  LITTLE  NO

4   3   2   1   0  1. Whether the woman's family is in favor of giving her the overdose or not.

4   3   2   1   0  2. Is the doctor obligated by the same laws as everybody else if giving her an overdose would be the same as killing her.

4   3   2   1   0  3. Whether people would be much better off without society regimenting their lives and even their deaths.

4   3   2   1   0  4. Whether the doctor could make it appear like an accident.

4   3   2   1   0  5. Does the state have the right to force continued existence on those who don't want to live.

4   3   2   1   0  6. What is the values of death prior to society's perspective on personal values.

4   3   2   1   0  7. Whether the doctor has sympathy for the woman's suffering or cares more about what society might think.
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8. Is helping to end another's life ever a responsible act of cooperation.

9. Whether only God should decide when a person's life should end.

10. What values the doctor has set for himself in his own personal code of behavior.

11. Can society afford to let everybody end their lives when they want to.

12. Can society allow suicides or mercy killing and still protect the lives of individuals who want to live.

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

First most important

Second most important

Third most important

Fourth most important
Mr. Webster was the owner and manager of a gas station. He wanted to hire another mechanic to help him, but good mechanics were hard to find. The only person he found who seemed to be a good mechanic was Mr. Lee, but he was Chinese. While Mr. Webster himself didn't have anything against Orientals, he was afraid to hire Mr. Lee because many of his customer didn't like Orientals. His customers might take their business elsewhere if Mr. Lee was working in the gas station.

When Mr. Lee asked Mr. Webster if he could have the job, Mr. Webster said that he had already hired somebody else. But Mr. Webster really had not hired anybody, because he could not find anybody who was a good mechanic besides Mr. Lee.

What should Mr. Webster have done? (Check one)

- Should have hired Mr. Lee
- Can't decide
- Should not have hired him.

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1. Does the owner of a business have the right to make his own business decisions or not?

2. Whether there is a law that forbids racial discrimination in hiring for jobs.

3. Whether Mr. Webster is prejudiced against Orientals himself or whether he means nothing personal in refusing the job.

4. Whether hiring a good mechanic or paying attention to his customers' wishes would be best for his business.

5. What individual differences ought to be relevant in deciding how society's roles are filled?

6. Whether the greedy and competitive capitalistic system ought to be completely abandoned.
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<th>7. Do a majority of people in Mr. Webster's society feel like his customers or are a majority against prejudice?</th>
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8. Whether hiring capable men like Mr. Lee would use talents that would otherwise be lost to society.

9. Would refusing the job to Mr. Lee be consistent with Mr. Webster's own moral beliefs?

10. Could Mr. Webster be so hard-hearted as to refuse the job, knowing how much it means to Mr. Lee?

11. Whether the Christian commandment to love your fellow man applies in this case.

12. If someone's in need, shouldn't he be helped regardless of what you get back from him?

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

First most important ___

Second most important ___

Third most important ___

Fourth most important ___
Fred, a senior in high school, wanted to publish a mimeographed newspaper for students so that he could express many of his opinions. He wanted to speak out against the war in Viet Nam and to speak out against some of the school's rules, like the rule forbidding boys to wear long hair.

When Fred started his newspaper, he asked his principal for permission. The principal said it would be all right if before every publication Fred would turn in all his articles for the principal's approval. Fred agreed and turned in several articles for approval. The principal approved all of them and Fred published two issues of the paper in the next two weeks.

But the principal had not expected that Fred's newspaper would receive so much attention. Students were so excited by the paper that they began to organize protests against the hair regulation and other school rules. Angry parents objected to Fred's opinions. They phoned the principal telling him that the newspaper was unpatriotic and should not be published. As a result of the rising excitement, the principal ordered Fred to stop publishing. He gave as a reason that Fred's activities were disruptive to the operation of the school.

Should the principal stop the newspaper? (check one)

_ should stop it  _ can't decide  _ should not stop it

IMPORTANCE:

GREAT   MUCH   SOME   LITTLE   NO

4   3   2   1   0

1. Is the principal more responsible to students or to the parents?

4   3   2   1   0

2. Did the principal give his word that the newspaper could be published for a long time, or did he just promise to approve the newspaper one issue at a time?

4   3   2   1   0

3. Would the students start protesting even more if the principal stopped the newspaper?
### IMPORTANCE:

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1. When the welfare of the school is threatened, does the principal have the right to give orders to students? 
2. Does the principal have the freedom of speech to say "no" in this case? 
3. If the principal stopped the newspaper would he be preventing full discussion of important problems? 
4. Whether the principal's order would make Fred lose faith in the principal. 
5. Whether Fred was really loyal to his school and patriotic to his country. 
6. What effect would stopping the paper have on the student's education in critical thinking and judgments? 
7. Whether Fred was in any way violating the right of others in publishing his own opinion. 
8. Whether the principal should be influenced by some angry parents when it is the principal that knows best what is going on in the school. 
9. Whether Fred was using the newspaper to stir up hatred and discontent.

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

First most important ___  Third most important ___
Second most important ___  Fourth most important ___
APPENDIX B

Spanish Version of the DIT

OPINIONES ACERCA DE PROBLEMAS SOCIALES

Este cuestionario está destinado a entender el modo en que la gente piensa acerca de problemas sociales. Diferentes personas, con frecuencia, tienen diferentes opiniones acerca de lo que está bien o mal. En éste cuestionario, no hay respuestas correctas ni equivocadas. Nos gustaría que nos dijera que es lo que piensa acerca de varias historias problemáticas. Las respuestas serán puestas en una computadora, y nadie verá sus respuestas.

Favor de contestar lo siguiente:

Edad:________________________________________

Ciudad:________________________________________

Sexo: hombre______   mujer________

Estado civil:

soltero (a) ______    viudo (a) ______

casado (a) ______    separado (a) ______

País de nacimiento: México_______ Estados Unidos_______

Cuántos años de educación tiene?

Primaria____  Secundaria____  Colegio____

Cuántos años ha estado viviendo en Estados Unidos?_______

A qué generación pertenece? (marque una por favor):

1.____ Primera (emigró como adulto).

2.____ Segunda (sus padres lo emigraron cuando era niño, o nació aquí)

3.____ Tercera (sus padres y usted nacieron aquí).

4.____ Cuarta (sus abuelitos, padres, y usted nacieron aquí).

En éste cuestionario, se le pedirá que dé sus opiniones acerca de varias historias. Aquí está un ejemplo de una historia similar:

**Francisco y el carro**

Francisco ha estado pensando en comprar un carro. El está casado, tiene dos niños pequeños, y gana un salario regular. El carro que compre será el único carro de la familia. El carro será usado generalmente para ir al trabajo y salir al pueblo; pero algunas veces se usará para salir de vacaciones. Tratando de decidir qué carro comprar, Francisco se dio cuenta que había muchas preguntas qué considerar. En seguida hay una lista de esas preguntas.

Si usted fuera Francisco, qué tan importante sería cada una de las siguientes preguntas al considerar qué carro comprar?

**Instrucciones para la primera parte** (preguntas de ejemplo)

En el lado izquierdo, marque uno de los espacios por cada pregunta que se conteste. (por ejemplo, si usted piensa que la pregunta #1 no es importante para tomar la decisión de comprar el carro, marque con un círculo el número que dice "no importa").

0= No importa 3= Muy importante
1= Poca importancia 4= Extremadamente importante
2= Algo importante

**Grado de importancia:**

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1. Que el vendedor de carros esté en la misma cuadra donde vive Francisco? (fíjese que en éste ejemplo, la persona no considera que ésta sea una pregunta importante).

0 1 2 3 4 2. Un carro usado será más económico que uno nuevo? (fíjese que la persona consideró ésta pregunta como extremadamente importante.)

0 1 2 3 4 3. El color del carro será verde? (es el color favorito de Francisco)
NADA  POCA  ALGO  MUCHO  BASTANTE

0 1  2  3  4  4. El carro tiene un desplazamiento de 200". (si no entiende la pregunta márquela como "no importa").

0 1  2  3  4  5. Un carro grande y espacioso será mejor que uno chico?

0 1  2  3  4  6. Tiene los diferenciales enfrente? (si la pregunta no es clara o no la entiende márquela como "no importa").

Instrucciones para la segunda parte (preguntas de ejemplo)

De la lista de las preguntas que contestó, escoja la más importante; ponga el número de la pregunta más importante en la primera línea de abajo. Haga lo mismo para la segunda pregunta más importante, y también para la tercera y la cuarta pregunta más importante. (fíjese que en éste caso las preguntas más importantes son las preguntas #2 y #5. Para decidir cual de las dos es la más importante, la persona las leyó otra vez y escogió la #5 como la más importante, y la #2 como la segunda más importante, y la #3 como la tercera más importante, y la #1 como la cuarta más importante.

Primera pregunta más importante_____

Segunda pregunta más importante_____

Tercera pregunta más importante_____

Cuarta pregunta más importante_____

80
Genián y la medicina

En europa, una mujer estaba a punto de morir a causa de una forma de cancer. Había una medicina que los doctores pensaban que podía salvarla. Era una forma de "radiación" que un doctor del pueblo había descubierto recientemente. Era caro para hacer la medicina, pero el doctor cobraba diez veces más de lo que gastaba en hacerla. El doctor pago $200 por las químicas y cobraba $2000 por una pequeña dosis. El esposo (German) de la mujer enferma pidió dinero prestado a todos los que él conocía, pero sólo juntó $1000, la mitad de lo que la medicina costaba. El le dijo al doctor que su esposa se estaba muriendo y le pidió que le vendiera la medicina más barata o que se la vendiera a crédito. Pero el doctor dijo "no, yo he descubierto la medicina y sacaré mucho dinero con ella." Entonces German se desesperó y empezó a pensar en entrar a la farmacia del doctor para robar la medicina.

German debería de robar la medicina? (marque una respuesta)

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Grado de importancia: ¿Qué tan importante son las siguientes preguntas?:

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1. Las leyes de la comunidad deben de ser sostenidas?
2. Acaso no es natural que un hombre enamorado que cuida mucho de su esposa robe por ella?
3. Está German dispuesto a ser balaceado como un ladrón o de ir a la carcel por la posibilidad de que la droga robada salve a su esposa?
4. Será German un luchador profesional o tendrá influencias importantes con luchadores profesionales?
5. German estará robando para el o lo estará haciendo por alguien más?
6. Los derechos del doctor sobre su medicina deben de ser respetados?
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7. La esencia del vivir será más importante que la terminación del morir, socialmente e individualmente?

8. Cuáles son los valores que serán la base para gobernar el modo en que las personas actúan contra los demás?

9. Al doctor se le permite protegerse con una ley que sólo ampara a los ricos?

10. En este caso la ley está obstaculizando el paso a los derechos más básicos de cualquier miembro de la comunidad?

11. El doctor merece ser robado por ser tan egoísta y cruel?

12. El robar en este caso traerá más bien común para toda la sociedad o no?

De las 12 preguntas, seleccione las 4 preguntas más importantes:

Primera pregunta más importante #

Segunda pregunta más importante #

Tercera pregunta más importante #

C Cuarta pregunta más importante #
Huelga de estudiantes

En la universidad de Harvard, un grupo de estudiantes llamados "Estudiantes por la Sociedad Democrática" (ESD) creen que la universidad no debe de tener programas militares. El grupo de estudiantes ESD está contra la guerra de Viet Nam. Los programas militares que hay en la universidad entrenan y mandan hombres a Viet Nam a pelear. El grupo de estudiantes ESD pidió que la universidad de Harvard cancelara los cursos militares, lo cual significaría que los estudiantes de Harvard no podrían tener entrenamiento militar como parte de sus clases regulares, y tampoco ganarían crédito por esos cursos en sus carreras.

Los maestros, aceptando la propuesta del grupo ESD, votaron para cancelar los programas militares de la universidad. Pero el presidente de la universidad dijo que él quería mantener los programas militares como cursos regulares. Los estudiantes sintieron que el presidente no pondría atención al voto de los profesores o a sus demandas. Entonces, un día de Abril, 200 estudiantes del grupo ESD entraron a la administración de la universidad, y le dijeron a todos los que estaban allí que se salieran. Los estudiantes dijeron que lo hacían para forzar al presidente a que cancelara los programas militares.

Hicieron bien los estudiantes en haberse posesionado de la administración?

Si_______ No_______ No puedo decidir_______

Grado de importancia

                      ¿Qué tan importante son las siguientes preguntas?

NADA POC A ALGO MUCHO BASTANTE

1. Los estudiantes lo hacen para ayudar a otra gente o para pasar el rato?

2. Los estudiantes tienen el derecho de apoderarse de la propiedad que no les pertenece?

3. Los estudiantes saben que pueden ser arrestados, multados, o expulsados de la universidad?

4. El apoderarse de la administración beneficiaría a lo largo a más gente?

83
NADA POCA ALGO MUCHO BASTANTE

0 1 2 3 4 5. El presidente debería de sostener su decisión e ignorar los votos de los profesores?

0 1 2 3 4 6. El apoderarse de la administración hará que el público se enoje y dará mala reputación a los estudiantes?

0 1 2 3 4 7. El invadir a un edificio es consistente con los principios de justicia?

0 1 2 3 4 8. El permitir una invasión de estudiantes causará que haya más invasiones por parte de otros estudiantes?

0 1 2 3 4 9. El presidente causó el malentendido por no ser razonable y no cooperar?

0 1 2 3 4 10. El que la universidad sea gobernada por pocos administradores o por mucha gente?

0 1 2 3 4 11. Los estudiantes están siguiendo principios que creen que están por encima de la ley?

0 1 2 3 4 12. El que las decisiones de la universidad deban de ser respetadas por los estudiantes?

De las 12 preguntas, cuáles son las cuatro más importantes?

Primera pregunta más importante #_____
Segunda pregunta más importante #_____
Tercera pregunta más importante #_____
Cuarta pregunta más importante #_____
El prisionero fujitivo

Un hombre había sido sentenciado a prisión por 10 años. Después de un año, se escapó de la prisión, se fue a un lugar lejos en el país, y se puso el nombre de Tomás. El trabajó muy duro por 8 años, y poco a poco fue ahorrando lo suficiente para poner su propio negocio. Fué muy justo con sus clientes, dio muy buen salario a sus empleados, y dio la mayor parte de sus ganancias a obras de caridad. Pero un día, la señora Juana, una antigua vecina, lo reconoció como el hombre que había escapado de la prisión 8 años atrás y a quien la policía había estado buscando.

La señora Juna debería de reportar a Tomás a la policía y mandarlo a la carcel otra vez?

Si_____ No_____ No puedo decidir_____

Grado de importancia:  

Qué tan importante son las siguientes preguntas?

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1. Acaso no ha sido Tomás una buena persona por un largo tiempo como para comprobar que no es una persona mala?
2. Acaso cada vez que alguien se escapa del castigo de un crimen, no impulsa a otros a cometer más crímenes?
3. No estaríamos mejor sin prisiones ni la opresión de nuestros sistemas legales?
4. Tomás ha pagado la deuda que debía a la sociedad?
5. Fallará la sociedad en lo que Tomás justamente espera?
6. Qué beneficios tendrán las prisiones aparte de la sociedad, especialmente para un hombre caritativo?
7. Cómo puede ser alguien tan cruel y sin corazón como para mandar a Tomás a la prisión?

8. Sería justo para los otros prisioneros que tuvieron qué cumplir su sentencia si Tomás fuera dejado en libertad?

9. Era Juana una buena amiga de Tomás?

10. Acaso no es la responsabilidad de un ciudadano el de reportar a un criminal fugitivo sin importar las circunstancias?

11. Cómo sería satisfecha la voluntad de la gente?

12. El ir a la prisión le haría bien a Tomás o protegería a alguien?

De las 12 preguntas, cuáles son las 4 más importantes?

Primera pregunta más importante #

Segunda pregunta más importante #

Tercera pregunta más importante #

Cuarta pregunta más importante #

86
El dilema del doctor

Una muchacha estaba muriendo de cancer incurable, y ella solamente tenía como seis meses de vida. Estaba sufriendo dolores muy fuertes, y como estaba muy debil, una dosis pequeña de morfina contra el dolor le causaría la muerte más pronto. Ella deliraba y el dolor casi la enloquecía, y en sus momentos de lucidez y de calma, le pedía al doctor que le diera una dosis de morfina para morir. Ella le decía que el dolor era inaguantable y que de cualquier modo ella iba a morir en unos meses.

Debería el doctor de darle una sobredosis de morfina para que muera?

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1. Que los familiares estén en favor de darle la sobredosis o no?
2. Que el doctor esté como los demás, bajo las mismas leyes que dicen que dándole una sobredosis sería lo mismo que matarla?
3. La gente estaría mucho mejor sin los reglamentos de la sociedad que regulan la vida y la muerte?
4. El doctor lo puede hacer parecer como un accidente?
5. El estado tiene el poder de forzar a las personas a seguir viviendo aunque las personas no quieran vivir?
6. Cual es el valor de la muerte ante la perspectiva de la sociedad en cuanto a los valores personales?
7. El que el doctor tenga simpatía por el sufrimiento de la mujer, o le importa más lo que la sociedad piense?
8. El ayudar a terminar la vida de otros es un acto responsable de cooperación?

9. Sólomente Dios debe de decidir cuando debe de terminar la vida de las personas?

10. Cual es la cualidad de valores que el doctor ha adoptado en su código personal de conducta?

11. Puede la sociedad permitir que cada quién se quite la vida cuando quieran?

12. Puede la sociedad permitir suicidios o la muerte compasiva y proteger la vida de aquellos que quieran vivir?

De las 12 preguntas, cuales son las 4 más importantes?

Primera pregunta más importante #_____

Segunda pregunta más importante #_____

Tercera pregunta más importante #_____

Cuarta pregunta más importante #_____

88
**El Señor García**

El señor García era el dueño y gerente de una gasolinera. El quería emplear a otro mecánico para que le ayudaran, pero era muy difícil de conseguir mecánicos. La única persona que encontró y que pareció ser buen mecánico era el señor Lee, pero era Oriental. Aunque el señor García no tenía nada en contra de los Orientales, tenía miedo de contratar al señor Lee porque muchos de sus clientes no querían a los Orientales. Sus clientes se podrían ir a otro lugar si el señor Lee trabajara en la gasolinera. Cuando el señor Lee le preguntó al señor García que si podía tener el trabajo, el señor García dijo que ya había contratado a alguien. Pero el señor García todavía no había contratado a nadie porque no había podido encontrar a alguien que fuera tan buen mecánico como el señor Lee.

El señor García debía de haber contratado al señor Lee?

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1. Que el dueño de un negocio tenga el derecho de hacer sus propias decisiones o no?
2. El que haya leyes que prohíban la discriminación racial en cuanto a empleos?
3. El que el señor García sea prejuicioso contra los Orientales o que él no sienta nada personal contra ellos al negarle el trabajo?
4. El que contrate a un buen mecánico o el que le haga caso a sus clientes será lo mejor para su negocio?
5. Qué diferencias individuales deben de ser relevantes en decidir la forma en que los roles de la sociedad sean cumplidos?
6. El que el ambicioso y competitivo sistema capitalista deba de ser completamente abandonado?

7. El que la mayoría de la gente en la comunidad del señor García piensan como sus clientes o están contra el prejuicio?

8. Al emplear a hombres preparados como el señor Lee se usarían talentos que serían perdidos si no se usaran?

9. El negarle el trabajo al señor Lee sería consistente con los principios morales del señor García?

10. Que el señor García tenga el corazón tan duro como para negarle el trabajo al señor Lee sabiendo cuanto necesita el empleo?

11. El que el mandamiento cristiano de amar a tus semejantes sea aplicado en este caso?

12. Si alguien está en una necesidad, acaso no debe de ser ayudado sin importar lo que reciba a cambio?

De las 12 preguntas, cuales son las 4 preguntas más importantes:

Primera pregunta más importante #____
Segunda pregunta más importante #____
Tercera pregunta más importante #____
Cuarta pregunta más importante #____
El periódico

Alfredo, estando en su último año de secundaria, quiso publicar un periódico mimografado por los estudiantes para que él pudiera expresar sus opiniones. Quería hablar contra la guerra de Viet nam, y contra algunas de las reglas de la escuela, tal como contra la regla que prohibía a los muchachos el traer el pelo largo.

Cuando alfredo empezó su periódico, él le pidió permiso al director. El director dijo que no habría problema siempre y cuando Alfredo remitiera sus artículos para ser aprobados por el director antes de ser publicados. Alfredo aceptó y remitió varios artículos; el director los aprobó y Alfredo los publicó en el periódico en las dos semanas siguientes. Pero el director no esperó que el periódico de Alfredo tuviera mucho éxito. Los estudiantes se alborotaron mucho y empezaron a protestar contra la regla que prohibía traer el pelo largo, y contra otras reglas de la escuela. Los padres, enojados, estaban en contra de las opiniones de Alfredo, y telefonearon al director diciendo que el periódico no debería de ser publicado porque no era patriótico. Como resultado del alboroto que se causó, el director ordenó a Alfredo que parara la publicación del periódico. Como explicación dijo que las actividades de Alfredo eran contradictorias a las operaciones de la escuela.

El director debe de parar la publicación del periódico?

Si _____ No _____ No puedo decidir____

Grado de importancia:

NADA Poca ALGO MUCHO BASTANTE

1. El director es más responsable de las acciones de los estudiantes o de las acciones de los padres?

2. El director prometió que el periódico se podría publicar por un largo tiempo o nadamas los artículos que él aprobara?

3. Los estudiantes empezarían a protestar más si el director quita el periódico?
4. El director tiene el derecho de dar ordenes cuando el bienestar de la escuela es amenazado?

5. El director tiene el derecho de decir "no" en éste caso?

6. Si el director cancela el periódico, también pararía la discusión de los problemas importantes?

7. La orden del director hará que Alfredo pierda su confianza en él?

8. Será Alfredo realmente fiel a su escuela y a su país?

9. Qué efecto tendrá el paro del periódico en la educación de los estudiantes en cuanto a la lógica y lo que es justo?

10. Alfredo estaría violando los derechos de otros al estar publicando sus propias opiniones?

11. El director será influenciado por padres enojados cuando realmente él sabe mejor lo que pasa en la escuela?

12. Alfredo estará usando el periódico para causar odio y descontento?

De las 12 preguntas, cuales son las 4 más importantes?

Primera pregunta más importante #

Segunda pregunta más importante #

Tercera pregunta más importante #

Cuarta pregunta más importante #
REFERENCES


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